

RAMSAY, James

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R E P L Y

TO THE

Personal Invectives and Objections

CONTAINED IN

T W O A N S W E R S,

PUBLISHED BY

CERTAIN ANONYMOUS PERSONS,

TO

A N E S S A Y

ON THE

TREATMENT AND CONVERSION

OF

A F R I C A N S L A V E S,

IN

THE BRITISH COLONIES,

BY

JAMES RAMSAY, M. A. VICAR OF TESTON.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED and SOLD by JAMES PHILLIPS, in
George-Yard, Lombard-Street.

MCD CLXXXV.



A D V E R T I S E M E N T

TO THE ANSWER TO THE ST. CHRISTOPHER
W O R K.

THE author should intitle this publication, An Apology for his Life and Opinions; for his character as a man, and his reasoning as an author, as if they could stand or fall only together, are so blended, as to force him to blend also their vindication. Indeed such a book, as he is here obliged to answer, never before saw the light. It is said, numbers are concerned in the publication; this may account for the extraordinary piece of patch work. In one point they are intimately agreed; the collecting together of all manner of abuse, in hopes that some part or other may apply. The candid reader must make allowance for the necessity, thus imposed on the author, of bringing things before the publick, that are hardly proper for a private circle. And should generous sympathy interest his feelings, he can easily feign the treatment this attack deserves from other, than the author's hands; though a respect for that indifference, with which the publick views injuries done an individual, may have induced him but to have half expressed the indignation, a conscious integrity must feel from this base attempt to wound him in all that an honest man holds dear.

His only fault respecting the colony of St. Christopher, which is here dragged in to the dispute, as a party against him, has been the injuring of himself and family in ill requited endeavours to serve its interests. Indeed, his treatment there, from the first, has been so illiberal, that, though he would not, for gaining the most important purpose, give just cause of offence to its meanest inhabitant, yet, for what respects
a 2 their

their community, (a few individuals excepted, with whom he trusts he is yet in some esteem) he should have reckoned any vindication of himself an unnecessary condescension, had they not contrived to confound his reputation with the principles of his book. This, having been published from disinterested benevolent motives, obliges him not to sit silent under accusations that pretend to derogate from its worth. The present publication is therefore a defence of his Essay. And if the reasoning and facts adduced in it shall continue to stand the test, it will be of little consequence who, or what sort of man, gave them to the publick.

It is to be remarked that this Essay, which has made a whole colony enemies to its author, lay for years in his parlour, open for the perusal of every body, in a more questionable shape, than it at last appeared in; that numbers of various professions and callings, managers and proprietors, did actually peruse it; that the author pointed their notice to the places which he supposed most objectionable. Being able on the spot to appeal to the practice of this or that man, or plantation, for the truth of the things advanced, there was no place found for those violent contradictions which have arisen in his absence from its publication. The facts were acknowledged, generally were lamented, the reasoning was admitted, the purpose only was supposed distant. In short, the book is not criminal for its contents, but for its being in print; nor is the author a bad man for having written it, but for having dared to publish it. The inference is left with the reader.

That there are people, acquainted with the subject, of the same opinion with the author, will appear from the following extract of a letter written to him from the West Indies, on perusal of his Essay.

“ A sincere admirer of your very intelligent and
 “ humane book, begs leave to suggest, that a short
 “ abstract of it would be easier circulated, and more
 “ read than the book at large; but as there would be
 “ a loss on such a publication, those who are friends
 “ to

“ to the design, should bear the author harmless,
 “ Should it prove the means of rendering the situation
 “ of negroes more comfortable, it might compen-
 “ sate for that hunger, which they are made to suffer
 “ on pretence of the want of American provisions.
 “ An European will think hunger alone a sufficient
 “ evil; but we who must be witnesses, whenever we
 “ travel a single mile, to scenes of horror and cruelty,
 “ which call for divine vengeance, know that slaves
 “ will think suspension of stripes, and of incessant
 “ toil, an happiness, and will be contented, while they
 “ feel only that hunger, which in other countries is
 “ thought the bitterest potion in human life.”

“ He recommends a short note, where the utility of
 “ married managers is mentioned, to confine his com-
 “ pliments solely to the ladies of St. Kitt’s, lest any
 “ well meaning planter of the other islands be misled,
 “ and ruined by issuing his mandates of marriage,
 “ which may prove as fatal to the poor negroes, as
 “ those other causes of which the author so justly
 “ complains, as issued at the instigation of luxury and
 “ expence. In the island, where the writer lives,
 “ managers wives, instead of superintending the house-
 “ hold, and tending the sick, are generally the cause
 “ of the ruin of the plantation. In treating the ne-
 “ groes they are obdurate and cruel, and violent in
 “ their resentments. They live in a round of com-
 “ pany, to entertain whom, half the plantation slaves
 “ are frequently sent out to ransack the country for
 “ dainties. The horses are all employed in collecting
 “ the guests; and the manager is continually engaged
 “ at home or abroad with his wife’s acquaintances.
 “ The writer is an enemy to detraction, and without
 “ the fullest conviction, would not say, that, in the
 “ colony where he lives, not one manager’s wife in an
 “ hundred ever saw the inside of a plantation sick
 “ house in her life. He makes this stricture, that
 “ those who attend to the Essay may not be misled in
 “ one ruinous instance, and by throwing the blame on

“ the whole system, make the cause of humanity meet
 “ with more enemies than ever.”

The following quotations are so much to the purpose, that they are given to the reader without any comment. Baron Tott, speaking of the state of slaves in Tunis, at the end of his second volume, says: “ I saw at the palace of the Bey a great number of
 “ slaves of every nation; but they gave me none of
 “ the ideas usually entertained respecting them. I saw
 “ them well clothed, well fed, and well treated;
 “ and I am inclined to doubt, if even those, who are
 “ home sick, have in general much reason to be satisfied with their ransom. It is possible, in truth, that
 “ the slaves sold into the interior parts of the country,
 “ or to individuals, who purchase them on speculation,
 “ are not so happy as those who fall to the lot of the
 “ sovereign or the grandees. We may presume, however, that even the avarice of their masters militates
 “ in their favour; for it must be confessed that the
 “ Europeans are the only people who ill treat their
 “ slaves, which arises, no doubt, from this cause: That they constitute the wealth of the Orientals, and
 “ that with us they are the means of amassing wealth.
 “ In the East they are the delight of the miser; with
 “ us they are only the instrument of avarice. Convey
 “ a negroe of our colonies, and an European slave of
 “ Tunis, into a neutral and impartial country;—it is
 “ to that tribunal I appeal.”

Moore, in his *View of Society in Italy*, remarks: “ From these observations on the treatment of slaves
 “ among the ancient Romans, are we to infer, that
 “ they were naturally of a more cruel turn of mind,
 “ than the present inhabitants of Europe? Or is there
 “ not reason to believe, that in the same circumstances
 “ modern nations would act in the same manner? Do
 “ we not perceive that the practice of domestic slavery
 “ has at this day a strong tendency to render men
 “ haughty, capricious, and cruel? Such, I am afraid,
 “ is the nature of man, that, if he has power without
 “ controul, he will use it without justice: absolute
 “ power

“ power has a strong tendency to make good men
 “ bad, and never fails to make bad men worse. It was
 “ an observation of the late Marischal Saxe, that in all
 “ the contests between the army waggoners and their
 “ horses, the waggoners were in the wrong, which he
 “ imputed to their having absolute authority over the
 “ horses.” The author hopes the “ gentlemen of St.
 “ Christopher” will, in their next publication, take
 proper notice of these hostile sentiments.

P O S T S C R I P T

O N T H E C U R S O R Y R E M A R K S.

After the author had prepared this Reply for the
 press, another anonymous adversary stepped forth,
 with his *Cursorj Remarks*, calling himself a friend to,
 and *pretending* to have been an inhabitant of, the West
 Indian colonies. The author says *pretending*, because
 he betrays strong marks of knowing nothing of the
 West Indies, except from second hand, and of being an
 hireling, only bribed to furbish up the contradictory
 absurdities of the *St. Ghristopher Gentlemen*. There are
 so many glaring falsehoods, (some of them needless)
 in his accounts of things, that the only reasonable con-
 jecture respecting him is, that he has taken his instruc-
 tions from, and assumed the name of, some West
 Indian, who has communicated just what he thought
 plausible on the subject, without suffering his advo-
 cate to peep behind the curtain, to see the horrid
 scenes, that might have shocked even the nerves of a
 Grub-Street writer. The author thinks this character
 more honourable for him, than to suppose him ac-
 quainted with the West Indies, and forging, or wilfully
 perverting facts to establish the cause of tyranny and
 oppression. If after all he turns out to be a West
 Indian, may a merciful God awaken his conscience be-
 fore it be too late !

That he has had the St. Christopher work, from the first before him, though in his Appendix he denies it, will appear clearly to any one, who can submit to the nauseous task of comparing the productions together. The West Indian work had been received in England, and was industriously circulated there full six months before his pamphlet appeared. It had reached the author about December 1784. It would therefore be surprizing, if this formidable champion had not been favoured with it, long before his own work went to the press. The same fictions, the same expressions are to be seen in both. The crude West Indian production was not indeed to be offered to an English palate, till dressed up anew, and its loathsomeness a little abated by the art of cookery. In the mean time, the writer thought not himself answerable for its absurdities and lies, and therefore could quote, and, without blushing, call it in as a savage auxiliary, to cut and scalp the poor author, regardless of the rights of war. The difference in point of time afforded an opportunity of correcting what was to be transcribed, and putting it in a less shocking dress, though after all it continues too much like the small proprietor's slave, whom he describes, p. 29, without food in his belly, or clothes on his back, to make a decent appearance.

Yet is the writer a great friend to decency, and takes the Essayist roundly to task for not keeping within his notions of it. As a specimen of his own attention to propriety, he introduces himself to his readers in the amiable character of St. John reprimanding a minister for exhorting masters to behave with benevolence to their slaves. Still, if this writer will meddle with Scripture, he recommends to him, instead of his present motto, to take in his next edition, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and fight openly under the banner of oppression. At least, it will be more honourable for himself; and he will not be obliged to injure the cause of his pay-masters, by making awkward concessions in the assumed character of a benevolent man.

In the conclusion of his Essay, the author pointed out to the advocates of oppression in what manner alone his book could be answered; but none of them seem to have read it so far. It will therefore be necessary to bring it again before them. And if any man, of a sober decent character, will come forward by name, and publicly declare, that the author's adversaries have complied with this reasonable demand, he will kiss the rod, and retract his censure.

After communicating the following sensible letter, transmitted the author lately from the West Indies, he means to go on with his Reply to the St. Christopher pamphlet, and shall subjoin what is particular in these *Cursor's Remarks* at the end. As he thinks it will be difficult to invent any more lies to the prejudice of his person, or new objections against his book, he hopes he shall be allowed here to take his leave of controversy; at least with all such dark assassins as dare only to stab in the dark.*

Concluding Paragraph of the Author's Essay, by which the Answers to it should have been framed.

Doubtless, in a subject like this, where we must be satisfied with general accounts, probable conjectures, and analogical reasoning, a person inclined to take the other side, may select many things to be objected to, many to be contradicted. But till such a man can, simply and generally speaking, vindicate on the score of religion, morality, or even policy, the conduct, or

* In taking leave of these anonymous adversaries, the author is happy in the recollection, that though persons interested in the sugar colonies, and others, calling themselves friends to the West-Indians, have shewn a most diabolical industry in going about and poisoning the ears of every person to whom they could get access, whose good opinion he would wish to preserve, with stories to his disadvantage, taken from these anonymous publications, where alone indeed they exist; yet has he lost the favour of no man, who otherwise knew him; and that persons equally eminent for their virtues, penetration, and rank, who long have had the best opportunities of knowing him in every various situation of life, continue their protection and friendship to him.

rather

rather negligence of government, with respect to the sugar colonies, till he can prove that the diet, the clothing, the labour, the punishments of 400,000 negroes ought to be left entirely to the discretion of their masters; till he can affirm, that slaves have an adequate remedy, either in law, opinion, or interest, as practised or understood among us, against the parsimony, insensibility, prejudices, meanness, ignorance, spite, and cruelty of their owners and overseers; till he can shew, that the present state of our slaves is the best possible state, both for them and their masters, into which they can be put; and that we had a right to ravish them from their country, to transport and place them in our own; till he can shew it to be *impossible* to make them real Christians, or to render them more useful members of the state than they are at present; till he can shew that reason is convinced, humanity pleased, that liberty has no claim, and religion no wish; the justice of our remarks must remain established, and the necessity of that attention to the improvement of slaves, both as men and Christians, which is here enforced, must remain unconfuted.

A Letter from a Gentleman in the West Indies, to the Author of the Essay on the Treatment, &c. of African Slaves, dated March 24th, 1784, and June 4th, 1785.

I have frequently considered the state of the poor slaves purchased in Africa, and thence conveyed to the West Indies, and sold unto perpetual slavery. The reasons assigned for such unnatural traffick, and the usage these poor people meet with, are not reconcilable to humanity or Christianity, and disgraceful to planters.

We are at great pains to urge reasons to deceive ourselves and others, in support of our practice and conduct towards our slaves; but our behaviour towards them discovers our real motive. We neglect the
temporal

temporal and eternal interests of these poor creatures, and only attend to the present advantage or benefit that arises from their labour. As Christians, we should consider, that 'ere long we shall be called to a severe and strict account for our usage of the slaves that have fallen into our hands; they are robbed of their liberty here, and deprived of all the comforts of life, and little care or pains taken to promote their future happiness. It is incumbent on all, to adopt such measures as may tend to promote, and bring about, some new regulations with respect to these people, which I think may be accomplished, without the loss or damage that is generally supposed would attend any change. Hereby our own minds would be made easier, and the slaves much happier than under their present suffering.

Possibly the following plan may afford some hints that may be found useful in accomplishing this important business. By freeing a few yearly, under certain conditions, that could not distress the estates at present, in the course of a few years it might be benefited by such gradual changes made thereupon.

Let us suppose a West Indian estate to consist of 400 acres, with 200 negroes, cattle, mules, horses, &c. fully sufficient, cultivated as follows:

		Hhds.		
50 Acres in plants,	}	100	50 Acres for houses, pas-	
will yield -			tures, and intervals.	
50 Acres 1st. ratoons		60	30 Ditto negroe ground.	
50 Acres 2d. ditto		40	20 Ditto for provisions &	
			herbage.	
50 Acres preparing	}	200	100 Ditto let out to freed	
for plants -			negroes, at 1½ jœ, or	
			£3 sterling per acre.	
200				

1st. All negroes fifty years of age, and upwards, to be freed, and have a small lot of land, the rent to be paid

paid in cotton, provisions, or stock. No negroe, free or slave, to be harboured or employed, unless they produce a permission to be absent from their late or present owner. At death, the land to remain with the family, who *must* reside upon it, or revert to the estate.

2d. Every year ten negroes made free, from thirty to fifty years old, to be appraised or valued as the owner or slave can agree to have land as above, and to pay yearly a proportion of such valuation, in cotton, provisions, stock, or labour; to work four days in every week upon the estate, and allowed, if field negroes, 18*d.* for each day's labour; if tradesmen, 3*s.* for each day's work.

3d. All negroe children born upon the estate to be christened, and care taken to instruct them in the duties of religion; to be made free, and valued as above, when they arrive at twenty-five or thirty years of age to have land, and reside on the estate, and pay yearly a proportion of such valuation in cotton, stock, provisions, or labour.

4th. Ten and fifteen boys or girls purchased annually, from ten to sixteen years of age, and made free at twenty-five or thirty years old, on condition as before, and have lands allotted them to reside continually thereupon; christened when purchased.

5th. Negroes made free, upon no pretence to depart from the estate, or absent themselves without permission from the owner or chief manager, and therein expressed the business they go upon, and time allowed for absence.

6th. All freed people encouraged, or obliged to marry, if possible, on the plantation, and care taken to prevent the troubles and disturbance that arise from the present practice.

7th. A proper house built on some convenient place, for the negroes to assemble in and be instructed. Superannuated negroes caused to give regular attendance.

8th. All

8th. All free people to be strictly prohibited from harbouring slaves, or freed people, without producing proper passes.

9th. An orderly decent man to be employed as clerk of the parish, and to have from every estate an annual subscription, for teaching to read and sing, two or four children, and proper hymns composed for use of the negroes. Organs should be placed in every church. The negroes are fond of musick.

Advantages that may, and I hope will arise, in time, to the owners of estates, from freeing and altering the condition of negroes.

1st. The pleasing reflection, upon doing a duty incumbent upon all Christians.

2d. The freeing our slaves, and allowing them three days in the week to attend their duty, and cultivate their ground, will greatly better their present condition, and give them opportunity to provide for their future happiness.

3d. Such negroes as remain slaves will work with spirit, and cheerfully, when informed, that, in case of good behaviour, it will come to their turn to be freed 'ere long.

4th. The freed negroes will abound in provisions, stock, &c. of all sorts, which will be found useful in the plantations; our negroes will have plenty, and the owners stock, &c. when called for.

5th. The freed negroes should be encouraged to keep a cow, or hogs, and have proper pens, from which abundance of manure may be procured. The old negroes and children to provide daily stock, meat, and the field negroes discharged from that irksome labour or service.

6th. When we raise a gang of thirty and forty able freed negroes on all occasions to work for us at 18*d.* per day, we may well lessen our numbers of slaves, and never have occasion to call in a task work gang; this will be a great saving to us, and as we shall have plenty of provisions, we may employ more white servants from Europe, for attending about the works, &c.

At

At present we pay £10 or £12 currency per acre, for cleaning and hoeing land.

	12 0 0
Fifty freed negroes always ready to do } our work, will finish at least one acre } per day, generally more, at 18 <i>d.</i> }	3 15 0

Allow fifty acres done yearly, will save } £4 12 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> currency. - - - }	8 5 0
--	-------

7th. All freed negroes from fifteen to sixty years of age to be enrolled, and taught to perform their duty as militia, and well armed and kept in good order, will soon become a powerful body in every island, at no expence, and may well be depended upon, where they have property of their own; and these negroes always called out at low rates, to repair roads, or accomplish publick works.

Such laws and regulations, as will be found necessary for the government of these people, will come necessarily from the legislature.

Suppose the sugar planter's property valued at £30,000, he makes yearly two hundred hogsheads sugar, at £14 sterling, is £2800 sterl.—Rum, sterl. £1000

	£3800
Deduct interest or capital, £1800 sterl. } wages, taxes, &c. &c. at £1200 sterl. }	£3000

Remains £800

The lands divided would be two acres for each negroe, which cultivated and taken due care of in cotton, may be rated at fifteen pounds weight per acre; one half allow for the owner, is seventy-five pounds, at 18*d.* currency, will be about £1250 sterling.

The negroes to have the like sum to pay for their freedom, with addition of labour, stock, &c. &c. and plenty of all sorts of provisions, would very soon accomplish that purpose.

Dear

June the 4th, 1785.

Dear Sir,

Your much valued book, upon altering our treatment, and freeing the negroes, came to my hands last week. Your own feelings will convince you, how much I am pleased upon reading your treatise. The foregoing letter I wrote March the 24th, 1784. I shall be happy if any hint may be useful to you, in accomplishing this most useful work.

N. B. This letter is the more valuable, because it appears to be the writer's genuine thoughts on the subject, before he had read the Essay to which he here refers. Speaking in the name of planters, he says, " We are at great pains to urge reasons to deceive ourselves and others, in support of our practice and conduct towards our slaves; but our behaviour towards them discovers our real motive." A sentiment which the author recommends to the serious consideration of all his virulent adversaries.

August the 10th, 1785.

The Author has received two more Letters from the same Person; the last of which he gives below, as well worthy of the Publick Attention.

Reverend Sir,

Some weeks past I inclosed you the copy of a letter I had written March the 24th, 1784, relative to our improving the condition of our poor negroes, and gradually making them all free, which I hope will, in a short time, be accomplished, without loss or damage to the present proprietors; while, if it be duly attended to, the revenue may be greatly encreased, and the security and safety of the islands made more certain, by encreasing, at no expence, a body of militia, that will defend their freedom and property under new regulations.

Our

Our heavy load of debt. The French encreasing their naval force, and our weakness in the islands, may surely convince us, our property is precarious, while its great extent may shew, that the trade of the sugar colonies is of the utmost consequence; this appears from your calculation.

