



THE
Negro's & Indians
 A D V O C A T E,
 Suing for their Admission into the
C H U R C H :
 O R

A P E R S U A S I V E to the Instructing
 and Baptizing of the *Negro's* and
Indians in our Plantations.

S H E W I N G,
 That as the Compliance therewith can prejudice
 no Mans just Interest; So the wilful Neglecting
 and Opposing of it, is no less than a manifest
 Apostacy from the Christian Faith.

To which is added, A brief Account of Religion in *Virginia*.

By MORGAN GODWYN,
 Sometime St. of Ch. Ch. Oxon.

Judges 19. 30. *And it was so, that all that saw it said, There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the Children of Israel came up out of the Land of Egypt, unto this Day.*

Acts 4. 20. *We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.*

If we must answer for our idle Words, how much more for our idle silence? Sr. Augustin.

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To the most Reverend Father in God,
WILLIAM by Divine Providence,
Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, his
Grace; Of all *England* Primate and
Metropolitan, and one of his Sacred
Majesties most Honourable Privy
Council.

May it please your Grace,

I*T is at once both the Duty and Interest of these Papers to beseech your Favour and Patronage, and to beg leave to carry in their Front a Name so sacred; as being not only a Sanctuary from danger, and a Preservative against the infection and poyson of Malicious Censures; but also so rich an Ornament, as in it self sufficient to give them that Reputation and Lustre which of themselves they wanted, and to supply all the Defects and Errors of the unskilful Author.*

An Ambition I should confess unpardonable, were the Temptation less, or the Subject meaner; which

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in truth doth so much pertain to your Graces Inspection, that to have addressed themselves to any other, had been an alienation of your Graces Property, and no less than Sacrilege. Which being considered, I trust the apprehended Guilt will vanish; And by that Acceptance, which your Graces wonted Humanity promises, the Crime will borrow another Name, and be transmuted into a Vertue.

I do not crave your Graces acceptance of these Papers upon any score of their Merit, unto which they dare not pretend; But do only beseech that charitable Kindness to be extended to them, which is due to Strangers: Especially coming so far, and upon such an Errand, as to implore Relief for those Myriads of hungry and distressed Souls abroad; most of them within the English Dominion, tho without their Care; and even vast Numbers being no other than our Peoples Slaves and Vassals; but from whom also the Bread of Life is most sacrilegiously detained. And by this your Condescension and Kindness to these stranger-Suppliants, it is not impossible, but that Blessing may be repeated to you, Of entertaining Angels. The dignity of their Message being sufficient to qualifie them for those Titles and Names, which otherwise they durst not assume, and could no way challenge.

It would be but gross Impertinence for me to undertake to acquaint your Grace how zealous our
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Ancestors were in promoting Works of this nature, the advancement of Religion in foreign Regions, even beyond their own Power, and Jurisdiction. Nor need I to mention how some others do make this very thing an Essential Mark of the Catholic Church, and from thence would prove their Religion true, and ours, at the same time, false: And do therefore conclude that they have sufficient grounds to unchurch us, and to determine us no Christian Nation. Nor shall I go about to parallel our Crime with that of the Ancient Britains, it being indeed much blacker; of whom yet Gildas complains (as a most grievous Impiety), that they never took care to preach the Gospel to the English and Saxons, their (not Domestic and Vassals, which these, we speak of, are, but) most cruel Invaders and Oppressors; and even to this he ascribes his Peoples and Countries overthrow. But instead thereof shall offer up my Prayers at the Throne of Mercy, that the like fatal, (but infinitely less excusable,) Neglect of our People abroad, not to say at Home also, may not prove alike Ominous, nor hasten the accomplishment of those Evils, which have so lately threatned, and do still hang over us; and of which, 'tis possible, that very mischievous and scandalous Neglect has been the prime occasion. And at the same time bemoan our hard Lot, to be born and live in an Age so utterly barren of those Rich Fruits, with which the former did so abound: And that when

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the most opposite Parties do compass Sea and Land to make Profelytes, We only are charged with the Neglect, I shall not add the opposing of it; that being the Crime of such degenerated English, who with that air, have imbibed the Barbarity and Heathenism of the Countries they live in: And with whom, through the want of Discipline, Christianity doth seem to be wholly lost, and nothing but Infidelity to have come in its place.

And thus, I have given your Grace the Motives inviting me to this bold attempt, together with those other for this Publication; which assuredly will not prove ineffectual whilst your Grace shall continue what you have always been: It being impossible that that flame of Religious Zeal, which hath hitherto so vigorously acted in your Grace, should be Extinguished whilst you are alive; But must needs excite you to further endeavours for the good of Souls, tho at a remoter distance than both the India's; or that you should suffer a thing of that Consequence for to sleep. Which doubtless will give you a Name in the blessed Records of Eternity, equal to those Primitive Pious Bishops and holy Patriarchs, who have been most Industrious and Vigilant in publishing the Doctrine, and promoting the Service of their Lord and Saviour.

But I begin to be tedious, nor will your Graces occasions of greatest Moment, admit of
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unnecessary Avocations: Wherefore (to avoid being further troublesome) I shall humbly submit this whole Affair to your Graces Wisdom and Conduct, and no less my self to your disposal: As being

My Lord,

Your Graces most Dutiful

and Obedient Servant, and

most Devoted Orator,

M. Godwyn.

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THE P R E F A C E.

THe state of Religion in the Plantations is such, as that to stir up all Mens Zeal and Commiseration, there needs no other Argument than its being rightly understood and known.

This is industriously avoided and prevented by such, who as public Agents for those parts, should in the first place represent the Wants and Grievances thereof; being of greatest consequence both to the Souls of Men, and to the Government under which they live, and by which they are Protected and Employed; and therefore ought in Conscience to preserve it.

But the Gospel being become stale News, and those glad Tidings sounding but as some Anile Fable or Dream, the necessity of this needless and troublesome Charge about Religion, cannot enter into such, who for the most part do know no other God but Money, nor Religion but Profit. Which, with some other prouder Considerations, provokes them to obstruct all designs for the good of those Churches, and to report all things already so well settled, as not needing the least amendment or alteration. Presu-
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ming (belike) that no half-starved Caitiff coming from those parts, will be so hardy as to gain-say Men in Authority, befriended with the Purses and Power of whole Provinces to defend them; and thereby enabled to support their own, and to blast another the most innocent Man's Reputation.

But being my self fully persuaded, that God will assuredly make good his Promise to the World, of causing his Gospel to be published, his Name called upon, and his Church established among the remotest Nations, I have here attempted to break through this Opposition; and as not knowing how to justify my silence, which perchance might be more safe; without any regard to those Gentlemens displeasure, which I must expect even to the utmost degree; I do here tender to the Public this Plea both for the Christianizing of our Negro's and other Heathen in those Plantations, and for settling (or rather reviving) of Religion amongst our own People there.

And as the Epidamnians (a Colony also, but oppressed by a Faction) coming to Corcyra their Mother-Country, are said to have pointed to their Ancestors Sepulchres, and challenging Kindred with them, did thence infer their natural Right to relief and assistance from those Corcyreans; So I doubt not but, besides these, (which are no less true, and may as well be alledged by us,) many nobler Considerations will prevail for the Relief of those parts. For our Church being, as is too evident, indebted to the Wise and Unwise, to the Barbarians and others, both Bond and Free; how can she, the former Veil being removed, forbear to impart her Bread, the Word of Eternal Life, to the many wretched Souls there, who do daily perish through the want thereof?

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Rather as St. Paul's Macedonian, Acts 16. being for help, was to him an infallible token, that God had called him to preach the Gospel unto them; so I question not but the miserable state of those People thus represented to our most Reverend Fathers and Country-Men, and alike needing and imploring their help, may stir up the same Zeal and pious Sentiments; and in the end prove no less effectual for the propagating and preserving of Christianity in those Colonies. And since the detecting of Conspiracies against Religion, is a work so grateful, as at this time doth especially appear; I hope I shall deserve no blame (from good People) for thus offering my Mite of Discovery also; not against some one Party or Division in Religion, but of a more dangerous Conspiracy, even against Christianity itself, with the very Life and Being thereof. To defend and preserve which, against the Hellish contrivances of our Anti-Religionists (such as we find, Acts 13. 8. and who are grown very numerous,) ought to be the united and joyn't endeavours of all Persons (of what Sect or Party soever) who do retain any Sense or Affection for it: Each Soul vowing with himself, (in the Comedians Language) Nunquam eam se deserturum, non si capiundos sciat esse inimicos omnes Homines: And resolving not to desist from prosecuting those Enemies to God and Man (its implacable Adversaries,) until they are exterminated from off the face of the Earth. We having certainly as much reason to be

Dic Hospes Spartanus te hic
vidisse iacens,
Dm Sanctis Patrie legibus
obsequimur.

zealous for Christ's Laws, as those Heathens, who thought a bare Inscription on their Graves, a sufficient reward and recompence for bravely attempting (tho. perishing in) the defence of their Countries.

But here 'tis possible that they may be apt (as 'tis certain they have Confidence enough) to deny this whole Charge,

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Charge, even to their refusal of the Christianizing of their Slaves, were it a thing less known. But this last being so manifestly true, can any Man once so much as doubt of the rest? There being (questionless) nothing so black, which be for his profit (if with impunity) will not perpetrate, who, without scruple, can so glibly swallow that Impiety. Nor is it against Charity to think the worst of one, who, by that single Omission, lives in a perpetual contempt of Christianity, and hourly affronts that Faith he professeth to believe. And I do here once for all declare, That whatever Passages I have in this Discourse delivered of them, are either what have proceeded from my own Knowledge, as being an Eye or Ear Witness, and (perhaps) a Patient under them; or else which have been attested to me by Persons of as great Veracity and Credit, as any those parts do afford, (of whom divers are now residing in England); who could have no design in the Imposture, and therefore are not by me in the least suspected. Nay further, even themselves, (unless resolved to be Perjur'd upon Record), if examined upon Oath, must confess as much. Nor do I desire any thing more, than to be brought upon a Justification; which they cannot but know can never (here) succeed to their Advantage. And for their Threats (I have heard) of throwing Dirt, and smiting with their Tongues, (besides that this is but a shifting off of the Question); as they shall not take me unprepared, so let them know, that whilst I have this shelter to flie unto,

Nil conscire mihi, nullâ & pallefcere culpâ;

the very worst they can vomit forth will never in the least prejudice me in the opinion and esteem of Good Men.

Lastly, Whereas some may perchance object against my spending Time in this Discourse to prove the Negro's Hu-

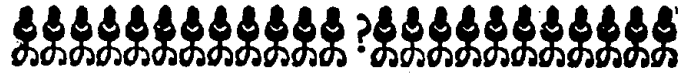
Humanity, and to shew that neither their Complexion nor Bondage, Descent nor Country, can be any impediment thereto. Tho I have spoken to it, Pag. 13. and else-where, yet here I shall further give this Answer, That this is as needful (the contrary being believed, or at least made a pretence) as any of the rest. And here let the Objectors also remember, that a thousand Years since, it had been as ridiculous for any Man to go about to prove that Bread was Bread, and not Flesh: Whereas now the greatest Divines of both the Protestant and Romish Persuasion, have thought it no disparagement to their Learnings, to write large Volumns, the one for, but the other against that Faith. And for other (whether Imaginary or Real) defects in this Discourse, if Charity and the goodness of the Design will not veil them, I hope that at least it may find some mitigation of the Censure, from the consideration of its being written in Terra barbara.

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THE
NEGRO'S and INDIANS
ADVOCATE,

SUING

For their Admission into the Church.

OR,

A PERSUASIVE to the Instructing and Baptizing the *Negro's* and *Indians* in our
PLANTATIONS.

Shewing that as the complying therewith can be no Prejudice to any Man's just Interest ; so the wilful Neglecting and Opposing of it, is no less than a manifest Apostacy from the Christian Faith.

The INTRODUCTION.

Wherein the Temper and Inclination of our People here (viz. in Barbados) as to the Promoting of Christianity among their Slaves, or other Heathen, is Described ; and the Motives for writing this Discourse are shewed, with the Necessity thereof.

§. I. **I**T having been my Lot since my Arrival upon this Island, to fall sometimes into Discourses touching the necessity of Instructing our Negro's and other Heathen in the Christian Faith, and of Baptizing them (both which I observed were generally neglected ;) I seldom

Errata.

Page 24. read *Herm-aphrodite*. P. 31. r. *Ka^dv*. P. 38. r. *jure*, for *modo*. P. 44. l. 12. r. *could*. P. 48. l. 26. r. 2. 5, 6. f. 7. 8. P. 52. l. 26. f. [*The*, r. *the*] & dele *doth*. and l. 31. before *And*, *make*). P. 63, 64. r. *δαλμα* and *δαλμα*. P. 813. (otherwise 97) l. 23. f. *here*, r. *so*. P. 114. (or 98) l. 16. r. *persuade*. P. 116 (or 100) l. 28. r. *emptis*. P. 119 (or 103) l. 13. r. *in*, f. *of*. P. 128. l. 17. r. *who*, f. *and*. P. 171, l. 4, and 11. r. *him*, f. *them*. l. 10. r. *his*, f. *their*.

is never missed of opposition from some one of these three sorts of People: The first, Such, as by reason of the Difficulty and Trouble, affirmed it not only Impracticable, but also Impossible. The second, Such who lookt upon all Designs of that Nature, as too much favouring of *Popish Supererogation*, and not in the least Expedient or Necessary. The third, Such (and these I found the most numerous) who absolutely condemned both the Permission and Practice thereof, as destructive to their Interest, tending to no less Mischief than the overthrow of their Estates, and the ruine of their Lives, threatening even the utter Subversion of the Island. Who therefore have always been very watchful to secure that Door, and wisely to prevent all such mischievous Enterprizes. Themselves in the mean time employing their utmost Skill and Activity to render the Design Ridiculous; thereby to fright the better disposed (if any) from ever consenting to an Act, which, beyond all peradventure, would so much call their Discretion and Wisdom into Question.

2. This spirit of *Gentilism* (for that is the mildest Name it will deserve) was principally occasioned through the want of care in the seating of these Colonies, where Religion ought to have been planted together with the first Inhabitants; as amongst all *Christians*, besides our selves, hath elsewhere been generally practised: But the *English*, for being of the best Religion, are to be excused. 'Tis true, the *Negro's* ignorance of our Language was for some time a real Impediment thereto, and so long a tolerable plea for the Omission; but none afterward, when they had arrived to an ability of Understanding, and discoursing in *English* equal with most of our own People; which many thousands of them long since have: Whilst now after such a long Risk of *Licentiousness*, an ungodly Custom

is grown strong, is kept as a Law: To gain-say which is lookt upon as no less *impious*, than elsewhere it is (and formerly it univversally was) reputed *Meritorious*.

3. Now to represent this more plausible to the World, another no less disingenuous and unmanly Position hath been formed; and privately (and as it were in the dark) handed to and again, which is this, That the *Negro's*, though in their Figure they carry some resemblances of Manhood, yet are indeed no Men. A Conceit like unto which I have read, was some time since invented by the *Spaniards*, to justify their murdering the *Americans*. But for this here, I may say, that if *Atheism* and *Irréligion* were the true Parents who gave it Life, surely *Sloth* and *Avarice* have been no unhandy Instruments and Assistants to midwife it into the World, and to Foster and Nurse it up. Under whose Protection getting abroad, it hath acquired sufficient strength and reputation to support it self; being now able not only to maintain its ground, but to bid defiance to all its Opposers; who in truth are found to be but very few, and those scarcely considerable. The issue whereof is, That as in the *Negro's* all pretence to Religion is cut off, so their Owners are hereby set at Liberty, and freed from those importunate Scruples, which Conscience and better Advice might at any time happen to inject into their unsteadie Minds. A Fiction hardly to be parallel'd throughout the Fables of the Poets; and which I presume never before found entertainment amongst any, beside those above mentioned; or perhaps our Neighbours of Holland, whose Religion is also governed by their Trade, and (as hath, I fear, been too justly charged upon them) for the sake thereof shall be denied.

4. Now whilst in my thoughts I reflected upon these wild Fancies and absurd Positions, which I had often heard (tho not in exprefs words, yet in terms equi-

equivalent) no less impudently urged and asserted, than I saw universally practised. A petty Reformato Pamphlet was put into my hand by an officious FRIEND, or Quaker of this Island, (I suppose; in order to my Conversion); upon the perusal whereof, which was strictly enjoyned me, I met with this malicious (but crafty) *Invective*, levelled against the Ministers, to whom it was by the way of *Interrogatory*, directed and applied in no other than these words: " *Who made you Ministers of the Gospel to the White People only, and not to the Towneys and Blacks also?* (with many other the like insolent *Queries*, following in a tedious *Harangue*, I think, to this effect, for I shall not undertake to rehearse his words exactly): " Why do you not teach your People in this part of their Duty, or at least shew them the way by your *Example*, beginning at HOME with those of your OWN FAMILYES, whom you cannot deny but you neglect as much as you do the rest? What should be the Reason that you spend so much time in Railing against us, whom you call *Quakers*, and other peaceable People; but where there is *Occasion*, have not a word to say? As if this Ignorance of Christ in them were not as well worth your Pains and false Zeal, as the beating down of Phanaticism, as you are pleased to term Innocent People's belief and persuasions? Doth not this silence proceed from a fear of Men, whom you are loth to displease by this Doctrine, for what covetous ends your selves best know? And do you not thereby testify that you are *Men-pleasers* and Hirelings; but not the *Servants of God*, nor as you falsely pretend *Ministers of Jesus Christ*, who, as your *Catechism* (if you ever read it) doth confess, came to Redeem all Mankind, without excepting NEGRO'S and INDIANS? And therefore his Ministers and Apostles were by him commanded

" to preach the Gospel to all the World, and to be Witnesses of him to the uttermost parts of the Earth. Is this the way to set forward the Salvation of all Men; and to make the Ways of God and of the Gospel known unto all Nations, and to all Conditions of Men therein, not omitting Slaves, nor any other? Is this to prepare the Way of Jesus Christ against his second coming to judge the World, by turning the Hearts of the Disobedient to the wisdom of the Just, and to approve your selves faithful and true Pastours, earnestly feeding the Flock of Christ, and preaching his Word unto them, as in your *Collects* (as you call them) you pretend to pray? Is this to follow the Saints in all Godly and Vertuous Living, who as you reade, *Mark the 16th and the last Verse*, went forth preaching every where, and ventured their Lives into all the World to preach the Gospel to the Heathen, when you neglect it in your *Parishes and Families*? Is this to take upon you the Office of a Minister, to serve God for the promoting of his Glory, and the edifying of his People committed to your care and charge? Is this to be ready with all faithful diligence to use both publick and private Monitions and Exhortations, as well to the Sick, as to the whole within your Cures? Is this to be diligent to frame and fashion your own Lives and your Families according to the Doctrine of Christ, and to make both your selves and them, as much as in you lieth, wholesome Examples and Patterns to the Flock of Christ, laying aside all study of the World and the Flesh? For shame cease to call your selves *Christ's Ministers*, unless you will be contented to work in Christ's Vineyard, to preach his Doctrine truly, and to exhort and edifie the poor of his Flock, as he commanded you; and to testify both to small and great, bond and free, (as his Apostles and Ministers did) the

“*whole Counsel of God*, lest hereafter you be found *partial in your selves*, against which both *Paul* and *James* do warn you, &c. This was the scope and substance of our *Quakers Harangue* (if my Memory fails me not) with a great deal more to the same purpose, which I have neither *will* nor *leisure* here to repeat; what I have already delivered, being sufficient to silence us as to any *Reply*, besides that of the Poet,

— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.*

The *Duties* there by him urged, (tho doubtless with curst intent, and as *Judas* became Spokesman and Orator for the Poor) being evident from the avowed *Principles* of all Christians; no less then from the *express words of our own Liturgie*, by him collected from the several parts thereof: As will be seen upon the perusal of the Collect for the *Ember Weeks*, the general Prayer for all conditions of Men, the Collect for *Good Friday*, that for the *second Sunday in Advent*, and for *St. Peter's*, and *All-Saints Days*; and lastly, from the *Responses* in the Book of *Ordination of Priests and Deacons*. And the *Neglect* reprehended, being too apparent to be either shifted off, or extenuated by any palliation, or excuse.

5. Now upon this I began to question with my self, If the Gospel be *good Tidings*, why should it be concealed, or hid? And since designed so to all People, why should not these partake of it as well as others? If we are bound to pray for their Conversion, why are we not also to endeavour it? And since that our Blessed Lord commanded his Apostles, *St. Mat. 28. to go and make Disciples of ALL the Heathen*, why may it not be alike lawful for me, with the great Apostle, *Heb. 2. 8.* to both argue and conclude, *In that he said ALL,*

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be had excepted none? I then also fell to reflect upon the Doom of the *unprofitable Servant*; and that since Christ had been thus merciful to me, putting me into the *Ministry*, so unworthy of it; I could have no pretence to be silent; and that I ought not to lay my (tho slender) *Talent up in a Napkin*, lest thereby I should justly incur the like sad Doom. And withal, observing that no abler *Advocate* for them had appeared, I concluded my self under some *Obligation*, to endeavour to wipe off these *Blemishes*, and to repair the Honour of our *Religion and Profession*. But withal, chiefly to admonish our People of this *Neglect*; and if possible, to convince them of the wickedness of those horrid *Positions* and *Principles* before mentioned; as also of the necessity of their *speedy applying* themselves to that great Duty hitherto so *unchristianly omitted*. Whereupon my thoughts after some time, resolved themselves into these three general *Affertions*.

1. That the Negro's (both Slaves and others) have naturally an equal Right with other Men to the Exercise and Privileges of Religion; of which 'tis most unjust in any part to deprive them.
2. That the profession of Christianity absolutely obliging to the promoting of it, no Difficulties nor Inconveniencies, how great soever, can excuse the Neglect, much less the hindering or opposing of it, which is in effect no better than a renunciation of that Profession.
3. That the Inconveniencies here pretended for this Neglect, being examined, will be found nothing such, but rather the contrary.

And this I do the more confidently here undertake from the encouragement and counsel of the *Wise Man*, *Eccles. 11. 6.* thus advising: *In the morning*

Sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine Hand, for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall prove alike good. And as not in the least despairing of a due success, tho even Briars and Thorns should be with me, and my dwelling should be among Scorpions; since the Almighty hath by the Mouth of his Evangelical Prophet given us this assurance, Isa. 55. That as the Rain cometh down, and the Snow from Heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the Earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give Seed to the sower, and Bread to the eater: So shall my Word be, that goeth forth out of my Mouth; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it.

Ezek. 8. 2.

And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked Abominations that they do here.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

That the Negro's (both Slaves and others) have naturally an equal Right with other Men, to the Exercise and Privileges of Religion; of which 'tis most unjust in any part to deprive them.

§. I. **A**ND thus our Negro's and Indian's case as to Religion being sum'd up and truly stated, and our People's temper and inclination towards the Conversion of them being represented; I betake myself to my first general Assertion; which I shall divide into these three Propositions.

1. *First, That naturally there is in every Man an equal Right to Religion.*
2. *Secondly, That Negro's are Men, and therefore are invested with the same Right.*
3. *Thirdly, That being thus qualified and invested, to deprive them of this Right is the highest injustice.*

1. For the first of these, viz. *That naturally there is in every Man such a Right:* There are none can easily doubt, who do understand either *what Religion is*, or the true end for which *Man was made*; namely, to *glorify and serve God*; which is no other than to be *Religious*. Now this being the certain *End* for which *Man was made*, a *Right* to perform that *End* cannot be denied him.

2. Which *Right* was not superinduced as an additional supply of any imaginary defects of his Creation, but was at first planted and formed in him. Nor doth he enjoy it in common with other *Animals*, but claims

claims it as his special Privilege peculiar to him [*as Man*], and in a distinct manner from the rest of the Creation: Nothing here besides being indued with a Capacity suitable, and therefore not *pretending* thereunto.

3. And as Man alone lays claim to this high Privilege, so it is most certainly every *Man's*, there being none so despicable or base, but hath as unquestionable a Right thereto, as the most illustrious and wise Virtuoso; holding the same equally and *in common* with all others of the like *species* with himself. The reason whereof is, because he claims it upon the account of his being Man, and only [*as such*] hath that Right. Now, *Quatenus & de omni recipiuntur*: As also, *A quatenus ad omne valet consequentia*, say the Logicians: That is, whatsoever is avouchable of any Creature [*as such*], must be equally true of every individual Branch and Member of the whole kind or *species*; all being equal sharers in those common gifts of Nature.

4. As for Instance: The *sensitive Faculties*, as Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, &c. As also the natural appetite to Food, desire of Sleep and Rest, with other the like *affections*, are common to all *Animals*; but not to *Plants* or *Vegetables*, because *peculiar* only to the other. These they do claim [*as such*], and therefore may not be denied to any the most inconsiderable *Animal* of the whole Creation. For being thereof once deprived, they instantly cease to be, or to be reputed [*such*].

5. Even so, *Ex tot generibus nullum est Animal*, &c. said the *Roman Orator*; Of all Creatures here below, Man only hath the notion of a *Deity*, and a propriety in *Religion*. Which Right and Propriety doth belong unto him only upon the account of his being Man; that is, because he is endued with a reasonable and immortal Soul, which alone constitutes him a *Man*.
and

and capacitates him for *Religion*. For without this he were not a *Man*; could neither be *subject* to *Laws* or *Discipline*, nor capable of *Rewards* or *Punishments* after this Life: Nor in a word, could be any longer separated, à *grege brutorum*, as the Poet speaks: Above whom he is only advanced by that Prerogative of *Reason* implanted in his Soul, the only proper and apt seat for *Religion*.

6. For that the Soul of Man is that alone, which qualifies and enables him to be *Religious*, and that Man's grosser and heavier parts do contribute nothing thereunto, is manifest: For that *Religion* being an exercise wherein the Mind and Understanding only are concerned, the Body abstracted from these, (by whom it is to be led and directed) can supply no other part in this Work, than of a secondary Agent therein, and as *subservient* to the other. For otherwise *Atheists*, and resolved wicked Men, might serve God and be *Religious*; whilst like *Engines* compelled thereto, their Bodies shewed some little compliance with the present Action, so far as *outward Gestures* would go; tho they believed nothing of the work they were about: and even a *Beast* might be taught to do the like; but could never be governed by *Laws*, be reduced under *Discipline* and *Government* (of which Man by his understanding is alone capable) or be subject to the *impressions of Conscience*; have a prospect of *Happiness*, or be apprehensive of future *Dangers* and *Contingencies*; much less be able to provide against them. All these *Faculties* being peculiar to the *Rational Being*, or Soul, seated in Man only: Of whose *Species*, if our *Negro's* can be truly said to partake, then will it of necessity follow, that they are *Originally* stated in the like *Natural Right* to the Privileges of *Religion*. The thing that I am next to prove.

§. II. I. I must confess the *Antecedent* is by our *Anti-Religionists*, (as was at first remembred) and even by some others who would be thought less Enemies to Piety, with no small resolution opposed, tho not always expressly, yet in words equivalent, and withal most fully explained by their subsequent daily Practice. Which Practice, because their words may be capable of a milder construction, (tho in this case not in the least deserving it); I intend for the sole, at least chief Rule or Measure to judge of and to understand the other. And here let no one account it incredible, that *Interest* should seduce Men into such a monstrous opinion, (which divers even in *England* have been heard to defend) and (as prejudging the cause and matter.) conclude it time mispent, in labouring to refute it: But remember how much *stranger opinions*, a much greater part of the World upon the like Motive have elsewhere, *tho in another kind*, embraced. And as to this, there wanting not *Irrational Creatures*, such as the Ape and Drill, that do carry with them some resemblances of Men. The too frequent unnatural conjunctions (as *Taverneir* discourseth in his Voyages) of some *Africans* with those Creatures, (tho not so as to Unpeople that great Continent) giving occasion for such surmises as to some few there, tho never of any that were brought *hither*; our *Factions* being too worldly wise to commit such gross oversights in their *Civil Affairs*, whatever greater may escape them in their *Spiritual*. And the *Spaniards* question (which the same *Taverneir* also mentions) touching the Brutality of the *Americans*, (and, which I have heard was held in the *Affirmative* in one of the *Universities of Spain*) serving not a little to make my report more credible; and to acquit me of all *fiitious Romancing* herein. Wherefore it being granted for possible that such

such wild Opinions, by the inducement and instigation of our Planters chief Deity, Profit, may have lodged themselves in the Brains of some of us; I shall not fear to betake my self to the refuting of this one which I have spoken of. For the effecting of which, methinks, the consideration of the shape and figure of our *Negro's* Bodies, their Limbs and Members; their Voice and Countenance, in all things according with other Mens; together with their *Risibility* and *Discourse* (Man's peculiar Faculties) should be a sufficient Conviction. How should they otherwise be capable of *Trades*, and other no less Manly imployments; as also of *Reading and Writing*; or shew so much Discretion in management of *Business*; eminent in divers of them; but wherein (we know) that many of our own People are deficient, were they not truly Men? These being the most clear emanations and results of *Reason*, and therefore the most genuine and perfect characters of *Homoniety*, if I may so speak. Or why should they be tormented and whipt almost (and sometimes quite) to death, upon any, whether *small or great* Miscarriages, it is not material, were they (like Brutes) naturally destitute of *Capacities* equal to such undertakings? Or why should their *Owners*, Men of Reason no doubt, conceive them fit to exercise the place of Governours and *Overseers* to their *fel-low Slaves*, which is frequently done, if they were but meer Brutes? Since nothing beneath the *Capacity* of a Man might rationally be presumed proper for those Duties

Since my return to England, the Reverend D. of H. told me, that an Inhabitant of B being by himself urged to get his attendant Negro's Baptized, made the like Objections, with those which he found recited in the Papers I shewed him, which were no other than a part of this Book. And tho such Practices may seem strange to People in England, yet the same Persons going thither are suddenly changed, so that they make nothing of it.

Duties and Functions, wherein so much of understanding, and a more than *ordinary* Apprehension is required. It would certainly be a pretty kind of *Comical Frenzie*, to imploy Cattel about Business, and to constitute them *Licutenants, Overseers, and Governours*, like as *Domitian* is said to have made his Horse a *Consul*.

2. Their Objections against this, are poor and trivial; yet because with a great many here, seeming to carry no little weight, (for otherwise they could never both argue and act so absurdly, as they do); And because found serviceable to their great *End*, which I have before spoken of, not rejected by the Wiser; they must not, *silly and idle as they be*, for these Reasons be slighted. They are of divers sorts. The first whereof are certain impertinent and blasphemous *distortions of Scripture*; out of which they would fain bribe four places, to wit, in *Genesis* 1. 27, 28. and 2. 7. and 4. 15. and lastly, 9. 25, 26. to give in *evidence* for them. Now in the two first of these they strain hard to derive our *Negro's* from a stock *different from Adam's*: but by the third, they bespeak them as *descendants from Cain*, and to carry his *Mark*: And yet by the last, as if *condemned to contradictions*, they make them the Posterity of that unhappy Son of *Noah*, who, they say, was, together with his whole *Family and Race*, *curst* by his *Father*. Of which *Curse* 'tis worth the observing what *blessed use* they to themselves do make, and what variety of advantages they thereby reap. For from thence, as occasion shall offer, they'll infer their *Negro's Brutality*; justify their reduction of them under Bondage; disable them from all *Right and Claims*, even to *Religion* it self; pronounce them *Reprobates*, and upon a sudden (with greater speed and cunning than either the nimblest Jugler, or Witch) *transmute* them into whatsoever substance

substance the *exigence* of their wild reasonings shall drive them to.

3. I confess, as for the third of these, which is *Cain's Mark*, they insist not much upon it, because thwarting their *Pre-Adamitism*, of which they are extremely fond, tho many times 'tis by their less skilful Disputants *prest to the Service*. But the *Pre-Adamites* whimsy, which is preferred above the *Curse* (because so exceeding useful to undermine the *Bible and Religion*, unto both which they have vowed never to be *reconciled*) they believe *invincible*; tho upon but a very superficial trial, found (as will instantly appear) to be in some things *false*, in other, *empty and silly*; but in nothing, of any considerable *weight* or moment. For the fuller proof whereof, I shall crave leave to refer the Reader to that no less *Learned* than *Judicious* Person, *Judge Hales*, in his Book lately published concerning the *Origination of Man*, wherein the whole *Mystery* of that foul *Herésie* is unravell'd, and most strongly refuted.

4. But that I may not seem wholly to shift my Reader off to that *Reverend* Author, and as it were shelter my *sloth and ignorance* (which last doth, I confess, stand in need of such an able *Supporter*) under his learned Pen, I shall beg his patience a little, whilst I take upon me to entertain him with some two or three of that learned Doctor's *Arguments*, who was the first *Author* of that Opinion; all by him borrowed from *Gen. 4. 2. &c.* from whence he undertakes to confirm his unheard of *Hypothesis*.

5. Of which, the first I shall attempt to unbowel is that, wherein he takes it for granted, (I cannot point out the *Chapter and Page*, it being long since I read it) that before the *commencement* of that *History*, there must be a numerous race of Men, not derivable from *Adam*. For first he there observes, that *Abel*

was a Keeper (the Hebrew, 'as our Margen also directs us, saith a Feeder) of Sheep. This without more ado he concludes was to secure them, not from straying or being devoured by Wolves, but from being stolen: And by whom? Not by his Parents, or Brother, that being unlikely; but by other Sheep-stealing Rovers of the pretended former Creation.

6. Secondly, he observes from the same Chapter, that Cain was a Tiller of Ground, that is, an Husbandman. This, saith he, doth suppose divers Trades to be at the same time in being; to wit, *Smiths, Plow-Wrights, Carpenters, &c.* to furnish him with Instruments of Husbandry. (The like he might have inferred, and 'twas a gross oversight if he did not, from Adam's being put to dress Eden's Gardening-Tools (tho' tis said, that there was not a Man to make them) being as requisite for that work, as *Plows* for the other). But had this learned Man travelled the more Southern parts of *Africa*; or most, if not all the parts of *America*; he might perhaps there have learned a more *Orthodox* Comment upon these Texts, and more decently have solved his Doubts. For there he might have beheld the *Natives* (probably still retaining the fashion of those *Elder* times) planting each Man his own provision of *Maiz*; room being first made for the Seed to pass into the Ground with no subtiler Engine than a simple Stick thrust into it, or it may be with his Finger: And after this weeding his Corn with *Fish Shells*, instead of *Hoe's*, used by the *English*, and other wiser People. And this they still practise, without craving the least assistance (unless, possibly, some few of them since our Arrival) from those Trades; of which, as indeed of almost all other, they are wholly ignorant.

7. Thirdly, turning to the *Septuagint* Bible, he there reads that Cain, talking with his Brother, invites him
in

in these words, *Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον*, to go into the Field. From which Clause, not found in the *Hebrew*, he is sure they must needs at that time dwell in some *Town* or *City*, not so soon to be built by *Adam's* thin Race. And therefore other *Architects* and *Workmen* must be fetcht from that imaginary *Elder Creation*. But this *Logic*, even admitting that Clause, would never hold in *Virginia*, where there is neither *Town* nor *City* (their *Metropolis* excepted, lately consisting of some twelve or fourteen Families, but since the late *Rebellion* and Burning of it, I suppose of fewer) throughout that, nor even the Neighbouring *Provinces*. And even in this *Island*, we know that Men do not always take their way thorow the *Bridg-Town* into their *Plantations*. And no more necessity was there for *Cain* and *Abel's* not doing the same. And here also the *Natives* (and I shall suppose no less of the South of *Africa*) could have taught him to erect places for Shelter and Lodging, such as 'tis possible both *Adam* and his *Children* for a long time might be contented with, without the aid of *Masons* or other *Builders*, than what were needful for planting of *Arbours*, covered only with *Leaves*, or the *Bark* of *Trees*, which generally are the *Royal Mansions* and *Basilicks* of their greatest Kings and Emperours. But this *Eutopian* or *Atlantean* City, having no Foundation nor being, any where extant, but in our *Quixot's* rambling *Fancy*, there is no need to produce either *Builders*, or *Inhabitants* for it.

8. However, to put an end to this Dispute: There is no doubt but that these places in *Genesis*, viz. Chap. 2. 5. & 3. 20. & 7. 21, 22, 23. and 10. 32. All levelled as it were expressly against this Doctrine of *Pre-Adamitism*, (as the learned *Judge* hath observed) do certainly carry in them no less truth, than those other, which its first Author, (contrary to
the

the sense and judgment of the whole World, both *Jews* and *Christians*, who have gone before him) hath wrested to that his wicked purpose; and ought with as great certainty to be believed. So also doth Saint *Paul's* affirmation at *Athens*, in the hearing of the Wits and Virtuosi there, (who refused not to acquiesce with him in the same judgment) *That God had made [of one Blood] all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the face of the Earth,* Acts 17.26. I say, these with many other weighty Arguments and Testimonies from *sacred Scripture*, ought to challenge from us at least an equal measure of credit with those Dreams of that *Fantastic Author*: And may no less at the same time inform us, how misbecoming *Wise Men* and *Christians* it is (without consideration of what may be said on either side) in a moment to run down and explode such *ancient received Principles*, for an irrational *Novelty*, never before thought on; and thus to shake the foundation of the Christian Faith, only to gratifie a *silly Humour*, and to shew how bold they dare be with the *Almighty*. Who yet, if they are resolved not to be satisfied with the Account which *Moses* gives of the Creation, as hitherto it hath been generally understood and received; It much stands them upon since, they reject the *Old*, to find out a *New* and better; which, to give them their due, they do not in the least pretend to, beyond *bare* and *empty Conjectures*, void of all *Ground* and *Reason*: Which tho *themselves* may admire, they must allow *others* a due liberty, at the same time, to esteem *ridiculous*.

9. But here, (after this Deviation to return to the matter in hand) we are to take notice that their objected *Pre-Admittism*, doth not at all prejudice, nor even relate to this Question, which is touching the *Homogeneity* of our *Negro's*, not their *Origination* or *Descent*. That Creation which they pretend to be *Ante-*

cedent

cedent to *Adam's*, being, according to the Principle of its first Author, no less of *Real Men* than this latter; their Posterity therefore must needs be such. And our cause hath this further Advantage, that as *Cham's African Race*, and the *Curse* said to be annexed thereto, do make nothing against our *American* (nor yet *Asian*) *Slaves*, nor *Tributarities*; so this *Pre-Admittism* doth utterly evacuate and overthrow whatever they from thence might otherwise infer, tho in it self never so conclusive and good.

10. Nor are they like to speed better from the Ninth; than from the three former *Chapters*; unless they can make it appear that that *Curse* did deprive all *Cham's* Posterity of their Reason, and so metamorphose them into *Brutes*. Nor yet even so will it do their Work, unless they also prove that all *Negro's*, wheresoever found, are his Posterity, and particularly *Descendants* from *Canaan*, against whom alone that *Curse* was denounced; (as in the progress of this Discourse I shall shew) which will be no very easie task. But this I shall refer to the next Section to be further considered; what at present I shall think requisite to be spoken being only this, that since *Man alone is capable of Discipline*, of which our *Negro's*, equally with other People, are: Nothing but *Malice* can be supposed to bespeak them less, which even at the same time must be thought to *bely it self*. And so for the present letting this and such other Arguments rest, which they pretend to borrow from the Holy Scripture, where in truth not the least *syllable* can be wrested so as to favour this their brutish *supposition*; I shall proceed to examine whether the voice of *Reason*, the thing they so mightily pretend to, will determine more on their behalf, than either *Religion*, or the *sacred Writ*.

11. For to do them Right even in this so bad a Cause, they are not of those who shun to answer at

this Bar, so long as they have any thing which they imagine will make for them, there to be insisted on. But here at last failing, which, 'tis to be presumed, *in such a Case* they cannot but soon do, we may the less blame them, if, for their ultimate refuge and defence, they betake themselves to *Railing*, or even to worse *Arguments*. Their specious *Reasons* on which this pious belief is grounded, do seem to have been drawn from these four *Pretences*; the Complexion, Bondage, Pretended Stupidity, and Barbarousness of our *Negro's* Manners, because different from ours. Of the second of which, they make this *two-fold Use*, first to *Brutify* them; and then, that proving defective, to deprive them of all both *Temporal* and *Spiritual Rights*, which their Manhood, notwithstanding their being Slaves, would otherwise infer: Of which last, I shall speak in its proper place, and in the mean time consider only what relates to the *present Matter*.

12. I shall begin with the first, and that is their *Complexion*, which being most obvious to the sight, by which the *Notion* of things doth seem to be most certainly conveyed to the Understanding, is apt to make no *slight* impressions upon rude Minds, already prepared to admit of any thing for *Truth* which shall make for Interest, especially if supported with but the least *shadow of Argument*: And therefore it may not be so improbable (as I have (elsewhere) heard affirmed) that from so poor a *Medium*, our *Negro's* Brutality should be inferred, by such whose affection to so *gainful* a Doctrine, cannot but make the Way smooth and ealie to their Conviction. Such People in these Cases being not apt to reflect, (and, probably not caring) how derogatory to the Goodness and *Justice* of God it is, to represent him thus idly Propitious to empty *Shadows*, and even to White and Red, that so out of his infinite regard thereto, he should throw

throw off all respect to the *Work of his Hand*, and to unman and unfoul so great a part of the Creation. Nor yet, (which is more strange, because their own immediate concern) that the Argument may come one Day to be turned against themselves, and improved to chastise their *Brutishness*, who from thence did at first so maliciously infer that *absurd Conclusion* to the prejudice of so numerous and vast a People.

13. For it is well known, that the *Negro's* in their *Native Country*, and perhaps here also, if they durst speak their inward *Sentiments*, do entertain as high thoughts of themselves and of their *Complexion*, as our *Europeans* do; and at the same time holding the contrary in an equal disdain, (the like whereof is affirmed of the *Natives of Japan*, as to their own, and the Fashions and Manners of all Strangers, as Mr. Bloom in his *Geography* witnesseth): Whereby the *Missionaries of the Roman Church*, (who to facilitate their Conversion, do condescend to humour them in divers things) are said to represent our Blessed Saviour in the *Negro's* *Complexion*; themselves also describing the *evil Spirit* in ours. Now if Fancy and Opinion against *Reason* must carry it, there is no doubt but they will not spare for that, even to vie with the best of us; and then for number, 'tis certain they can outnumber us. So that without a recourse to Force, the Contest on our part will be managed upon very *unequal terms*, and in no case is like to succeed but to our disadvantage. And for *Force*, I shall in due place shew, how little it can avail in things of this Nature.

14. But the determination of this Point will much depend upon the right understanding and knowledg of *Real Beauty*, a true standard whereof the Nations have not yet pitcht upon. That being Deformity with others, which amongst us is the only *perfect and com-*

Pleat Figure. As a certain Author in a *Treatise* upon this Subject, by infinite Collections and Instances in the practice and behaviour of more distant Nations, hath abundantly shewn. So that if the other part of the World should once come to agree upon this particular, without consulting us here (which 'tis possible, when ever they go about it, they may omit), and like unto us, maliciously determine the Matter in favour of themselves, they only may be the *Men*, and our selves but *Beasts*.

15. And that no better is like to be the *Issue* of such a Consult, may be from hence concluded, for that the largest proportion of People, perchance five out of six parts of the World, will upon a due survey, be found of a more dull and sable *Complexion* than the *Europeans*. Of whom, as may be probably conjectured, many by mingling with other Nations, as *Spain* with *Moors*, *Jews* and *Saracens*, are, for the general, short of the *English* clearness. The like may be suspected of other bordering Regions; and of *Britain* it self, if we call to mind the Epithets [*Pisii & Cærulei*] which the Poet *Martial*, *Epist.* 45. l. 11. & 99. l. 14. bestow'd on its Inhabitants. And even of those Countries that are more Northerly, the *Natives* Countenances do differ much from ours. As the swarthy *Americans* about *Hudson's Bay*, and of *Canada*, with the adjacent parts, do testify. And those of our own Nation, or our Neighbours, who have betaken themselves to these hotter *Climes*, do in a short time after their setting foot here, discover a very discernable alteration, not only from those at Home, but from themselves also as to what they were at their first arrival. Whose *Off-spring*, after the Succession of some few Ages, may, (judging by what is already visible of many of them) become quite *Black*, at least very *Dusky* and *Brown*, like our brindle *Mulatto's* and *Indians*. The
Persians

Persians also, and *Madagascars*, with other Eastern Nations, do carry more swarthy Complexions, inclining to the *Colour* of the former, and even blacker than the *Moors*: That observation of the Poet, *Et mauro obscurior Indus*; being still no less true, than when 'twas first made: Now if the like should happen here to our *English Off-spring*, we should one Day have too much cause to repent of our large Discoveries in these Parts, which of *Men*, (by their being Transplanted hither) must so inevitably make them to degenerate into Brutes.