I did not see your most valuable Essay, until late in May, and by the book-binder's omission, the third section of the fifth chapter, where you suggest a new plan of police, is left out, which gives me great concern.

I wish, as you do, that it may fall to the lot of English subjects, to form and establish such plans as may be adapted for freeing and improving the condition of the poor slaves. In case our slaves had proper time allowed them, and were well fed, their families would soon encrease to such numbers as would enrich us all, and prevent the necessity of buying such numbers of new negroes as are purchased yearly.

We have a negroe carpenter on an estate in this island, who has lived many years with his wife, and taken care of his family, and has now eight or nine children grown up, and able people, and is worth about £200 sterling, and keeps his family in great order.

A particular considerable estate in this island has not lost an able negroe for four years past; four or five very old negroes died, and in that time twenty or twenty-four children were born, and are now living.

I have spent forty-five years in the West Indies, and have had much experience amongst the poor creatures; they deserve better usage, and are very capable of being made useful and good subjects here, and happy hereafter.

I pray God may inspire you with wisdom and understanding, effectually to promote this humane and benevolent work, by private and publick measures properly adopted. I am well assured the success would answer your most sanguine wishes.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

A REPLY

A R E P L Y, &c.

T O T H E

Gentlemen Authors of St. Christopher.

I know not what impressions the calumny of my accusers has made on the publick: for my part, I own, so artfully are their reasons coloured, and set off, they have almost made me forget myself. And yet I know they have not spoken one word of truth.

SOCRATES.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THESSE gentlemen set off with asserting, that a bad book has been written in favour of liberty, and to prove it, they exhibit the author as the worst man, and most malicious member of society, that ever existed. In laying this accusation before the publick, they express themselves with such a seeming honest indignation, as to make the reader wish to become acquainted with their merit, and grieved to find it hid in a croud. Indeed, their generosity cannot be sufficiently celebrated. The credit which belongs to them as individuals, they transfer to their country, and thus force the admiring reader to consider every inhabitant of St. Christopher as a paragon of learning, eloquence, and virtue. How imprudent is the contest, when an
A individual,

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A individual,

individual, incapable, as they doubtless have made out, of putting the words of one sentence properly together, or drawing one just inference from his premises, attempts with a plain tale to encounter the skill of this host of orators. David's combat with Goliath of Gath was not more unpromising, or more unequal.

Their performance naturally divides itself into two parts, though wrought up together, the one for the support of the other. 1st. The author's infamous character as a man. 2d. His inconclusive reasoning as a writer.

They accuse the author of not being a Christian; of having been a Presbyterian; a harsh surgeon; a violent politician; a cruel master; a grasping avaricious man; a bad neighbour; he preached his people out of church; he mocked at God's judgments; he was a corrupt magistrate; he forged a certificate to deprive the pensioners of the chest of Chatham of six pounds per annum; he was the cause of all the oppression exercised on the Jews, and other inhabitants of St. Eustatius. He was so envenomed against the colony, where he was most happily situated, as to misrepresent it to administration, and intercept those rays of ministerial favour, which should have beamed forth on them at the restoration of peace. He has published injurious falsehoods against good men; he has dared to speak against the Americans and great men. In short, such a monster never before appeared on paper.

It may be observed, that a contemptible publication from such a man as this, cannot possibly injure those whom it attacks. Glaring falsehoods, uttered by a man of this pernicious character, must, in this inquiring age, recoil back on himself. Therefore, it was not absolutely necessary to fill up their extraordinary book with shocking inconsistent stories of the man, whose reasoning they impugned. His *Essay* was before the publick, and must stand or fall by its own merits, independent of the writer's conduct as a man. From their management indifferent people will naturally conclude, they did not esteem themselves equal to

to his arguments, if they left him one single good quality in possession.

But men, who write with their warm indignation against baseness, must be able themselves to stand the severest scrutiny into their life and conversation. It would have rejoiced the author to have brought the publick acquainted with each of these retired men of merit. How wantonly soever he himself has been traduced, he is conscious of having searched only for the truth; and if there were any conclusion in their arguments, he would set against himself the weight of their characters and virtues. He has always abhorred that too common custom of blackening an adversary's reputation, and supposing that his reasoning is never overthrown, while his person can be viewed in a favourable light.

The ostensible collector of this charge is a clergyman well known to booksellers in England, for his labours in the mines of literature.* Every advantage of family, patronage and learning, were insufficient to fix him in the church. But having assisted in the detection of John the Painter, he was rewarded with the chaplainship of a man of war, on the Charibbean station. In the midst of active service he quitted his ship, and came down to St. Christopher. There, to the disgrace of the age, he found his telling of a ludicrous story, and his being an easy companion of more service than his ancestry and talents. His arrival was within three months of the time of the author's quitting the island. Their intercourse he is welcome to relate. He was afterwards tutor in a family nearly allied to the author; he has leave to publish all respecting him he could possibly learn in it. What he has since collected of the author's conduct, is such an heap of gross falsehoods, often without even the foundation of an indifferent circumstance, on which to rest, as might induce one

* His name appears in the title page of a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.

to believe he had been on purpose misled for his own confusion.

As he owns the patch-work, he is answerable for the dress in which it appears. And he, who censures a work, which, aiming only at utility, disclaims ornament, will surely give a specimen of something near to perfection; for he is an old professed book maker. Yet his work "teems with repetitions, contradictions, absurdities; his vague desultory manner tires, confuses, and disgusts the reader." Useless words, superfluous phrases, false grammar; no meaning meet the eye in every page. †

One of his coadjutors, he who furnishes the book with a head and tail piece, is a man who long made good his intimacy in the author's family, and, one short interval excepted, always professed a regard and esteem for him. His application to business gave him the choice of employments. He is distinguished in the Essay for his method and judicious treatment of his slaves. And surely he, who could find opportunity to celebrate him as a manager, could never mean to injure the master's just authority. His friends (p. 70) observe respecting him, "We own, he has his merits; but we never heard him celebrated for his humanity." To which it is replied, nor did the author ever hear of it. His conduct is contrasted with humanity; to shew that good sense and method, equally with humanity, will lead to the good treatment of

† This man, in character of an African merchant, anno 1772, published a book in favour of the slave trade, which he says has been much neglected and abused. He upbraids the author for not having mentioned it, though his own had been framed before that time, and had been published twelve months before he had heard of its existence. A great part of it is transcribed into the present performance. African merchant was not to him an occasional title. While a country clergyman, he associated himself with certain enterprising men, to trade in slaves to the river Gambia. His part was to draw gudgeons into the net. Several simple countrymen were fairly taken in, particularly a poor blacksmith, who was promised five hundred per cent. profit for forging letters. Luckily the bubble burst before there was much more mischief done.

slaves. This man, in his notes, says, " he never observed those seeds of sentiment and morality, which the author mentions among his slaves." When the observation was made, the fact was as it is affirmed, and was frequently the subject of conversation between him and the author. But when he took other and more valuable managements, he could not continue to pay these that attention, which, at first, laid the foundation of his character and fortune. They may therefore be supposed to have fallen back; and he found it more convenient to deny the original observation, than account for the change.

Being a man of acute observation, living in the author's neighbourhood, and constantly frequenting his house, he knew more of his family than he himself did. He was always, at least he constantly affirmed himself to have been, the author's strenuous advocate. And what from one of his penetration, before which not three characters in the colony were blameless, is a mighty commendation; he gave him frequent strong marks of the most unabated approbation. Even in the end of July, 1784, when the clamour was universal against the author and his book, he stood up, like another Abdiel, and vindicated the Essay, as containing, to his certain knowledge, nothing but the truth. To him, if he had not thus committed himself, could the author freely appeal to contradict every accusation brought against him; in most cases from his own particular knowledge, in all, from his sincere persuasion of his innocence, drawn from his intimate acquaintance with the conduct and sentiments of the author, which were open to him at all times.

In this strong state of the case, how shall we account for this sudden exasperated opposition? The discretion that we must suppose in so thriving a man must have suggested to him, that to insinuate himself into the family of a man, who treated him with unreserved confidence, with a design to expose what was uttered or done in such confidence, must make every man afraid of trusting himself in his company. But to take

advantage of this situation, to give the basest fall^{his own} respecting him a currency with men, who could not know him so well, is a conduct so full of treachery, as words cannot express. Nor did the author believe it, till convincing proofs had silenced every doubt, arising from a reflection on his own innocence, or this man's good sense.

It is to be observed, that the author's baseness had had its full operation, and in this accuser's present opinion had been fully established, at the time, when this man stood up in vindication of him and his book. How will he, so candid a man as he is, answer for his conduct? How could he pertinaciously argue in his favour, as often as impotent malice made an attack on him? Knowing him to be innocent, his defence of him did himself honour. But if he was the vilest of men, independent of his having written a bad book, on what principle was he his voluntary advocate?

The truth is, he himself has been betrayed; he never meant to shew himself in print. He filled up the margin of the author's Essay with his manuscript notes, chiefly to gain the favour of a young man, whom he persuaded to imagine himself injured in the person of a relation, supposed to have been placed there in an unfavourable point of view, and who had the disposal of a profitable employment, that lay convenient for the annotator. He accordingly has broken with the African merchant for having taken this undue advantage of his annotations. Where shall we look for faith, when even the defenders of the injured planters innocence are thus wanting to each other and themselves?

In the mean time, it is necessary to set the publick right in one point. The annotator is supposed to have furnished the author with his anecdotes. Of this he is wholly guiltless. He certainly gained from his conversation much secret history and curious information, which he should blush to put on paper. But the author's general notions of his subject were formed before this man had taken that station in the colony, which

slaves. **W**ould have made his observations useful to him. And in fact, he relates nothing to which a very superficial observer was not equal. Nor is any more of any character admitted than what was necessary to elucidate his subject. When this man shall resolve to favour the publick with his own minute diary, it will be seen which of the two has made the most favourable conclusions respecting men and manners in the colony.

It is hard for a man to be obliged to combat for a victory he has already gained. About fifteen years ago a great part of these falsehoods were charged against the author, and proved to be falsehoods, his enemies themselves being judges. This the annotator, in particular, knows, and must testify, whenever he dares to speak his genuine sentiments. But suppose for a moment every charge true, Who are the persons that stand up his accusers? would their conduct bear the scrutiny of prying malice, introducing itself in the unsuspected garb of friendship? Were it not a meanness unworthy of him? is it not in his power to retaliate in a manner that must make his adversaries blush? He likewise has had his information and reports. But he scorns a contention in baseness. He is as far from that perfection, at which he aims, as the meanest son of Adam is from what he proposes for the object of his imitation. But he dares the most intimate of his friends, and the most malicious of his enemies, alike, to come forward and fix on him a sentiment, or charge him with an action, which, taken with all its circumstances, needs to make an honest man blush among honest men, conscious of the infirmities of human nature.

Respecting the colony of which he is held forth the spiteful enemy, he never encouraged a thought but for its prosperity; he never attempted a thing in which its interest was concerned, that had not its advantage in view. He learned not his patriotism among the modern fritterers of freedom, who affect universal benevolence as a pretence for avoiding particular attachments. He believes a community preserves a just

claim to the good will and assistance of every man, who has lived under its laws. He will not yield to his adversaries in his attachment to this common colony; nor in a regard for every virtuous individual in it. He is even of opinion with the good old philosopher, that no injury a man can receive from his country can, in any case, vindicate him for taking an active part against it.

If he had thought or acted differently, in common account, he has often had ample provocation. As a clergyman, he faithfully discharged his duty: and though now reproached for neglecting it for other pursuits, the greatest prejudices entertained against him were for pressing the exercise of his office too earnestly on his people. As a citizen, he was obedient to the laws, and always ranged himself actively on their side. As a neighbour, he was ready, useful, and obliging. No man put the doing of a kindness in his power, and went away with a refusal. Almost every past difficulty in his life, every hardship under which his family now suffers, has arisen from his endeavours to serve and assist others. There are individuals in the colony, to whom the author owes good offices, which he has had an opportunity of acknowledging, only by a grateful resentment of them. But respecting the colony in general, for one favour he has ever received, he has conferred ten. Every little claim, freely allowed to the most profligate of the profession, was refused or disputed with him. What they were obliged to allow was generally done in a grudging manner, that did credit neither to the giver or receiver. He means not this, any more than any former stricture, for a general censure. But that prevailing indolence has he ever found in people, which gives one noisy perverse man more influence against, than six friends could exert in favour of justice or equity. Indeed those of the profession, who have been most generously treated in that colony, have been usually such as the author never had an inclination to imitate.

If it be observed, that such treatment certainly vindicates the author for asserting his innocence and value, yet that it must appear unaccountable, how such a character could meet with so much opposition, and encounter so many prejudices, he answers, he might refer to the treatment that many, he had almost laid all, of the most valuable and amiable characters among men have endured in all ages. He never set up for one of those milk and water characters, of which every body speaks well. He had a profession which he esteemed to support; and a reputation which he regarded to maintain. He endeavoured to form his life by a more consistent rule than common opinion, and therefore never hesitated to sacrifice this last on the altar of duty, whenever duty and publick esteem, as often happens in active life, came in opposition. He never submitted to the drudgery of flattering the vices or folly of a patron, he never attached himself to, or became the tool of any great man or party. Particularly, having an high opinion of the importance of his office, and preaching being the only way in which he was allowed to exercise it, he endeavoured to make it as practically useful as possible. This perhaps gave him more the appearance of a reformer, than men, who considered themselves above him and his exhortations, were willing to allow.

But what chiefly raised a prejudice against him was his keeping himself independent, and being early considered as a thriving man. About the time of his settlement, luxury had laid the ruin of many of the old families, and in their decreasing state to see a new man rising up among them, was what envy could not well digest. Yet heaven knows, the sum that raised up this malevolent spirit, and which is so perpetually carped at in this surprizing book, would have gone a short way in the revels of dissipation, and often it was made serviceable among them in a manner that prudence little approved of, and by which his family has been, and continues to be, essentially injured. Nor could he readily have laid out his time less advantageously

His offensive work forced the subject on him. He did for his slaves what he thought circumstances, and their state would permit. They shared largely in his substance and his care; but he never could entirely satisfy himself. The thought soured a situation otherwise envied and enviable. He was not happy; he did not make them happy. When he forced himself from this unnatural state, he imagined there was yet something he ought to have done. He shall now only be satisfied if his book, either through contention, or through conviction, shall cause their state to be inquired into and improved.

The author has perused his Essay and their answer together, and were every thing, to which they have objected, struck out, his charge against the present treatment of slaves would remain in full strength. They, indeed, acknowledge greater enormities, than he thought it necessary to establish. He is accused for particularizing individuals; and bring against him two instances: but by dragging them into light, they have made the matter ten times worse than the author left it. In observing particular faults, he meant not application, but correction. He introduced no character unnecessarily, he vented no private spleen, nor descended to private failings. He willingly would take on himself a part of that blame, which every possessor of slaves more or less deserves. *Slavery makes a man more accountable for the conduct and happiness of others, than any ordinary degree of virtue enables him to be with safety or self-approbation.* May heaven hasten the time when this unnatural distinction shall have an end.*

They accuse the author of aiming at a general precipitate emancipation of slaves; though he every where particularly guards against it, by insisting on the

* The law passed in St. Christopher, in 1783, to imprison and fine the master who dismembers his slave, or breaks his bones, is a beginning that does credit to the colony; but was it necessary to reproach the author so often for not having remarked it two years before it was enacted?

necessity of slow cautious methods, for which he gives the example of the Jews when brought up out of the house of bondage. He even considers absolute freedom as a thing to be wished for, and a distant, though necessary, consequence of the improvement of the condition of slaves, rather than immediately proper or wanted. And he fears not to give it as his formed opinion, that it will take more than one generation to bring the plan of improvement and liberty to perfection. The advantage of the slave, equally with the interest of the master, will not suffer the measure to be hurried on. By raising the slave gradually, as proposed, in the ranks of society, the change may be brought about to their mutual advantage. When slavery prevailed in Europe, every argument, suggested now in its favour, might then as forcibly have been used. Yet by its gradual abolition, under the influence of Christianity, the condition both of master and slave has been improved, and the command over almost the whole globe has devolved on this small and least fertile quarter. To come to particular charges.

1st. The Author's infamous Character as a Man.

The things of which he is accused are so multifarious, and lie confused amidst such heterogeneous stuff, that he hardly knows how to begin. But a still greater distress arises from the necessity imposed on him of reviving things, which, for the sake of others, he wishes had remained in oblivion. Those concerned must make allowance for the hardship thus imposed on him. He will endeavour to confine himself as much as possible to his own defence. He has first to account for the circumstances of his becoming a clergyman, and his employment while settled in the West Indies.

To the charge of his having changed his religion, and having been a Presbyterian, p. 14. 21, he answers, his whole family, both on father and mother's side, had been Christians of the episcopal church of Scotland

sent at the examination of his hurt, before he is put on the pension list. The surgeon of the ship must also describe the hurt in his list of smart tickets, by which the certificate is checked. All this was done while the author was in England, full five months before his fall on board Capt. Young's ship, which yet in no case could have availed him, without a voyage to England, which it is well known he made not till anno 1777. Hence the publick may judge, how he could impose on the chest a fictitious hurt, or one not received in the service. But his adversaries are armed at all points. A man of his fortune ought not to intercept such a pittance as four pounds pension from the poor sailor. He would rejoice to know one of them, who, on such a pretence, resigned his undoubted right. To tell them a secret, he can dispose of it to as good a purpose as the governors of the chest; and whenever that charity is reduced back to its first purposes, he will gladly forego his claim. But this fall, in one way or other, must be brought to account. The annotator says, "The parson got an ugly fall in kicking one of his slaves." Except falls from a horse, owing to his bad horsemanship (which luckily is not made an article of accusation) the two falls above are the only ugly falls he ever received. How far they should be remembered to his hurt, in his treatment of slaves, is left to be determined by the reader, as well as "the blackness of his heart," (to use his own expression) who gives it such a turn. His acquaintance will indeed conclude, his prudence must have been asleep, when he charged another with accidents accompanying the punishment of slaves, who has daily in his *sight* before him, a deplorable consequence of his own violence.

When settled in St. Christopher, the author readily gave his advice and assistance in physic, to his neighbours, and the poor around him. There was no practitioner within many miles on each side of him. His time was wholly taken up in visits and attendance. He had engaged in a family, and found his salary as
a minister,

minister, ill and grudgingly paid, and at best inadequate to the demands of a barely decent family. His family made no parade; he was not celebrated for riotous living; yet after nineteen years incumbency, his parishes were indebted to his house-keeping full £2000 sterling. These inquisitors are welcome to search into the manner in which it was spent. By the custom of the country, he was precluded from any exercise of his clerical function, except the preaching once on Sunday to a small part of his parishioners, and the performance of surplice duties.

In this situation, those who had a right to concern themselves in the prosperity of his family, his patrons, his friends, his neighbours, pressed him to practise; remarking, that while he did it gratis, those whom he would most wish to oblige, would be least apt to trouble him, and that the neighbourhood really wanted one in that line. It was also suggested, that his predecessor had managed a plantation, which surely was going more out of his profession; yet no man had better supported the dignity of it. With real reluctance he gave way to their reasoning. He had flattered himself, he had shaken off a business he never had relished, and resumed it with regret. But he confined himself to what was freely offered; and except in two instances, where for form's sake he applied, he never solicited employment, and took the earliest opportunity in his power to quit it altogether.

They say, p. 14. "As chaplain of a ship of war, he succeeded to the cure of their souls, and in his double capacity of surgeon and chaplain went to that gentleman's house, to whom his captain gave him letters of recommendation. Hospitably received, at no expence, he administered gratis to the poor. His patron, who procured him the livings, censured his conduct, in superadding his former lucrative profession to his newly acquired parochial employments, and spoke his sentiments so plainly, that there all connection ceased. He brought in bills to the parish for those

About anno 1766, this man's own manager told the author, "that the slaves had no allowance, but such beans as he stole for them from the horses." And their meagre looks, and thievish disposition, under which last the author's property repeatedly suffered, proclaimed the truth of his account. The planter himself told the author, that he continued to make sugar out of season, to help out the maintenance of his slaves. The author never was sick at any man's house, and therefore never could have been attended at his. He never used priestly, or other dictates, for the management of that or any other family; nor was there ever the shadow of a difference between them on such an account. There never was such intimacy between them, as could give probability to this accusation. The man was not forced from church by personal invectives, he continued to attend constantly while in the island, till within two or three months of the time of his last leaving it. At this time, in consequence of his being informed that an old black horse of the parson's had broken in among his canes, and half ruined his plantation, he wrote the author a long complaining, unneighbourly epistle, on the subject of his horse. This was at a time, (as we shall shortly remark) when it was reckoned a mark of prowess to have a stroke at the parson. His own consciousness of the silly figure he had made in the dispute, and no other reason, caused him to attend other churches, till he left the island.