16. This Fiction of the Brutality of the *Negro's*, doth contradict that Maxim in common observation concerning the *Non-generation* of Monsters; for these being no part of the first Creation, did not obtain from God that Blessing of being fruitful and multiplying, and of replenishing the Earth, *Gen.* 1. 28. & 8. 17. which other created Animals then did. According to which our *Mulatto's* and *Mistizo's* (the production of *Negro* or *Indian mixtures*, with other less swarthy People) would want this prolific faculty, and never be able to procreate their like; the contrary whereof is daily seen in this and in the other Colonies. The like also would be the condition of the *African Moors*, opposite to *Spain* and *Italy*, of whom 'tis scarce to be doubted but that they are a mixt Generation; descendents of *Negro's*, the first Inhabitants, and *Europeans*, from the opposite Shores, by whose People they have formerly been Conquered; Their Hair, Figure, and Complexion (the same with our *Mulatto's*) bespeaking no less. Whereas our remoter *Africans*, into whose Territories those Nations never till of late had pierced, and so had no opportunity of the like Mixtures, are perfectly Black, their Hair frizled like Wooll, as the many thousands here do witness. Now all these *Moors*, must, like the *Mules* (from whom the term *Mulatto* is borrowed) be for ever Barren, admitting the said Supposition and Maxim to be alike true, 17. Here-

17. Herein doth also concur every Man's Sense and Judgment touching other Creatures, nothing doubted (tho *Black*) to be of the same *Species*, with the *Whiter* : As is seen of Birds, which do often differ much in the Feather, yet nevertheless are one and the same in kind. But, alas! for this the poor *African* must be Unman'd and Unsoul'd ; accounted, and even ranked with *Brutes*. A partiality highly becoming Christians, pretending to so much Justice and Knowledge, which some do arrogate to themselves, and would even be thought to profess, whilst they practice and assert Principles so opposite ther eunto !

18. Here also it might be demanded, Why *Colours* should do more than *Deformities*, by all granted not to prejudice the concerned party as to his *Species* ? A Crooked Person, Dwarf, or Hermaphrodite, being as truly of the *Species* of Man, as any the more Compleat, Simple, and well Proportioned. The Canons of the *Church* formerly (and for ought appears still) allowing even those last, as capable of Benefices without Dispensation, saith one, and to be promoted to *Holy Orders*. And both the *Civil* and *Common Law* not prohibiting them to be instituted Heirs, to succeed to an Inheritance. And even monstrous Births partaking of Mankind, having the benefit and help of Reason, may very well, saith the same Person, be admitted to succeed to their Parents *dying Intestate*, according to the custom of most Countries, which will that the *Dead* should give *Seizin* to the *Living*.

19. To this, I shall not think it time mispent to rehearse a Story, borrowed out of a *French* Author made *English* ; which happened, as he saith, not many years since, near *Argenton*, a Town in *Normandy*. It is this :
 " A certain Gentleman conspired with some Neigh-
 " bours there to play certain Plays, wherein should be
 " acted certain *Devils*, to the intent that the Pleasure
 " and

" and Pastime of their *Pageant* might be greater. And
 " this Gentleman would needs himself be attired in
 " the habit of a *Devil*, and did personate such a part ;
 " Infomuch, as after the Plays were ended, he chafed
 " in his Furniture, went home to his *Wife*, and had
 " company with her clad in the same attire wherein
 " he *played the Devil*. By means whereof, she at the
 " end of nine Months, was delivered of a *Son* so
 " monstrous, as in his Countenance, Head, Face, and
 " all the parts of his Body, especially in his Feet, he
 " resembled and was more like unto a *Satyr*, such as
 " the Poets have described, than unto an ordinary and
 " natural Man. After this he had other Children ; all
 " which, together with their brother the *Monster*, did
 " survive both their Parents. Upon whose decease
 " there grew a Contention and Variance between them,
 " touching the *succession* of his Inheritance ; all of them
 " endeavouring to exclude this Monster, not only from
 " the birth-right of being Heir and Eldest Son, but
 " even from the total *Succession* of any thing that he
 " should claim, that might in Right appertain unto
 " him. Hereupon was the Process sued, and the
 " Matter proceeded in suit between them, before a
 " Judge of an *Inferiour Court* : By whom it was or-
 " dered that they should make their Entry upon the
 " *Estate*, and that the Eldest Brother should Inherit,
 " as next Heir to his Parents, according to the Cu-
 " stom of *Normandy*. From this Sentence, the youn-
 " ger Brethren brought their Appeal, and removed
 " the Suit into the Court of *Parliament* of *Roan*, where
 " it was by them pleaded, that he was a very Mon-
 " ster born, and that there was no Reason that he
 " should be accounted a *Man*. But hereunto it was
 " replied, *That those were not in any sort to be allowed*
 " *Monsters, who are born of Mankind, and are capable of*
 " *Reason, and of the future Resurrection*. But those
 " only

“ only are to be held for such, who are born of some
 “ *Beast*, and not of a Man; which last, as they are
 “ forthwith to be slain, so the former may not in any
 “ sort be so dealt with, *whether they have the use of Reason or not*; but be so Monstrous as not having so
 “ much as the Face of a Man, but rather of some
 “ *Beast*. Nor are they ever denied due succession in
 “ Inheritance; but the Monster doth either Bellow
 “ like an Ox, or eat Grass as a Sheep, *performing only*
 “ *the actions of a Beast*. And therefore the Defendents
 “ concluded, that the Judgment had been *well and*
 “ *rightly yielded*: And the Court by a solemn Arrest,
 “ did confirm the same, and pronounce that the Sen-
 “ tence, from which the Brethren had Appealed, *should*
 “ *be fully and wholly Executed, &c.* Thus far our Au-
 thor. Wherein may be observed, that as *Interest* indu-
 ced the younger Brethren to conspire together to de-
 prive the Elder of his Inheritance upon the advantage
 of his Deformity, so the *Reasons and Arguments* used
 in his behalf, together with the *Sentence* thereupon a-
 varded, do prove as much for our *Negro's*, as for that
 supposed *Monster*. To this I shall add, that in the
 Book before mentioned (*Numb. 14.* of this Section)
 consisting of strange Representations and unusu-
 al *Features*, both of Face and Body, agreeable to
 the Fashions and *Customs* of the several places they re-
 late unto, but much exceeding the *deformity of Com-
 plexion*; the Author doth not therefore in the least seem
 to suspect any of them, as if thereby the further remo-
 ved from *perfect and real Men*.

20. This opinion also, if driven to the head, would
 infer another no less strange and before unheard of
 conceit in Divinity, *viz. That Colours are a means of
 Grace*, and have a power in them to *recommend us to
 God*. Whence it would follow, that Vertue should be
 an unseparable attendant upon Beauty; and the fairest
 Bodies

Bodies must then inevitably inshrine the purest and
 brightest Souls; the contrary whereto was the Saty-
 rist's observation. The holy Scripture no less infor-
 ming us the same, when it teacheth us, that God looks
 not upon *the Countenance, or the height of the Stature, nor
 seeth as Man seeth, but God looks upon the Heart*. And
 in truth, this whole Argument is fraught with too
 many evil Consequences and Absurdities to be relied
 on: and therefore deserves to be thrown aside, and be
 forgotten into a disuse, as too dangerous a Weapon
 for Slaves to learn the use of from us. And which
 being turned to the other end, may be so improved as
 to humble us to the same *Brutality*, which we so ridi-
 culously have imputed to our *Negro's*.

21. NOR will *Bondage*, which is the next thing to
 be treated of, do any more towards this Metamorpho-
 sing and Brutifying of our *Negro's*, than Deformities
 could: It being not to be imagined by sober Men
 (whatever the distracted Tribe may do) that Mis-
 fortunes and evil *Accidents* should carry that force in
 them as to alter Substances; there being no so great
 Fascinations attending the mightiest changes of For-
 tune, as thereby to take away the nature of things.
 For he that before was a Rich Man, or Potentate, is
 still a Man, tho like *Belizarius*, become a Beggar.
Marius was as much a Man when concealed in the
 Marsh and Dungeon, as when he arrived to be *Con-
 sul* the Seventh time. And *Cæsar* when in the Pirats
 hands, was the same Man, as when he got to be Per-
 petual *Dictator*. *David* was but a Man when he was
 King of *Israel*; and so he was too, when pursued by
Saul. Nor did *Job* become a *Beast* upon his great
 Losses, any more than he could be supposed more than
 a Man, upon his *Restoration*. Now Slavery is but a
 lower degree of Poverty and Misery; but not the low-
 est; for there are conditions more Calamitous; As to
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be deprived of all the Comforts of Life by a perpetual Confinement and Necessity, with a continual dread and expectation of a miserable Death. So also to be vexed with loathsome Ulcers, and sharp tormenting Diseases, all hopes of Relief and Respite being cut off; are conditions to which Slavery, simply and alone, is to be preferred. Yet none of these do unman the Party, tho they may much humble and debase him. Such evils altering only the *outward state* of things, but making no impression upon the *inner Man*, further than as our selves shall give way thereto; which froward and impatient Minds can as well do without it. An adverse Fortune may deprive us of our Goods and Liberty, but not of our Souls and Reason. Of which whilst we are possessed, and do quietly enjoy, 'tis neither the Ambition nor Covetousness, much less the Frowns and Menaces of any Imperious or Tyrannic Lord, can bereave us of that *Right* which we naturally have to be ranked within the Degree and *Species* of Men.

22. And to manifest this, I will suppose, what I would be loth should happen, that some one of this Island going for *England*, should chance to be snapt by an *Algerine*, or *Corsaire* of *Barbary*, and there to be fet on Shore and Sold; Doth he thereupon become a *Brute*? If not, why should an *African*, (suppose of that, or any other remote part) suffer a greater alteration than one of us? This certainly must either not be, or must proceed from some secret power peculiar to that Soil and Air, where Slaves are gendred and made; and then what Spell have we against such powerful and strange *Brute-Animotropies*?

23. If Slavery had that force or power so as to un-soul Men, it must needs follow, that every great Conqueror might at his pleasure, make and unmake Souls; and a Servant running away, or buying his Freedom, would

would make himself one: Ason the contrary, he that suffered *his Ears to be boared at his Master's Door-post*, *Exod. 21. 6.* must in that act annihilate and destroy his Soul, his Body nevertheless surviving. And the having, or not having of a Soul, would signifie but the bare enjoyment or want of *Liberty*; of which a *Horse* is no less capable than a *Man*.

24. But that Conquest and Subjection can make no impression upon the Soul, is plain even from this, that it cannot effect a less thing; *not subdue the Will*, which yet is under the command of the Soul, but not within the *Adversaries* power: A Victory being rarely heard of which makes the *Affections* to yield, and reduceth the Will of the conquered Party: as the Poet long since sang;

— *Victoria nulla est,
Quam quæ confessos animo quoq; subjugat hostes.*

Now Religion being, according to *Lactantius*, of all things most *Voluntary*, cannot be expelled its hold at another's pleasure; nay, it is not under the power of the *Owner*; for a Man cannot believe, or not believe whatever he pleaseth. Now all that can be said to abate the power of *Conquest* over the Will or Mind, doth conclude more strongly against our *Plagiaries*, who are invested with a less full and compleat Authority over their *Captives* and Slaves, then Conquerors are.

25. And here withall it might be considered, how monstrous and inhumanly cruel they are, who do both buy and retain in this *Soul-murthering and Brutifying-state of Bondage*, those whom they might so easily restore to their pristine *Homoneity*, and of meer Beasts, with one little blast of their Mouths, even but a word or two, convert into Men; and be at the same time
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the happy *Authors* of life to Souls, as well as freedom to Bodies. A Privilege too great and glorious for the rest of the World to enjoy, and yet *not regarded here*.

26. Again, If Slavery hath such a faculty or power as to transmute Men into Beasts, or if all *Negro's* be naturally such, may we not be bold to demand what will become of those *Debauches*, that so frequently do make use of them for their *unnatural* Pleasures and Lusts? Or of such of our People, who have Intermarried with them? Sure they would be loth to be endited of *Sodomy*, as for lying with a Beast. It would be therefore convenient for them to renounce that Beastly opinion; or else that the Law may have its free Course, and *be let loose upon them*: Of which they would have no cause to complain, but of that first wicked Principle.

27. Lastly, If a Slave setting foot upon the Soil of some Countries, (as of *France*) be thereby at the very instant made a *Freeman*; or else, (as in the same Kingdom is also customary) *by receiving Baptism*: It must needs follow that these several Actions have the faculty to transubstantiate Things and Persons: because by setting Slaves at Liberty, they furnish them with Souls; and of certain Creatures, of a different *Species*, (for that will necessarily follow, if they were not such before) *do create them Men*. But if this be false, then being become free, they either must still be *without Souls*, or else were indued therewith in their very Slavery; the latter of which must needs be true, the first being not in the least suspected.

28. And here also it may be demanded and considered, why Liberty and Freedom should effect more upon *Men*, than upon other *Creatures*; who according to this Supposition, the *wilder* they are, because thereby the more at *Liberty*, would so much the nearer approach

approach to *Humanity*, and be endued with Souls too; But (which of all the rest, is most *Monstrous*) with such Souls, as must in all things agree with an *Animal*, or Brutish (not a *Rational*) being, tho transformed into Men. And so all Subjects and subordinate *Governors* would be Men but in part; but yet by so much the more, by how much they approached nearer to *Absoluteness*. And in all the *Grand Seignior's* spacious Dominions, where there are none but Slaves, there would not be so much as one Man besides himself; not excepting the very *Christians*. The evil consequences of which Belief, the *Authors* thereof may sooner feel, than they are willing to understand or see.

29. There were no Men in the World so likely as the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, to have entertained this base esteem of Slaves; because void of all impediments to their Sensuality, and free from those ties of Conscience unto which *Christianity* is subject, had they had any colour of Reason for it; and, being such from whom are transmitted to us the greatest presidents of Severity towards their *Slaves*, as having no Restraints besides the goodness of their Disposition and *Genius*, which were not always very operative in divers of them; yet Reason prevailed so far with them, as to confess them to be Men, nothing appearing upon *Record* in contradiction thereto, but very much from their *Poets* and *Writers* in the confirmation of it. Hence that trite *Dittich*, ascribed to *Cato*, adviseth, *Si fueris servus mercatus, &c. Homines tamen esse memento*: Agreeable to that of the *Greek Poet Philemon*, thus expressing the same Article of the *Gentiles* Belief; *Καὶ δ' ἄλλος ἢ τις, ἄδιν ἠπτόν, δεσποτα, ἄνθρωπος ἔτος ἐστίν*, &c. *That is, That no one is the less a Man for Servitude*. And no less doth the good natured Master in *Juvenal* acknowledg, when on his Slaves behalf he delivers this

this Oracle, *Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa*; That no consideration could be too great where a Man's Life (then, as is said, pleading for his Slave) was concerned. Which the Virago Mistress in her Reply, durst not Contradict, *O Demens! Ita Servus Homo est?* Tho she derided her Husbands tenderness: And *Augustus Cæsar*, as I think *Dion* relates of him, being invited to a Dinner, where he overheard the outcries of a certain Slave, condemned to be Impaled for a miscarriage about some Cristal Glasses, forbad the Execution, affirming, *That the Life of a Man* (that is, of that Slave) *was of too great value to be destroyed for Trifles.* And *Tully*, speaking of Justice, declares it due, *Etiam adversus Infimos*, even to the basest sort of Men, which he there affirms Slaves to be. And tho these Heathens did not much trouble their Slaves with Religion, yet their allowing it to them (which these words of *Aristophanes*, in his *Acharnens.* pag. 572. where he introduceth one, *οὐσαίλα μετὰ τῶν οἰκέτων*; *Una cum servulis sacrificantem*, as the Paraphrast reads it, (The same *οἰκέτης* being used *Eccles.* 10. 25. in opposition to *ἐλεύθερος*,) do not obscurely intimate) doth plainly discover in what rank of Creatures they accounted them: And for the *Jews* and *Turks*, their being admitted to the Passover, *Exod.* 12. 44. by the first; and the others zeal to proselyte Slaves, both *Negro's* and others; do testify their esteem of them. And even the last, tho under the like temptation of Profit, yet do not think it worth their giving the Lye so palpably to both their own and every Man's Reason.

30. THE two last things objected, are the *Negro's* Stupidity, and the pretended barbarousness of their Manners; both which, for brevity, I shall dispatch together. Their Barbarousness (which I shall treat of first) must be discernable either from their De-

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meanour and Conversation in the World, or else from their behaviour and practice in their *Worship* and *Ceremonies* of Religion; or from both. Now for Religion, It cannot be denied but that nothing is more barbarous, and contrary to Christianity, than their *Polygamy*, their *Idolatrous Dances*, and *Revels*; in which they usually spend the *Sunday* after that the necessity of labour for their Provisions (for the Planting of which, that Day alone is allotted them) has been complied with. But as to these, the blame doth lie wholly upon such, who pretending themselves Christians, do suffer and even compel them to those Actions; part whereof are against their Wills, and where even a Check or Frown, would restrain them from the rest.

31. And here, that I may not be thought too rashly to impute Idolatry to their *Dances*, my Conjecture is raised upon this ground (besides their being *Gentiles*), for that they use their *Dances* as a means to procure Rain: Some of them having been known to beg this Liberty upon the Week Days, in order thereunto. Now it is certain, that the *Gentiles* anciently did esteem and practise *Dancing*, as a part of *Divine Worship*: And no less also did the *Jews*; as may be proved from *Exod.* 32. 19. and from *David's Dancing before the Ark*, 2 Sam. 6. Add to this their placing confidence in certain Figures, and ugly Representations, of none knows what besides themselves (which very decently for want of more *Magnificent Temples*; they usually enshtine in some stately *Earthen Possesds*;) The Fugitives and Runaways believing these *Deities* able to protect them in their Flight, and from Discovery, (like as the *Egyptians* worshiping of *Baal Zephon*; was to detect them): Their companions and fellow-Slaves also, that remain'd at Home, having been overheard upon the seizure of these *Puppets*, in a search after the other, instantly to give assurance that there

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was no possibility of their further concealment. And this doubtless is a manifest token of their *Impiety* in this kind, and no less of their *Barbarity*. But as *Christianity* would soon (*if duly applied*) cure this evil; so I see not how it should prove them to be Brutes, more than the rest of the World, formerly, and even to this Day, more or less, addicted to the same vanity and deception of *false Worship*.

32. And then as to their *Civil Conversation* and outward *Demeanour* in the World, it cannot be expected it should be so *Gentile* and *Modish* as our *Europeans*, who perchance must be acknowledged as not to be parallel'd by any other of the three Quarters thereof; upon whom yet as great *Barbarity* was formerly no less chargeable; as most *Authors* do agree. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Theseus*, tells us that the *Athenians* lived scattering like the wild *Nomades* of *Scythia*, before they were by him reduced to a better order of Life, formed into civil Societies, and acquainted with the blessings of Government. And the *Aborigines* are by *Salust*, described to have been, *Genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, libitum, atque solutum*; Certain wild People, without Laws, or Government, loose and destitute of all positive Obligations. And *Cesar's* account of the *Ancient Britains*, is not such as should make us proud; For he informs us that they were clad with Skins, and did paint their Bodies; (from which custom the name of *Britain* is by our *Cambden* derived). He also adds, that *Brothers* with *Brothers*, and *Parents* with their Children, had *Wives* in common: A greater *Barbarity* than I have at any time heard of amongst the *Negro's*. And this we find, of them, very late, and but a few Years before our *Saviours* Birth, tho situated much nearer to the civilized World, and withal in a colder Climate, than any part of *Africa*, and most of *America*. And so little were they advanced

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ced in *Civility* by their converse with a gentiler People, that even two hundred Years after this entrance of *Cesar*, we find the forementioned *Epithets* of [*Pitii* and *Cerulei*] continued to them. Nor doth *Tacitus* give any more honourable account of the *German's*, from whom the *Saxons*, our immediate Ancestors are sprung. Of whose *Barbarousness* also *Gildas* a *Britain*, with other of our Writers, have delivered no very creditable Account. The *Danes*, who supplanted them, were full as bad, if not worse. And the *Pitii* who inhabited the North of *Britain*, had that Name continued long after the other had lost it; for no better Reason than that, for which the first had it given them. Neither is it improbable but that the *Gaities* and *Adornments* of *Elder* Ages, did much consist in *Discolouring* and *Painting* themselves, which is still practised in *America*. Our greater Personages no less affecting the like diversity of Colours in their Attire; and yet must be reputed (*not Barbarous*, but) *Gentile* for it. The like Custom 'tis possible was in use amongst other Nations, were their *Antiquities* raked into. And tho *Ireland* in times past, as is intimated by *V. Bede*, *Eccl. Angl. Hist. l. 3. c. 24. & 47.* be reported to have been a place of Learning, so that other Countries are said to have sent their *Youth* thither, as to another *Greece*, or *Athens*, to be trained up in Learning; yet so much are they Degenerated, or at least so little Fruit thereof hath of late accrued to their Posterity, that the *Natives* of that Kingdom, who have been Imported hither, are observed to be, in divers respects, more *Barbarous* than the *Negro's*: And this in its kind is so notorious in some of them, as to fall under even the *Negro's* observation; by whom this petulant Taunt hath contemptuously, and in reproach of their doltish Stupidity, been returned upon them, *viz.* "That if the *Irishman's* Country had first lighted in

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“the Englishman’s way, he might have gone no further to look for Negro’s : That is, Slaves, such as the Negro’s here generally are. (These two words, Negro and Slave, being by custom grown Homogeneous and Convertible; even as Negro and Christian, Englishman and Heathen, are by the like corrupt Custom and Partiality made Opposites; thereby as it were implying, that the one could not be Christians, nor the other Infidels.)