What the author had observed of him, only noted a want of good sense, then not uncommon in the colony; it was not therefore ill natured or uncharitable; it was true, it therefore could not be unjust. It was not ungrateful; for notwithstanding their near neighbourhood, and frequent intercourse, the author, so far from ever having been attended at his house in sickness, never had him to thank for one good office in return for an hundred. Indeed he could neither fiddle nor flatter, and he never knew any but such men obliged by him.

The next charge is expressed, p. 17. in the following words, "At Nicholatown," (one of his parish churches) "he was once so inhumanely severe, at the burial of a worthy, but unfortunate man, that many of the congregation, in disgust, quitted the church during the time of service."—In this there is not one word of truth. He never in that church, at the burial of any person, uttered a single word, except the burial service prescribed by the rubrick. If any body had quitted the church, it must have been at some part of this service. But the fact never happened in that, or any other instance; nor did any person ever leave the church, on account, or during the time of his preaching, while he continued in the colony.

If in this case he had not been compassionate and tender, he would have been ill natured, uncharitable, ungrateful, and unjust. For an honest worthy man, and the author's best and most obliging neighbour had been lost. His family was sensible, that the author had tried, by every pious argument, and friendly attention in his power, to relieve that distress of mind, which brought on the catastrophe; and that when it happened, he hastened, at the hazard of his health, to comfort and assist them. Farther; having been put on the inquest, had he behaved as these shameless "gentlemen" insinuate, he must thereby, unnecessarily, have declared himself a perjured villain. It was at the time well known, that his friendly concern to establish the character of the deceased, made the intriguing sycophant, whose infamous devices had occasioned the despair, his open enemy. With respect to the notice, which the author took afterwards of the event, he is happy in the recollection, that the person, most intimately concerned, had the sober perusal of it, and both before and after this time, continued to treat him with distinguishing kindness, which he acknowledges with pleasure, and shall ever remember with gratitude. That this is a new forgery, is also evident from its having happened before anno 1770, and not having been brought forward then, when every lying charge

charge that could be imagined, was heaped on the unlucky author. To begin.

In the year 1769, certain desperate people proposed to retrieve their affairs by an arbitrary reduction of interest. This, by degrees, involved in the dispute almost every inhabitant, and allowing for a few fugitives from each to the opposite side, it was credit and property against debt and poverty. As usual, the worst cause had the most management, and all the weight and tricks of office were thrown into the scale. The supremacy of the mother country stood in the way, and was levelled at a blow. The colony then exhibited an unusual spectacle, the governor, and almost every man in office, opposed to the authority, which appointed them, and a few private citizens, among whom the author was distinguished, contending against them for the laws and rights of the mother country, and the interest of the widow and orphan. That intrigue, which had produced the most baneful effects in the colony, was too impotent to prevail in the privy council, and after a long and hard struggle, law and Britain conquered, and the rights of the widow and orphan were preserved to them. By the author's perseverance, in particular, a decision was procured in the colonial courts, which must effectually deter every meddling innovator from any such violent proceedings for the future. Hence were derived to the author, all the odious appellations of politician, incendiary, &c. with which he has been complimented.

To dub a clergyman, a politician is, without inquiry, to hold him up to censure. But a discreet man may ask what is particularly reproachful, and observe how the man bears himself in this new character. It is also worthy of discussion, whether, in a distant colony, where the energy of government is small, it be not particularly necessary for clergymen to act more decisively on the side of law, than near the seat of power. The American clergy had no small share in lighting up the flame of rebellion. Had they been
attached

attached to government, and as active on its side, might they not have checked its fury. If the author deserved the appellation, it was in the service of his country, and in vindication of its laws, infringed by the servants of government, for the most oppressive purposes. As such, he has constantly acted in a voluntary contradiction to his own interest, and never opposed himself to men, but measures. Though often himself suffering from the malice of others, he never allowed difference in opinion to mix with the rights of neighbourhood, or to preclude him, who held it from any good office, he could otherwise claim.

Before he took a part in this business, he deliberated on the measure, and had experience enough in mankind, and sufficient knowledge of the colony, to see, that he hazarded much, and could gain nothing. But he was so sure of his principles; saw with such indignation the oppressive tendency of the measure, and was so deeply impressed with a persuasion, that the welfare of the colony depended on the superintending power of the mother country, that he overlooked every selfish consideration, and tried by reasoning and writing, to open the eyes of a deluded people. His Essay on interest was esteemed conclusive on the subject, and since its publication, the arbitrary attempt to reduce it has not been revived. This struggle cost him in expences, and receipt of bad sugars, upwards of £300 sterling; in return he has been told, he had saved the colony.

The immediate consequence to himself, was an attack on him in news papers, from every sycophant who could hold a pen. Those who could not write, picked quarrels with him to recommend themselves to his enemies. If they could not frame one for themselves, they listed as volunteers in the quarrels of others. His great neighbour, as has been observed, rather than be thrown out, came in on the tail of an old horse. In short, a few excepted, who were embarked with him in the same cause, he was in a man-

ner cut off from every social right; to do him injustice or injury, was an act of valour.

To the charges in news papers he replied, vindicating himself, without inquiring out, or recriminating on his particular adversaries, however fair the mark. On those who withdrew common civilities, he never, except by good offices, retaliated, suffering time and circumstances to bring things about. Conscious of his innocence and merit respecting the true interest of the colony, he persuaded himself, when the madness had spent itself, justice would be done his character. In this he was not then deceived; the prejudice ceased with its cause, and suffered him to take his proper place in the publick esteem, at least respecting all such as a good man will rejoice to be well with. He now trusts the like justice will, in time, be done, not to his intentions only, but his exertions also. He is so firmly persuaded of his books having the master's profit, equally with the slaves improvement in view, as to think it possible, he may live long enough to be considered as the master's friend, and have his book quoted as authority on their side.

A part of this attack was the letter from the vestry of St. John's. From it a stranger is left to conclude, that a most pious people had been cursed with a most impious minister. But in the island, when published, it imposed on nobody. The promoter of it continued to be known for an ignorant debauched profligate, even among his own friends, the minister for one, whose only fault as a clergyman, was the being too much in earnest in the execution of his duty. But the author's respect for his present reverend successor in that parish, is not sufficient to cover the indignation he feels, for his baseness in this impotent attempt, to take the side of profligacy against his own profession. When he published this most impudent letter, he should have given from the same record, the author's answer to it, and left the reader to judge between them. If he remains long among them, and executes his duty with the same *sober* sincerity as the author, he

he may find he has prepared only a rod for his own back. To his reflections on the subject the author leaves him.

But he, or some body for him, has been guilty of an arrant forgery, in the copy presented to the publick. Mr. Osborne, though at that time too far engaged in party to favour the author, had yet too much good sense to countenance such an insult on religion, as he knew, and acknowledged to the author, that letter to be. His name was not put to the original of either the first or second letter of these pious vestrymen. It is pity he had not added also the name of the other church-warden, or assigned the reason why he could not, in decency, appear among the conspirators, against a man who had engaged all he was worth, to serve him and his family.

It is to be remembered, that in their letter, they complain of no neglect of duty, only require that prescribed by the rubrick. Except in the principal town, the custom, where one minister supplies two churches, is to give service at each church every second Sunday. The author, on his settlement, proposed to give service at each church every Sunday; but he was assured it would not answer. On receiving this application, to avoid scandal, he tried the custom for twelve months, and finding nobody attend the evening service, he then gave it up.

They say, p. 17. "In the pulpit he dealt out his personal invectives, till his congregation dwindled away by degrees." In p. 85. "His churches were decently attended, till personal invectives drove them from their duty."—The mere fiction of malice. His churches were as decently attended the last, as the first year, making allowance for the decrease of population, by the wearing out of the old families, and the employing, instead of married men on the plantations, batchelors, whose ordinary day of visiting abroad was Sunday. Had such a cause lessened his congregations, they would have increased under his successors. Dare they say this is the case? The proportion

tion that attended was indeed always small; but considerably greater than in the other country parishes. They censure the author for introducing into his Essay a certain minister. That man, in a parish containing twice the number of inhabitants in one of his, on a festival, thought himself obliged to refuse the communion to a pious good woman (from whom the author had the account) because no other communicant offered. The author always had a decent number. The annotator left off coming to church; let him say was it the minister, or his own becoming a great man, and allotting that day for settling accounts, that kept him back.

The author soon saw, that the instant a man broke with his minister, all regard for religion, and even decency, was generally thrown off. This made him in private life avoid giving or taking offence; and he has the happiness to reflect, that when he has been the unlucky object of offence, it never was on any account that respected himself or his private interest; nor did he ever actually begin a quarrel with any man. His feelings for his country and the oppressed have been the source of his troubles. This desire made him, in composing his discourses, reject every expression that he thought could be applied to individuals. Still, in practical discourses, conscience will be alarmed, and ill nature will suppose; and how is a minister to prevent this, while he wishes to do his duty? He has heard of one or two instances, where officious people have told others, or the absent, that the sermon respected them; but he knows not a single instance, where a person present himself took offence. It was once attempted with the author's great neighbour. The author was at pains to convince him of the injury that had been done them both, and the man was satisfied; nor knew he of any man, who gave such a reason for neglecting publick worship.

Connected with this is the following charge, p. 17.
 “ Private complaints of partiality and injustice; of
 “ punishing slaves for obeying their master's orders;
 “ and

“ and many letters in the publick papers, in the true
 “ *style* of an incendiary, ever restless and disturbing the
 “ peace, caused him to be struck off the list of jus-
 “ tices, and fully disappointed his aims of getting in-
 “ to the council, as his friend’s death prevented his
 “ being a manager.” It is hard that there is not de-
 cent language to give the whole of this the answer it
 deserves. There were never complaints against his
 partiality and injustice, or for punishing slaves for
 obeying their masters orders; though he acknow-
 ledges there was room for complaints for defending
 slaves against the oppression of free men. There were
 no letters in the true *style* of an incendiary; nor did
 his enemies dare to bring such accusations against him
 at the time. It is not true that he ever was consulted,
 or his approbation asked, about his being in the coun-
 cil. It is not true that he ever desired, or solicited
 any one for a management; if he had, there had been
 numbers in the gift of several people, who could not
 decently have refused him such a request. His name
 was struck out of the commission of the peace, be-
 cause he was supposed to have prevented the clergy
 from addressing a second time a man, who had refu-
 sed them an answer, which he had graciously pro-
 mised to a former address. This is all he hopes he
 shall be obliged to say on this subject; though if that
 governor wishes to have his conduct again publicly
 discussed, he has plenty of materials for a very cir-
 cumstantial defence. That the affront thus aimed at
 him, p. 92. was only an act of party violence, is clear
 from his having been solicited in vain, in several fu-
 ture administrations, to act as a magistrate.

In p. 21. They say, “ We allow he has many good
 “ qualities, his sobriety, his ostensible decency, (that
 “ lower sort of prudence, which often carries off the
 “ reward of real merit, when accompanied with un-
 “ guarded openness)” (*e. g.* the African merchant) “ and
 “ which he will not allow our poor unfortunate
 “ brother planters, (who through distress have become
 “ his brethren also) his attention to the duties as
 “ well

“ well as interests of his family should have shielded
 “ him even from just censure, had he not, &c. Yet
 “ even in our resentment he must be conscious of our
 “ lenity, and how many circumstances we have had
 “ the humanity to suppress, which, as well as those
 “ related, could be supported by legal proof.”——

Here is confusion of meaning, and effrontery of expression with a vengeance. Suppose the author in a low degree to be what is here allowed; how many of their accusations fall to the ground? Would such a man, at every turn, irritate friend and foe? Would he by harshness deprive himself of the means of that wealth, after which he so eagerly pursues, and which is generally aimed at by servility, and affected softness of manners? Would he, by going out of his way to insult over the remains of a man, to whose memory he owes every grateful sentiment, declare himself a perjured villain; and in the same breath contrive to break with his declared enemy? One charge overthrows the other, and blasts their testimony. The heterogeneous monster which they describe never existed, but in their book, as the impotent effort of malice to support the cause of griping oppression; where their business was not to speak the truth, but to lessen a character, by supposing every base thing of the author as a man, a minister, and a citizen. They boast of suppressing charges, for which there is legal proof. He dares them to produce them, and set their names to them. He despises such proof as can connect itself with such unblushing infamy;—unblushing indeed he recalls, for conscious guilt forces them to shun the light. Had they been engaged in the cause of truth, and could their characters have added weight to the charge, they would not have contented themselves with thus skirmishing in the dark?

They censure the author for remarking the introduction of improper persons into the church; and say, “ There is not a minister in St. Christopher who is a West Indian, or even was a planter,” p. 12. This is to say, John is not Peter; therefore Peter exists not.

not. But there is no occasion to name these improper persons in any of the colonies, or bring them into notice. What business the now reverend defender of Brimstone-Hill has in their book does not necessarily appear; yet a wish may be expressed, that a method of rewarding him had been found out better adapted to his talents. Were Dr. Hutchinson alive he would not thank them for ranking him with intruders; he was an ornament to his profession. But he looked towards something better adapted to his circumstances than one parish. The publick will judge, who shew his memory the truest respect; they who have sharpened and wrested a general observation to slander him, or he who was his friend, and has proved the useful friend of his widow and fatherless children.

In p. 18. they give a most lamentable account of his exchanging one living for another, and leaving what was of least value, and most inconvenient for cultivating great men, to his successor. "He neglected them by absenting himself in the fleet, and he offered them to sale to every sea and land chaplain," p. 59. A charge is laid in few words; an explanation requires many. His churches had always regular curates in his absence; and except when he made a voyage to England, the whole of his absence in the fleet did not exceed five months. He exchanged a parish not for gain, but conveniency; and in doing this only reunited two that had been united fifty years before.

In his first settlement he was so badly situated for the carriage of his provisions; that, but for the kindness of that honest man, whose story they have cruelly revived, and another worthy man, his successor, he must have quitted his house, and lived in some town, or in his other parsonage, at the extremity of the parish, where, though inconvenient for his duty, he was deliberating to have gone, when the hurricane of anno 1772 threw it down. The best answer to their lamentation, of the place being out of the circle of patronage, is, that the author's immediate successor, with-

in the space of two years, was advanced to one of the most comfortable settlements in the government. The author trusts, that any difficulty which situation may throw in the way of the African merchants advancement in the church, will be compensated by his owning this strenuous defence of slavish oppression.

Fain would the author say only what is necessary for his own defence, without bearing hard on the character of another; but his quondam intimate, annotator, with all his grimace and affected friendship, was so near and disagreeable a neighbour, that he would cheerfully have sacrificed an advantage to have got away from him. The author's slaves were constantly in his way; he was daily threatening them, or demanding punishment for them. Every little intercourse of neighbourhood was such a perpetual fund of cavilling, that he was forced to have neither eyes or ears to keep in terms of civility with him. In short, though the man wished to be obliging, and often was so, yet the author owes more to that man for forming him to patience and forbearance than to every person and circumstance in life.*

Is

* This man has the effrontery to affirm, that a certain manager lost his employment by the author's influence. Language wants words to express here the proper answer. He has procured employments for managers; he was consulted in what laid the foundation of this man's own greatness. But no manager ever lost his place by any attempt of his. In this case, where he applies a general observation to an individual, for which he deserves a severe rebuke, the author had neither intercourse or acquaintance to have used influence, had he been so minded. The event may be traced to the time when he was left superintendant of that manager's business in his absence. Had half the discourses, which he whispered around, been true, he deserved to lose his place. And was it not possible that these whispers of a man, laying himself out for gainful attorneyships, might be contrived to reach his employer's ear? Does not his late extraordinary attempt, to gain this very employer's favour, point this way?

In a manuscript copy of his marginal notes, he says, this man had not above two or three mistresses at most. For a batchelor this is moderate. Knows he not a Mr. Soberfides, a married man, whom, according to a certain modern doctrine, five or six negroes and mulattoes

Is it necessary to apologize for quitting such an inconvenient place, and such a tormenting neighbour, for a spot, the Eden of the island, in a neighbourhood where individuals did every thing to make his situation easy, and where his endeavours to acknowledge the obligation appeared to give satisfaction. If the change was for gain, the author was sadly out in his calculation. For his immediate successor made the first year about £60 sterling more from the one he had resigned, than he from what he had in exchange. The author's covetousness, with which he is taxed, may be judged from a circumstance respecting the resigned parish, which he had from this incumbent. Except for a marriage or two, and one or perhaps two other surplice fees, he had not for many years received a fee in it. Some were his friends, and the majority were needy. This his successor, in about a year from his appointment, had collected in fees about £50 sterling, yet the parish was then gradually dwindling in population and opulence.

The charge of offering his parishes to sale, particularly coming from the African merchant and annotator, is a truly unblushing act of effrontery. It was early known, the author meant to embrace the first opportunity of retiring. His livings were a desirable settlement; and many a longing eye was cast on them, which caused no small envy to the possessor.* About fifteen

toe women might claim for their husband. His base insinuation of the author's extorting from his friend's heirs, merits the most direct contradiction. He knows it to be false. Had the demand been double, his first patron, who was a judge, and well acquainted with the circumstances, could have told him, and, as far as can be recollected, did tell him, it had been dearly earned. He himself was sufficiently acquainted with the business, to know that a great part of it had arisen after that worthy man's death, when things were very differently managed.

* They observe, p. 6, "he was as happily situated as imagination could well paint." The expression is, "a settlement otherwise as agreeable," meaning slavery was such a drawback as made him eager to embrace an opportunity of leaving it. They

fifteen years ago, a distant proposal being made for his resignation, in favour of a worthy man, then unprovided for, in which no steps were ever taken, this charge was urged against him, with others, at the time, and immediately drops by his enemies as untenable. Within two months of the author's departure from the island, this very reverend African merchant, who brings the accusation against him, voluntarily applied to him for his resignation. Pitying his years and unsettled situation, the author tried to turn the proposal in his mind; but, not being able to satisfy himself, the project was given up, without having come, as this man says, to any agreement. Could the least candour be supposed in a man, who is capable of bringing an accusation against another, in a case, in which he himself was the tempter, the active person, and meant to reap the profit, and the other only, from sympathy to him passive, he should be invited to relate all that passed, that the publick might judge by whose delicacy the affair had such a termination. About the same time the annotator made the like application in favour of him, who now holds them, with the like success. These contain every thing within the author's knowledge, relating to this affair, while he remained in the colony. By this it will appear, that he held a desirable settlement, which these two modest men wanted to get from him; for failing in which they join in abusing him; though they alone be answerable if any wrong was attempted.

The author, p. 7, is accused of being the cause of all the indiscriminate oppression exercised on the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, p. 88. "He, by fair speeches,

say he met with every favour and indulgence, and carried off a genteel fortune. He never received an indulgence from his parishes, nor any thing they could keep from him. Nor has he carried off half what Mr. Annotator boasted, July 1784, to have scraped together from a much inferior income, in a much shorter period, without deeming it sufficient for a man, whose abilities enable him to keep account books in the Italian method.

" makes

“ makes some amends to the Jews for the injuries
 “ they suffered through his means at the capture of
 “ that island;” taking care only of one infamous
 Jew, from a corrupt consideration, which, as they
 word it, is not easily to be distinguished, whether be-
 tween the author and the Jew, or the Jew and the
 general. The falshood of the whole words cannot
 exprefs. If in a life that has ever been open, and
 whose candour ill suited to the tricking cunning of the
 world, has brought more malice and injury on the
 author than all his offences taken together; there
 has been any part more open than another, it was the
 whole of his conduct respecting this business of St.
 Eustatius. Nor till he saw their book did he suspect,
 he had given offence to a single person, but him who
 was the author of the oppression, and the agent to
 carry it into execution.