33. Which Indication of our Negro’s contempt of that dull and stigmatick People, doth shew the cause of their Ignorance to be the want of Converse and Education, which may also befall other Nations, and even the Inhabitants of our Mother Country. It being certain, that Africa was once famous for both Arts and Arms; that Carthage did rival with Rome for the World’s Empire, and had well nigh gotten it, tho now become an *Acelanda* of Barbarism; even to the degree of rendring its Inhabitants suspected for Brutes, as we here find and see. And it is also evident, that all our own People do not exceed these either for Knowledge, or Piety; nor yet always for Civility, whatsoever Brutishness is by some proudly objected to them. And without a provision for Schools (of which the scattering way of living in these Colonies is scarce capable) together with a stricter Care taken to suppress Debauchery (hardly to be outdone (therein) by *Sodom*, were it standing) may at last end in the like Barbarity; and like that lasting monument of God’s Wrath against Impiety, may, without a timely Repentance and Reformation, be made a like Spectacle and Example to such as desire to live *ἀσεβῆς* without Religion, suffering for it the vengeance of Eternal Fire.

34. But in our own People, neither their Ignorance, nor Vicious Lives, nor any never so barbarous Practices, doth render their being Men the more suspected;

spected; nor cause any question touching their Right to Religion, tho not at all prized by them. Which yet is plainly upon pretence thereof (how justly I shall elsewhere discover) denied even to the Infants of the other, tho their Parents, or at least one of them, were Baptized, and (according to that measure of Knowledge they had attained to) Professors of Christianity; it may be imported out of England. For even of those they take no more care; Nor yet of such other, whom themselves, tho but seldom (yet sometimes) have for fashion sake, upon their being there, caused to be Baptized: I say, even to these, they permit the exercise of Religion, no otherwise, then as they do to the most Ignorant of them. But rather upon their return, *untwisting* as it were that *Web*, they seemed to weave in England. Remitting them to their former Stations, and compelling them to herd it with their wilder Countrymen, and as it were forcing them to revive their Paganism. Not allowing their Children Baptism; nor suffering them upon better terms than direct Fornication, to live with their Women (for Wives I may not call them, being never Married). And accounting it Foppish, when Dead, to think of giving them Christian, or even decent Burial; that so their pretence for Brutifying them, might find no Contradiction.

35. Nor would I be thought to speak this at Random. For I cannot easily forget the *supercilious* Checks and Frowns (to say no worse), which I have upon this occasion alone met with; and for such innocent Arguments and Persuasions, I have, in the opinion of some *shill* Professors (otherwise called *Atheists*), perhaps less prudently, (I am sure to the Ruine of my small Interest) been sometimes bold to urge to our People, in order to their Conviction, as to the necessity of this Duty, Particularly once, soon after my arrival into this new

World, for minding a *Negro* of his *Baptismal Vow* formerly made in *England*, not doubting it to be grateful to his Master, whom I took for a discreet Person: Which indeed he was, so far as getting of Money, *quod modo, quaeque injuria*, would amount to; in which his Wisdom, I afterward found, did wholly consist. By others it hath been demanded of me, *What I had to do with their Servants*, when once affirming them to be a part of a Minister's Care and Charge. Another time it was told me with no small Passion and Vehemency, and that by a Religious Person (for so in all things else she appeared), that I might as well Baptize a Puppy, as a certain young *Negro*, the Mother whereof was a *Christian*, and for ought I know (notwithstanding her Complexion) *as dear to God as her self*. Nor was this Gentlewoman in the least infected with *Anabaptism*, but a frequenter of the Church, and very carefully procuring always for her own, what she thus denied to her *Negro's* Children. And another of the same Sex, upon my baptizing a Male *Negro* of hers, of about thirty Years old, speaking *English* plainly, and earnestly beseeching it; caused this Message to be delivered to me, *That Baptism, I was to understand, was to one of those no more beneficial, than to her black Bitch*. Others also of both Sexes, I have heard *Scolding* and inveighing at it, with no little spite and inveteracy; tho' not appearing such, whom I might take for absolute enemies to Religion; which I fear too many, in these parts, are. And in truth, the hard Words, and evil Language I have upon this account received (and do expect will now *again be repeated*) would take up too much room here to be rehearsed; nor is it very pleasant for me to remember, further than to blame that first *horrid Principle*, the natural result whereof these Discourses and Practices have most certainly been. "There being no doubt but that (to use the words

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" of one of our *Homilies*, in an almost parallel case) " they take the multitude [of *Negro's*, I shall add] " for vile Souls, of whose loss and safeguard no Reputation is to be had; for whom yet Christ payed as " dearly, as for the mightiest Prince, or the wisest and " best learned in the Earth. And they that will have " it generally taken for indifferent, that a very few " take no hurt (herein alone the Case differs, all " being involved in the same Neglect and Danger) tho' infinit multitudes besides perish thereby, " do shew that they put little difference between the " Multitude and brute Beasts, whose danger they so " little esteem. And in this belief, I am the stronger confirmed, for that some of them are more *indifferent*, as to the baptizing of their *Mulatto's*, as conceiving these a less degree removed from Men, whose Parents on the one side are *English*, or of the *Whiter sort*; whilst to such as are wholly the Off-spring of *Negro's*, they utterly deny it.

36. I am not ignorant but that upon the dispersing and publishing of these Discourses (if ever such a thing should happen) the Correspondents and Factors for our People residing in *England*, (no less than those here) disliking to see their mystery of Iniquity laid open to the view of the World, may be apt (as most certainly they will) to decry the whole charge as a piece of *Calumny* and *Slander*; notwithstanding that their Practice is so notorious, and there is no one, not per-

Since the committing of these Papers to the Press, even while the last sheet was Printing, a certain Barbadian openly maintained these Positions, That Negro's were Beasts, and had no more Souls than Beasts, and that Religion did not concern them. Adding that they went not to those parts to save Souls, or propagate Religion, but to get Money. Which, with much more to the same purpose, she uttered with so much passion and vehemency, that all who heard him, believ'd he spake not more his own, than the sense and opinion of the place.

fectly blind, that can avoid the seeing of it; Nay, even such cannot but know it. Which must be granted by all to arise either from *Infidel Paganism*, with a Contempt, and even renouncing of the Gospel of our LORD (which is much the worst); or from that other of their conceiving their Negro's to be but Brutes. Unto which last, their Discourse doth rather encline, tho' there be no small cause for suspicion also of the first. Others again may hope to shelter themselves under that common subterfuge for *Blasphemies*, That what of this kind hath at any time escaped them, was only to sharpen their Understandings and Wits, by thus whetting them with *Dispute*; or else that they uttered nothing further than by way of *Railery*. For my part, I shall not presume to dive into their *Intentions*, nor judg of their *Thoughts*; but only beg this kindness of them, That if I must take their Arguments for feigned, they would favour me so far as to suppose the same of my Answers; and withal accept of this further Advice, viz. *Not to practise Opinions, which they are ashamed to own amongst better People*. It being most certain, that what elsewhere they would perchance have thought to be *Dispute* only, and in jest, is here acted in the strictest earnest; even beyond the equity of their *Hypocresis*, treating their Slaves with far less Humanity than they do their *Cattel*. For they do not use to starve their Horse, which they expect shall both carry and credit them upon the Road; nor to pinch the Cow of her Fodder, by whose Milk their Families are sustained: Which yet (to their eternal shame) is too frequently the lot and condition of these poor People, from whose labour their Wealth and *Livelihoods* do wholly arise: But yet, whose possessors [whilst they] slay [and starve] them, (not only their Souls but their Bodies also, which are worn out in perpetual Toil for them) do nevertheless hold themselves not guilty; and they

they that Sell them say, *Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich; and their own Shepherds pity them not*; as the Prophet *Zechariah* speaks. A Cruelty capable of no Palliation, and for which *Vengeance* cannot be long expected ere it fall upon the inhumane Authors. Nor to speak truth, without that πρώτου Λεύδου of their Negro's brutality, do I see how those other *Inhumanities*, as their *Emasculating* and *Beheading* them, their *cropping off their Ears* (which they usually cause the Wretches to broyl, and then compel to eat them themselves); their *Amputations of Legs*, and even *Dissecting* them alive; (this last I cannot say was ever practised, but has been certainly affirmed by some of them, as no less allowable than to a Beast, of which they did not in the least doubt but it was justifiable), Add to this their scant allowance for *Clothes*, as well as *Diet*, and (which is often the calamity of the most *Innocent and Labourious*) their no less working than starving them to Death; all which could never otherwise be so glibly swallowed by them, but upon a persuasion of this, or of the former worse Principle. Both without doubt contrived in Hell, receiving their first impressions in no other than the *Devil's Mint*, purposely designed for the murdering of Souls; Invented only to defeat the Mercies of God in their blessed Redeemer, and to render void and ineffectual his precious Blood shed upon the Cross, for the saving of the World. And thus much shall suffice for proof of the Antecedent of my second Proposition, deduced from my first general Assertion.

§. III. 1. My Antecedent being thus made evident, I shall betake my self to consider the Consequent, viz. Of the Right which our Negro's have, and may justly claim to the exercise of Religion, upon the truth of what hath been said touching their being Men. A thing

thing that of it self, one would think should naturally follow, and be granted even of course; did not the *Adversaries* thereto hope, tho' our *Antecedent* were acknowledged, yet notwithstanding this by some other ways, to invalidate this *Right*, and to continue them Heathens. In order whereto, they are not wanting of a twofold Argument; First, The *Imprecation* of *Noah*; Secondly, Their forfeiture of this *Right* by *Servitude*. Now as before, they employed the first to unman their *Negro's*; so, that failing, here they no less generously wrest it to rob them of *Religion* (no less than of all other Rights): An *injury* (as in the end I shall shew) far exceeding the former, of making them *Brutes* simply, and abstracted from the latter.

2. Before I shall go about to answer which, I shall desire the Reader to remark that what they have hitherto urged, is only against the *Christianizing* of *Negro's*, with such only of other Nations and Complexions who are under Bondage: Bearing it in hand (be like) that the condition of the *Tributary Indians* upon the Continent, of *Hostages of Peace* delivered up to the *English* upon the *Public Faith*, or of the *Manumitted* and freed Slaves, whether from *Persia*, *Madagascar*, or the *East* and *West Indies*, brought hither, (none of them likely, especially the last, to have been descendants from *Cham*, any more than our selves;) enjoyed amongst them a more happy and blessed state, as to Religion. Which in truth they cannot affirm even of such of them, who do live in their *Families* in the nature of Hirelings; nor of their *Neighbours*, whose Habitations are invironed by the *English*. Who yet have been accountable upon all occasions for Taxes; even as the *Hostages* before mentioned have been (like Bondmen and Captives) strictly kept to Labour, by those to whose care they were committed for *Education* and *Security* of the *Peace*; which certainly had been the

the most effectual way to disturb it, had their Relations and Friends been strong enough. To whose Temper and Disposition, nothing is more contrary then hard Labour, nor esteemed so miserable a condition; which the Parents tears (one whereof was a *Werrowanza*, that is, a *Toparch*, or *Royetlet* of the place; and the rest his principal great Men) shed at the view thereof, did sufficiently evidence.

3. And so betaking my self to the first Objection, which certainly is their chief strength; I shall consider these People as *Negro's*, abstracted from their condition of Bondage, and only as *Natives* of *Africa*, at least Originally; believed to be Descendants from *Cham*, and under the *Curse*, as is pretended; which is all we shall speak of in this place; reserving their Condition to be discoursed of alone, and by it self, in the ensuing Section.

4: And here, in the first place, I cannot but take notice, that this Objection is founded on a *Supposition*, including in it these five *Falshoods*, or (at best) *Uncertainties*. 1. That the *Negro's* are of *Cham's* Race. 2. That both *Cham* and his whole *Posterity* were under the *Curse*. 3. That this *Curse* was in its effects to be perpetual, even to the last Generation. 4. That it extended to their very *Souls*, and was a kind of *Reprobation*. 5. That this is a sufficient Ground not only for *enslaving* them, but for keeping them from the exercise of *Religion*. Nothing of which last can possibly from thence be deduced; nor even the former of *enslaving* them; unless, after the rest is proved, they make this appear also, that we are the *Brethren*, whom they were to serve; and that the *Curse* did confer on us a full and perfect *Right of Dominion* them.

5. However, to mak out the first, they tell us (or at least do insinuate) that *Noah* and his Sons descend-

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ing from the *Ark*, did, as it were all upon the suddain (as if afraid of each other), instantly retire into the most *distant parts* of the World (for so *Guinea* is to *Mount Arrarat*); of whom *Cham* directed his course to *Africa*, his Posterity the *Negro's* (they are sure) there keeping possession till this very Day, notwithstanding the great *alterations* elsewhere.

6. But to answer this: First, It is wholly improbable that *Noah's* Sons should make any such separation, before being bescanted of Room, they found it necessary to remove; not, 'tis to be presumed, so far as they would go, but some *convenient distance* only, for their better Accommodation; which doubtless they might find, before they had cross'd all *Africa*.

7. But secondly, Supposing both to have happened, yet 'tis not likely, at least not certain, that his Posterity have kept possession there ever since, and that upon the Reasons before mentioned, viz. The Possibility of being removed and driven thence back again by *Invasion* and *Conquest*; by none less to be suspected or questioned, than by us here in *America*, to whom it is evident how little security against such alterations, the *Remoteness* of places have been. So that the present Inhabitants of *Africa*, (even that supposure of *Cham's* Race seating there, being granted) might have as little Relation to its first *Seaters* and *Planters*, as the *Spaniards*, or our selves, had to the *Natives* here; the *Saxons* to the *Britains*, or the old *Romans* to the *Aborigines*.

8. Thirdly, This, as to a great part of it, is not only *uncertain* and *unlikely*, but *plainly false*. For in an Account we meet with in the holy *Scripture* (other Accounts being hardly to be met with, or relied on) of three Sons of *Cham* (the fourth being believed to have been *Childless*) we find two of them were seated in *Asia*; only *Mizraim*, for the Name, shall
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be allowed *Egypt*; part whereof, viz. on the other side *Nilus*, must be in *Asia* too; that *River* being the bounds to these two spacious Quarters of the World. It being also not to be forgotten, that the *Philistines* (living also in *Asia*), were his Off-spring: Nor will this concerning *Mizraim* (for we have nothing but the concurrence of the *Name* to prove it) bring any great comfort to the Cause, if we consider its *Remoteness* from the parts we speak of, and the many great changes (probably (if known) no less objectionable against the rest) these *Egyptians*, or *Mizraimites*, since first carried Captives by *Nebuchadnezzar*, that is, for above two thousand Years, have felt. In so much that the true *Egyptians* do seem since to have been swallowed up, and even lost in these *Conquests*. And now supposing the like of the other parts of *Africa*, from which no *Region* in the World can boast of an Exemption, what certainty or ground can there be for *Conjectures* of this nature?

9. But to come nearer to the Matter: Either the Sons of *Noah*, with their Families, kept themselves *distinct*, each of them united in a body by it self, or else did intermingle and live together, without regard of such distinction of Tribe, or Family. If the first, then 'tis evident that the Family, or Tribe of *Cham*, following *Nimrod*, its Head, did seat themselves in *Shinar*, and the parts adjacent, unto which the holy *Scripture* gives witness. But if the second, then what certainty can there be from whom any Nation or People is derived, the *Jews* only excepted? Now it is plainly recorded by *Moses*, *Gen. 10.* that *Nimrod* the Son of *Cush*, *Cham's* Nephew, began his Kingdom at *Babel*, in the Land of *Shinar*, (for that cause, *Micah 5. 6.* called the Land of *Nimrod*) and from thence went and built *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, far enough from *Africa*; which, if *Josephus* speaks truth,
was

was left for *Epber*, *Abraham's* Nephew by *Kaurab*; and his Children, to be by them possessed, a long while after; and these no Descendents from *Cham*, but from *Shem*, his Elder Brother.

10. But lest these Transactions of *Nanrod* might be pretended to have been after he had travelled into *Africa*, and left a Colony there; (to omit the tediousness and difficulty of the way) it is said expressly, that they journeyed thither from the East, not to be understood of *Africa*, which is South from thence. 'Tis true indeed, the Scripture speaks of the *Earths* being divided in the days of *Peleg*, but determines not what that Division was, whether of its Inhabitants Minds and Affections, or that which happened upon the Confusion of Tongues; or whether it were about this or that way of *Worship*, and of *Religion*. Or even supposing it to have been no less than a parting, or dividing the several Territories and Quarters of the World; yet, unto which of their Lots each Parcel or Province fell, who had *Africa*, or which went to *America*, we there meet with no Account, or at best but a very dark one. And for that of *Josephus*, as it labours with the like uncertainty, so it is not for their purpose to mention, for the Reasons there given.

11. And whereas the learned Dr. *Heylen* supposeth this Quarter of the World to be Peopled from *Arabia*, by *Cham's* Posterity, crossing the Red Sea: He should in the first place have shewed how so great a part of *that Family* diverted another way, not to be imagined if the Tribes each of them kept together. And then, secondly, Why this might not be as well done by any other of *Noah's* Children, considering the improbability thereof, upon the account of the other Journeys and Abodes made by *Cham's* Posterity. And so much for the first Supposure.

12. THEIR

12. THEIR second carries a more apparent Falsity, viz. That, that severe *Imprecation* of *Noah*, was denounced against the whole Family of *Cham*; whereas 'tis evident that none besides *Canaan* his youngest Son, was mentioned, and therefore not concerned therein; it being no less than thrice, *Gen. 9.* expressly said, that *Canaan* should be their Servant. And so before, *Cursed be Canaan, a Servant of Servants shall he be.* Now whatsoever may be presumed of the nearer Inhabitants of *Africa*, (which also is disputable) there is not the least probability from *holy Scripture* (but certainly very much to the contrary) that the Remoter are *Canaan's* Off-spring, whatever might be suggested for his three Brothers. Now it ought here to be taken notice of, that in all severe sentences found in *holy Scripture*, we are not to strain the words beyond their natural sense. And seeing *Canaan* alone was mentioned, (for which reason his Children are, *Wisd. 12. 11.* styled the accursed Seed) there remains not any likelihood for our *Negro's* being concerned therein. For 'twas in *Asia* that the *Canaanites* dwelt. There *Abraham* sojourned amongst them; and there *Joshua* afterwards found them. Whom having well near exterminated, he condemned the Survivors to be hewers of *Wood*, and drawers of *Water* to the House of God, *Josh. 9. 21. & 23. 27.* Which sentence was afterwards by *Solomon* confirmed, and more fully executed, *1 Chron. 2. 17.* So that in the whole, this supposed *Imprecation* of the Patriarch, doth seem to be little more than a *Prophecy* of the *Canaanites* overthrow and reduction, under the Power of the *Israelites*, *Shem's* Posterity, some eight hundred Years after to be accomplished; but not plainly an absolute Curse, or determination thereto. Even as the recording thereof by *Moses*, doth seem to have been especially done only for *Israel's* justification in dispossessing of them.

13. But

13. But our *Negro's* who are quartered in the Remotest parts of *Africa*, may justly be concluded as too far distant from *Palestine*, to be any way concerned with these *Canaanites*; whose *guilt* was no doubt then expiated by their expulsion and loss of their *Country*, and of their *Liberty*, together with the destruction of such who did abide the brunt of the War, or were detained afterwards:

14. However, supposing *Servitude* to be the thing intended in that *Imprecation*, (or *Prediction*, as I rather believe it) and that our *Negro's*, improbable as it is, were the very *Parties* concerned therein; yet, as it toucheth not their *Right to Religion*, (which I shall immediately show, so) neither doth it therefore confer any *Right* or *Authority* over them upon any, nor *commission us* to be the Executioners of the Sentence: Any more then *Jeremiah's* threatening of *Jerusalem*, did justify *Nebuchadnezzar's* burning it, and murdering the Inhabitants; for which *he was to expect a fearful judgment*, Isa. 10. & Jer. 25. &c. And so *Isaac's* fore-sight and prophetic Declaration of *Esau's* fate, Gen. 27. and the fall of his Posterity under his Brother's power, did confer on the *Israelites* no Right of thus Tyrannizing and Domineering over their *Elder Brother's* Off-spring; as will appear from Deut. 7.8. compared with the forementioned place in *Genesis*. Besides this Sentence upon *Canaan*, being once so *thoroughly* executed, there is no reason it should now again be repeated, even supposing that (for which there is no ground), the *Negro's* are his Issue; it seeming too *unmerciful* to punish Men to that extremity twice, for one and the same Crime.