When the island was taken, the author, luckily for
 the establishment of his innocency, was absent at Mont-
 ferrat. He did not get down to St. Eustatius till near
 a fortnight after the capture, when all the measures
 respecting the capture had been resolved on. He re-
 mained there two days, which these pious men call
 “ leaving his parishes.” He recollects not a circum-
 stance respecting “ a proposal for merchants to pro-
 “ duce their private correspondence,” p. 7. But in the
 place, where the words are said to have passed, con-
 sidering his sympathy with the sufferers, their confi-
 dence in his inclination to serve them, and the amicable
 footing, on which he continued with those supposed
 to be present, whatever ignorance of the nature of
 such correspondence, the observation, if really made,
 might betray, it was impossible to have been meant or
 taken in an unfavourable sense. But that he ever sug-
 gested to either of the commanders in chief, or to any
 person, with a view of influencing them, such a
 measure, or any measure with such a tendency, he in
 the most direct manner contradicts. He felt too much
 for the honour of the service, and the sufferings of
 humanity, to be concerned in such a work. Till now,

he verily believed he had some merit for what he attempted, and did there to succour the distressed. What he did in favour of the Jews, for it was not one infamous Jew, but all of that nation, settled there, whom he rescued, he shall ever consider as a happy incident in his life. He, who afterwards sold the island, unknown to the commanders in chief, had hunted the Jews down, as if they had been wild beasts, tearing off their clothes, and ripping up their seams, to seek for concealed gold; searching the beds of lying-in women for plunder; separating the men from their families and property, and driving them off the island, without warning, without money or friends, to starve where they pleased. On the author's representation, the general, at once, put a stop to these barbarities, and gave those, who had been banished, leave to return. This and some other attempts to serve the sufferers, raised the oppressor's resentment against the author so much, as to induce his friends to warn him against it, and him to confine his representations for favour and discrimination to such of his friends as were about those in power. This he ceased not to do, while there was a chance of his doing service. With the Jew alluded to he had no connection, and only knew he was generally considered as so particularly honest a man, as to be trusted by the inhabitants of St. Christopher with the keeping of their plate during their fears of a French invasion. This trust he faithfully executed, with much trouble and danger to himself, and has this slander for his reward from the gentlemen authors of St. Christopher.

With respect to the corrupt practices insinuated, he disdains the imputation. One advantage he has always reaped from the open avowal of his sentiments, that no man has ever dared to make him privy to a bad design, or attempted to corrupt his integrity. In this particular instance, though connected with the captors, nearly allied to the principal agent, and intimate with others of them, no part of the St. Eustatius plunder, or any thing arising from it, even to the

the value of a pin, ever came into his hands, or the possession of one of his family.

They allow (in their notes) the author to have a good head, to be sober and prudent. It was well known he mortally offended the wretched oppressor of St. Eustatius, by rescuing from his fangs, those he had in imagination devoured. Would it agree with such a character to offend the oppressed also? A bad man may make his fortune by sticking to a party, through right and wrong; but he must be a fool, who opposes himself equally to contrary parties, which is not agreeable to these mens opinion of him. He might rest his vindication from this consistent charge with every person who knows him; but he is not reduced to this necessity. A man, at present in high office in the colony, was sent to England with a commission concerning the capture. He consulted the author on the subject, and had his opinion in writing. Let him say, if that leans to indiscriminate confiscation. When the inhabitants of St. Eustatius were sent up in droves to St. Christopher, stript of their property, the author first suggested the measure of making publick provision for their reception; and they were his particular friends who pushed the matter through the assembly, so much to the credit of the colony.

But not judging that this infamous charge could sufficiently blacken his character, he must also be accused of being an enemy to the colony, and of having prejudiced administration against it, p. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. If the accusation be not true, they dare him to publish his communications respecting it. It might be first asked, Who are these great men in office from whom (according to them) he is to receive favours for traducing a valuable British colony? It must be a poor compliment to a British minister, to say, he would advance a man for being an enemy to the publick interest: the answer, therefore, must be American or French ministers; but the author has never been accused of having a bias to the interests of either of these. The cunning of the trap, here laid, is to

oblige the author to drag in names and characters for his vindication, to whom it must be disagreeable to be brought forward in such a business, at such a bar. If the author has written or done any thing to the prejudice of the colony, it is their business to produce it. In this case, he should add folly to knavery, to furnish them with proofs. The fact is, they give him a consequence to which he has no claim. If administration has either favoured or hurt that colony, he is unacquainted with the circumstance. Yet, if they will appoint a committee of inquiry into his publick conduct, he shall think himself obliged to them. He should be glad to be in circumstances that would force him to lay the whole before the publick.

They say, p. 19, "The calamities that have befallen us, as fire, hurricanes, &c. were pointed out as judgments from heaven, and were to him themes of pleasure and delight." The close of this sentence is horrid enough to mock contradiction. Shall a man consider a punishment as coming from heaven, and express a pleasure in it? Is mockery, in such a case, agreeable to his ordinary deportment? It is in every respect a falshood. When these accidents happened, whose purse, whose stores were soonest open, who most readily lent his good offices to relieve or alleviate distress? They pretend to register his opinions. It would have been doing him justice to have given a place among them to a sentiment, which he took every opportunity of enforcing: "That he would chuse rather to partake in the sufferings of the community, than see every one around him distressed, while he was exempt." This charge is repeated, p. 79. "Charity would not interpret God's dispensations into judgments with unpitying ill nature." This is said in consequence of the author's exhortation concerning the observation of sabbath. Communities flourish in proportion to their virtue. Certain crimes are particularly threatened, such as the profanation of sabbath, oppressing the poor, and suffering murder to go unpunished. In a religious discourse, respecting
such

such practices; in a community suffering under divine chastisement, was it improper to turn the people's attention to such reflections, while the preacher sympathized and shared with the sufferers?

These accusations are indeed too scandalous to influence any man, who has a knowledge of the author. He may entertain particular opinions, respecting the advantage of the island, and he may see its disasters in a religious light; but that he wishes it well, and would exert himself in its cause, none will doubt, who have a right to sit in judgment on his conduct. But to have injured the colony requires his having an interest with persons who have its fate in their hands. These must be sufficiently eminent to be traced out, and the injury of consequence enough to be ascertained. Men, who have a sagacity so strong as to smell out non-entities, cannot be at a loss to discover and fix on the culprit such atrocious deeds. The author dares their malice and ingenuity alike. The whole is a fiction of their own impotent spite. Because they can advance little against the principles of his book, they collect every inconsistent charge against his character, in hopes that something may stick. For one moment suppose him the bad man he is described to be, and that his character should detract from the merit of his book, Why did not the colony reflect, when they hired a man, with Madeira wine, to write against him, and encouraged a false friend to accuse him, that the characters of their advocates would also operate against their wishes, and so leave the obnoxious book at last to stand or fall by its own merits?

The author comes now to particular charges, which could not easily be reduced under the preceding heads. He is censured, p. 23, for his strictures on the ladies of St. Christopher, "than whom there cannot be better women," in saying, it is not an uncommon thing for chaste matrons to hire female mulattoes out to batchelors, and take account of their gains. That island is not mentioned, though the custom be frequent enough to call for censure. The author respects the

the

the Creole female character, and would rejoice to have been able to remove a small speck from it. The truth is, the general licentious intercourse of fathers, husbands, brothers, with female slaves, with its consequences, makes certain things more familiar, and therefore less offensive to them than female delicacy requires. Let them be induced, by this observation, to set their faces against the practice, and the author will submit to this temporary loss of their favour.

P. 63. "Adventurers almost universally consist of Scotchmen, he was therefore cruel to his countrymen in his censure of Europeans being more severe than Creoles." Scotchmen make a very small proportion of the adventurers of St. Christopher; but at p. 62, they acknowledge the justice of the censure, let the European adventurers share it according to their proportions.

P. 23, "We say, he wrote an Essay on the Duty and Qualifications of a Sea Officer, which is universally censured, by the navy, as an unnecessary, arrogant, empty performance." Reformers cannot expect universal approbation. But as he, for whose use it was originally written, received it in good part; as experienced commanders speak warmly in its praise; as admirals of the highest rank recommend, and make presents of it to their young officers; and foreign officers have thought it worthy of translation, the author shall not be induced to think it altogether so despicable, though dragged in by head and shoulders, to make the charge more weighty against him.

P. 19, 20. "He wished no quarters to be given to the Americans, and arraigned government for their pusillanimity in not destroying root and branch. In company of an honourable sea officer, he harangued with such rancour and malice against them, and pointed out such new modes of destruction, as to astonish him, and make him tell him such doctrine was fitter for a disciple of Mahomet, than a Christian minister, and wished him to be more attentive to the duties of his profession, than sanguinary
"politicks.

“ politicks. It was pity, he knew not the sarcasm he
 “ threw out on hearing of the honours paid at the
 “ death of that truly great man, his worthy father.”

Were the whole of this as true as it is false, it would be difficult to find out its connection with a planter's ill treating and starving his slaves. There is a prodigious fellow-feeling between some people and the enemies of their country, which makes them alive to whatever respects them, while they can rejoice over every disaster that affects the honour or interest of their country.—Such is modern patriotism. But it is not true, that the author ever expressed a wish to destroy Americans root and branch. It is not true, that ever he had any conversation with an honourable officer, which could lead him to express himself in such a violent manner. And had he done it, that young man was not capable of using the foul language which they injuriously ascribe to him;—the circumstance never happened. With respect to the sarcasm charged on him, he was in England far from such company, when the event alluded to happened. And had he at any time used it, it would be necessary to know what went before and followed after, to enable them to extract treason out of it. They say, p. 75, “ He asserts
 “ a sponge must be applied to pay the national debt,
 “ and, unfeelingly, adds the sooner the better.” The best answer to this is, the greatest part of his small provision for his family is, and has been, for years, locked up in the publick funds.

P. 43, 44. “ We make no doubt of finding clergy-
 “ men, who would readily co-operate in the instruc-
 “ tion of slaves, who have neither vocation nor avo-
 “ cation to prevent them; who are neither employed
 “ by surgery, nor distracted by politicks.” This cen-
 “ sure applies not to the author. No avocation ever hin-
 “ dered him from doing the duty which was permitted
 “ him. By doing one thing at once, and not hunting
 “ after dinners and Madeira wine, he had always the
 “ command of his time. A man may be as effectually
 “ prevented from applying to the work of instruction,
 “ by

by contriving, and soliciting subscriptions for whirligigs (an invention of the African merchant for grinding canes) one part of the day, and sitting over the bottle the other, as by surgery or politicks. The last employment they assume for him, the other he had laid down, on having an opportunity of resigning it into proper hands, see p. 80. 85. The charge comes with an equal bad grace from the annotator; for were his employments reckoned up, they would exceed in number and variety, the king of Spain's titles.

P. 5. 80. 98. "In the case of a brother clergyman, " he has mentioned parts of his character, that injure " his private fortune; for he has a large family, and " no resources but his livings." There is a wonderful sympathy between these men and this minister. On his own confession, or rather boasting, and the information of the late manager of the plantation, he is mentioned as having imposed on piety, and betrayed the interests of religion. The author, according to them, has written a senseless book, in which planters are censured. The first must be tenderly dealt with; the other must find no quarter; the most laudable parts of his character must be represented as the blackest marks of baseness. Every gibing fellow, who knows his address, must transmit him by the West Indian packet, anonymous expensive letters. Is there reason or common justice in this? Must he, who betrays the cause of religion, have a whole community rise up in his defence? and must he, who is falsely charged with having traduced planters, be hunted down like a wild beast? Sacred is the majesty of plantership; of little account the advancement of religion. That minister had other resources than his livings; and these men had little regard for their friend, or great dependence on the author's moderation, in giving him such repeated provocation to speak out respecting his character. Indeed, he owes these men no thanks, for bringing him unnecessarily forward. He was thrown so much in the shade, and dressed so far in his least blame-worthy habits, as not to be discovered

vered but by those, who knew him by much blacker marks. But similarity of character is an excellent foundation for commiseration.

P A R T II.

The Author's inconclusive Reasoning as a Writer.

In discussing this, his great difficulty will be to lay his finger on their principles; for they deal so much in bold assertion, their manner of treating the subject is so vague, and their notions so uncertain and contradictory, that after taking from them the cement of personal abuse, which binds the whole together, and is trowelled on in every page, to give consistency to their words, heaped up without knowledge, nothing remains that has either form or shape. He therefore is reduced to consider it in that point of order, which it alone possesses, that of the pages in their book. As they deal greatly in repetition, and in every difficulty refer to the law of Moses, he means to discuss that question before he begins with their particular remarks. On every occasion they accuse the author of misrepresentation, and of laying general charges for particular enormities. To shew their consistency in this, he shall premise some of their own concessions, and more will be observed in course. These it is hoped the reader will keep in view, by which to judge of their candour while they abuse the author. A great part of their book consists in a defence of the political conduct of St. Christopher, a transcription of the African merchant's book in favour of the slave trade; a critique on Granville Sharp, Benzet, Boston Saints, Lord Mansfield, the negroe Somerset, &c. with all which the author has no cause to meddle.

CONCESSIONS.

P. 33. " We may see in holy writ, wherein consists
 " our duty to these persons, whom we call unhappy ;
 " and God grant that our laws may assume that as
 " their foundation, and establish a propriety of treat-
 " ment of slaves in every particular, and that our re-
 " ligion may inspire us with that Christian charity,
 " which improves and sublimates the virtues of the
 " moral law. In it their proper treatment only is ex-
 " acted, not their freedom."—Is there not here every
 thing for which the author immediately contends?

" On the sabbath, Jewish slaves were not to work."—
 This must have made a most important difference be-
 tween a Jewish and a West Indian slave. For suppo-
 sing this last not to be forced to work immediately
 for his master, yet the necessity he is under of working
 on sabbath for his own maintenance, is, in fact, to
 work for his master, who thereby saves his own time,
 and reaps the benefit of his labour.

" They were to be free, if a master struck out an
 " eye or a tooth."—This must have obliged the master
 to moderation in punishment.

" They were to be purchased of the neighbouring
 " nations, and of the children of strangers sojourning
 " among them; and were to continue an inheritance
 " for their children after them," Lev. xxv. 39, &c.
 " Yet in the case of Saul it appeared, a king could
 " not injure them with impunity."

Lev. xxv. 46. " Heathen slaves shall be your bond-
 " men for ever; but over your brethren ye shall not
 " rule one over another with rigour."—Here seems
 plainly the same accommodating indulgence that was
 allowed in divorces for the hardness of their hearts;
 but can in no case be used as an argument since the
 destruction of the temple, which has broken down the
 partition wall between Jew and Gentile, and made
 all men brethren, under the redeeming head of the
 creation.

P. 36. "Slaves, though lowest in the civil policy,
 " are equal in all spiritual concerns. They are in-
 " cluded in the prophecies concerning the day of
 " judgment, so that slavery may possibly remain till
 " then."—West Indian slaves, to be equal in spiritual
 concerns, must be considerably raised above their pre-
 sent condition. There cannot, therefore, be a stron-
 ger argument against their present state of ignorance
 and brutality, than this concession of their equality in
 spiritual concerns. Would it not be absurd in a jai-
 ler, to acknowledge a man to have a full free right to
 the possession and enjoyment of an estate, and yet on
 that very account arbitrarily to keep him chained down
 in a dungeon? Whether slavery will continue till the
 day of judgment, is best known to him, to whom alone
 that day is known? But a few centuries ago, it might
 have been equally affirmed of Europe.

P. 38. "The Fuli are a nation on the Gambia, who
 " sell no slaves of their own people, but they sell
 " slaves purchased up the country."—Make the Fuli
 Christians, and teach them that all men are brethren,
 and they will neither buy nor sell slaves.

P. 39. "That in the sale of negroes to our ship-
 " ping, various frauds have been committed by the
 " Africans, and persons improperly and unjustly sold;
 " that ship-masters have been unnecessarily inhuman;
 " that planters have been wantonly cruel without
 " cause, may be supposed from the enormity of crimes
 " among ourselves. To these abuses let efficacious
 " remedies be applied: merchants and planters will
 " own the highest obligations to government, if by
 " salutary laws, it can alleviate the distresses of those,
 " whose labour supports our colonies, and enriches
 " our native country."—Can planters be censured in
 stronger terms, than this concession supposes them to
 deserve; or can stronger reasons be given for trying
 to interest the publick in this the cause of humanity.

P. 40. "The African merchant stipulates for slaves,
 " that they be secure in their lives and limbs; that if
 " any man, through wantonness, or cruelty, maims or
 " disfigures

“ disfigures a negroe, or causes him to be maimed or
 “ disfigured, the negroe shall be free; or if he die,
 “ the culprit shall be accountable to the law, as for
 “ the loss of any other of his majesty’s subjects; that
 “ slaves shall have proper clothing, and sufficient main-
 “ tenance, and never be punished with above forty
 “ stripes, except by the lawful magistrate: none shall
 “ be exported to Europe, nor sold to the French, nor
 “ stolen from the coast under the severest penalties.”—
 The Essay is shamelessly abused for suggesting regula-
 tions in favour of humanity, yet here is a self-erected
 legislature with a witness. The enormities proposed
 here to be corrected suppose every abuse and cruelty,
 for remarking but the possibility of which, the author
 has been treated with such virulence.

P. 41. “ It is clear, that true humanity consists in
 “ securing to slaves good usage and proper treatment,
 “ in that state of life wherein Providence has placed
 “ them.”—Certainly, till they are capable of taking
 an higher station in society.

P. 46. “ Throughout the whole coast of Africa, the
 “ power of the master is equal to the taking away the
 “ lives of their slaves; and though all do not exert
 “ it so inhumanly, all may.”—Will not arbitrary
 power every where be apt to run into the like excess?

P. 55. “ If by just means you acquire your liber-
 “ ty, preserve it, that no master may have power over
 “ you, to cause you to sin,” (Comment on 1 Cor. vii.)—
 These just means were having their freedom purchased
 by their Christian brethren. Doth not this give a pre-
 ference to liberty, which yet these men deny? Can
 there be a stronger reason for desiring freedom, than
 the avoiding of occasions of sinning? Are not slaves,
 in fact, exposed, by their condition, to sin, in being
 obliged, for example, to profane the sabbath, and
 prostitute themselves to the lust of their masters?

P. 59. 79. “ Six negroes do not more work than
 “ one good English harvester. We confess drawling
 “ is a just description of the manner in which slaves’
 “ work.”—What concessions. They say the annual
 expence

expence of a slave; without taking his value into account, is £8 sterling; therefore to get the work of one European they pay £48 annually, and the produce of the value of six negroes, which are worth £300 sterling; the insurance of which alone is worth £30 sterling more. Can any thing shew more the absurd expensiveness of employing slaves, than thus to tell us, that the labour of one peasant, when done by slaves, annually costs £80 sterling?

P. 59. 62. "Many have wished that English slaves were attached to the soil. We could wish our police better, and that the mother country would rectify it, or direct us so to do."—Do they not here acknowledge what the Essay contends for?

P. 62. "Adventurers from Europe at first may be universally more cruel and morose towards slaves than native West Indians; but all things find their level."—Why then has the author been so abused for having made the observation.

P. 79. "The slave has a right to life, to property, to food, to raiment, and protection."—Grant him these, and we have little left to contend for at present.

JEWISH SLAVERY.

We are first to consider slavery as it stood in the law of Moses, the gentlemen of St. Christopher's principal arguments being taken from what they suppose was the practice of the Jews, p. 28, &c. They say, "Canaan and his posterity settled in Africa, and were condemned to be servants to Shem and Japhet. The Jews were commanded," (it should be permitted) "to buy slaves of the Heathens around them, and keep them and their posterity in bondage for ever, while the servitude of their own brethren could not be extended beyond the sixth, or beginning of the sabbatical year. Our Saviour did not repeal the laws respecting slaves."

Now slavery is not commanded or indulged to the Jews, in any other manner than plurality of wives, and arbitrary capricious divorces. Yet our Saviour informs us, that, from the beginning, one man and one woman were intended to be joined indissolubly together. This union was relaxed, and men were suffered to multiply wives, and dismiss them almost at pleasure, on account of the hardness of their hearts. Here is an abuse of power, and no small degree of slavery in the tenderest human relation, and may well suggest how the relation of master and servant came also to be abused, and in consequence, to be, to a certain degree, and for a certain time, for the hardness of mens hearts, permitted. In the first case, who superinduced to man this hardness of heart? they surely will not say, his Creator. May it not, in scripture language be, with the author, ascribed to "the infernal enemy of all goodness?" And who more ready than he to tempt them also, in the case of servants, to abuse the lust for power to the purposes of oppression and tyranny? Certainly the devil has not used more effectual means to keep men in bondage to him, than this domineering propensity, abused and carried to excess in both these relations. Nor will any thing contribute more to vindicate man from his dominion, than a correction of these arbitrary notions, to induce him to be contented with that station in society for which nature intended him, which never was meant to be that of an arbitrary tyrant over the happiness, the lives and feelings of his fellow creatures, whether wives or servants.

To those who look into the history of mankind with a philosophic eye, nothing more clearly appears intended, than the gradual progress of human nature to its proper perfection. At this day a sensible peasant understands better his duty in the several relations in which he is placed, and entertains more clear and correct notions of his Creator, than the most acute among the antient Greek philosophers; a glorious consequence of God's goodness revealed in the gospel
of

of his Son. Christianity, wherever it has been properly established, has reduced the union of the sexes to that simplicity and purpose originally intended by it. In like manner it has abolished in all Christian countries, that other branch of the abuse of power, which is inseparably connected with domestic slavery; the present remains of it in Europe, which consists chiefly in particular servitudes, being exceedingly different from West Indian slavery, and even that gradually wearing out. And it cannot be too often inculcated, that this abolition of domestic slavery, is the chief thing which has raised Europe to its present superiority over the other quarters of the globe.

Slavery takes place among Europeans only in the western world, where their proper religion and laws are not deemed to be in full force; and where individuals too often think themselves loosened from ties, which are deemed binding in the mother country. Yet here, I trust, the time is fast approaching, when the perfect law of liberty shall bring within her pale, every oppressed suffering son of sorrow, and extend to him her protection. The abolition of slavery, equally with that of arbitrary divorces, and plurality of wives, may be concluded to be a necessary step of the improvement of human nature, which enters into the views of Providence respecting man, and will, in God's own good time, be fully accomplished.

But as plurality of wives and arbitrary divorces, (though a sign of the unenlightened state of the world) did not constitute a crime in individuals, before the custom was abolished, so neither is the mere holding of slaves, who are not capable of freedom, a crime in individuals, if they be treated with humanity, and be not made to serve with rigour, till matters shall become ripe for their manumission. The master in this case is only to be blamed, when he bows down the soul of his slave in bondage, and deprives him and his posterity of every opportunity of improving their common nature, and making those gradual advances in the scale of rational being, for which all mankind are adapted,

adapted, which silently, innocently, and even profitably, both to master and slave, would in time reduce all mankind to that reciprocity of claims and privileges, in which the perfection of legal society consists.

This indulgence respecting slavery, is not more necessary for the preservation of the owner's property in slaves, than it is for the well-being and happiness of the slaves themselves. To make a precipitate general manumission of them, would be attended with the most horrid effects. While the master's circumstances were reduced, the slaves themselves would be entirely ruined and lost. They could not enjoy liberty; they would be without employment, without maintenance. The change must be gradual in proportion to the improvement of their moral faculties, and suited to their capacity for becoming objects of law and police. Let the master only begin and do his best, Providence will bring its own plan to perfection.

This may receive some light from a farther consideration of the doctrine of plurality of wives. When our Saviour declared the indissolubility of the marriage contract, or one man made for one woman, suppose a Jew present convinced by his reasoning, or submitting to his authority. Would he have been obliged to have dismissed all but one wife, or to reclaim a wife, he had before divorced, who was become the wife of another man?—Certainly not. It continued to be his duty to cherish, and care for them; and neither abandon them to want, or expose them to prostitution. He was only obliged to contract no new engagement, contrary to this decision. Let the slave-holder act in like manner, and he will not be greatly in fault.

But there is not the shadow of an argument to be offered in favour of those, who continue to fit out ships in Britain, to go to Africa, to tempt, with a price, the natives to rob, murder, and enslave their brethren, for making up their slave cargoes, to be carried to a distant country, there to be sold, and exiled from their country for ever; with the certain loss

by confinement and ill treatment on board, and seasoning in their new country, of far the greater part. Indeed were this vile trade checked, it would operate more than every other circumstance, in favour of slaves. The master would then be obliged to treat those in his possession well; to cherish, encourage, and advance them, to prevent them from decreasing in number.

For West Indian planters to deduce a right to enslave the inhabitants of the African continent, because Canaan was doomed to be "the servant of servants," is such a vague construction as deserves not a serious answer. The only thing we certainly know of his posterity, is its being settled in the country, which was allotted for the inheritance of Jacob, to whom, on account of their idolatry, they were given for servants. The Jews, for the benevolent purposes of Providence, respecting the reformation of mankind, were placed under a particular dispensation, which, without making any violent change in their manners or natural disposition, was constituted their master, to train them up for a more refined law, and more perfect system. By permitting them, in the hardness of their heart, to make and keep aliens and their posterity slaves; their religion was insensibly extended, and the way was prepared for the reception of the gospel among the Gentiles. In the mean time, the humane institutions of their law prevented the enslaved individuals from suffering in their persons, while subjected to this otherwise unnatural state.

It is true our Saviour made no violent change in the conditions of society. Universal liberty, or a subjection to law alone, was a consequence, rather than a part of his doctrine. It must naturally follow, that correction of the heart, and that improvement of the manners in master and slave, which it was the design of his gospel to produce. But though he, and particularly his apostles, were careful to guard their disciples from any precipitate conclusion respecting liberty, still this very caution shews, that liberty is the

natural consequence of Christian perfection; else why guard against an unseasonable seizure of it in Christian converts. Wherever their preaching or conversion led to a comparison between freedom and slavery, they never hesitate in giving the preference to freedom. Our Saviour tells the Jews, "He who committeth sin is the servant of sin." If to be a servant, be not a mark of reproach and inferiority, wherein lies the force of this observation. St. Paul commands slaves to continue peaceably in their station; but if they could be made free, to use it rather.

Now all this is greatly strengthened, and every argument drawn from the practice of the Jews, wholly done away by this consideration, that by the coming of our Saviour, the partition wall has been broken down, and all nations have been placed on a footing of equality. The Jews are no longer God's peculiar people, and no nation has been substituted in their place; nor is any race to be considered as aliens to another, or to be enslaved as such. Therefore, instead of taking advantage of their custom, of making the Heathen around them slaves for ever, we should imitate them, as far as the capacity of slaves will admit of it, in restraining servitude to the term prescribed among them for their brethren; more particularly, considering the Africans as our brethren under the redeeming head of the creation, and striving to advance them to that state of knowledge and improvement, which may gradually fit them for this indulgence. In short, the practice of the Jews under the theocracy can be no argument, under the gospel dispensation, for any nation to enslave another. If it be brought into the question, it is an unanswerable argument against the slavery in the sugar colonies; for we are now obliged to consider every man as our brother; and a Jew was forbidden to hold his brother in bondage.

But we know nothing of the practice of the Jews, which is in the smallest degree analogous to the slavery of the Africans in the West Indies. Among the
Jews.

Jews, their strict observation of sabbath must have been a most important advantage to the slave. It saved them the seventh part of their labour, and obliged their masters to feed them, or allow them time in the ordinary working days to procure it for themselves; while African slaves are obliged to toil on Sunday to support themselves. The Jews were a populous nation, and inhabiting a small territory, and having little intercourse with their neighbours, were obliged to apply themselves to agriculture. Their slaves therefore must have been the smaller number, and employed either in attendance on their families, or in working in the field along with their masters, their children, and relations; circumstances all very different from the situation of the poor Africans. Now, wherever slaves are the inferior number, they differ but in few respects from free or hired servants. In general, they are much less advantageous, and full as expensive. There are few temptations to treat them ill, and little necessity for forcing them to any excessive exertions. They soon acquire the language, and embrace the religion of their masters.

This may be concluded to have been the case of the Jewish slaves, from what might lately have been observed, in the most northern provinces of America. There slaves were the inferior number. They spoke the language, and had submitted to the religion of their masters. They made a part of their families, and were considered as humble useful relations, rather than slaves. The chief disadvantage attending this situation, is the danger of having an arbitrary cruel master, being transferred as any other property, to strangers, and being checked in every exertion that is not agreeable or profitable to the owner; circumstances of much greater injury to the cause of humanity, than can be balanced by every advantage attending even this most favourable state of slavery. We come now to these gentlemen

PARTICULAR OBSERVATIONS.

Page 1. "Why the Almighty should allow of the establishment of slavery, is, perhaps, a question unnecessary, as well as presumptuous?"—Is not a *perhaps* a weak foundation, on which to erect a system of tyranny and oppression? Or how are we to know our duty, if we inquire not into the nature and extent of it? "He might do it for our trial, and if human laws do not concern themselves with any improprieties in our behaviour to slaves, we may suppose he will particularly take the matter into his own hands, as in the vices of the thoughts an hypocrisy."—Here is a fine salvo from (I had almost said a gospel minister) an African merchant, for a community to overlook every enormity; yet the scriptures threaten that nation which suffers murder, sabbath-breaking, and oppression of the poor to pass unpunished.

P. 2. "Moses not only expressly allows slavery, but commands it"—They cannot shew where, or for what purpose; nor indeed is slavery mentioned in any place, in a manner different from divorces, which we yet know were condemned by the high authority of our Saviour.—"The author flies out into empty declamation of universal liberty."—He in every place carefully guards against it.

P. 3. "The property of slaves was always secured by laws in some instances."—If true, why not mention them? If there had been a law, there was no authority to enforce it; but nothing of the sort ever occurred to the author, in his researches or experience. "Author's censures are general," not near so much as their own; for which, see concessions; and more will appear in the course of these remarks. "He produces private anecdotes, not as casual enormities, that spring up in all communities, but as proofs of bad principles peculiar to, and universally prevalent

“ prevalent in the island.”—They are produced as unavoidable consequences of individuals, being left each to his own caprice, in what manner to treat his fellow creatures. “ Such usage might exasperate us, and un-
 “ merited calumny make us careless of deserving
 “ praise.”—That must be a poor principle of action, that yields to a resentment against an insignificant individual. “ Could he have been the cause of making
 “ the lives of negroes more comfortable; of obliging
 “ those masters who are inhuman, to treat them with
 “ more tenderness, we, as men of humanity, would
 “ have applauded him.”—Then there are inhuman masters, and negroes may be made more comfortable; and what more says the author, or wishes at present to be done. “ He proposes a visionary project, an im-
 “ practicable scheme.”—How agrees this with what they say above, or with their very warm recommendation, p. 94, of the author’s scheme for improving the condition of slaves.

P. 11. “ The author’s Essay means to curry favour,
 “ by falling in with the prejudices and errors of the
 “ great, with a view to private advantage.”—With this view, he has shewn himself an egregious fool. When he stood up for the civil rights of the colony, he had a number on his side, yet his whole fruits were abuse and loss of property. What could he expect, when offering himself single to the combat, with men whose lying malice he had formerly experienced. His labours have never been of that sort, which commands patronage, or leads to profit. The mens *conscia recti*, and their and such like abuse, will probably be his only reward.

P. 26. “ They who intruded on the sabbath had
 “ bills of indictment preferred against them; and if
 “ not punished, were prevented from repeating such
 “ offences.”—See answer to Cursory Remarks.

P. 27. “ The author’s plan for the improvement
 “ and conversion of negroes cannot take place, till
 “ they are furnished with such abilities and endow-
 “ ments of the mind, as they have not at present,”
 (when

(when they cannot lay a table or table cloth strait)
 “ and in probability never may, till the day of judg-
 “ ment.”—This may be answered from p. 61, of their
 own book. “ By our mildness, many of the most sen-
 “ sible are led to examine our religion, and embrace
 “ it from conviction.”

P. 29. “ Ina, king of the West Saxons, anno 692,
 “ settled the law of slaves on the foundation of the
 “ holy scriptures.”—Did he not interpret the scrip-
 tures according to the practice of slavery then in use?
 “ Mahomet was the first who enfranchised slaves, and
 “ with them enslaved and destroyed their masters.”—
 An alarming consequence, if the circumstances were
 the same! But his measure was precipitate; ours is
 meant to be slow. “ The Druids had slaves, and sa-
 “ crificed them to Woden. The Romans wore the
 “ Britons out in clearing woods, and embanking
 “ marshes.”—Most inviting features of slavery!

P. 30. “ The law, as it now stands, evidently speaks
 “ for the slave trade, and humanity pleads as strong-
 “ ly in favour of it. For the Africans will cut the
 “ throats of their slaves, if the Europeans come not
 “ up to their price.”—A municipal law, not founded
 on scripture or reason, is a poor plea for a custom.
 Before this cutting of throats can be pleaded for sla-
 very, it should be asked, if the hopes of selling them
 had not first encouraged them to make slaves of them.
 “ Should England drop the African trade, France and
 “ Spain would avail themselves of it, and the poor
 “ Africans remain still in bondage, under much se-
 “ verer task-masters.”—What generous motives for
 persevering in this sad business! Knows not this Af-
 rican merchant, that above two thirds of the slaves,
 bought on the slave coast by English traders, are sold
 by them, or their factors, to the French, and other
 foreigners; and that the English traders, by their en-
 terprising turn, push this commerce much farther than
 all the other European nations; so that if they were
 to give it up, a great part of it would be at an end.
 With respect to treatment or task-masters, I fear, most
 foreigners,

foreigners, except perhaps the unfeeling Dutch and Americans, may boast that they take these wretches out of the hands of severe task-masters.

P. 34. "In Africa those are sold, who are slaves by descent, or have committed theft, or such villainies as their laws condemn them to slavery for, as Joseph claimed Benjamin, on finding his cup in his sack."—Suppose crimes by the original law of Africa punished with slavery, still sending criminals into perpetual *exile*, must be a modern statute, since the discovery of America; how, or when was it enacted? and who were the contracting parties? Crimes, that society punishes, suppose an advanced state of society: Can Africa, in its rude situation, annually supply 100,000 culprits, besides the immense numbers that must fall lame, or sick, and be left to perish in the woods, in marches of one thousand miles before they reach the traders on the coast? "In Africa they have no chance of ever being free; they have no sort of property; their lives are subject to their masters' caprice, without fear of punishment, or of being accountable."—Is not this a just representation of American and West Indian slavery?

P. 35. "Not one individual African, when made free, ever wished to return to his own country; nor would accept of freedom on such terms."—Poor wretch, how is he to search out his native spot, perhaps one thousand miles up the country; to whom is he to attach himself, whose family has been murdered, or scattered among different European nations, never to be reassembled, or made happy in each other. "By stat. 6. Edward, chap. 3. He that takes a servant or beggar idle, three days together, shall have him for his slave; and if he does not work, may treat him with chains, imprisonment, and stripes. This shews there were then slaves, and how they were to be treated."—Suppose this statute unrepealed, we then see what the gradual improvement of a country will in time produce. Place therefore the Africans in the same situation, they will also gradually
advance

advance themselves, and thence acquire freedom; while the colonies will go on increasing in wealth and population.

P. 36. "A West Indian planter," (in an anonymous pamphlet) "affirms it to be impossible to cultivate the soil by any but negroe labourers. Lind says there are services that cannot safely be performed by Europeans, in hot unhealthy climates. "The Palatines died in clearing lands in Jamaica."—The difference between the powers of an African, and an European, has never been fairly ascertained. The author knows a particular instance, where two hundred and forty prime (generally seasoned) slaves, were reduced below one hundred, in less than eight years, on a new plantation. Let the importation of slaves into our new islands be compared with their present numbers, and this probably will be found to be a moderate proportion. There are European blacksmiths in the West Indies, which is surely a more trying employment than the field labour of the slaves. This last is indeed only severe, from the injudicious manner in which slaves are worked, and their being obliged to drawl on their task under the overseer's eye, without rest or relaxation. These men say, p. 59, that "an European labourer will work as much as six negroes."—Would an European wear himself out by putting forth the sixth part of his strength? A man may very well labour five or six hours every day, and avoid the fervours of the sun. Taking into account the ease with which land is usually tilled between the tropics, and that there is no winter cessation of labour there, this rate of labour will equal in the year, the labour of a peasant in a northern country.

P. 36. "Ligon says nothing was done to the profitable settlement of Barbadoes, until the introduction of slaves."—If the author remembers that, or some other original account right, little was done till the Dutch planters came there, on being driven out of Brasil. Negroes, and indented servants, at first worked

worked together, till the gradual introduction of Africans thrust the others out. By parish registers which the author has seen, it plainly appears, that numbers of white men were employed with negroes, after anno 1680. The circumstance of a single plantation furnishing a company of men for the attack on Guadaloupe, under Codrington, about anno 1691, was told to the author by the owner of it. The decrease of the white inhabitants cannot be accounted for by the buying up of the ten acre lots, because there is a law to check the practice; and the whole lands that have ever been so held in that island, would not account for the difference.

P. 37. " We must abandon our settlements, ruin
 " thousands of fellow-sufferers, and resign our fortunes
 " into the hands of foreign powers, or conduct them
 " by the labour of negroes, whose constitutions being
 " by nature, and the divine will, appropriated to these
 " climates, are evidently fittest for such employ-
 " ments."—Suppose Africans be adapted for the cli-
 mate, are they to be ravished from a country, to which
 they are still better adapted? and are more than two-
 thirds to be destroyed in captivating, transporting, and
 new settling them, to answer a less valuable purpose
 than they might accomplish, as freemen in their own
 country? Suppose sugar an article intended by nature
 for European indulgence; it might be got from Afri-
 ca, if its culture by freemen were encouraged there, at
 one fifth of the common West Indian price. But it is
 not meant to take the slaves, now in the colonies, off
 from the manufacture of sugar; only to treat them
 while employed about it, as Christians should rational
 fellow-creatures.

P. 38. " Captain Jobson, anno 1621, refused women
 " slaves in exchange for goods, consequently the trade
 " arose from the Africans themselves."—Would such
 a trade continue, if Europeans did not solicit it, or
 if the African continent were civilized?

P. 39. " May there not be a bishop misinformed,
 " and led away by imaginary accounts of cruelty,
 " which

“ which have no existence but on paper? May not an
 “ ostensible decency be construed into tenderness and
 “ humanity; if so, the Essayist may have some reason
 “ for his publication?”—The bishop must be ill in-
 formed to depend on the report of any one individual.
 Indeed, in the sentence that follows this, they acknow-
 ledge “ Planters to have been wantonly cruel with-
 “ out cause.”—Therefore he has their own good au-
 thority, and has not been misled. How an ostensible
 decency can become humanity, and this be a reason
 for the publication of the Essay, the reverend African
 adventurer may explain in his next edition?

P. 42. “ That amusing horror that arises from
 “ overstrained pictures of cruelty seldom practised,
 “ and by few, is a pretty introduction to the enthu-
 “ siastic rank of universal freedom.”—The author, in
 p. 87 of his Essay, says, “ were a bad or a cruel mas-
 “ ter a solitary character, he ought to be an object
 “ of police.” Dare they affirm that such a character
 stands single in their colony? Have not limbs been
 broken, and several ears been cropt arbitrarily, since
 the beginning of anno 1782? * “ A freedom that
 “ would be as injurious to these poor creatures, as de-
 “ trimental to the rights of the owners, and destruc-
 “ tive of the interests of society and religion; for if
 “ ever the Africans are converted, it must be in their
 “ present state.”—Here is bare assertion and conces-
 sion with a witness!—then brutality and religion are of
 necessity coupled together. “ What a miserable, worse
 “ than savage life, do the free Charibs of St. Vincent’s
 “ lead?”—Is it necessary for free men to be savages?
 “ Yet the French laboured to introduce religion a-
 “ mong them.”—Did they begin at the right end;
 attempt first to humanize, to make them worthy of
 religion? See also p. 72.

* Not fewer than four instances in this period have come to the
 author’s knowledge; one of which occasioned the law against main-
 ing to be passed, anno 1783.

P. 43. "The third Christmas holiday is a scene of fighting among themselves, or pilfering in the grounds around them."—May not their pilfering be ascribed to their want of food, and their riots to their ignorance? It is not proposed to free them, but in proportion as they shall be civilized.