15. THEIR third *Supposition* is the continuation of this Punishment, which our People are desirous to extend to the last Man of that Generation, against whom 'twas first denounced; notwithstanding no mention

mention is made of any beyond *Canaan's* Persons. Now this, as it is contrary to that so equitable a *Rule* in expounding of Scripture, which I before mention'd; so it thwarts the *Method* which God Almighty useth in punishing *Offenders*; who seldom or never stretcheth the *iniquity of the Parents*, beyond the *third and fourth Generation*, where the *Children* do not add new Guilt of their own. And thence it is that we reade, that these very *Canaanites* we are speaking of, notwithstanding the *Curse*, whom, of all other, it was most likely to reach, had their punishment deferred till their own *Sins* had more fully deserved it, as may be seen, Gen. 15.16. And therefore the unjust effusion of the *Gibeonites* Blood was, 2 Sam. 21. revenged upon *Saul and his bloody House*; tho' in truth they were no other than the *Off-spring* of these *curst Canaanites*: Besides, God hath been pleased since to declare, that for the future, there should be no more occasion to use that so harsh and ill relishing Proverb in *Israel*, of the *Father's* eating of *sower Grapes*, and the *Childrens* Teeth being set on edge: For that from thenceforth the *Son* should not bear the *iniquity of the Father*, but that every *Man* should suffer for his own *Sins*, Ezek. 4. 20. & 18. 2. And even in the *Curse of Eli's House*, 1 Sam. 2. That they should die in the flower of their *Age*, and that there should not be an *Old Man* of his *House* for ever: Yet upon their *Repentance*, and a betaking themselves to a sedulous study of the *Law*, 'tis said by one, that the *Curse* was turn'd into a *Blessing*, and the line *Masculine*, before always dying young, lived to an *honourable Age*: For God, saith the same Person, changeth his purpose concerning the punishment of Men upon their *Repentance*. And as [for ever] doth in the *Hebrew* Idiom, appear many times to intend no more than some *considerable* space of time, which yet by God's *Mercy* may be shortned; so had that Particle been

here affixed to *Canaan's Curse*, which it is not; yet there is no question but (as the Apostle testifies of the obdurate *Jews*) that *they also may be grafted in, if they abide not in unbelief and impenitence; for God is able to graft them in.*

16. THEIR fourth *Supposure* is borrowed from the fancied *nature and design* of this *Curse*; which some will affirm to be a kind of *Transubstantiating* of them into *Beasts*; others, to strike not only their *Souls* (in this *Life*), but to be an irrecoverable devoting them to *Perdition and Misery in the Life to come.* Whereas the *Text* mentions no more but *Servitude in the Curse*; not to be exceeded in the *Gloss*, or *Interpretation*, where the words are void of *Ambiguity*, especially in *severe Cases.* And this *Service* was also restrained to his *Brethren*, which cannot be supposed to be spoken of the *Devils*; it was to touch only their *Bodies*; it being not in the least probable, that *Righteous Noah* would curse the *Soul* of his *Son*, which was *none of his*, had he been so uncharitable; but was derived from a better *Author*, and therefore beyond his power: God having declared, that *each Soul is his; the Soul of the Son, as well as of the Father*, Ezek.

18. *And out of whose Hands none shall be able to pluck them*, St. John 10. And then as to the other part of these pretended effects; Should we suppose our *Negro's* to be the very *Seed of Cham*, and that they were no less under the *Curse*: Nay further, that that *Curse* had been denounced against the whole *Posterity* of that *graceless and unhappy Son*; yet as we have no assurance of the first, so neither doth it follow that *Servitude* should be attended with such *dismal effects*, as of Men to transform them into *Brutes.*

17. Which objected *Brutality*, had it carried any appearance, or likelihood of truth, could never possibly have escaped the notice of (at least) the wiser *Jews* and

and *Heathen*: Who for the general, are found to treat them with a contrary *respect*. For the *Jews*, I shall instance only in the *Septuagint Interpreters*, who, as it is to be observed from *Psal. 74. 15. & 87. 4.* did none of them scruple to allow their *Αἰθιοπες* (the general currant Appellative both in *Greek* and *Latine*, (like as *Cush*, the name given to *Cham's Nephew*, *Nimrod's Progenitor*, is in the *Hebrew*) for those sooty People, the *Negro's* of those times) the stile of Men. To these I might also add *St. Luke, Acts 8. 27.* but that possibly it may be replied, that he was none; wherefore I shall let that pass. But for the *Heathen*, *Lucan* in his *Pharsalia, lib. 9.* brings them in as Partners with the *Arabians* and *Indians*, in the worship of their God *Amon*, who it seems had *monopolized* him to themselves; for so much the *Poets* words do seem to imply;

*Æthiopum quamvis populis, Arabumq; beatis
Gentibus, atq; Indis unus sit Jupiter Amon, &c.*

And long before him *Homer*, in his *1 Il.* bespeaks *Jupiter* and his fellow *Dieties*, as vouchsafing them their presence at a *Banquet*, and to become their *Guests*,

Ξεὺς δ' ἐπ' ὀκέανον μετ' ἀμύμονας Ἀἰθιοπίας
Χθιζὸς ἦεν μετὰ δ' αἰῖτα: θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἐπὶ νόσ

He in the same place conferring on them the character of [*unblamable*,] as is to be there seen; nothing of which had been compatible, nor any way suited with the quality of *Beasts*. And to shew that those differed nothing from *ours*, their *Complexion* is prov'd to be black, both from the *sacred Writ*, as *Jer. 14. 25.* and from the same *Poets* and *Writers* of the *Heathen*, particu-

larly from *Ovid*, l. 2. *Met.* where speaking of *Phaeton's* burning of the World, he thus discants upon it, as to the effects 'twas believed it had upon these People;

*Sanguine tum credunt in Corpora summa vocato,
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colorem.*

And from *Juvenal* in his second *Satyr*:

Loripedem rectius derideat, Æthiopem albus.

And likewise from his sixth,

—— *Esset*
Æthiopia fortasse Pater: Mox decolor hæres
Impleret tabulas, nunquam tibi manè videndus.

And that they were a distinct People from the *Arabians* (contrary to what some have, I fear, without ground conjectured); Also, that they were seated from them *Westward*, at least nearer *Italy*, where *Lucan* wrote, than the other were; his method and order in mustering them, doth partly imply. And lastly, That the Scripture *Æthiopia*, (no less than this of the *Poets*, and of the other *Heathen*) was in *Africa*, lying between *Egypt* and the *Red* [or *Arabian*] *Sea*, and consequently the same with ours. The Scripture doth in two places of *Ezekiel*, viz. Chap. 29. & 30. (in both which *Æthiopia* and *Egypt*, are represented as Neighbours, but the first (agreeable to what was above mentioned) bearing the more distant Situation; And also in the 68 *Psalms* (where the same things are observable, as in the former) doth not obscurely intimate. And this I have added by way of prevention, and to defeat a little Argument of our Adversaries, most impertinently borrowed from the above mentioned groundless Conjecture of some one

or

or two of our Writers, viz. That the Scripture *Æthiopia* (and even the *Heathen* too), was situated not in *Africa*, but in *Arabia*; That so nothing there recorded, might be said to concern our present *Negro's*, nor be alledged in their favour.

18. Which yet, if certainly true, will not upon Examination, be found so advantageous to them; The distance of *Guinea*, our *Negro's* Country, being considered. For if the Scripture *Æthiopia* be in *Arabia*, then, for ought appears, *Guinea* (and even the rest of *Africa*) is clear of the *Curse*; so that more is lost by that Argument, than it ever got. Again, if according to the signification of [*Cush* and *Æthiops*,] they'll allow its Inhabitants to have been *Black*, (not denied by any hitherto, and it being no less consonant to what is before said thereof;) 'twill make as much for our purpose, or even more. For thus it is usually discourd; Because they are *Black*, therefore they are *Cham's* Seed; and for this under the *Curse*, and therefore no longer *Men*, but a kind of *Brutes*. But contrary hereto, I shall thus argue: Either all *Negro's*, or black People, are of *Cham's* Race; or some are not: If the last, then 'tis evident there will be no necessity for our *Negro's* being under the *Curse*; But if the former, 'twill follow, that notwithstanding the *Curse*, they might, in the general opinion of the World, still continue to be *Men*. To conclude; I do not in the whole, see that this *Curse* did touch any more than the Persons, Goods, and Possessions of *Canaan* and his Posterity; who some eight hundred Years after, were to fall into the power of *Abraham's* Children: When, the *Canaanites* being subdued by the *Israelites*, and the remainder of them condemned to Servitude, that prediction was accomplished to the full.

19. Their sixth and last Supposition is borrowed from the horrible Decree, (as one calls it) of *Reprobation*,

For tho our People are for the general no great friends to that *severe* Doctrine, as being too frightful for them to hear of, yet *in this case* it must serve the turn. But granting it true, that a certain number of Men, and amongst the rest this whole People of *Blacks*, and even all the rest of *Cham's* Race, were thus devoted to Misery, and become the objects of God's Wrath; yet will not this justify our barring them of the Knowledge and Exercise of *Religion*. For they that hold this Doctrine, do nevertheless affirm it our duty, *To tender the Gospel unto all*; And that, first, because they are uncertain who they are that are thus *Reprobated*, (and doubtless ours have had no new Revelation concerning it): And, secondly, because their refusal (of which our *Negro's* are not guilty, it having never been *tendered* to them) is to be a principal *Motive* for their Condemnation. So that nothing in this Doctrine, taking it altogether (tho we should suppose it most *Orthodox*) doth prejudice the *Negro's* Right; at least excuse our not tending the *Gospel* (to omit food and bodily Necessaries) to them, whether in order to their *Salvation*, or further *Damnation*.

20. And thus these ridiculous Suppositions of themselves *vanishing*, as not able to endure a narrow Scrutiny or Examination; it will not be amiss if, after all, we bestow some little time to enquire into *matter of Fact*, and consider the *Event* of things; ever held for the safest way of *interpreting* Prophecies. In searching into which we shall find the whole current of *History*, (so far as we have any certain Records, wherein mention is made concerning *Cham*, or his Posterity) to be no other than as it were a plain *refutation* of these groundless Fictions. For in the Bible, *Cham's* Grandchild, *Nimrod*, is represented the first Monarch. And *Egypt* (or *Mizraim*) is described as a place of Learning, and its Inhabitants a free People, holding some of *Shem's* Posterity in Bondage,

dage, for above two hundred years. And after their subjection to the *Chaldean* Yoke, not more Slaves than most other Nations in their several turns have been, and some even to this day are.

21. And then for the *Abissins*, supposing them *Cham's* Race no less than our *Negro's*; we have them represented in History for a very *flourishing* People: As in a Treatise written originally in *Portuguez*, by one who had spent many Years there, is to be seen; which Treatise being since translated into *English*, was by the *Royal Society* ordered to be made public. It begins thus. "The *Abissins* Emperor (vulgarly *Presbyter John* of *India*) is Lord of the most ancient and largest Dominions of those many Kingdoms and Provinces, into which *Africa* is divided. The Empire, the most Easterly part of all *Africa*, called *Aethiopia* above *Egypt*, &c. And then, *Pag. 5. & 6.* this Empire anciently commanded many Kingdoms and Provinces; their own *Annals*, and some Historians, count above twenty, with almost as many Provinces. What at present passeth for current is, That its greatness was once *Notorious*, tho now limited to five Kingdoms, each of them about the bigness of *Portugal*; and to six Provinces, every one little different from *Beyra*, or *Alentejo*, two Provinces in the same Kingdom. Thus much that Author. To this I may, tis possible not impertinently, add that of *Memnon*, in *Virgils* .1. *Æn.* who is there stiled *Niger*, but yet a free Prince; who, with others from the *East*,

(*Æasq; acies & Nigri Memnonis Arma.*)

Brought his Forces to assist the *Trojans*; and being agreeable to his Name, by Authors reputed for a *Black* or *Negro*. The Queen of *Sheba* also in *Solomon's* time, and *Caradace* of *Aethiopia*, *Acts 8.* (if their Dominions

were not the same) were in all probability in their several times great Princes, (as by the rich and splendid Presents of the former, with the great Officers and Attendants of the others Court, (one of which, being her *Treasurer*, was withal a *Dynast*) is most evident) : And yet by all Writers, are confessed to have ruled over Subjects naturally Black, being in all likelihood such themselves. And their Kingdoms supposed by divers, to have been no other than that very *Æthiopia*, above described by our Author; to which, he saith, *Their own Annals, and most Historians do agree.*

22. So also as to their Incapacitie for Religion, (A thing that never yet fell under the Cognizance of the* *Gentiles* (as the fore-mentioned Quotations out of *Lucan* and *Homer* do witness), tho possibly that may be pretended as occasioned through their want of our knowledg in the Scriptures:) by virtue of this *Curse*; the like *Events*, together with the many *Prophetic* Discourses of the *Bible*, do no less evidently bespeak the contrary. For *David* in the *Psalms*, we find doth mention them twice. In the first of which, *viz. Psal. 68. 31.* *Junius* in his Notes, assures us that the Prophet there speaks, *De amplitudine Regni Christi*, of the large extent of *Christ's* Kingdom, through their access thereto. And in *Psal. 87. 4.* amongst divers Names there recited, he supposeth that *David* magnifies the Goodness of God for his purpose, of bringing all these several sorts of People into the *Church*. And then he immediately acknowledgeth them for, *Cives ejusdem Ecclesie; Fellow Citizens with the Saints, of the Household of God, and Members of the same Church* with them. And in *Psal. 72. 9.* the *Eremicols*, there mentioned, who should come to worship

worship *Christ*, are said by the *Septuagint Interpreters* (who 'tis possible might best be able to guess at the Nation pointed at in that *Pariphrasis*) to be no other than the *Æthiopians*, as in the said Translation may be seen. And *Acosta, l. 1. c. 4. De nat. nov. Orbis*, assures us, that the learned do hold, That the Wise Men who came to worship *Christ*, were as well of *Æthiopia*, as of *Arabia* and *Persia*: And for this end, saith the Almighty by *Zephania*, Chap. 3. 10. *will I turn to the Nations a pure Language; that they may all call upon the Name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent: Even from beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia* (not improbably pointing at the very South of *Africa*) *shall my suppliants bring mine Offering*: There being no *Curse* nor *Reprobation* of that force as to prevent their Conversion, when heartily endeavoured; or to make their Services at *God's Altar* less acceptable unto him.

23. Agreeable whereunto in a great measure (tho in a much greater it might be, did not the *God of this World* rule so mightily in some Mens Hearts) hath the issue of these Prophecies been, since the Publication of the *Gospel*; They being admitted into the *Church* almost as early as the first Notice of it. Both the *Egyptians* (amongst whom *St. Mark* was Bishop), and the *Æthiopians*, unto whom *St. Matthew* and other of the *Apostles* preached, being in *Christ* (*St. Paul's* Kindreds high Honour, as himself, *Rom. 16. 7.* glorieth) long before our selves. And the Holy Ghost especially commanding *St. Philip* to preach to the *Eunuch*, a Nobleman (as is supposed) of the same Country. By whose Zeal and Authority, the work was doubtless much promoted. For otherwise it would scarce have been there perfected so soon, as we find it was; and withal so settled, as not to be unfixed ever since. They even to this Day retaining their Christianity; if at least the Scripture *Æthiopia* be the same with that in *Africa*,

Africa on the Red Sea, which themselves do affirm, and some places in the Bible before recited (numb. 17 of this Section) do not obscurely declare. But be they the same or not, 'tis certain those are Christians, whom we speak of; and have so been for a long time; as (besides the former *Author*) *Alvarez* (a *Portugal* also) doth in his *Historia Aethiopica*, l. 1. P. 171. testifie. So also the *Author* of the *Atlas Major*, P. 3. 52. in *Aethiopia*; and *Le-Blanch*, a *Frenchman*; and *Sands*, one of our own Nation, in his *Journals*: Not to omit the Testimony *Viva voce*, of one of their own Bishops *Zabozago*, an Ambassadour thence into *Europe*. To which may be added the Kingdom of *Moni-Congo*, in *Africa*, some two Centuries since Converted by the *Portugals*, which our own Histories do mention. And then for those pieces of *Africa*, that were either part of, or conterminous upon the *Roman* Seigniory, and whose Shores were washed by the *Mediterranean* Sea; we find in the second and third Centuries, several hundreds of *Bishops* governing the Church there: Of whose number, tho at different seasons, were *St. Cyprian* Arch-Bishop of *Carthage*, and *St. Augustine* of *Hippo*, two the most Pious, Learned, and Eminent Fathers of their Times, or since. And even the Kingdom of *Nubia*, situated in the more inland Parts, were once Christians; tho now, through the want of Preachers, degenerated into their former Heathenism, or else poisoned with *Mahumetan* Impostures: Which is a consideration of so sad a nature, that we ought to make no further use of it, than to curb our own Presumption, and to bless God that it is not altogether our case, (tho I must confess the distance from it is not great): Our unthankfulness having long since deserved such another total Excision. And that as Heresies have ruin'd *Africa* and *Greece*, so Faction and *Atheism*, being with us no less prevalent, must needs in a short time, overgrow

grow the true Branches in the natural Tree, so as to consume the spring of true *Christianity*, and suck out the juice of right *Religion*, leaving to us the Bark and Rine only, to be called *Christians*. He that spared not them, will find as little reason to pity us.

24. But to return from this Deviation. If in the last place we look unto the *Gibconites*, the true Posterity of *Canaan*, and the most certain Issue of *Cham*: These (as they are supposed to have been those *Nethenims*, so often mentioned in *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*) so it is evident that they pertained to the service of the Temple: Which, had this Curse, or their persisting in their former *Gentilism*, stood in the way, could not have been allowed. And in our Blessed *Saviour's* time, one of the same Stock, a *Woman of Canaan*, as *St. Matthew* terms her; a *Syro-Phœnician*, a *Greek* or *Gentile*, as *St. Mark* bespeaks her; both of them, A dweller upon the Coast of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, (now *Canaan* begat *Zidon*, saith *Moses*, *Gen.* 10. 25. and so in the 1 of *Chron.* 1. 15. and *Deut.* 1. 7. the Territory thereabout is said to have been the Patrimony of his Children) hath this *Eulogium* given her from his Divine Mouth, that her Faith was great; whereby, tho thrice rejected for a *Dog*, yet she still persevering, did by her Faith and Importunity, so prevail, as to accomplish her desires. To these I might also add, that this was the Country of the *Widow of Serepta*, or *Zerepha*, a Town belonging to *Zidon*, 1 *Kings* 17. 9. (and by *Obadiah*, ver. 20. expressly declared to be the *Canaanites* Possession;) unto which *Widow*, *Elijah* was sent; tho there wanted not *Widows* in *Israel* at the same time, as our *Saviour* witnesseth, to sustain the *Prophet*, or that needed to have been sustained by him. And thus from the whole, these two things do appear most evident; First, How not only uncertain, but rather, unlikely it is, that our *Negro's* should be *Canaan's* Off-spring. And, secondly,

condly, How derogatory it is both to *Reason* and *Religion*, that this Curse should touch either their Souls or Bodies, so as to deprive them of that *natural Right to necessary relief for both*, which is born with them, and can never be separated from them. *Religion*, especially the Christian, making no such *distinctions*, which our Sloth and Avarice have suggested to most of us. And if the Blessed *Jesus* did with so little patience, hear his Disciples urge to him a respect for his earthly *Relations*, surely much more must he have been incensed, had they proposed to him either *Statute* or *Countenance*, or any other the like *perishing Vanities*, to have become the objects of his Favour. Nor is our *Negro's blackness*, which gives the pretence for these *Impieties*, (in all probability) occasioned by any other means, than the *Climate* they live under. The remoter *Inhabitants*, within either of the more temperate *Zones*, (as upon the *Cape of good Hope*, and about *Fex*, and *Morocco*) being of a brown Complexion, answering to other swarthy People, in our cooler *Regions*. And whereas 'tis objected that here in *America* under the same Degrees, the like Blackness is not found in the Natives; It is to be answered, that neither is there the same heat, by them to be endured; our cooler *Breezes* (which *Africa* wants) being here the constant attendants upon the *Sun's* motion, and with him for the most part gradually *Rising* and *Falling* throughout the Year, in all the *Regions of America*, lying under the *Torrid Zone*. But to determine the whole matter in a few words: Since this Argument against the *Negro's* is drawn from holy Scripture, (no other Ancient Author mentioning either the Crime or Punishment, nor for ought we know, so much as the Name of *Cham*;) there is no reason why those Persons, who in all other of their Discourses, do *scuff* and *flout* at it, should be allowed even those just and lawful

ful Advantages derivable from that Scripture, which they in other cases seem no more to believe, than they do the *Alcoran*: And which they mention but with the same respect with the scriblings of our giddy *Enthusiasts*; but with far less, than they allow most other, even the *prophanest* Authors.

§. III. 1. And thus having finished the *First*, I come to the *Second* Objection, by which they hope to evacuate the *Negro's* Right to Religion: which is pretended to be forfeited, *If not by the Curse, yet without doubt by Slavery*. Religion being (forsooth) a kind of *Spiritual Gentility*, which with them must be lost or forfeited, by putting on the *Iron Chain* of Bondage. For certainly no less can be collected from those customary Replies and Demands, usually returned upon any Advices for the Christianizing of their *Negro's*, viz. *What, such as they? What, those black Dogs be made Christians? What, shall they be like us?* With abundance more such like Questions. And here I cannot but observe, that as this latter is extendible to all Slaves, of what Complexion or Nation soever, and no less to *Englishmen* and *Christians*, than to others; so the former doth intrench upon as considerable a number of *Mankind*, even a third part of the *World*; and that without all respect to their *Condition*, as in the other; Both *Freemen* and *Slaves* being there equally involved in the same Calamity, as in this, *Christians* and *Heathens* are; thereby as it were damming at one blow, two thirds of the *World*; all which, or more, do fall under one of *these* Capacities.

2. And so (after taking notice of their *Zeal* in being thus ready to take the advantage of such *Forfeitures*) having examined the first, I come to the second Objection: Wherein I cannot but see enough at the very first view, to move pity and commiseration towards

towards these People, the Negro's, and that even more than when they were represented as Brutes. Their Humanity here standing them in no further stead, than to make them more Miserable, than as Brutes they could possibly have been. For whereas a Brute may according to the Scripture (which is a Book of Reason and of Justice too) in some sense have a Right to divers things, the Slave must be *devoid* of all. For by Moses's Law, *The Ass sinking under his burden*, had a Right to be relieved by the next Traveller, *Exod. 23. 5.* Nor was the Ox to be *muzzled which did tread out the Corn*, *Deut. 25. 4.* his labour meriting better usage. And one of the Reasons for the Sabbath rest was, *Exod. 23. 14.* *That the Ox and Ass might have respite from Toil, as well as their Owners.* (We see here, no working them to death was allowed.) And Solomon in effect pronounceth that Person unjust, who regards not the life of his Beast, *Prov. 12. 10.* So that here is a plain Right belonging unto Brutes, whilst by us it is denied unto Men, *whose Flesh is as our own:* A thing greatly deserving to be laid to Heart.