P. 44. "Shall the bonds of society, that exist between master and slave, in which the one is considered as the common parent, feeder and protector; the other a child, labouring for the advantage of the head of the family, be broken by false pretences of humanity, and unmeaning rant, that has neither reason nor religion to support it?"—All this is combating a chimera. The author desires no bonds to be broken (though he imagines these gentlemen authors will be puzzled to make out, how the chain of slavery becomes the bond of society) he wishes master and slave made more worthy of each other. It may only be observed, that heads of families usually labour for their children, (see p. 48, 49. 83.) not children for them..

P. 46. "A freeman who indents himself, sells his own services; the services of a slave are his owner's property, by the laws and customs of his own community; but the buyer has an equal right to them both."—When one is indented, the law prescribes the nature of the contract, and gives a remedy against the abuse. But if a master's right becomes absolute by purchase, the slave can have nothing in return; what is received with one hand, is delivered back with the other.

P. 49. "Planters, in holding slaves, act according to the established laws of their country, founded on those of God."—This fallacy has been sufficiently discussed.

P. 50. "Authors, who argue against slavery, would injure society, by striking this necessary link out of the chain."—In Europe it is struck out, and society has gained by it.

P. 52, 53. "The author owns that Moses's law did
 " create perpetual slavery;"—(his words carry no
 such meaning) "and yet he asserts that slavery was
 " unknown, till European infernal love of gold in-
 " troduced and fixed it."—This is truly impudent.
 Speaks not the author here of America, where it does
 not appear Moses ever came.

P. 54. "The Essayest first falls in with Fletcher's
 " plan; then flies off, and calls it inadmissible."—
 This misrepresentation of his meaning, has no name
 in the language of civility.

P. 58. "That one, who has been twenty years in
 " the West Indies, should propose to punish a run-
 " away slave, by pulling his house down, is a most
 " extraordinary blunder."—The blunder rests with the
 planter. The author speaks not of punishing, but
 reclaiming him. "Slavery to this day subsists in
 " Scotland, in those who work in coals and salt."—
 And by all accounts, little to the master's profit.

P. 59. "Negroes can work without being affected
 " by the heat of the sun."—Only in their own draw-
 ling way. "The pretty picture of a scanty bruised
 " tin or pewter measure, by an unfeeling overseer, is
 " the effusion of mere fancy."—It was a picture of
 which the author often viewed the original. Let these
 champions divide two American barrels of flour (each,
 according to a late report made to the privy council,
 weighing 196 pounds) for a week's allowance among
 one hundred and eighty negroes; yet giving to each
 six nominal pints, and see how it will come out.

P. 60. "We can see no reason why managers
 " should plume themselves on savings in their allow-
 " ance."—Nor can the author imagine a good reason;
 yet has he heard a manager boast of feeding his negroes
 from the pot (with dressed provisions) at the rate of
 three pints of grain per week.

"The field prayers, and superior honesty of the
 " French and Spanish negroes, are to be imputed to
 " their despotic government and priesthood, and ri-
 " gour of their punishments; to their exact police and
 " attentive

" attentive centinels. We wish to lead,
 " not to drive or terrify them into unmanly
 " By this mildness of ours, many of the masters
 " are led to examine our religion, and are
 " from conviction; yet with their assistance
 " not work on their ignorant brethren."—That
 of this teams with ignorance and misrepresentation
 French slaves love their prayers, and are honest
 good treatment. Nothing has been attempted
 slaves, in these gentlemen's colony, to give the
 its name, a title to talk of mildness, or lament their
 not being able to work on the rest. " The author,
 " in many places, represents the planter acting from
 " such motives, as must prove him rather out of his
 " senses, than void of humanity."—Indiscretion and
 inhumanity are generally intimate companions.

P. 61. " If any man has boasted of ordering watch-
 " men to kill and bury slaves found breaking of canes,
 " he must have been despised."—The boast has been
 made in the author's hearing; and not one, but several
 instances of negroes found dead in cane pieces, have
 happened in the author's time. Many have been put
 under his care, mangled with wounds, received in
 breaking of canes. If a field of canes be found much
 damaged, the watchman is severely punished; this
 obliges him to shew no mercy.

P. 62. " There are old acts to secure the lives of
 " slaves."—Not one could the author ever find in
 their colonial code. If there had been any such, why
 do they not quote the prosecution of the chief judge,
 mentioned in the Essay, as having murdered his slave
 in these last forty years?

P. 64. " For four," (the hour of bell ringing) " read
 "—That within the author's hearing, was di-
 vided by a clock, and was rung at four.

" In the third part of a day, a negro can
 receive two thirds of his daily wages, by picking and
 raffles."—This can take place only among a
 few negroes, in plantations near the towns, in the
 island. But all the goats, horses and cows in the

are fed with *bought* grass, would not profit per day among one hundred negroes, so be profited by it. It is impossible to palpably show the oppressive manner by which cattle are fed. "We know several negroes under slave-masters, who never had the stroke of a whip."—there are severe masters, and only a few escape living under them.

66. "Six or eight pounds of beef at least, are finished to a scrap."—It was not three pounds, bone included, in the author's time. "The bachelor is accountable in his own person, for what is in his possession; the married man is apt to trust his wife or child."—This reasoning is new. Are not even these as trust-worthy as an overseer, often a vagabond? But who is trusted when the bachelor is absent on business, or pleasure? "His calculation of expences for negroe food and clothing, at 26s. per annum, is far below the most niggardly allowance. Every negroe costs his master from £5. to £6. sterling for these articles; and in island taxes, between two and three more, so that the annual expence is above £8. sterling per annum."—Yet 26s. exceeded the allowance of several plantations within the author's knowledge. Before the late war, the island taxes seldom exceeded 2s. 6d. per head per annum.

P. 67. "The remainder of this section shews him assuming the dictatorial legislatorsip, stiff, haughty, dogmatic."—This dreadful censure is passed, for the crime of proposing a better method of managing nurses and their children. "The usage of pregnant women we have never seen or of."—But the author has often seen it, and demonstrated against it.

P. 70. "The author's florid rant of pleasure for is a flat contradiction of his assertion of a happy state set forth in the last section."—Is it possible that some may be in comparison with others are unhappy?

P. 71. " Their claim to the sabbath never was dis-
 " allowed."—But has been often infringed. Or is it
 of any consequence to a wretch, whether he labours on
 Sunday for a tyrant immediately, or for his own food
 to support him in his master's work throughout the
 week?—" If slaves had no friends here, how came an
 " act to be passed unanimously in their favour, and
 " for the protection of their persons and properties?"—
 What must become of these apologists, but for this
 solitary act of anno 1783? They bring it in every
 second or third page. It is a catholicon for neglect,
 oppression, and cruelty.

P. 72. " The despotic laws of China, that compel
 " children to continue in the trade of their fathers,
 " support their sugar plantations, but prevent their
 " increase."—These men seem unacquainted with China.
 Its sugar comes from Cochin China, is manufactured
 by freemen at less than a fifth of the common price of
 West Indian sugar. One of China's greatest inconve-
 niencies is its excess of population.

P. 73. " If full liberty would not be a blessing,
 " why dwells the Essayist on the subject?"—He dwells
 on it only as it may be made to go hand in hand with
 improvement.—" If his calculation of the value of
 " rented slaves be real, why should a planter prefer
 " employing slaves to freemen?" They themselves,
 p. 59. 79. (see Concessions from p. 59. 79.) have proved
 that his calculation is greatly below the truth. Planters
 want energy to strike out a new plan, and have not
 viewed the thing in a proper light. " The Essayist
 " must know, it is impossible for a free peasantry from
 England to work in these countries, where the native
 whites will sooner starve than attempt it."—The
 or knows no such thing. Some of the best families
 West Indies are derived from people that had
 accustomed to field work. There is, I believe,
 of rank now alive, who is said to have been
 an infant to his mother's back, while she fed
 mill with canes. Almost all the original
 lers, in the late neutral islands, cultivated

their little spots with their own hands, till they had earned as much as would buy a slave, or rather a fellow labourer. They continued to work with slaves, till they acquired such a number, as gave them sufficient employment to oversee and direct their work. About 26 years ago, the author got acquainted with one such, who had in succession cleared and stocked with slaves five coffee plantations for as many children. This man had begun 50 years before with his own bare hands.

P. 74. "General manumission would be total ruin, as the author acknowledges in the beginning of this section."—This bugbear of liberty will not let these poor gentlemen sleep. The manumission suggested requires improvement and time, which would prevent all danger.—"The assertion, that absolute freedom is within the plan of Providence has no grounds for it."—Who told them this? "We have proved, that white men never cultivated the island of Barbadoes." By a quotation from an anonymous pamphlet, see p. 36. But if true, how came the Bell plantation to be able to send a company of white soldiers, anno 1691, to the attack of Guadaloupe?

P. 75. "A shipwright says, the expediency of job work is still a disputed point. Ships so built last not half the time of those built by the day."—The author will engage to get 500 shipwrights to say the same.

P. 76. "Mr. Gibbons persevered in the use of ploughs, till he had nothing left to work upon."—Ploughing is not answerable for the indiscreet use of it. But the author disputes the fact. His ill success may be traced up to other causes. In the author's time his failure was charged on his having cleared his land of stones. Suppose it otherwise, the greatest part of the island is of a soil very different from his plantations.

P. 77. "The trash is loose, and impossible to be ploughed in."—The author has seen very few fields ploughed in this state. But it is not while it may be more usefully expended on other things. Ploughs then have been tried, and found

“tal, or at least useless.”—Not in one well authenticated case. In some instances they have been laid aside through listlessness, in others for want of horses or cattle, which again chiefly arises from depending for their maintenance on hand picked grass, and not allotting a sufficient proportion of ground for pasture, or artificial grass.

P. 79. “If ever they are converted, it can only be in their present condition.”—Why so? Is Liberty and Christianity incompatible, or must men be brutal to become religious?—“The difficulty arises from their own savage obstinacy, invincible ignorance, and unruly passions, if free to follow their dictates.”—Can these men say, that any promising methods have been used to wrest these evil qualities from them?

P. 80. “The Essay before us seems calculated for private interest.”—With such a view the author’s experience would have taught him to take the opposite side; he is not yet paid for his pens and paper.

P. 82. “He proposes an instructor at £400.” The whole of this pretended calculation is equally void of foundation and meaning.

P. 83. “All attempts to introduce religion among free Africans has been in vain.”—Not one have they mentioned in the West Indies. In Africa, particularly in St. Thomas’s, they have succeeded.—“Is not the national character of the Africans obstinacy, low cunning, excessive indolence?”—Not more so than of every other people in the same ignorant state; not so as of the Greenlanders, when the Danish and an missionaries first went among them. “Would work as free, who can hardly be forced to it, they know the severity that must attend disobedience must be very general, and is at its heels. This exceeds all that the advanced concerning their ill treatment, advocate gives up his cause. But this is stated for in the same pages.—“The

“ sensible master looks on a fine slave with more satisfaction, than a fine horse” (the African merchant’s patron is a lover of horses). Good, and considers him as much at his disposal. “ The slave looks on his master as his feeder” (hostler) “ his protector, his father; they have often ventured their lives for each other.” See p. 44. 48, 49. “ But these are new sentences, and it is not worth their while to look back.”

P. 84. “ We know he met with no hinderance from owners or managers in instructing slaves.”—Nor with any assistance, but much abuse. But this refers to a period above 20 years ago; where were these authors then?

P. 85. “ Masters think the most probable means of converting slaves to religion, is to leave them to their own judgments, where they have any.”—An excellent salvo for indifference and neglect. Did not this minister’s conscience check him, when he suggested this excuse to masters for not doing their duty? “ Once call it a duty, they set themselves obstinately against it, and shut their ears to the mildest and soundest instructions.”—Dare they say instruction has ever been tried?—“ Surely parish priests might attend the estates in rotation!”—This is the author’s proposal.—“ It might prevent their interfering in politics, and disturbing the community.”—In such an unanimous society, surely there can be no such character remaining.

P. 86. “ The author proposes that the slaves should cultivate their own grounds under direction of the overseer; and then says, this custom particular plantation wore out the slaves.”—tute, in the first place, *a common day*, in the *day*, and this notable criticism vanishes.—“ forbids the publick meeting of slaves.”—ings are kept up in a manner most injurious of the slaves, are generally attended with times with murder. Would it not be better what cannot be prevented?—“ The in-

P. 12. " Freedoms granted to faithful or favourite slaves are so notoriously common, as to be a growing political evil," p. 116. " I never heard of a free negroe's working for hire in the field of any plantation," see also p. 147. Free negroes will be useless till society fixes their rank, and finds them employment.

P. 13, 14. Contain remarks on the slavery of Europe and America, which only explain what is advanced in the Essay.

P. 15, 16. " The Portuguese and Spaniards, were, it seems, more innocent in stealing slaves than Sir J. Hawkins in purchasing of them."—If the writer will make proper inquiry, he will find Sir John did not, in his first Essay, purchase slaves.

P. 18. " Mr. R. loads his countrymen with the odium of being the first who embarked in this disgraceful commerce."—The author knows, that in ancient times, slaves were drawn from the distant parts of Africa, and all other countries surrounding the Roman empire. What he advances might have been understood to affirm only their being the first to make a traffic in slaves, a fixed branch of trade by sea; and he now adds, they have extended it so far as to have become the honourable slave carriers to the greatest part of the European settlements in America.

P. 18. " Why was the captain who ordered his slaves to be thrown overboard suffered to escape prosecution?—Perhaps, because he was then dead,"

p. 18. " It proves that power intrusted to ignorant and merciless monsters will sometimes be abused."—

Have no such men power over slaves in our colonies? or if they have, should there not be some law to call them to account, when they abuse it? Dare the warmest advocates for slavery say, that slaves are not oppressed? or that the colony laws provide a sufficient security against the cruelty of an ignorant merciless monster? The reader is desired to bear this concession also in mind.

P. 19. " It is not easy to be discovered why Fletcher's plan of slavery for Scotland is introduced

“ into the Essay.”—Yet the Author informs him;
 “ because it suggests things that would be exceeding-
 “ ly proper to be attended to in the first dawnings of
 “ liberty.”

P. 22. “ Is it credible that so wild a project, as
 “ the making of vagabonds useful, could have gravely
 “ dropped from the pen of so zealous and professed
 “ an advocate for universal liberty?”—Yet this
 writer’s coadjutors remark such a law enacted, so late
 as the time of Edward VIth, see Fielding’s Works.
 An instance of a negroe master and white slaves may,
 it seems, be seen any day in that temple of liberty,
 Philadelphia.

P. 23. “ The author seems eagerly to embrace
 “ every opportunity of expressing an unnatural pre-
 “ possession against British planters,” see p. 43. 46. 75.
 138.—All these are barefaced false assertions, for which
 all proof is wanting. In an inquiry into the slave
 trade, printed eight months before these remarks ap-
 peared, though it suited not the writer to take notice
 of it, the author takes occasion of observing, “ Plan-
 “ ters are like, are not worse than the common run
 “ of men; many would not lose by comparison with
 “ the better sort of people in Britain.” Is this pre-
 possession against planters? yet it is saying no more
 than what might have been collected from the Essay
 itself, of the author’s wish to favour the planter. But
 the cause was not deemed made good against him
 without engaging the whole body of planters on their
 side. It gives the nominal writer, in the mean time,
 a claim to solicit their consignments.

P. 24. “ Whoever will compare the code noir
 “ with the different laws (laws made by the masters
 “ themselves, who are bound by them) in force
 “ among the British islands, will find the French slaves
 “ have few or no essential advantages *secured* to them
 “ beyond what are *enjoyed* by those in the English set-
 “ tlements.” This opposition between security and
 enjoyment looks rather suspicious. But to proceed,
 p. 25. “ I can assure my readers, that, *in most of our*
 “ *islands,*

“ *islands*, the following printed laws, among many
 “ others, in favour of negroes, continue in force.”—
 The author has mentioned every thing of the kind he
 could find in print. And except the St. Christopher law
 of 1783, he fears little has been added since. The writer
 restricts his assertion to *most of our islands*; but the cen-
 sure must remain till proper regulations extend to all.
 Here follow the laws, which depend chiefly on this
 writer’s bare assertion.

P. 25. 1. “ A specific allowance of clothing.”—
 Where or when doth this law obtain? It must be
 quite new.

2. “ Provisions to be planted on every estate.”—
 Add, in Grenada and Jamaica.

3. “ Jail-keeper to supply negroe prisoners with
 “ proper food, water, and lodging.”—It is their master’s
 business to see that this be done.

4. “ Female convicts, pregnant, respited until a
 “ proper time after delivery.”—Is not this a part of
 the English criminal law?

5. “ Masters and mistresses, &c. are to endeavour,
 “ as much as possible, at the instruction of their slaves
 “ in the knowledge of the Deity, and the principles of
 “ Christianity, and to promote their conversion and
 “ baptism.”—Pity the when and where of this amiable
 statute had not been ascertained, and the good effects
 produced by it. I fear we must look among other
 nations for it.

6. “ Slaves not to work on Sundays,” (add, ex-
 cept for food to enable them to toil throughout the
 week for their masters) “ Christmas-day, Good-friday,
 “ &c. &c.” see also p. 63.—The author knows that
 those planters, who attended service in his churches on
 Good-friday, kept their sugar mills going as on an
 ordinary day. Nor is there any express colony law on
 the subject; as far as his inquiry goes, custom only
 gives three days at Christmas, and in Jamaica two at
 Whitsuntide. Sunday is left to the operation of English
 law, which is, as above, universally evaded; except,
 F 2 perhaps,

perhaps, in Jamaica, by Saturday afternoon being allowed instead of it.

7. "Liberty for slaves to plant and sell provisions."—Add, to help out their scanty allowance. What a noble privilege! have they not also leave to scratch their own heads?

8. "Slaves not to suffer capitally for thefts under five pounds."—Add in Nevis only.

9. "Slaves not to be maimed under very heavy penalties," see also p. 50.—Passed A. 1783, in St. Christopher.

10. "Persons killing slaves wantonly, guilty of felony with benefit of clergy; but liable to fine and imprisonment for the first offence; for the second to suffer death."—It requires some assurance to introduce this as a favourable law.

P. 28. "The French compel their slaves to make up the time lost by keeping the church festivals, by working after sun set, particularly when the moon favours such extra labour."—Then there is a chance of escaping at least one half of this extra labour.

P. 28. "The French slave's claim to his allowance of food depends on the understanding between his master and the officer appointed to see that law executed."—It is yet to be wished, such an officer existed in the English colonies.

P. 28. "It is enough to make the gravest Cynic smile to hear of respect for marriage among French slaves, while the breach of its most solemn vows is authorized by custom among their masters and mistresses." The marriages of slaves are left to be regulated by the priests and canons of the church, and they have not yet expressly countenanced fashion. The reader, before he gets through the work, will probably be enabled to account for the contempt in which this writer holds marriage.

P. 29. Note. "Slaves of small proprietors residing on their estates, are, from their inability, worst provided for; they personally feeling, and being consequently tempted to avoid the least additional

" tional

“ tional expence.”—If he has ever been in the colony, where he says he has dwelt, he must know that two-thirds of the resident planters answer this description. Nor is the proportion much less in any other colony. And is not such a proportion an object of law? and is not the author vindicated for his endeavours to check such pinching practices, though only among them? “ Managers have no inducement to curtail the slave’s allowance.”—Repeated from *St. Kitt’s Gentlemen*.

P. 31. “ Truth obliges me” (very unwillingly) “ to confess that Mr. R’s. charges against governors, “ &c. heavy as they appear to be, are founded on “ well known facts.”—And is it possible, that he who voluntarily pleads the cause of the planter, and vindicates the colonies claim to the notice of the mother country should be, as they say, looking up to the great men, whom he censures, for a reward, for abusing planters, and injuring the colonies, p. 32 to 36, censures the author for saying that English planters do wrong for living in England so expensively, as obliges their slaves to be over worked and pinched to keep up remittances?—Many useful and laudable purposes may bring a planter and his family to England. He meddles not with them, but with such only as bring ill treatment on the slaves. Respecting these, he will not recall his rebuke, however irksome the persons may feel themselves under it.

P. 36. “ If I mistake not, slaves are attached to “ the soil in the very island, where the author was so “ long resident.”—He is mistaken.—This writer never could have been, though he says so, an inhabitant of the nearest island to it.

P. 37. “ The author is silent concerning the pro- “ miscuous commerce between the French and their “ slaves.”—It came not in his way. “ An English “ mulattoe is seldom or ever found in the field, or “ other common hard labour.”—The females are employed in the house, or kept for other purposes; the men are brought up to trades.

P. 38. "The fault, it seems, is not in the colonial laws, but in the governors, who administer them."—The author speaks of colonial police, which the writer uncandidly extends to the treatment of slaves.

P. 43. "Such is the picture of French humanity, held up by their own writers, which the author sets up as a pattern to English planters."—The author pleads as little for cruelty among French as English planters. To excite emulation, he mentions the treatment, which French slaves can legally claim; and which he believes they in general receive in the Charib islands. This *Cursor's Remark* is, perhaps, the first stranger, who, on going from an English to a French Charib island, if indeed he ever was in either, has not been sensibly struck with the superior advantages of the French slaves, better clothed, better fed, and more civilized. It is a poor cause that cannot be defended, except by detraction.

P. 47. Note. "I have, fortunately, never been witness to any scenes of severity of punishment inflicted by the planters on their delinquent slaves."—Another plain proof that the writer never was in the West Indies.

P. 50. "If I chose to trust to my recollection, I could instance many acts made purposely for protecting the persons of slaves, and securing to them the possession of their little property."—The colony laws are all easy to be come at. Let him produce them properly quoted; he will do more for vindicating planters, than by ringing changes on the virulence and prejudices of the author through 300 pages.

P. 51. "Wanton premeditated murder has seldom been passed over without strict investigation."—Murder of no kind is strictly inquired into.

P. 51. "The cruelties practised by slaves on each other, which the author seems to insinuate, are generally perpetrated under the sanction of their respective owners, are, it is well known, constantly and rigorously punished."—Never when the offender belongs to a man, whose influence or intrigue can de-

feat the attempts of the other's master to bring him to punishment. The author recollects an instance, where the master of a wanton murderer openly exulted on his having sent the culprit off the island.

P. 53. " For what purpose negroes should be collected in the field by four in the morning, the author alone can tell."—He says, the bell rings at that hour to call them up.

P. 54. " The slaves have little more to do in seasonable weather, and when employed in weeding, than to collect the grass into bundles, which they have hoed off the land: in the driest parts of the island, this is the case near half the year; and in the mountainous parts of St. Christopher, the grass which grows among canes is in such plenty as to become a nuisance:"—Another proof of this writer's second hand information. If he be honest, it is impossible to suppose he could ever have been in St. Christopher. It must be an ill cultivated plantation, where all the cane weeds would give a week's grass. Where this picking of grass is most easy, the distance at which it lies, and the time it takes up, makes it a severe hardship; but in St. Christopher, as it was generally managed, A. 1781, it is an intolerable burden.

P. 55. " It is a negroe's own fault, if he gets not more sleep in the year than falls to the share of an officer in garrison, or on board a ship of war." In the last case the author can speak positively. There are few cases, where the officers are not at three or more watches, which gives to each at most only eight hours watching out of the twenty-four hours. Some managing commanders contrive to put their whole ship's companies to three watches. By the writer's own account slaves are about fifteen hours under the lash. And will it not take up some farther time to pick up a few sticks for fuel, to prepare and eat their food, care for their families, and attend their children?—But this also is second hand information. It is well known that the negroe's supper time is from ten to eleven o'clock at night.

P. 56. "Slaves are permitted during rain to retire
 " from the field to the nearest shelter."—How, in a
 sudden West Indian shower, is it possible to reach
 shelter often a mile distant? "Nor is it uncommon
 " for temporary sheds to be erected for that pur-
 " pose."—More second hand information. Such sheds
 are but in very particular circumstances absolutely im-
 practicable. A humane considerate manager in St.
 Christopher got his employer to send out a tent,
 which was pitched occasionally in the field; but ex-
 cept in one instance, it was not imitated in the whole
 island. "It is almost an unvaried custom to supply
 " even whole gangs, when exposed to a wetting, with
 " a dram, or an allowance of warm toddy."—A few
 plantations, in hoeing time, give grog, or sugar and
 water, and a bisket for breakfast; but in no other case
 is it the custom of even a few. Let this also be set
 down to second hand information.

P. 57. 65. "He seems to confess that an English
 " negroe only wants industry to make his life com-
 " fortable."—If any expressions he has used can be
 tortured into this meaning, he recalls them. "They
 " still have a fallow field divided among them, for a
 " crop of yams, &c. in *most* of the estates which have
 " fallen under my observation."—For *most*, read *some*.

P. 58. "The severest thing the author, after all, can
 " say, is, that slaves are in general far from being
 " well, or plentifully fed."—Candour will interpret
 one part by another. But allow its proper meaning
 to the word *far*, and the author is satisfied.

P. 60. "A negroe, for himself, his wife, and four
 " children, receives weekly thirty six pints of flour."—
 This in England is four and a half gallons, or thirty
 one pounds and a half. A barrel of American flour
 weighs one hundred and ninety six pounds. This
 should be a week's allowance for thirty seven negroes,
 Three barrels would serve one hundred and twelve ne-
 groes. Dare this writer, or any advocate for slavery
 say, that one half of this allowance is generally used?
 Set this therefore down to second hand information.

P. 63. "All a negroe seems to want, is a warm covering for the night, with which they are generally well supplied, as well as with other clothing, which, except in point of decency, might be deemed useless."—This, if not utter ignorance, is real effrontery. English slaves, taken generally, are neither sufficiently, nor decently, clothed. It is observed that negroe children, suffered to go naked, are generally checked in their growth.

P. 66. "The master, *in general*, contributes either in money, or materials, *the greatest part* of the expence of building new houses for his slaves."—For *in general*, substitute *sometimes*; for *greatest part*, say *some small part*.

P. 68. "I never knew less than 6*s.* offered, or taken by a surgeon. His annual emoluments, on a gang of one hundred negroes, may be reckoned about £50 or £60."—Here is imposition with a witness. The reader must be informed, that his 6*s.* are currency, worth 3*s.* 4*d.* and that one hundred negroes seldom produce to a surgeon, in St. Christopher, annually, above £15 sterling, frequently not so much. For the sake of the writer's honesty, place this therefore to second hand information. The only profitable estates for surgeons, in St. Christopher, are, where he is employed by the job among slaves, over-worked and ill fed.

P. 69. "On all well regulated plantations, oatmeal, sago, pearl barley, and portable soups, are supplied the sick."—Then were there not two well regulated plantations within the author's knowledge.

P. 71. "As long as women educated in the islands continued to be the wives of managers, no complaint was heard concerning the employing of married men."—The creole women, in general, are frugal, industrious, and sober. But it is to be remarked, that some of the women, most celebrated for management and oeconomy, have been those educated in England. The author pleads not generally for this education, it has often been imprudently bestowed;

but

but it has not had the consequences with which this writer charges it; nor is it the reason of the partiality which the author exclaims against, as it is said, "not very delicately." Yet a censure of indelicacy comes with a peculiar grace from one, who goes out of his way to enlarge on the French planters commerce with his slaves. It will indeed force a smile from all the nominal writer's acquaintances.

Note, p. 72. "The accidental indiscretions of young creoles of either sex, are undoubtedly intitled to a more than common share of indulgence."—No man is better qualified to descant on this subject, than he who has the credit of this work; for perhaps there never was a more melancholy instance of the fatal consequences of educating children far from a parent's anxious care, than one where this man acted the tempter's part; an act accompanied with such peculiar circumstances of wanton baseness and dishonour, as ought, though it might not make him amenable to the law, to have shut him out from every right of neighbourhood, as effectually as was that incestuous murderer, whose crime he touches (p. 109) with so soft a hand. The favour this man met with in his community, after this conduct, and the friends he boasts of, are the strongest proofs how lightly the basest profligacy is there esteemed. It was this, and such circumstances, which forced from the author the observation concerning the prevailing indifference for decency and virtue.

P. 73, 74. 124. "The author says, a labourer at present costs the owner but 26s. annually."—The Essay says, *in too many plantations*; but in others, that his allowance considerably exceeded this. The 26s. takes place among those small proprietors mentioned by the writer, note, p. 29.

P. 78. "I have seldom seen a woman, visibly advanced in her pregnancy, employed in work the least laborious, or even turned out with either of the regular gangs."—The reader will by this time be
be

be prepared to believe him, by concluding, that he never was in the West-Indies to see it.

P. 78. 81. "In most considerable plantations, an apartment of the hospital is allotted for lying-in women, and two suits of baby clothes are provided for each infant."—The author knows no such plantations, nor ever heard of such a regular provision for the infant. It must therefore, as far as it is called a custom, have come to the writer only at second hand.

P. 79. "A lying-in woman is always allowed a month, or more, if necessary."—Not always, anno 1781. "There is always shelter at hand in the field for her child."—Generally such only as the new made furrow can afford.

P. 81. "I have fully refuted this ill-grounded assertion, that there is no law to restrain a master's cruelty."—Only by an *ill-grounded assertion*; for surely, if the law exists, it may be quoted.

P. 82, 83. In quoting the author's acknowledgment of the happy state of particular slaves, his exception of grass-picking should have been admitted, with which no hardship in a free country can be compared. An impartial reader will easily reconcile this acknowledgment with the utmost possible barbarity, by referring them to different objects, and the want of laws to enforce in all proper treatment. See Observation on p. 18.

P. 83. "He exhibits the most odious contemptible portrait of an unfortunate individual, and delights in pictures which excite disgust and horror."—Is not he a tolerably horrid painter, who expresses, by such daubing, the crime of not feeding slaves properly? Can there be great impropriety of expression, where it is found necessary to make so much of such a story?

P. 84. "Many gentlemen are as justly entitled to the author's partiality, as the solitary friend he has selected;"—Many of the author's friends are worthy humane men; but a good man will not always make
a good

a good picture.—The truth is, he had occasion only for one example.

P. 85 to 92. Is taken up with an elaborate description of the worse than wretched situation of English peasants, who wear shoes fortified with iron, and are not suffered to labour on Sundays; and if he describes it fairly, it would be a good Christian act in him to prepare a bill to be pushed through with all the West Indian interest in parliament, to reduce them all to the happy state of West Indian slavery. He says, "Though this disgusting and reproachful truth
 " of their miserable state, under tyrannical overseers,
 " and unfeeling church-wardens, who, like petty
 " monarchs, exercise an unmerciful sway over them,
 " may remain forgotten, or pass unheeded, amidst the
 " career of trifling and expensive pursuits, or licentious gratifications, too generally adopted by the
 " lordly owners of that soil, which is rendered productive, only by the ceaseless drudgery of these
 " devoted sons and daughters of wretchedness, yet it
 " is not to be denied, that these things are so."—The author dares this hireling to shew a warmer passage in the Essay, than the whole of this declamation; and there every possible allowance is made for considerate planters, that the censure may be restricted to those only, who deserve it. But here, English landlords, and parish officers, are indiscriminately condemned in the harshest language, as if there existed not a humane person among them. His chastisement for this unprovoked, undistinguishing virulence, the author leaves to others, and shall only add, that in the neighbourhood where he is happily situated, opulent families seem to contend, who shall contribute most to make the situation of their poor neighbours comfortable. If any casual neglect be discovered, the magistrates always decide in favour of humanity. But who is there in the West Indies to come between a starved oppressed slave, and his master? Has the peasant no superior advantage, in a law that cares equal-
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ly for high and low, defends him from oppression, and provides for his maintenance.

P. 92 to 99, Contains a description of the happy state of negroes, which in many particulars has no original, and in others, on the largest possible scale, agrees not with one among ten slaves in the British colonies. Set it down therefore for second hand information, or rather a scandalous attempt to impose on the publick; but the author is tired in repeating his contradictions to the shameless falsehoods.

P. 101. These attempts to hire small gangs to work on Sundays were no sooner made, than discountenanced both publickly (by presentments of the grand jury) and privately, by interdictions to the slaves so hired. This *grand jury presentment* is also in the St. Christopher libel. Yet if the author, who was the chief mover in the business, can trust his memory, not one step was taken to bring it before the grand jury. Whence then had this writer his information; for in his appendix he says, he saw not that West Indian work, till his own was sent to the press? Did the father of lies supply both works with the forged fact, for the defence of his cause of ignorance and oppression?

P. 109. "Charity obliges me to presume, that he was not acquainted with the issue of the prosecution for incest and murder."—How should he, when it appears that his book was published before it was determined? The author has no desire to bring unnecessarily particular objects into view; yet it were to be wished that scandalous behaviour had some more checks in the colonies, than of late years it has met with. This nominal writer would then not have dared to suffer himself to be exposed in print.

P. 112. "The sugar bakers paying from £24 to £30 per cask, is one of the author's bold assertions."—A cask weighs twelve hundred at the king's beam. The price since the peace has been from 40s. and upwards, to 52s. per hundred. A child may decide. What a planter clears is a different question; and

and varies according to the degree of his credit with his agent. Set this therefore down to second hand information.

P. 122. "The experience of the Jamaica marons, and St. Vincent's free charibs, as far as it goes, completely overthrows all the author's arbitrary inferences, and fine spun arguments, concerning the effects of improving the condition of slaves."—So it would, if it were necessary in freeing them to reduce them back to their savage state, or not to extend liberty in proportion only to their civilization. This is taken from the St. Christopher work.

P. 123. The comparison here between the labour of freemen and slaves, he leaves to be adjusted with the gentlemen authors of St. Christopher. See Observation on p. 59. 79. of their work. See Concessions, p. 59. 79.

P. 124. "St. Christopher, the most flourishing and opulent colony, contains the fewest free inhabitants."—Were he there this present August, 1785, he would find it neither flourishing or opulent. The property of that island is nominally in fewer than one hundred and twenty hands; and according to the ordinary calculation, is equal to four millions sterling. It is hard if such a stock cannot give a semblance of opulence to so small a number.

P. 125. "What would become of planters, if they adopted the author's plan of building chapels, banking houses, paying chaplains, masters of the revels, and hiring free labourers."—See also p. 140. The author might answer, be resident on their property, at least, while they themselves are slaves to their merchant. But his plan of building means little besides island timber and straw; his master of the revels is only a sensible slave; his chaplain might save more than his salary, and his whole proposal had only in view a very capital plantation.

P. 126. "The author knows there is a distinction between Sunday and the other days of the week."—Yes, on Sunday the slave labours for food, that nothing

ing may interrupt his work on the ordinary days for his master.

P. 126. "It borders on presumption to insinuate, that some late awful visitations of Providence have been judgments, for the occasional breach of a particular ordinance, by a few needy individuals."—All the most notorious sabbath-breakers, except two, were some of the highest and most opulent in the community. The writer should give other reasons why a minister may not alarm an offending people. It is already too fashionable to disallow of God's interposition in his own creation; but surely his ministers should not favour the doctrine.

P. 126. "To exult in the cruel suggestion, that he who first began to encroach on the sabbath, durst not shew his head on any other day, is little consistent with the meekness of a Christian divine."—There is a surprising sympathy between this writer, and one of the most worthless profligates, that ever did injury or discredit to a community, who ruined or distressed every man and family that trusted him; who abandoned his wife and children to beggary, and who was so notoriously profane, as to send a written message to the minister of his parish, to pray for rain on his canes *planted on Sunday*. Yet who could be more fit than such an one, to be held up *in terrorem*, to a secure thoughtless people? But this man, being much more detestable than he is represented here, had a numerous band of friends, that made no small stir to set aside the laws of his country to favour him. In such credit was his scandalous behaviour there, where, according to this writer, law and decency are in high repute.

P. 129. "The author attempts not to prove, that French slaves are one jot nearer his proposed advancement than our own."—Surely they have a legal claim to food, raiment, and good usage, for all which, English slaves must depend on the will of their master. They are also all instructed in religion; for which neither law nor custom has made any provision
in

in our colonies. Will he say that these circumstances make no difference?

P. 130. "The author found the negroes ill adapted for instruction."—Nothing shews the rottenness of their cause more, than the care this writer, and the others take, to suppress all notice of the author's conclusion respecting his own slaves.

P. 129. "The author's manner of mentioning Mr. Robertson, a clergyman of most respectable memory, is rather supercilious, not to call it indecent."—How much must these men be at a stand to find charges, when they are at leisure to make such profound observations? This "most respectable memory," like several other characters in both answers, has improved by keeping.

P. 135. "Though he himself scrupled to inflict severe punishment, he left the *unfortunate* victims of his displeasure to be most cruelly treated by other people."—Unfortunate is a soft expression for a set of ungrateful thieves. But when the author sent them away, they could fall into the hands only of some of this writer's amiable friends, and according to him, be still in a happier state than any English peasant.

P. 135. "In having one of his negroes taught a trade, he subjected him to the unmerciful discipline of a negroe or mulattoe task-master, of all tyrants the most unfeeling and despotick."—The author took care that this circumstance should not, and it did not affect him. But what a confession is this in the writer, of the wretched situation of all young slaves that are trained up to the several trades depending on plantations. It is also necessary to inform the English reader, that every plantation slave is subjected to such tyrants, who indeed, in general, use unmercifully their delegated power. Let then much of the boasted happiness of slaves be deducted on this account.

P. 136. "I make no comment on the author's account of his two slaves, who could stand to be cut
" in

“ in pieces.”—They who are *actually* punished in this manner, retain indelible marks of it. The chief of these two is now in England, in the author’s family, and may be viewed. If the author may be allowed to explain himself, he concluded, by their manner of receiving their punishment, their resolution, and disappointed their triumph. But he leaves these three articles to the candour of the reader, to judge what sentiment influenced the strictures.

P. 137. “ The author’s acknowledgment of his “ want of success, arising from his want of strictness, “ is a singular conclusion, after his account of the “ success of the Moravians, who have no authority.” See also p. 139.—This man stops his observations on the author’s success, just where he should have begun. The author’s account should have been taken together. The Moravians have the willing, well-disposed slaves of a whole colony to work upon; and by their fixing themselves in towns, their first disciples are generally either free people, or sensible domesticks. The author’s slaves, two excepted, were Africans, lying under almost insuperable disadvantages, respecting language and instructions; see advertisement to his Inquiry into the African Trade. In St. Christopher, the Moravians as yet have only received such as voluntarily attend their meetings at their own hours; and the little progress they had made four years ago, was confined to the town negroes. Indeed, they have hardly in one instance made any remarkable progress, in such a period of time as the author’s ill success is confined to. How far planters will favour them, is yet to be seen; though it is to be hoped, their opposition to the author’s Essay will have some effect.

P. 145. “ Each country living is worth about £300 “ sterling per annum.”—The author’s salary exceeded considerably that of any other clergyman in the island, owing to a captious vestryman’s refusing to agree to pay him the usual composition price of sugars, and to an enemy’s contrivance to spite him, by obliging him to take sugars instead of money, at a period

when sugars unexpectedly rose in value. Now, including the value of both his parsonages and glebes, his surplice fees and salaries, both his parishes taken together did not produce more, at a medium of nineteen years, than £470 per annum. There was besides these articles, in one of his parishes, an annuity worth about £13 sterling. The Welch curate, for whom the lure is thrown out, may be assured this calculation is founded on fact, and that he must learn arts of oeconomy, which the author never acquired, to be able to live in a family way within it.

P. 146. "There are some hints in the section, concerning privileges granted, and police extended to slaves, highly deserving the serious consideration of the *colonian* legislative bodies, and well intitled to the attention of the individual proprietors of West Indian possessions." See also St. Kitt's libel.—Then the author and this writer at last agreed. Yet how can this part of the Essay be deemed worthy of attention, if all the oppressive pinching treatment of slaves be positively denied; and the softest manner in which the author could express it, branded with every harsh abusive epithet the angry writer could pick up? Indeed, what necessity for any alteration, if they be already more happy than the peasantry in England.