3. For in truth the very Heathen were never so void of Bowels and tenderness to their Slaves, as to deny them a *due Right* to necessaries for their Preservation. To which purpose it is, that we hear Cicero thus pleading in their behalf, *Off. 1. 1. Meminerimus autem etiam adversus infimos justitiam esse servandam. Est autem infima conditio & fortuna servorum; quibus non male precipiant, qui ita uti jubent ut mercenariis, ad operam exigendam & ad justa prebenda.* That is, *We must*

* That by Servus is meant a Slave, this in Terence, (Ego postquam te emi a parvulo, feci e servo, ut es libertus mihi) doth plainly shew; besides, that I find this place so rendered in

take notice that there is a Right belonging unto Slaves,* † whom they that advise us to treat as hired Servants, in exacting their Labour, but allowing them their DUE, do not advise amiss.

Nor

a Translation made many Years since. † In which words we are to observe three things: 1. The difference between Servus and Mercenarius. 2. That there was in Cicero's opinion, a Right belonging to the first. 3. That, tho unrestrained, he thought it our duty to treat even those, whom he there esteems of the lowest Rank and Condition of Men (and that sure must be Slaves) with Mercy.

Nor is Phocilides less kind and just unto them, if at least we will admit *Θεράπων & Δούλος*, to signify that condition; which this Injunction doth demonstrate.

Γαρ πὸς ὀφειλόμενον δασμὸν παρέχεσθε θεράπονσι:
Δούλω τὰ κτῆλα νέμοις, &c.

That is, *Defraud not thy Slave of his DUE, but allow him his full proportion of Diet, and other Necessaries.* Which the ensuing Prohibition doth more fully explicate.

Στίγμα ἄλλα μὴ γράψῃς ἐποιεῖδίζων θεράποντα:

Therein giving us to understand, who, and what they were he designed this Kindness to; such ignominious *Stigmatizings*, being not to be imposed on any besides *Slaves*.

4. And that no other than such (properly so taken) are there by our Poet to be understood, is I think no hard task to prove. *Θεράπων*, being by *Hesychius* explained by *οικέτης & Δούλος*: Both importing the same with *Verna* and *Mancipium*, in *Latine*; The first being, as I have shewed (*Pag. 32.*) by *Siracides*, put in opposition to *ἐλεύθερος*, a *Freeman*. And the second [*Δούλος*], both in the *Septuagint*, and *New Testament*, plainly implying the same condition. For *Psal. 81. 6.* the *Israelites* condition in *Egypt*, is called *δουλικα*: And in *Psal. 105.* it is said of *Joseph*, *That he was sold*, εἰς Δούλον, for a *Bond-servant*, as we have it rendered from the *Hebrew*. And *Heb. 2. 15.* we find

δουλικα

δουλία, translated *Bondage*. And, *Apoc.* 19. 18. we have ἐλεύθερος καὶ δούλος, *Free and Bond*. Add to this the *Jews* tart and quick reply, *St. John* 8. 33. εἰδὲν δεδουλεύκαμεν, πῶποτε, to our Blessed Saviour, discouraging of *making them free*; thereby setting the verbal δουλεύω, in opposition to ἐλευθερώω; which Saint Paul also twice doth, *viz.* 1 *Cor.* 9. 19. & *Gal.* 2. 4. The last of which is interpreted, *A bringing into Bondage*. So καὶ αἰχμαλωτῆς, 1 *Cor.* 11. 20. As also that of the *Jews* before unto our Blessed Saviour, as in the place will further appear.

5. But because it may seem proper, and to some perchance prove more satisfactory, to confront one *Heathen* with another, and so to explain the meaning of each, (alho the *Greek*, both of the *Septuagint* and *New Testament*, be certainly no less *Authentic*): I shall therefore be bold to summon in one for an evidence in this behalf, unto whose Testimony they cannot refuse to yield; And that is the most eloquent Comedian *Aristophanes*, in his *Plutus*; At the very entrance into which, one (stiling himself by those two forementioned *Appellatives*) is heard to complain of his Master's *stupid and unreasonable Impositions*; which yet, he confesseth, *he could by no means avoid, because*, as he adds,

Τὸ πάμαχος ἐκέα τὸ κύριον
κρατῆν ὁ Δάμιαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐωνυμῆνοι, &c.

Fortune had deprived him of the happiness of being at his own disposal, by placing him under the Purchasers power. And certainly, he can be neither Freeman nor Hireling, that is become the Purchase of another Man.

6. Nor let any one object, that the above-mentioned Writers, like *envious People*, destitute of *Slaves* themselves, were more partial in their Rules to others; few or none in those times being *without some*, whilst
divers

divers possessed *many*. *Plutarch* writes of *Lucullus*, that he had forty thousand; and that by their labour he levelled fifteen Mountains. And the trouble to which the *Romans* were often put to suppress their *servile* Insurrections, (whereby it may be seen, that *Slaves may rebel without Religion*, and that *Christianity is not wholly in the fault, if any such thing should happen*) doth shew that that *free People* were no strangers to such *Domestic Utensils*, nor to the Profit accruing by them to their Owners. Nor could *Cicero* easily have amassed together so great Wealth, to the which, he was never born, without the labour of *Slaves*: 'Tis certain, he retained some in his Family, which, his setting one at liberty, for the *News* he brought of the *Senates Adjournment*, (whereby he had a Day more given to compleat his *Oration*) doth manifest: Nor is it to be imagined, that he then parted with all he had. But the words [*Libertus & libertinus*,] signifying a *freed Man*, and the *Son* of such a Person, and made to distinguish [*liber & ingenuus*] from one that was *manumitted*; that is, Persons *originally Free*, from such as were but lately made so; do enough declare the no want of *Slaves*, even amongst those who thus assert their *Right*, and condemn all their *unmerciful* usage of them.

7. But to proceed: Had *Slaves* no *Right* at all, all *Laws* and *Injunctions* against *oppressing* them had been unjust, 'tis certain very needless; for it had been no other than to infringe their *Owners Right* of exercising his, it matters not whether Gentle or Cruel, Pleasure and Authority over them: which might be justly practiced even to the utmost extremity, were the Parties divested of all *Right* to better usage. Oppression being neither more nor less than an *over rigorous treating of those under our power*, beyond what justly the one could pretend, or the other ought to submit to; which in

this case could never happen. For what can he lay claim to, who hath nothing either *within* or *without* him, which he can call his *own*? Or what wrong is it to bar or deprive him of *that which is not his*? Those Laws therefore do confess a *Right* in the Party, on whose behalf they were made. Else that in *Exod. 21. 27.* He shall let his *Servant* go free for his *Tooths* sake, had been impertinent and injurious. And *Job's* purgation of himself, *Job 31. 13.* If I despised the cause of my *Man-servant*, or of my *Maid-servant*, when they contended with me; &c. had been idle and ridiculous, and an argument that he understood not his own *Privilege* and *Right*, whilst he stood so nicely upon theirs. And no better had been the advice of *Siracides*, *Ecclesiast. 7. 20, 21. & 33. 30, 31. ver.* Whereas thy *Servant* worketh truly, entreat him not evilly; nor the *Hireling* (where note what the former were) that bestoweth himself wholly for thee. Let thy *Soul* love a good *Servant*, and defraud him not of *Liberty*. Again, If thou hast a *Servant*, let him be unto thee as thy self, because thou hast bought him with a *Price*: So that the *Servant* here also is a purchased *Bondman*; whom yet we are to treat as our selves; and, in the next Verse, as a *Brother*. The like also must *St. Paul's* Exhortation (or rather Precept) to his *Colossians* be, *Chap. 6. 1.* Masters [*μαρξέτε*] allow (not give) your *Servants* (for that agrees not so well with what follows) that which is just and equal; such things being not to be reckoned *Gifts*, which are our *due*, and to which we have a *just Right*. So likewise to his *Ephesians*, *Chap. 6. 9.* Where he exhorts both *Masters* and *Servants* to *Reciprocal Duties*; giving the former to understand, That the *Master* of them both (so the *Margent* tells us some Copies have it) was in *Heaven*; who (in punishing Injustice in either Party) would be *Impartial*. Which, with many the like places, are to be understood of

Slaves

Slaves purely so taken, as may be proved from *1 Cor. 7. 21, 22.* and from *1 Tim. 6. 1.* Also from *1 St. Peter. 2. 18.* in the first of which, (omitting that out of *Siracides*;) they are advised to accept of *Freedom* when offered, being therefore at that time, no doubt, under *Bondage*; as in the next *v.* they are plainly declared to be under the *Yoke*. Not to be understood of those whom we stile *Apprentices* (that is *Learners*) such being certain of *Freedom*, so soon as it is convenient, or safe for them. And therefore we have reason to imagine that *St. Paul's* advice was given to *Servants* of an inferior degree, and to whom *Liberty* might be more safe and advantagious, even as it was more difficult to be obtained. Besides, he there chargeth every *Man* in general, to abide in the same *Calling*, wherein they were called, that is, wherein *Christianity* found them; unless (which is presently excepted) they might lawfully obtain their *Liberty*. And the cruel usage unto which, *St. Peter* intimates the *Servants* he wrote to were subject, doth sufficiently manifest, that their Condition was no better than direct *Servitude*, and that even to *Heathen* Masters. For otherwise the Exhortation in his *1 Ep. Ch. 2. 18, 19, 20.* and afterwards, had been improper; such *Rigour* and *Cruelty* of *Christian* Masters in those early and devout times, being unlikely to have escaped his *Apostolic* Censures and severest Menaces, if not to have cost the Authors a total rejection from the *Communion* of *Christians*. From hence also we may note, (no less than from *Saint Paul's* words, *1 Tim. 6. 2.* As many as have believing Masters) (which shews that some of them had not); that the very *Gentiles* then, were not so ill-natur'd and malicious against *Christianity*, as to hinder their *Slaves* from embracing it. And throughout the *Old Testament*, both *Abraham's* *Servants*, and the rest downwards, were no better than *Slaves*; unless where we

find [*Mercenarii*, *Hirelings*,] for distinction, added. The word [*Slave*] being no where found in the holy Scripture, except once by a misinterpretation in the *Apocalyps*. And the Latine word [*Servus*] taking its derivation from [*Servatus*], and importing one saved in Battel, by his mercy that took him: In lieu whereof, by Custom, Gratitude and Necessity, he was obliged to do him Service the remainder of his Life. So also in the *Apocrypha*, (besides that of *Ecclus.*) *Rafael's* giving half his Servants to his Son in Law *Tobias*, *Tob.* 10. 10. And *Judith's* setting her Maid free, *Judith* 16. 23. And in the New Testament, *St. Paul's Antithesis*, *1 Cor.* 9. 19. and *Gal.* 2. 4. with the *Jews* reply to our Saviour, *St. John* 8. 23. (all before mentioned) do plainly discover the meaning of the word Servant in holy Scripture, not to import a Mercenary, or Hireling, but a meer Bondman, or Slave. And so from the whole may be collected, That Servitude is no such forfeiture of Right, but that a Slave hath as good a plea and just claim to Necessaries, both for his Soul and Body, as his Master hath to his strength and industry in those Works, about which he is employed.

8. No more doth that *Maxim* in the *Civil Law*, That whatsoever the Servant acquires, is properly derivable to his Lord and Master, as the true and sole Proprietor of his Servants Acquisitions, interfere, or jar with this Right, than any thing that hath been pretended besides: This Right extending only to necessaries for Life, not to superfluities or abundance, which are the things aimed at in that *Maxim*. These only, and not the other being to be reckoned for Acquisitions, and therefore seizable to the Master. Not but that there are some that can swallow this *Maxim* in its fullest Latitude, and even extended to the Lives and Fortues of *Freemen*, whom (no less than *Slaves*) they can without scruple divest of all

all Right. These shall assure us, That Men have no stronger obligations to Justice, than either Fish, or wild Beasts, who prey upon, and devour each other. And, That God is no more honoured by *A. N. G. E. L.* (wittily pronouncing the Letters thus severally, with a short pause between each) than by *B. E. A. S. T.* And therefore that such tenderness and regard of Equity, is to be avoided as a great impediment to Profit; The only art or science to be studied, and applied by Mankind. And no wonder that they who hold and practice such Principles concerning *Freemen*, should prove no less fierce sticklers against the Right of *Slaves*.

9. But supposing that according to this *Maxim*, the Slave might without spot of Injustice, be by his Owner deprived of all Right to Temporal Priviledges and Provisions, yet can it never be admitted as to *Spiritual*, nor be extended to those Provisions which do concern the health and happiness of their Souls, that is, *Religion*. But must be understood, and only confined to the Goods of this World: the Possession and Enjoyment whereof may be some prejudice, or abatement to others, that want them: which I am to shew, can never happen in *Religion*; and this I shall prove three ways.

10. First, From the consideration of the Nature of *Religion*, which being the Result only of a virtuous Mind, and an Act of the Intellect, a thing purely *Immaterial* and *Spiritual*, cannot be subject to the like inconveniencies with Bodies, composed and made up of Matter. Nor is it to be engrassed, or made over; but, as *Free-common*, is the true Right and Property of every Man. So that whilst other Goods may, and for the most part are, possessed by a few; and some do want, whilst others do enjoy abundance; The goods of the Mind are sufficient for all; because not limited, nor circumscribed; nor, as the other, falling within

the Measures and Rules of quantity, whereby they become *Infinite*. And no Mans Acquisitions of this kind, are any *Diminution* to his *Neighbour*. Whence it comes that there can be no clamour nor outcry of Wrong or Injustice; and no Man can pretend this Enjoyment to be any lessening to himself by anothers sharing with him. And a Man may as well complain of his being robbed of the *Light*, or *Air*, because his Neighbour refuseth to close his Eyes, or to retain his Breath; as any Master can be supposed to feel an abatement of his either Substance, or *Religion*, by his Slaves joyning with him in the same *Divine* Exercise. *Religion* being the true *proprium in Commune*, where every Soul is at full *Liberty* (without any fear or danger of endamaging the residue of Mankind); to assume as much, and as great a *proportion* thereof, as is needful for him, and as he can desire.

11. *Secondly*, This may be proved from the object of *Religion*, *GOD*; unto whom it wholly belongs, and whose entire Property it is, as being the Creatures Tribute due unto him the *Creator*. Now certainly, *God* is not the less receptive of the Master's Devotion, for his being accompanied therein by his *Slave*, any more (yea, rather much less) than the *North Pole* can become less instrumental to the Mariners safety, and preservation through the multitude of *Points*, at one and the same instant, directed to it. And there is space enough in his *Immenseness* and *Infinity*, for our safe reposing, and his no less *sure* acceptance of the most unlimited *affections* and praises of innumerable *Souls*, conspiring therein at one and the same time.

12. *Thirdly*, This may be proved from the *subject* of *Religion*, the Soul of Man, which is only in *God's* disposal, *Ezek. 18. 4*. And therefore cannot become the purchase of any Mortal, tho the *Cafe*, or *Body* may; but is entirely possessed by the Party, or Owner,

not-

notwithstanding his being reduced under *Bondage*. *There is no Man* (saith *Solomon*, *Eccles. 8. 8.*) *that hath power over the spirit, to restrain the spirit*: But the Soul can still exercise all her powers and faculties, tho in Chains, and in a *Dungeon*, or even like *Jonas* in the Belly of the Whale. *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty*, saith the Apostle, *1 Cor. 3. 17*. Even in the midst of *Bondage* our Thoughts are free, and a Man may think, and wish, and pray, in despite of his worst Enemies: And as our Blessed Lord adviseth, we may *possess our Souls* under the hardest Pressures and Sufferings. From which Considerations, it will appear that the *Soul* of the Slave is no part of the *Master's* purchase, nor can he by any means make it *subject*. And therefore he hath no wrong done him (tho we should grant the aforesaid *Maxim*, to strike at the whole *Temporal Rights* and Enjoyments (-which are but few) that a *Bondman* can pretend to) by his Slaves practice and exercise of *Religion*.

§. V. 1. These Objections being *washt* off, I come now positively to declare in the Affirmative, that a *Slave* both may be, and naturally is invested with a *Right to the Exercise and Benefits accruing to the soul by Religion*; and that upon a threefold account, *viz.* Of *Creation*, *Divine Precept*, and of the *good and evil of Eternity*; to which last, the Slave is no less subject, and accordingly hath *equal hopes* with his Master to the other. Nor can any Master pretend to it upon other Reasons than these that are here laid down.

2. Now for the first of these, *viz. Creation*; this the *Bondman* hath in common with his Lord. That is, he is alike the Off-spring of *Humane Seeds*; was alike sustained in his Mother's Womb; was born, and drew in the *common Air*, even as others do: *Nor is there any King that had other beginning or birth*, saith the *Wise*

Man.

Man. The like also is acknowledged by *Job*, *Did not he that made him in the Womb make me, and did not one fashion us both in the Womb?* *Job* 31. 15. And as all Men have but one entrance into Life, so they have the like going forth of it, saith the same *Wife Man*, *Wisd.* 7. And as the Slave was created free, so Death sets him at Liberty, and restores him to the like freedom again. In the Grave both the small and great rest quietly together; For there the *Wicked cease from troubling, the Prisoners hear not the voice of the Oppressor*; and even the *Servant is free from his Master*, *Job* 3. Now Creation, from which *Job* infers a Right due unto Slaves, is a tie of the strictest Nature, and strongest Obligation of all other; because unto it we are indebted for whatsoever we either have, or can pretend to. Conquest and Purchase (which do confer on the Lord his whole pretence of Right or Power over his Slave.) being not possible to have been, had not this preceded. And even our Parents Right of Dominion over us, is infinitely short of this; who in all that they contributed towards our being, were but *Agents* subservient unto him, without whose Blessing no perfection could have followed. So that whatsoever we enjoy, primarily is from *God, our true Father*, and Creator. They being but Procreators, or Deputies unto this great Author of Life, and all things. Now this being equally true, both of Slave and Lord; and *God Almighty* having this original Right and property in every Man, which sovereign Right of his cannot by any after act of his Creatures be forfeited, so as to cause an *Alienation* thereof from him (for be the Possession where it will, his first Right can suffer no prejudice): The Slaves Obligation and Right (I so call it, it being a real Priviledg) to serve God, continues firm and inviolable, and no less unalterable than his Lords. Nor can it be swallowed up, or lost in any

new

new pretended claim, whilst that first Obligation continues the same, which originally it was. No prescription of time being of force against so sovereign a Power as that of Gods.

3. But secondly, Slaves have a *Right to serve God*, by virtue of his determinate Precept and Command for their so doing: None of his *Laws* being limited to any certain Order, or Degree of Men; but were given to every Man alike, whether Bond, or Free. For he that said, *Thou shalt not Swear, Kill, Steal, Lye, Covet, nor commit Adultery*, made no difference nor distinction in the direction of these *Laws*, either of *Lords or Peasants, Free or Bondmen*. But the Imposition being equally laid on all, must exact an equal tribute of Duty, from all. No *Dispensation* any where appearing for the omission of the *Duties*, either of *Morality*, or *Religion* to Potentates, any more than the tenuity or meanness of an inferior Person, was ever in holy Scripture admitted as a tolerable excuse upon the like occasion. And this Impartiality, is more especially the Credit and Ornament of Christianity: which for that Reason is stiled the *Common Faith*, and the *Common Salvation*; *St. Jude* 3. and *St. Tit.* 3. Which as the *Baptist* preached, *St. Luke* 3. *All flesh should see*; that is, enjoy and partake of, if they had any liking thereto. And in pursuance hereof *S. Paul* at *Athens*, declareth, *That God had now commanded all Men every where to repent*: (words comprehensive and large; and, methinks very appositely pointing to these so late discovered Regions: But to go on). For that as he writes to *Titus*, *The Grace of God which bringeth Salvation, hath appeared to all Men*: Such an Universality making it an Act of Grace indeed. And the same Apostle in his Preaching, warns all alike of *the Wrath of God, revealed against all ἀνομίαν ἢ ἀδικίαν, Irreligion and Injustice of Men*. Both he and the rest in their practice

practice, proving their Sense to be as *unlimited* and unrestrained, as their words were general; shewing themselves in their *Epistles*, no less exact and punctual in setting forth the *Duty of Servants*, and as careful for the *saving of their souls*, as for their Masters. And being never so beset with Business, (tho doubtless they had enough, as having the good of, not one single Diocess or Parish, but of the Universal, or Catholic Church, 2 Cor. 11. 28. in their thoughts and care:) so as to neglect the Soul of the meanest Bond-slave. Whom for their encouragement, he assures, that *God himself* did take especial cognizance of their faithful services done unto Men; who would not fail to recompence *whatsoever good thing any Man doth, whether he be Bond or Free*, Ephes. 6. 8. And 'tis remarkable, that the preceding words to *St. Titus*, do in place immediately succeed an Exhortation to Servants, thereby as it were pointing out the very Persons to whom that Grace had been manifested, *no less than to the residents of Mankind*.

4. And to this agreeth the necessity thereof: For *Vertue*, which is made most effectual and operative by Religion, is alike requisite and commendable in all Men: At least if there be any difference, the *Credit* of it will redound most to them, from it was least expected; that is, from Servants. But it is manifest, how necessary *Vertue* is, in that all Men do abhor to be unjustly dealt with. And they that regard not *Vertue* themselves, do yet expect it in their Vassals. Whence some are so apt to applaud Integrity, and other good Qualities in their *Negro's*, and to blame and punish the contrary. Nor can it be doubted but that good Qualities are as requisite in a Servant, as *Conjugal* loyalty is in a Married Person, or *obedience* in a Child. Now Religion is the strongest exciter and spur to these *Vertues*, fixing and engraving them upon the

the Heart of Man, and making such deep impressions thereof upon the Soul, that the Party shall even prefer *Death to the foregoing of his Duty*; which heretofore hath been evidenced by innumerable Instances; some examples thereof have in this Age been produced. And then can any Man believe other, than that Religion is necessary for People of *this*, or of any other condition whatsoever? Or that it is not the Master's great Interest to have his Servants minds possessed, with principles of *true Piety*? The benefit whereof is least to the Slave, tho he gain Heaven thereby; whilst his Master (besides that, of which he is no less assured, by being instrumental thereto) doth in this World also reap the desired fruit of his Servant's *FIDELITY*: Which whosoever hinders, must therein be an enemy to that his own great Interest. In a word, God having sworn, *Isa. 45. 23.* (again repeated, *Rom. 14. 11.*) *That every Knee should bow to him, and every Tongue give him thanks, and glorifie him*; (unto which Service he hath furnished Slaves with Abilities and Parts suitable;) and having withal by his express Commands, imposed on them alike necessity thereof, (unto which doubtless they are obliged to conform, every Man being bound to be as Good and Vertuous, as God doth require of him: I say, these Reasons considered,) the prohibiting and disabling them for this Service, is certainly a most palpable deprivation of their Right, which is the worst I shall say of it here, and at this time.

5. But then in the third place, this Right I am speaking of, is no less evident from the *good and evil of Eternity*; which the Master and Slave are, according to their Merits, each of them to enjoy, or suffer alike. For as the Precepts are general, so also are the Threats and Promises. As for instance: *He, saith our Blessed Lord, that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but*

be that believeth not, shall be damned, St. Mat. 16. And the great Apostle St. Paul indefinitely pronounceth Sin to be the *Wages of Death* to all alike, Rom. 6. And in Rom. 2. he denounceth *tribulation and anguish to every soul of Man that doth evil*. So also the Prophet, Ezek. 10. 20. resolveth the matter, that *the soul that sinneth, it shall die*. But on the contrary, *He that believeth on the Son of Man, hath eternal Life, and shall not come into Condemnation*, saith St. John 15. 24. And saith St. Paul, *Whatsoever good thing any Man doth, (speaking of Servants) the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be Bond or Free*, Ephes. 6. 8. Further adding, *For with God there is no respect of Persons*. Now the Slave's Soul being as precious, and his danger and hopes equal with his Master's, a Right to the due and necessary means, either to prevent the one, or to obtain the other, cannot be denied him: Unless we will suppose, *That God should Damn so great a number of Men, for the abominable Lucre of a few greedy Epicures and Mammonists*. It being not to be denied, but that it is a thing highly unreasonable to tie any Man to an end, and at the same instance to bar him of the means requisite thereto; and withal, to condemn him to a perpetual Death, for omitting those *Duties* (if at least we may so term them), when he had no Right nor Liberty to perform them. Wherefore since that the *Ways of God are all equal*, 'tis to be concluded, that whatsoever *Penalties* he hath decreed for the breach of his Laws, must be because there first was a *Liberty*, at least, if not an *Ability*, given for the observance of them; with sufficient means allowed both to obtain the *good*, and to avoid the *evil*, consequent to the *keeping or neglect* thereof.

6. I shall conclude my whole Proposition with a few Lines, to this purpose, borrowed from a *Sermon* delivered on a *Christmas-Day* in this *Island*; For which I am

am sure the Preacher (who, tho his Discourse was to *White People*, did yet design it for the benefit of the *Black, and Tawneys*, of which our fierce *Quakers Spirit* (see P. 4.) was quite Ignorant ;) will not be displeas'd. The Text being taken out of St. Luke 2. the latter part of the 10th ver. his Discourse thereupon was to this effect. " And that we may not too proudly insult upon these People [the *Negro's*,] and with the Poet, resolve against them, — *Quod nulla sub illa cura Jovis Terra est* : — *That they are wholly without the care of Heaven, and of God's Protection and Providence* : That like the *Mountains of Gilboa*, no Dews nor Showres of Grace were to fall upon those parched Fields ; or like the *barren Fig-tree*, they were finitten with a perpetual Curse ; we find them admitted into the *Church* upon the first dawning of the Gospel. " And Acts 8. We reade the holy Spirit of God, to be no less than thrice, particularly concerned, and acting for the Salvation of the *Æthiopian Treasurer* ; a consention so extraordinary and rare, that few, either Men or Nations, can boast of the like. Wherefore if St. Peter could from one single Example, infer the Salvation of *all the Heathen*, Acts 15. what should hinder, but from this *Eunuch's* ready submission and hearty acceptance of the Heavenly Doctrine, we also may infer the Calling and Conversion of *all the Negro's*. And since that God, who knoweth the Hearts, bare him witness, and did put no difference between him and other *Gentiles* ; but purified his Heart by Faith : *Why tempt we God*, in detaining them in Bondage to Hell (no less than to our selves) for whom Christ died, and redeemed them from thence ? — And then proceeding to that Example of *Ebedmelech*, Jer. 38. 39. he thus concludes ; — Both which being considered, it is most evident (to use St. Peter's words in his Discourse to *Cornelius* ;)

“ *Cornelius* ;) That to them also, hath God granted *repentance unto Life* ; that they have Souls to be saved “ no less than other People ; and an equal *Right* even “ with us, to the Merits of *Christ*. Of which, if “ through our Neglect or Avarice, they be deprived, “ that Judgment which was denounced against wicked “ *Abab*, must befall us, *Our life shall go for theirs* : The “ loss of their Souls will be required at *our Hands*, to “ whom God hath given so blessed an opportunity of “ being instrumental to their Salvation.

§. VI. 1. My two former *Propositions* being finished, I proceed now to the third ; wherein, as a most natural Inference, the Injustice of withholding this Right from our *Negro's*, was no less positively declared. A thing so clear, that had I not heard and seen the contrary, more than a thousand times over, I should have thought it *impossible* once to be questioned, or denied. For what can be more *unjust*, than to deny any Man an apparent Right ? Especially a Right of that consequence even absolutely necessary, and whereon *Eternity* depends. If it be injurious to deprive a Man of his House, or Goods, the enjoyment whereof is confined to the duration of but a few Years, (and yet such an *Injury* it is, as but few can bear) ; It must certainly be no less, (rather a great deal more) oppressive to thrust him out of those *Eternal Mansions*, and from his Heavenly *Father's* House ; to supplant him of his Patrimony in the *Celestial Canaan* ; and, as much as in the Oppressor lieth, to rob him of the *Grace of God* ? An Injury of an endless permanency, and for which, no place for amends nor *reparation* can be found ! A gain, if the restraining of ordinary Necessaries, as *Food, &c.* be an unmerciful *Cruelty* and Injustice to the Parties, to whose *Preservation* they are necessary and *due* ; How much more *Barbarous* and *Inhumane* must

must it be to withhold from them the exercise of *Religion*, and the knowledg of *God*, equally needful for the preservation of their *Souls* ? And if Slaves have a Right to so much of their Labour as may furnish them with the *first*, (which, it is proved, they have) certainly it will follow, that their Right is as great to the *latter*. If the *Negro's* Master be in his Sickness obliged to afford him such *Succour* and Relief as may, if possible, prevent the *Anticipation* of his Dissolution (for otherwise he is a Murderer, and amongst *more virtuous Christians*, would certainly be *Arraigned* for one) doubtless he is equally bound to prevent his Damnation. It being, as the Orator testifies, against common Equity and Morality, to post-pone a *lesser* evil to a *greater* ; to destroy a *Man* to save a *Horse* ; or in a Man to throw away the *Noblest* and most *Precious*, to save the more *Dungbil* and *basest* part of him ; especially when obliged *with equal care* to preserve the whole ; or if to bestow any more on either, to prefer the *best*, and that *Eternity* be allowed the preheminnence. And this care, which carries its *reward* always with it, is but a moderate *Retribution* of the *Servant's* Labour, tho to him of *infinite* value.

2. And here may it not be demanded, Why the *Master* who thinks this care as to *Religion*, needless for his *Slave*, doth (as some would have it believed of them) hold it needful for *himself* ? Since the meanest *Slave* hath a Soul of no less *value*, and to be preserved by the same means, with his. Or how comes his Soul, being of but one and the same *substance*, to have a better title to *Happiness*, and the means of attaining it, than the others, since that the holy Scripture, the *Charter* of happiness to Mankind, informs us of no such difference ? Where the *Servant* that believes, is by *St. Paul* dignified with this Privilege of being the Lord's

* *Amplius* See the Margent,
1 Cor. 7. 22.

Lords* *Freedman*, and thereby qualified with a full Liberty and Freedom, to partake of the Immunities of Religion, and to the exercise of whatsoever Actions shall be conducive to promote his interest in Eternity, and to attain to the Blessings and Joys of Heaven. And this, being so plainly there asserted; and the most certain and *Catholic* Faith of all Christians; no Man that professeth an Assent to these, can, without contradicting himself, gain-say it: Yea, a very *Infidel*, may, from this owned and avowed Principle of Christianity, pass sentence against him, acting so contrary thereto.

3. And questionless from our *Negro's* being Slaves to argue their no Right to Religion, is more Oppressive and Injurious, than that Force which first made them so: Because striking at their *Souls*, and subjecting them to Hell, as much (only for a longer time) as to their *Tormenters* here on Earth: And to have avoided which, it might have been wished, either that their *Creation* had failed, or not exceeded this fancied state and degree of *Brutes*. And this Injustice must upon all respects, be heightened by the consideration of those great *Ends* unto which, all Momentary advantages ought to give way. Nor is it to be understood as terminating only in the Sufferings of the *wronged* Party, but directed and glancing at Him also, whose the Soul of each Man is; whether in a Bond, or *Freeman*: And *who* cannot be thought to *resent* a Fact, so at once Sacrilegious and Oppressive, less than an Earthly Prince doth the *Murdering* of a *Subject*, the *Author* whereof is deservedly made with his own, to wash out and silence the loud cry of his Neighbours, or *Fellow-subject's* Blood. And as a *Crime* of this nature marks the *Oppressor* with the blackest Guilt, so it cannot but render him *Obnoxious* to the *severest* Vengeance, that a provoked

provoked and just God can inflict upon him, both Body and Soul; and probably, no less in this Life, than certainly in the other.

4. I confess, as to the Provision for their Bodies, they deny it not to be expedient, or fit to be allowed them: But this, not as their *Right*, or *Due*, but as conducive to the *Masters* Convenience and Profit, *The most operative and universally owned Principle of this Place*; and indeed of the whole *Plantations*. They consider it only in order to the enabling their People to undergo their *Labour*, without which themselves cannot get *Riches*, and great Estates; but nothing (so far as I could ever learn) for the Wretches *Health* and Preservation. And their both Discourse and most current Practice, do declare no less; in neither of which doth appear much *Tenderness*. Pity to Humanity being here reputed a *pusillanimous* weakness, and a very back friend to Interest. Whence their Houses are so plentifully stored with tormenting *Engines*, and Devices to execute their *Cruelty*. So that the *Satyrists* Poetic Description of those famous *Tyrannies* then practised in *Rome*, the true resemblances of what were of old practised in *Sicily*, comes short of the reality of this. For in the very letter of his words,

Præfectura Domus Siculâ non mitior Aulâ, Juv. S. 6.

They here outdoing those precedents of *Cruelty*, tho' the most Notorious, that *History* hath delivered to *Posterity*; as being persuaded, *That a Slave can claim nothing as his Right, besides Stripes and Labour*.

5. And as they exceed those ancient Severities, so the *immodesty* of the Executioners, it is to be presumed, did come short of what has here been the wonder of the new and *less-seasoned* Adventurers, to hear related. It being sufficient in those times to chastize a

Bond-woman, — *Nudam humeros, nudisq; mamillis : Bare to her shoulders and breasts only* : Whereas here, those who before were quite Naked, all but a little of their middle part, have this also uncovered : The Mistress, to the shame of her Sex, (as from an Eye-witness and present Spectator, hath been attested to me) not blushing to be present (an effect, 'tis possible, of their believing Negro's to be but Brutes) amongst a crowd of Boys and Men, to witness the Execution, no less than to prevent Compassion. The Tormenter (always of the sex Masculine) to keep even pace with our Satyrists words, no less then with her Immanity,

(*Et cedit, donec lassis cadentibus—* :)

Seldom giving over before quite tired ; which if too soon, doth argue Sloth, and is apt to be interpreted a Conivance ; a Crime big enough to endanger his Place, and to deprive him of the honour and happiness of being Arch-Master of the Negro's for ever after. Which certainly are Inhumanities of the wrankest kind, and no less needing to be restrained by some wholesome and good Law, then were the like formerly exercised by the Spaniards upon the poor Americans. But from which by a Bull of Charles the Fifth, then King of Spain, and Emperour, they were most graciously released. For which these also do seem to cry with their utmost earnestness unto the Government at Home ; not doubting but that in time they shall be heard.

6. Nor are they very constant to that first and so very agreeable Principle, of preserving these poor Wretches for Labour (their only end in purchasing of them,) by a due provision of Food (not likely to put them to any extraordinary expences, whilst little better than what the Hogs do feed on, and is, to save time, generally planted by themselves upon Sundays) :

And

And of Cloathing, for which a Canvas Shirt and Drawers, during the two or three rainy Months (which is all the Winter we have here) will suffice : And lastly, by allowing them time of Rest, and of respite from Labour for their tired Bodies. I say, they are very far from a constant acting according to that Principle ; unless where the benefit of preserving, shall exceed the damage they are like to sustain, by suffering some few of them to be Starved, or otherwise to Perish. That is, If three or four Hundred may be more advantageously maintained (for it being uncertain which of them will out-live the other, they must be at like Charges with each, if they would save them all) then fifteen, or twenty new ones be purchased, to fill up the dead rooms, (for so many, or more, are like to be wanting at the Years end, without such Provision :) I say, then 'tis possible that they may fall to consult their God, INTEREST, and endeavour their Preservation. Which kind of Considerations are not so frequent among the Mightier, as with the Middle and Meaner sort ; who do usually find it less convenient to buy new, than (having but a few) to preserve their old Negro's. Whereby both their and the White Servants (the general name for Europeans) condition, is less miserable under these, than under the richer sort ; with whom the death of a good Horse, and of a Negro, is of equal moment, and doth usually extort from them the same expressions of Grief and Sorrow ; unless where the Horse doth happen to be of the greater Value.

7. To this also I might add, as an effect of their scant allowance of Food to their Slaves, the many Robberies and Thefts committed by these starved People upon the poorer English. Of which, if I should affirm their owners to be the occasion, by thus starving of them, I think I should not hit much either beside, or

beyond the *Mark*. That they are not displeas'd at it, if dexterously performed, is the general belief and sense of the *Sufferers*: And this is said to be the true meaning of that customary reply, *Tush, they can shift*, to the *Stewards* and *Overseers* requests for a supplie of the *Negro's* want of Provision. Which suspicion of their Connivance, is further augmented by the small *Redress* that is given, or made to the injured parties, upon their just Complaints; unless taking them in the *Act*, they there shoot them dead; which is all the remedy they can get: Whereby the *Island* is daily deserted by its *Inhabitants*. And this also is one of the chief Reasons, why Provisions are so dear; no live *Creature* being to be raised, or kept secure, but under Lock and Key.

8. I might here also add, that the *Pickaninnies*, or young *Negro-Children*, except only the hardest, wanting a due attendance and care of them, do most of them perish in their *Infancy*. Their *Mothers* continual labour in the Field, not admitting a necessary care or regard of them.

9. Nor are these Miseries the Fate only of the *Blacks*, but, in a proportionable measure, of the *English* and *White People* also, who generally are better wrought than either fed or taught. And for their charity to the Sick, tho brought even to Death's door, yet can they hardly obtain the least amendment in their *Dies*, tho never so earnestly importuned; their *Condition* and Countenances no less pleading for them. I confess, I would not here be supposed to charge all alike, where (possibly) divers are to be excepted, tho to me unknown. And these things have, beyond all dispute, wasted more *English-Men*, (not to mention *Negro's*, and other *Nations*) than are at this Day to be found in all *America*. Who with better usage, might have been of great use to the Peopling of those vast desolate *Regions*:

And

And at the same time, contributed no small Reputation and Strength to their *Mother-Country*.

10. And to give one Instance for all, of this Unmercifulness; it was concerning one of these, and even a *Natural Subject* of one of his *Majesties* Kingdoms, tho not of *England*; and for an Accident wherein another deserved the whole blame, (were any at all due, which is questionable) that that execrable Speech mentioned before, *Page 69.* was uttered. But for which, right or wrong, the poor Man sustained an hundred Lashes, or more. Seven *Rods*, each bearing five Sprigs (which occasions their name) nothing inferior to our *Willow*, being spent upon him: Whereby he was, to the astonishment of the Beholders, (some whereof (no less than the party himself) are to me very well known) many days after, seen, as it were but one general *Scab*, all over. The barbarous *Author* of it, in contempt of their *Ecstasy* and *Affrightment*, then venting that blasphemous Expression: And withal adding, *That it was no less lawful for Men, than for the Fish, or wild Beasts, the greater and more powerful to worry and destroy the rest.* A Speech better becoming an *Out-law*, than a *Judge*. But from hence may be argued, that if their Servants *Bodies*, in the sustaining whereof their *Interest* so much consists, do meet with no more mercy, their *Souls* must expect much less; from such who believe *Religion* an impediment to their *Profit*; and with our King *John*, do think, *That a Stag may grow very fat, without ever bearing of Mass.* And that if these be so much neglected, it cannot be imagined that the other should once fall under their consideration. Nor is this the effect of *Sloth* only, or a thing accidental; but by design, and from a principle (next to their supposed *Brutality*) springing from the imaginary *inexpedience* thereof: The ground and foundation of those foul Positions, which

which have ministred but too *just* occasion for this Discourse. Which fancied *Inexpedience* is the thing that falls in my way, next to be considered and treated of.

Ezek. 8. 13:

And he said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations, than they do.

CH A P. II.

That the Profession of Christianity, absolutely obliging to the promoting of it, no Difficulties nor Inconveniences, how great soever, can excuse the Neglect, much less the Hindering, or Opposing of it; which is in effect no better than a Renunciation of that Profession.

S. I. n. 1. **N**Othing then having hitherto appeared of sufficient force, to invalidate our *Negro's* natural Right to the Privileges of Religion, nor to acquit their *Injustice*, who hitherto have withheld them from, at least not acquaint them with it; I come now to enquire whether certain great personal *Inconveniencies* thereupon, as is pretended, necessarily ensuing to their *Owners*; the many *insuperable Difficulties*, or lastly, the *numerous Mischiefs* thereby threatened to the *Public*, (if found true,) may not prove a sufficient Bar, and even justify their Masters refusal,

at

at least forbearance, notwithstanding this *Right*, to admit them thereunto.

2. Before I reply unto which, I shall crave leave to demand of them, What Nation, or *Sett* of Men, did ever till now hold it *Inexpedient*, or *not fit to perform what was Just and Right*? Certainly, none besides *Thieves* and *Cut-throats*, (or the late pretended Saints), such whose whole subsistence was by Violence and *Rapine*, and therefore have been proclaimed *Out-laws*, and reputed as *common Enemies* to Mankind: Fit *Tutors* for those that profess themselves *Disciples* and *Scholars of Christ*! And yet even these, as *Cicero* observeth, *l. 2. Off. are forced to constitute Laws, unto which they conform themselves.* And by an Instance of two notorious *Banditi*, who by an even sharing of their *Pirchase*, arrived to great *Wealth*, he further confirms his Argument, for the necessity of Justice: Which, he saith, *doth consist in Equity, by supporting the Weak against Oppressors, and observing an even indifferency, in the administration thereof, both to high and low.* And therefore he tells us, that for this end, *Leges sunt inventæ, quæ cum omnibus unâ atque eâdem voce loquerentur: Laws were enacted, which should indifferently speak the same sense and language to all conditions and degrees alike.*

3. And doubtless 'tis a thing agreeable to Nature, to maintain *Right*. A principle plainly legible in the *Practise*, because first planted and riveted in the *Hearts*, of the most barbarous *Nations*. None of these owning other, but that what was *Just and Right*, was alike *due to, and from all Men*; and then certainly to *Slaves* from their *Superiours*, so far as that *Right* should extend. And this without any byassing *Considerations* by particular *Interests*, but guided by *Equity*, the most exact Rule of *Right* and *Justice*. These being not *empty Names*, but importing *real Duties*; of which we are not to take our Measures by the *vast-*

ness of our *Ambition*, or our unbounded *Avarice*, but by the truest *Reason*, void of all disturbance by *Passion* and *Corruption* from by-Ends.

4. To prove which, I might amass together whole Pages of *Quotations*, out of the forementioned little Volumn of *Moral Duties*, but shall at present content my self with Gleaning only a few out of that full Stack, or Sheaff. As, *That the foundations of Justice are to hurt no Body, but to consult the Good of all. That we are born to Honesty, and that Justice only can confer on Men the Title of [Good.] That whatsoever is True, Simple, and Sincere, is most agreeable to Man's Nature. That nothing Cruel is profitable. That the endeavouring after Wealth and Estates by just ways, is commendable; but the contrary base and detestable. That they do pervert the foundations of Nature, who do separate Profit and Honesty; It being horrid to imagin, that any profit can be made by Injustice; yea, even at that very time when we obtain the thing reputed thus profitable, it being impossible that these should conduce to any Mans benefit. That Socrates was wont to curse those Men, who first separated Profit and Honesty: Nothing being profitable or expedient, but so far as it is void of Baseness.* And most fully to manifest and evince this Position, is the whole work and design of that excellent Treatise.

5. And now let those *Christians* who pretend a Necessity, for that which *Heathens* have in their several Ages and Times, so fiercely declaimed against, *As misbecoming Men, and Unnatural*; and do pretend a necessity for that which no temptation of Profit could induce them to accept, or assent to; and further do hold it convenient, and even commendable, (as being the first step to Honour and Authority;) to compass Estates by the most Sordid ways, which either the Examples of a *Corrupt Age*, or their own fruitful Inventions can suggest. And for this false end do deny their Slaves the exercise

exercise and benefit of *Religion*, upon the pretended *Inconveniencies* and imaginary *Inexpedience* of it; I say, let them coolly weigh this *virtuous Heathens* resolutions concerning the necessity of *Justice*, and the turpitude of the contrary Vice; and having so done, let them bethink themselves how little Right they have to that noblest Appellative of *Christians* (if they at all care for it), who do thus professedly turn their Backs to common Equity and *Justice*. And then to consider whether of the two, *Themselves*, or their *Slaves*, by them kept in ignorance of their Duty, be the blackest and wrankest *Heathens*.

§. II. 1. And thus having from the consent of Nature and Reason made it evident, that *Right* and *Equity* are in despite of all *Inconveniencies* to be complied with, I shall without further delay, betake my self to my Assertion, before laid down, viz. *That the Profession of Christianity, &c.* Which will best be proved by looking into, and displaying to each view, the true Nature and Notion of *Christianity*, which I understand to be, *A devoting of our selves to the Service of Christ, and a strict Obligation in defiance of the whole World, to promote his Interest and Honour, even with the loss of whatsoever is precious or dear unto us.* Which Vow is to be sincerely and truly made and kept; the whole Action being otherwise but meer *Pageantry*, and *Hypocrisy*.