P. 148. "The rancorous acrimony of my author's language, and the opprobrious epithets he so lavishly deals in, would have fully justified me, had I even made use of a much greater asperity of *retort*." Had he done this, he must have applied to Wedgwood for instructions, how to give his *retort* a greater degree of heat. The author's acrimony is to be seen only in his, and his fellow's misrepresentation. It is indeed passing impudent, after exhausting the - - - Dictionary, like Solomon's adulteress, "he wipeth his mouth, and saith, I have done no wickedness."—Has he committed no evil in hardening, by his words without knowledge, inconsiderate masters in their neglect and oppression of their slaves? Do not his remarks
aim

aim at persuading them to sit down contented with their present conduct, though he be forced to confess that more ought to be done?

A P P E N D I X.

P. 167. "I have made free with these extracts, to substantiate a conjecture or two I have taken the liberty to hazard."—The reader by this time is convinced, that the extracts produced the conjectures. But, if they be impudent forgeries, what will become of his sagacity?

P. 167. "The anecdotes carry every internal evidence of being true."—They want one main attribute of truth, that of being consistent and characteristic. Dare they say they are agreeable to the character the author held, before his book appeared? There is indeed no criterion of truth, if the strong assertions of men writing for drink, or to curry favour, are to stand for proofs. In answer to the charge of his practising physic, he may add, that these men of delicacy may find in England a doctor of divinity with considerable church preferment, prescribing for money, in circumstances very different from those of the author.

Mr. Gregory, in his Essays; speaking of this writer, supposes him to take his examples from the humane; and that the author took his from the cruel master. Judging from his own candour, the supposition was natural, but he knows not the licentiousness of anonymous combatants. There is scarcely a single instance wherein the *Cursor* Remarks differ from the author's *Essay*, that a candid observer will find them to be true in fact. Things are represented, not as they are, but as they should be, and as it is wished the people here should believe them to be. The reader may be assured the *Essay* discovers only just as much as may interest the feelings of humanity; the horrors, the miseries endured by the slaves of a thousand unfeeling tyrants, are left undescribed. Indeed, he might appeal to every indifferent stranger who has visited the sugar colonies,

to testify the many indelible marks, which almost every half-naked slave he met with exhibited of West Indian discipline exercised on his back, shoulders, and breast, with here and there an unlucky stroke across the face, and over the eyes.

The author takes this opportunity of calling again on the publick seriously to investigate the present current of the British slave trade into the French colonies; for the purpose of enriching that country, and raising up a rival navy. The numbers sold to them in the island of Dominica alone are incredible.

This answer has been obliged to have respect to so many different objects, that the author, without more waste of time than he could afford, has not been able to arrange it in any tolerable order. The candid reader will make the proper allowance.

The Author having received his Papers from Abroad, is able to lay before the Publick the following Letter to Mr. Popham, Church Warden, in answer to the Vestry Letter to him, with the several Explanations on their first Publication, which was done by Order of Vestry.

Explanation of the Vestry's Letter to Mr. Ramsay.

IT would have been proper in the gentlemen who have favoured the publick with the letter to Mr. R——, to have published the reason for writing it; as they have not, I will.

Mr. Gilliard, for reasons best known to himself, has, for some time past, determined that Mr. R—— has no right or title, not only to civility and good manners, but even to common justice, and that it is a meritorious act to distress and oppress him. In prosecution of so generous a design, he got the raising of his salary deferred, and wanted to prevail on the vestry to reduce it to one-fourth part, when he could keep off the raising of it no longer; judging, I suppose, from his own reluctance to publick worship, he thought it
would

would be an effectual way of distressing Mr. R——, to oblige him to give more frequent service in the church. He therefore told him before all the parishioners, that because he, Mr. R——, was a disagreeable man to him, he would make him do duty every day; but at the same time said publickly, that no gentleman ought to come and hear him; he would send his negroes to hear him, who were the only fit company for him. In consequence of his threats, and of his influence, the letter alluded to was framed and signed by these four pious, devout, exemplary, careful, publick spirited gentlemen, whose names are to it. How great a regard for religion there lies at bottom, I leave to the publick to judge.

J. R.

Reasons for writing the Letter to Mr. Popham.

WHEN Mr. Gilliard was pleased to give the letter addressed to Mr. Popham to the publick, it would have been right in him to have given along with it some such explanation as the following, of the author's reason for writing it:

On Tuesday, April 17th, at a meeting of the parishioners and vestry in St. John's parish, Mr. Gilliard standing at the communion table, within the rails, for the space of an hour and half continued to throw out against the minister the most foul, rude, abusive language that a gentleman of his education* could utter; threatening him that he should have no salary, or, if any, only a fourth part of his legal salary for the past year. And he would not suffer the vestry to come to any resolution about it that day.

On Wednesday, April 25th, at another meeting of the vestry he behaved in the same manner to the minister, and prevailed with the vestry to put off raising his salary till another meeting, to be ordered at some chance future day at Colonel Payne's house.

* This was on board a privateer, as common seaman.

This extraordinary behaviour of Mr. Gilliard, and as extraordinary complaisance in the vestry to him, occasioned the writing of the letter with which Mr. Gilliard has obliged the publick.

J. R.

TO THOMAS POPHAM, Esq;

DEAR SIR,

I Would with pleasure have resolved to attend the vestry at their proposed meeting at Colonel Payne's house,* however irregular and illegal it may be deemed; if, consistently with the duty which I owe myself, I could have resolved to appear in a company, where not only the respect due to their minister is set wholly aside, where his very name is omitted in the list of the vestry though present, but even that regard is wanting to him, which the presence of the meanest man demands from even the greatest. I mean not by this to fix the censure of active ill behaviour on any man in the vestry besides Mr. Gilliard.† Nor, if they should

* Colonel Payne was an invalid, and Mr. Gilliard wished to have his countenance in his plot for distressing the author.

† This man, notorious for being the most illiterate and openly professed profligate in the colony, and infamous for ill treating and abusing his slaves by slitting their ears, keeping them confined in chains and dungeons, pinching them to extremity, and every other excess, by which arbitrary malice could be expressed, was chosen by the assembly chairman of a committee of a religion, the principles of which he was absolutely ignorant of, and the practice of which he profanely mocked at. Luckily it was supposed to interfere with the authority of the governor, and therefore was suppressed. The author had procured free schools to be established in his parishes. They were conducted with considerable success. But this man, by the most diabolical arts, contrived to suppress them both. His chief assistant in the business of the vestry letter, was that notorious sabbath-breaker, who has found such powerful apologists in the author's adversaries. The publick will judge what regard there was for religion in a business, where they were the chief agents. But they are since fallen so low, as to raise in the author no other sentiment than commiseration.

be pleased to judge for themselves, have I any objection to them as vestrymen in any thing that relates to me. But if he be permitted to controul all the proceedings, and in order to satisfy his own virulence of temper and malice, be suffered not only to descend to the most shameful vile abuse, in the most sacred of all places, to a man in, and of a respectable character, connected with the persons present not only by a strong moral but also a religious tie; if in opposition to the opinion of all the rest, he be suffered to over-leap all the bounds of justice and equity, and carries them along with him by the rapidity of his violence, how is the matter altered to me from whom the abuse and injustice may flow?

But the vestry is required to join him in a foolish order contrived by spleen, and brought into execution by malice, for an increase of parish duty; such an increase of duty I have been wishing for these seven years past, but never found it could take effect. If only one-seventh or one-eighth part of the parishioners can be brought to attend once a fortnight, how many may we expect weekly, when the inducement of such an interruption is taken away? I am ready to begin this increase of duty willingly, whenever the parishioners desire it, and will promise to attend. But Mr. _____'s saying, I insist upon it out of ill will or even getting the vestry to say so, can have no influence with any minister, who knows what belongs to his own dignity; the vestry have no power over their minister, unless of complaining on a proper occasion to the ordinary, who may transmit it to the king; for ecclesiastical law has no place in these colonies, and binds neither minister or people as such, nor have we any judge to carry it into execution, even were it otherwise binding. All the concern a vestry, as such, have with their minister, is to assess on the inhabitants their proportion of his legal salary to which the law allows them to add, but forbids to lessen or keep it back; and if the vestry allow themselves to be influenced by that violent man, they will find, after
involving

involving themselves and the parish in confusion and expence, that it would have been much better had they acted according to their own good nature and good sense.

But we will suppose the vestry to have a power, from any motive be it ever so silly, or ever so bad, of insisting upon such and such duty from the minister; the law that prescribes his duty to the minister, prescribes under severe penalties, their reciprocal duty to the people. Will Mr. — come once a week to hear a man, who is company fit only for negroes? Or if he comes not, will he pay willingly a large penalty? Will he partake of the communion at least three times a year? Will he strictly conform himself to the twenty cases in which a bishop or commissary's court may meddle with his conduct, for the reformation of his manners, and good of his soul. Ecclesiastical law has no terrors for me, because I have no inclination to transgress its bounds; I comply with a much stricter law than any human ordinance, the law of my own conscience. But if I know any thing of Mr. —, his malice against me must be exceeding strong, should it make him submit willingly to ecclesiastical law, with a design of distressing me; and he may be assured, that whenever that law takes place in respect of me through pique, it shall take place in respect of him for example. I refuse no increase of duty, that has a prospect of being attended with any good effect; nor is the soul of the most contemptible negroe, to whom I can be of service, an object beneath my notice. But I should give up the independence and importance of my office, if I became the passive tool of pique and malice against myself, without any proper object in view, or shadow of reason or law to oblige me. For the opinion of an English lawyer of more eminence than Holland, can have no weight, when it is founded upon an ignorance of our laws and customs. And as I understand a lawyer is to be feed to put, I will not say the vestry, but Mr. —, on proper methods to distress me

me and my family, I would recommend to the vestry to consider, whether the lawyer, who is most likely to be employed, will have any remorse, in involving the parish in confusion, trouble, and expence, for the bare chance of hurting a man, whom he hath long viewed in the same light which Haman did Mordecai.

In short, I have a legal title to my salary, and the vestry cannot curtail or stop it on any account; much less, because Mr. — is pleased to form to himself a prejudice against a man, who has a right to his respect, esteem, and justice. For this salary I am obliged to do what is directed by the island acts, and what is customary for ministers in my situation to do; and I am ready to do more than I do, and every thing within my power, whenever more than I at present do, will answer a good end. And I conclude, that the vestry have no power to give me any extraordinary orders; and that if they had, Mr. — malice is a bad reason to give for the present exercise of that power; and that in any case there is no occasion to give orders to a man, who has been always ready and willing to do more than has been required of him. I recommend therefore to the vestry, not to make themselves the instruments of Mr. — ill founded malice; but to attend to the conduct which they owe to their own characters as free men, the duty which they owe to their constituents, the justice, and I will add, the love, the respect, and deference which they owe to me. Nor have I any doubt of the justice of their resolutions, if they determine to give way no longer to his violence. Whatever may be resolved upon, I am sure you will act the candid generous part. And with this confidence I subscribe myself, with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate humble servant,

J. R.

April 30, 1770.

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The following Letter is so much to the Purpose, that the Author rejoices in that providential Circumstance, which enables him to give it to Publick.

Extract from a Letter of Mr. P. P. to Mr. F. dated
S. Croix, May the 19th, 1785.

AS religion is wisely, freely tolerated here, the inhabitants are of various persuasions. We have an handsome Danish or established church, a Dutch, English, and Roman Catholick Churches, and a Presbyterian and Moravian meetings: the latter designed for the assemblage of the mulatto and negro free people and slaves, of which they make a number that exceeds 3000. The instruction and conversion of these people has been a most laborious and arduous work on the brethren sent hither, from time to time, as missionaries; and is obviously a most laudable and pious design, worthy the imitation of all other Christian societies. But these people have had the labouring oar, and now stand alone in this god-like undertaking, endeavouring withal, through abundant difficulties, and the loss of many lives, to extend the knowledge of the gospel to all parts of the world. They first came to this island and the neighbouring island of St. Thomas, about the year 1734, and opened their mission; but the colony being, at that time, very unhealthy, they lost many teachers; but replaced them, and persevered: the progress at first was very slow and discouraging, but meeting now and then with some well informed serious characters amongst the planters, they were assisted with pecuniary donations, and with a cordial approbation of their design. A meeting was at last built, and the undertaking prospered to their wish; their meeting near this town (for they have another now in the island) is large enough to contain 1500 persons; it is built on a spot of ground of about four or five acres, and joins to a good dwelling-house, the habitation of two of the
brother-

brotherhood and their wives, who superintend and instruct; and the former are the ministers of this numerous congregation: the men having charge of their male disciples, and the women of the female. They have also great assistance from many of their followers, who have been found tractable and intelligent in the work of religious instruction, of which they have several classes, to inform and discipline the rest, otherwise they could never keep them orderly. My worthy landlady and myself have been to several of their evening meetings, (three times a week) and I assure you, it is truly pleasing to see from 500 to 1000 of these people, men and women, (many of the poor wretches half naked) who have travelled four or five miles, after the labour and toil of the day, come to this religious meeting, with great decorum and order, and with great seeming penitence met together in religious worship, joining in an hymn to the Almighty, that would give an awe and reverence to an hardened infidel. Their service is delivered in a kind of Dutch, much known here among the negroes, so that neither my companion nor self understood their discourse. But in a private conversation with the teachers, I find their instructions to slaves is obedience to their masters and mistresses as part of their duty to God: and it is certain, through the experience of many years, that the slaves under this religious tie, are found to be more obedient, honest, sober, and industrious; and of course, more orderly and better servants than the negroes, who are not allowed to receive religious instructions, which is contrary to the general opinion of the planters in the English islands, whose objection has been, that their slaves attending upon religious meetings, would fill their heads with ideas of liberty, and be apt to draw them from their allegiance and obedience to their masters, as well as divert their minds from their duty and labour. But it is evident from this instance, that nothing is more erroneous—and I wish they would be convinced of their error.

Drawn up by the same Author, & ready for the Press,

A MANUAL for AFRICAN SLAVES:

Containing a Short Catechism, Private Devotions, and Forms for Field and Sundays Prayers for the whole gang, with pious stanzas to be sung at work, or going to, or coming from it, and on Sundays.

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An Inquiry into the African Trade. These two Sold by JAMES PHILLIPS, George-Yard, Lombard-Street,

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A Description of Guinea, its Situation, Produce, and the general Disposition of its Inhabitants; with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, &c. By *Anthony Benezet*, bound 2s. 6d.

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Case of the oppressed Africans, 2d.

N. B. Mr. SCOTT's Sermon referred to, is Sold by G. BURNET, No. 184, Strand.

Since this Answer was printed off, a very extraordinary Criticism on one of the Pamphlets, to which this is a Reply, has appeared in the Monthly Review. This has obliged the Author to send the Gentlemen, who conduct that Publication, the following Letter, which he hopes will finish whatever is necessary on the Subject.

To Messrs. the Authors of the Monthly Review.

GENTLEMEN,

I was in hopes to have had my answer in print, before you would have thought it proper to take notice of the very impudent libels to which it is a reply. I am sorry, because it might have prevented a glaring inconsistency, which appears in your last Review. Is it possible you should, from any seeming affectation of candour it exhibits, see occasion to recommend to the publick attention, a work which dares to trifle with religion, and, by a general apology for West Indian profligacy, to vindicate, in the face of his country, the writer's base conduct, in a case, where every sentiment of honour called on him not to seduce, but to protect inexperienced (I had almost said) infantine innocence, trusted to his care far from a parent's anxious eye? Surely, the marks of this unprincipled profligacy, spread over his work, need not Ithuriel's spear to make the fiend start up in all his proper vileness. You may remember, in your criticism on my Essay, you were pleased to censure its want of warmth: the truth is, the mildest manner in which a man writing from fact could express himself,

self, was sufficient to draw the publick attention to a subject that interested every human feeling. But in the Review now before me, by charging me with gross misrepresentation, virulent invectives, and an illiberal, unchristian-like stile of writing, that criticism is positively contradicted. How far your assumed station in literature intitles you to give the authority of your names to a libellous charge of cruelty brought against a man, (who gives his name to the publick) by an anonymous libeller, quoted from an anonymous libel? or how far you have a right even to transcribe it, when such transcription may produce effects which you can never undo, I shall not trouble myself with discussing? I rest happy in the consciousness, that those West Indians who have known me longest, and know me best, know me for the very opposite quality. But when this charge is very unnecessarily brought by you, to deaden the sympathy of the publick, in a case where every thing valuable in humanity is agitated, I am concerned for your self-reproaching reflections; I feel for my unhappy clients, thus shut out from pity, thus precluded from every claim to commiseration. When I suffered myself to be prevailed on to give my thoughts to the publick, I threw my own reputation into the bargain. I knew my antagonists well enough to expect only the basest, and most unmanly treatment in return. I have not been disappointed, and it seems, by some means or other, they have been able to list you on their side. You say you are induced to believe, that my antagonist's representation of the happy state of slaves, is near the truth. If this be true, then I, and every man of observation and feeling, who has ever seen the West Indies, continue under an invincible illusion. But his state of slavery is no more the state of slaves in the sugar colonies, than it is of the courtiers about St. James's.

You say this libeller is engaged in the cause of truth, which is still greater than that of liberty. Are truth and liberty then at variance? or, in philosophical language,

language, may not the one be considered as a part or branch of the other? And have we not the highest authority for saying, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Does this man, indeed, consider truth but as it affects liberty? The injury you have assisted in fixing on my character, I set wholly aside, satisfied with expressing here my sensibility of the wrong. I have neither on the one side that magnitude of parts that will command, nor on the other, that wriggling sycophancy of manners that will insinuate me into, publick notice. I must be content with the approbation of the sensible worthy few with whom I am connected. While they give their testimony to the fairness of my character, and the integrity of my views, I shall be little moved with what strangers may be made to think of me. But I claim for my clients, the injured African slaves, your best endeavours to restore them to that share of the publick attention and commiseration, of which unwittingly (I hope) you have contributed to deprive them. For this purpose I send you a copy of the original, whence the libel you have already examined, was taken, with my answer, that you may have both before you. I trust you will pay that attention to them, which the importance and present circumstances of the subject claim, rather than what any defect in my manner of treating them deserve.

J. R.

If more proof be necessary with the publick, that matters have not been exaggerated, the following letter just received by the author, from the gentleman whose benevolent plan is given in the beginning of this publication, will have weight. It comes indeed most providentially to enable him to combat as vile a conspiracy as ever was formed against character and truth.

To

September 1785.

To the Reverend J. R.

Dear Sir,

I have received your very pleasing letter of July 30th. You may rest assured that nothing on this side of the grave can give me more satisfaction, than by every means in my power promoting the accomplishment of your humane and benevolent plan, in order to make easier and better the condition, and gradually make free, the poor abused and unfortunate negroes that are in our power.

With us, the almost total neglect of religion, pride, extravagance, luxury, and infidelity, will all combine to oppose and render abortive every plan offered for accomplishing this desirable purpose. From some, or all of these accursed sources, have arisen, and will arise, every opposition you have met with, or may in future experience, in this most noble pursuit.

Your plan is for the good of a large part of mankind, very basely held in chains, contrary to the laws of God and man. You want to restore them to the privileges that are their just right, and this without prejudice to their masters, or loss of property. The champions, that oppose this very reasonable plan, will have reason to lament for such conduct, (men may live fools, but fools they cannot die.)

I hope Providence will support you, and that you will have the pleasure to see your humane designs succeed to your wish, and the reproach, that now lies on Great Britain, removed.

A nation, that so much boasts of liberty and freedom, holds thousands in chains of darkness. We should reflect upon the darkness and ignorance that covered all the European nations before the reformation, most part of Europe being actually then more ignorant than the Africans. We should be thankful
that

that the clouds over us were removed, and our gratitude should be shewn towards our fellow-creatures, who are under the like circumstances.

The people that oppose you, and are so mean as to descend to abuse or vilify your private character, will discover their malice and badness of heart, and thereby convince every reasonable man, that their opposition arises from base principles.

Such men are stigmatized in antient history, sacred and profane. They will condemn themselves, but cannot injure you Sir, in the opinion of any good man.

When our blessed Saviour appointed his disciples to publish the glorious gospel, he ordered them to go to all nations upon the face of the earth. We do not know that Africans were excepted. All are called of every nation and language, without respect of person or colour.

It is highly satisfactory to me, that I have joined in opinion with you upon such an important subject. You have my full consent to use the letters sent you, by making them publick or not, as you think proper.

I fancy bad men have combined to suppress your Essay. Let me request you will send me a copy that is complete; the one I had wanted the 3d. section of chapter 5th. owing to the binder's neglect.