2. And that this is the true Notion and sence of *Christianity*, not only the express words of that solemn *Covenant*, made betwixt God and our Souls, at our initiation into it by *Baptism*, doth shew; but also our Blessed Lord's so often reiterated, and no less plain Declaration, in Answer to this very *Question*, do most fully prove. As, when he forewarns his *Apostles*, that *Self-denial*, and a renouncing of *Worldly Affections*, with a firm resolution to undergo the *Cross*, that is,

All

All Losses and Sufferings, are Qualifications highly necessary for all his Followers. He further also acquaints us, that *Houses and Lands, Kindred and nearest Relations*, and even *Life it self*, are all to be slighted as base and vile, in respect of our Duty to himself; The very substance of our Vow in *Baptism*.

3. And to place my *Affertion* beyond all Dispute, I shall here further note, That this in all Ages of *Christianity* hath been so understood, even till this very Day. Hence *St. Peter's* Profession, to *lay down his Life for his Master*, was accepted by him; which he afterwards performed, as also did the rest of the *Apostles*. And the holy Scripture instances in *St. Stephen*, and *St. James*, both early *Martyrs* and *Witnesses* of this Truth. And had this been otherwise the *Churches Kalendar*, had not so long since been furnished with so compleat and numerous an *Army* of those *Noble Martyrs*; as to Muster up five thousand for each day throughout the Year. Who all of them, doubtless, might have saved their Lives, had it not been more for their Lord's *Honour*, and the *Interest* of his *Religion* (which they were thereby to promote), thus to suffer the *effusion of their Blood* for him, who by his own Example of *pouring out his Soul unto Death*, did first lead them the way thereto. And in the *Hebrews* we have the examples of the *Jewish Martyrs*, who were sawn asunder, &c. set before us for our imitation, by *St. Paul*: whose *Afflictions* also, mustered up in his latter Epistle to the *Corinthians*, c. 11. with his frequent Exhortations to the like, and a *resistance even unto Blood*; that is, in contempt of *Death*; and of following *Christ's* Example, of *suffering for the Truth*; assuring us that there is no other Way, or Gate, by which we should obtain an entrance into the *Kingdom of Heaven*, but *through much Tribulation*, *Acts 14.* do sufficiently evidence, that this Doctrine was not to expire

expire with its great *Ambor*, but alway to remain a necessary condition of *Admittance* into his Service and Fellowship, so long as he was to have a *Church* upon Earth; that is, till the *Consummation* of the World. Now, doubtless none of these were so much in love with *Death*, but that willingly they would have redeemed their *Lives*, at the loss only of their *Estates*, or at least, the whole with some part; could it have been done without offending their Duty. So that here were *inconveniencies with a witness*; yet there was no avoiding them; so long as they knew themselves under this *Obligation* to their *Saviour* and *Master Christ*.

4. Now here some (I do not say all), will grant that they are indeed tied, *not to deny Christ*: But, say they again, are they therefore bound to proclaim him, or to persuade others, who think themselves *much better* (or as well) already, to become his *Servants* and *Followers*?

5. To which I answer, That, I suppose, they are: And that, First, as being *absolutely bound thereto*, by their very *Profession*; that is, *by their owning themselves for Christians*. The contrary being no less than a *renouncing* of it: Because it proceeds from a neglect and even contempt thereof, than which nothing can be more contrary thereto. And which when not occasioned through *Fear*, or by *Accident*, but arising from *Choice* and *Election*; and withal attended with a *persistance* in and defence of it, is such a clear indication of our *disaffection* and *no esteem* thereof, as to amount to a plain denial; which every single *Sin*, tho of the grossest kind, abstracted from those, doth not. And therefore no *Christian* can ever justify his omitting any possible lawful means for the advancement of his *Religion*; much less that which is indeed the *Principal*: Besides, *Christianity* is of its self a *profession* of,

of doing Good, and of asserting (not concealing) the Truth; which was the very end of our Blessed Lord's coming into the World; as himself, St. John 18. 37. witnesseth, namely, to bear witness to the Truth; and to seek and to save that which was perishing, or quite lost. And therefore he was perpetually either employing himself in preaching and working of Miracles, or going from Place to Place, and fetching many tedious and weary Circuits, to find out Patients to exercise his Power and Virtue upon, and to Heal their Distempers: Removing Mens Diseases from their Bodies, thereby to work greater Cures upon their Souls: And, without partiality or distinction, curing Servants and Beggars of their Infirmities, restoring the Blind, Lame, Deaf, and Dumb, without any respect to the quality, but to the need of the Parties; and no less out of pure humanity and pity to the Distressed, than for the satisfaction of doing Good. And from this Example and Doctrine of the Blessed Jesus, the first Christians did not grudge to sell their Houses and Lands for the Relief of others. Nor were they to confine and determine their Charity to the bounds of their own Profession (tho the Household of Faith was in the first place to be supplied) but were obliged to do good unto all Men, not forgetting their very Enemies; much less their Domestic and Slaves, by whose Labour they had their whole Subsistence. Now if they thought themselves obliged to relieve Mens Bodies, the worse part, much more were their Souls to have a share in this Charity: By their extraordinary Care for which last, and their contempt of the Miseries and Sufferings of the other, when called to it, it was evident what value they did put upon each. As knowing that if they gained the whole World, with the loss of their Souls, they should have had but little left to be boasted of. And if they held it their Duty to leave themselves destitute
even

even of an House for shelter, and to part with their Treasures (the getting whereof did cost them so much Sweat and Care) for the good of the Church, and the increase of Religion; themselves in the mean while depending only upon Providence; there is no doubt but they presumed it much more their Duty to bestow their Breath and Words, which could cost them no Labour, besides that of uttering them; nor any Expences more than of the time therein laid out and employed.

6. And conformable hereto, hath been the Practice and Consent of Christianity in all Ages since. For first of all St. Peter, being, Acts 4. forbidden to speak any more in the Name of Christ, remembering his Commission and Calling, and knowing what a prejudice to the Souls of Men his silence would prove, He, encouraged from Heaven, with the hazard of his Life, persists and goes on; boldly in the most public place (even in the Temple) like a true Minister and Apostle, speaking all the words pertaining to this Life, that is, to Christianity. And those Christians that were scattered abroad upon the Persecution which arose about Stephen, travelled into remoter Regions; but there preached the Word; some to the Jews only, whilst others preached to the Gentiles also: Both concurring in this Sentence, That they understood it to be their Duty to promote the Doctrine of their Lord, in whatsoever Territory they should happen to be cast. This was the cause of St. Paul's toylsome Journeys into Syria, Greece, Spain, Rome, &c. Others of the Apostles piercing into India, and in a few Years subduing more Kingdoms to Christ, than the Roman Eagles had conquered in many Ages. Nor did Religious Christians think it any Disparagement to imploy their utmost Skill to advance this Service. Besides, the Charity and Love of Souls, did heighten their Zeal to the effectual destroying the works
of

of the Devil, and to rescue out of his Snares, those that were taken Captive at his will. Nor could they be at rest till they had established him, their most Natural Lord, in his Hereditary Dominions over the Heathen; and extended his Authority even to the utmost parts of the Earth: Such was the deep sence they had of this Duty. And therefore Tradition hath delivered, that the Apostles by Lot, like so many great Generals going to take in Cities, and conquer Provinces; fortified themselves to travel into the most distant Regions, for the effectual carrying on of this great Work: Notwithstanding that they knew there were no Dignities nor Preferments to be any where expected, besides Affliction and Martyrdom. Whereof St. Bartholomew is said to have betook himself to India; St. Thomas to Parthia; St. Andrew to Scythia; St. Matthew to Æthiopia; and St. Matthias is said to have adventured amongst the Cannibals. So that no People, how Barbarous, or Remote soever; nor any Clime, tho portending nothing but Destruction and Calamity to them, nor even the most apparent and affrighting Dangers, could by any means divert them (as by an Instance we have, Acts 21. 13. of St. Paul's resolution, is manifest) from prosecuting this so glorious a Design, so much by us slighted: Who instead of taking such difficult Voyages, do (even the best of us) scarcely wish well to them; and do think it enough to propagate the Gospel in Fable only, and as at the Isle of Pines: Never taking care to teach the Natives, where we come, any Good; but to learn them in all the Evil, which we practice our selves.

7. Nor did this Zeal die with the Apostles, and their immediate Successors, but did shine most brightly in the Christians of the following Ages: Neither Sex (according to its Capacity) believing it self exempted from this Service: For as Women are said to have been Apostles to the Apostles, so the Iberians, as Socrates do-

livers,

livers, l. 1. c. 15, 16. do own their first knowledge of the Gospel to a poor Sbe-Captive. Which no doubt was by her at first undertaken and acted, out of a sence of her Duty, (such an opportunity being providentially administered to her); and the common Principles of all Christians directing her thereto.

8. After the like manner we read, that the middle India was converted by two Strangers, their Names Frumentius, and Ædesius. And Eusebius, in his l. 5. c. 20. of Eccl. History, writes of St. Pantenus, (whom he styles a most famous Man, for) that he shewed so much, and such Divine Zeal for the Word of God, that he went to preach it to the Indians: Either to subdue some new Province, or to perfect what another had begun.

9. And it was very early that St. Peter, or St. Paul, or St. Simon Zelotes, or St. Joseph of Arimathea, or St. Aristobulus, or some other of the Apostolic Age (who-soever they were) came into Britain, to give it the Honour of having the first Christian King. And the Britains when invaded by the Saxons, did not, some of them (as St. Kentigern, and others) cease to follow those Examples; they thinking it their Duty to do this Service to their very Enemies, and to preach to them, for their Salvation, who sought their Lives, and their Countries Destruction. Tho this, being not so heartily carried on and pursued by them as was necessary, did afterwards give Gildas their Country-man, great occasion of complaint against them.

10. For a supply whereof, St. Gregory, Bishop of Rome, moved (as V. Bede piously discourseth) by Inspiration from God, sent Augustine with other Religious Men to preach to the English. Who, being converted to the Faith, did themselves become no less zealous Propagators thereof, both at home and abroad: Having been the happy Converters of the Haffians, Francians,

conians,

conians, Turingians, the Saxons of Westphalia, the Frisians, the Hollanders, Norwegians, and Lithuanians. For not to reckon up Felix, Berinus, and Agilbertus, St. Aidanus and Columbanus; all Foraigners, yet instrumental to the Saxons Conversion: Nor yet that Religious King St. Oswald, who himself out of his great Zeal to promote the Faith of Christ in his own Kingdom, did not think scorn to become Interpreter to Aidanus as he preached, and to give the sense of the Sermon to his Attendants, as Aidanus, who understood not English, delivered it. I say, not much to insist upon these, we reade of St. Willibrood, Boniface, and Pope Adrian the Fourth, with divers other Englishmen, the Converters of these Nations; And our V. Bede tells us of the two Henwalds, suffering Martyrdom by adventuring into Saxony, upon the like Errand.

11. And so far were our Ancestors persuaded of the necessity of this Duty, that if any thing happened amiss to them, they concluded it to arise from this Neglect. Hence Kenwalchus, King of the West Saxons, observing his Affairs not to succeed very prosperously; he resolves to amend that Fault: Of which Reformation he soon found the effects, in the Prosperity which thereupon ensued. But all such Considerations are ridiculous amongst Atheists. And therefore when one Mr. A. B. in Virginia, offered his Service in order thereto, he was laughed to Scorn by the &c. They, at least some of them, with a Scoff replying, That those who go upon that Work, are to provide neither Purse nor Scrip; because he had made some Proposal also concerning Maintenance.

12. 'Tis true indeed, our Church upon the last review of the Liturgie, doth seem to have had an Eye thereto, when in Her Preface she declared, "That the Office for Baptizing those of riper Years, may be also use-
"ful

"ful for the baptizing of Natives in the Plantations, and others Converted to the Faith. Such was her tender care for the Souls of the Heathen, in that most wholesome Provision. But, alas! the Enemies of Goodness have frustrated and defeated our hopes, so far, that for any use the said Office hath been put to here, it might almost as well have been left out. However, from these few Instances which I have taken out of Church History, as Water out of a common River, (whereof every Man may take enough, without Offence or Injury to any other), may be seen how zealous former Ages were for the Conversion of Heathens; which they looked upon as a Duty consequent to their Baptism, and without which they could not challenge the Name of Christians. And so much for my first Reason.

13. But secondly, If this be not the Duty of Christians, then must Christianity fall short of the Piety of Gentilism, whose Philosophers and Learned Men, as they aimed at nothing so much as the knowledg and disquisition of the Truth; so next of all was their desire of converting and winning others, with them to embrace the same. Who yet knew nothing of any Reward thereof, beyond the satisfaction of doing Good; and of being instrumental to advance Society. Which Considerations ought to be more prevalent with Christians, as having promises of Rewards for whatsoever good thing is done by them, not only in this Life, but in that which is to come. And the Heathens Notion of a Good Man, was from hence derived, viz. From doing all the good he could: Whilst they held a self-ended Person in the greatest detestation. Now Christianity is but Morality, strained to the highest pin: And therefore our Lord prescribes to his Disciples, the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, (that is, of the strictest Jews) not only for our bare Imitation, but to be out-

done by us. One of whose *principal Vertues*, we reade, it was that they *compassed Sea and Land to make Pro-selytes*. And certainly then a Christian is much more obliged thereto.

14. Thirdly, We are hereunto tied by our Covenant in *Baptism*; wherein we promise to *fight manfully against Sin*, which no man can fully answer, that doth not first fight against *Infidelity*. Hereby also we engage to be faithful Servants to *Christ*, during the Term of our whole Lives: Which work of *Converting Sinners*, is the most *grateful* service that we can perform. For certainly it had otherwise never been so often prest and recommended with such promises in holy Scripture; As, *He that winneth Souls is wise*, Prov. 11. 30. *And they that be Wise, shall shine as the Firmament*, and they that turn many unto *Righteousness*, as the Stars for ever and ever, Dan. 12. *And the reducing one fallen from* (and surely 'tis the same if he never knew) *the Truth*, is in some sense made *Meritorious*, St. James 5. 20. Nay further, it is so much our Duty, that 'tis *Heathenish* to neglect it, as (besides what I have before in this *Seet*. said) may be inferred from those general words of the 4th *Chap.* and the last *Ver.* of the same *Epistle*. And if by the Husbands causeless *Repudiating* of his Wife, he in that *Act* causeth her to *commit* (and so is guilty of her) *Adultery*; by the like parity of Reason, *He that binders his Servant from believing, must be guilty of his Infidelity*. And in a word, so natural it is for Men to promote the Faith which themselves do believe, that with the *Barbarians of Japan*, we may safely conclude them for no *Christians*, that do neglect it. And not only as in our subjection to *Earthly Masters*, to whom our Strength and Labour is due; but in this Covenant of *Baptism*, we bind and make over our Souls and Affections to *Christ*, no less than our *Bodies*. Now let these be but *Cordially*

dially imployed by us, and 'tis not possible but they must reflect some *improvement* to this Service. Especially where the Agent is fully armed with *absolute Authority*, and those on whom he is to lay out his endeavours being his *Slaves*; and so, tho' *disaffected* thereto (which they are not) yet might soon be brought over, by one having *Power* to make them submit and bend their *Inclinations* to his *own*. Tho' at first perchance less cordially (that is, where there is any dislike, which I must avow that here there is not;) yet in an outward Compliance at least; And even this *disaffection*, *custom* and long *use* would in time wear out, and make the contrary become *Natural*.

15. And this doth seem to come down to our Case, wherein we have a perfect concurrence in all the parts, except only in the *Principal*. The *Masters* professing themselves *Christians*, their *Slaves* being indeed *Infidels*, but giving no proof of any Malice, or *disaffection* to *Religion*. The *Masters* armed with full power over them; and having themselves *vowed* to imploy that whole Power, and *all that is theirs besides*, in the Service of *Christ*. Yet for a petty inconsiderable *Interest*, to be certainly recompenced with much greater Advantages (as will soon be shewed), *refusing to promote that Faith* (which they themselves do own) among those of their *own Families*. Now if this be to comply with such *Obligations*, then may it be concluded, that a *Christian* hath a mighty Advantage above other Men; and that he may, without the least *guilt* or *stain* to his Soul, both *swear and forswear* whatsoever his *Interest* shall persuade him to.

16. I confess, I do not hold it to be alike every Man's Duty to labour herein; but do yet dare to affirm it every *Christians* Duty to concern himself about it, so far as his condition of *Subsistence* and living, and his *knowledg* shall enable him. For as Mr. *Glanvil*

in his *Dialogue concerning Preaching*, P. 57. tells us, "Every private Christian may, and ought to preach in this Sense. Every such is a Priest to his own Family; that is, it is his Duty to teach them the great things of Religion, according to the best of his Skill and Knowledge. This is one way to provide for our Families, and 'tis the most necessary. Men had better neglect the getting their Children and Servants Bread and Clothes, than to omit their care about this greater and more needful Provision. It's true, 'tis not perchance every Mans Duty to traverse the World from one Quarter to the other, to preach the Gospel, and to Convert Heathens. But if they happen to be brought Home to us, and made members of our Families, we are, beyond dispute, each Soul of us obliged, as we tender our own Salvation, to endeavour theirs. That Interrogatory, 1 Cor. 7. 16. *How knowest thou, &c?* carrying in it an Argument greatly enforcing the like charitable care and endeavours for the saving of others, who lodged at a remoter distance from us, than our Bosoms: For he whose whole business it is to do good, must never be idle, whilst there are any objects of his Charity, especially under his Roof: For he fails of his Duty so much, as he falls short in any particular Office within his power, though of an inferiour nature to this. And if unmercifulness be the only Crime observable from our Saviour's Charge at the Day of Judgment, represented, St. Mat. 25. Doubtless, they that have thus cruelly treated their Slaves; and, what in them lieth, destroyed their Souls, shall then find an Hell hotter than ordinary, and like Nebuchadnezzar's Furnace, heated seven times more; and a Devil, proportionably merciless, provided for them: Where they shall come (too late) to know, that God doth above all things detest Hypocrites, and that he will by no means endure to be yoked with Mankind.

§. III.

§. III. 1. But here forgetting the absolute necessity of this Duty, our People to acquit themselves, do offer some things by way of Excuse: As, 1. The Difficulty, and, as they pretend, even Impossibility of effecting any thing upon them. 2. Their want of English. 3. Their Stupidity, and utter incapacity for Instruction. Lastly, Their irreconcilable averseness and hatred to all Religion. All which are certainly false of the major part of them, at least of divers, as my self, upon my particular knowledg and experience can truly affirm. But as to the second, there are, 1. Many who have lived a considerable time in the Island. 2. Others that were born in it. A 3^d sort that have been brought up and baptized in England; who can all of them speak English, no worse than the natural born Subjects of that Kingdom. These I presume will make more than one moiety of the whole. And for the rest, even the very Novices of them, I do not see why they should not be as capable of Religion as of Business. But it is notoriously known, that even those of the third sort (when Trapped hither) are as little regarded as the rawest Barbarian in the whole herd: And so of those whom themselves have caused to be Baptized in England, whereof I have spoken, P. 37. in the former Chapter. And it is no less certain, that their very Domestic, that attend them in their Chambers, and at their Tables (the rest living in sheds, and separated places without Doors, purposely allotted for them) are taught to avoid the room (which also hath been observed of them in England) as often as Prayers do happen to be said or read: As if there were some secret Charm, or power of doing mischief in Prayers. Nor are they forced thence out of any scruple, or (superstitious) fear of having their Services polluted, by the intermixture of Unbelievers (a Nicety never here heard

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of)

of); but only upon this Supposition, of *the no necessity thereof, nor benefit to Negro's, or other Slaves.*

2. And as for their *Averseness*, a charge most proper to be returned upon the *Objecters own Heads*; I have always found them rather *fond and desirous* of being made *Christians*, than any way *averse* thereto; which a certain passage in *Mr. Ligon's Description* of this Island, will further evince: Tho, as in that case (and here I will suggest the worst), this desire might possibly first arise only from an *Ambition* of being like the *English*: Which should be no wonder, especially in People, who have never so much as heard *whether there were any Salvation, or Heaven for them*, but rather the contrary. But our People being extraordinary Wise, have to prevent further Trouble, always taken it for granted, that their *Negro's* have an *Antipathy* against *Christianity*. Nor are they upon a *due trial* and *experiment desirous to understand other.*

3. And here, if it might not occasion too great an *expend* of Time, (for which reason I shall be brief) I should crave leave to rehearse a *Portion* more, of the above mentioned *Christmas Discourse*, wherein I have an *Apologie* for them upon this Account, ready formed to my hand, in these words: —“But are their *Inclinations* so much altered from what they were? Surely, “the sacred *Text* doth furnish us with too notable *Examples* of *Piety* and *Goodness*, in these People. The “*first* is that of *Ebedmeleck*, *Jer. 28.* whose *compassion* to that *Prophet* in *interceding* for him, and thereby *delivering* him out of the *Dungeon*, was so highly “*pleasing* unto God, that in the next Chapter we find “this high *commendation* and *Eulogium* given him, “*That he had put his trust in the Lord*; and therefore “had a *promise* of *preservation* from those *fatal Calamities*, which suddenly befel that *stubborn* People, amongst who he then lived.

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4. “The second is that of *Queen Candace's Treasurer*, *Acts 8.* who though a *Dynast*, of great *Authority* with his *Prince*, travelled so long a *Journey*, “only to worship God at *Jerusalem*. Judg all the “*World*, whether this *African*, notwithstanding the “*blackness* of his *Face*, had not a *whiter Soul*, than “most of our *European* refined *Christians*! But this is “not all; behold him sparing no time from his *Devotions*, but, *As he sate in his Chariot*, he read the *Propheet* *Isaiah*. And then see him attentively listening to the *Heavenly Doctrine* of *St. Philip*, earnestly “*thirsting* after the *Baptismal Waters*; Which having “obtained, he goes on *rejoycing*, and hasting to make “known the *glad tidings* of his *Saviour* to his *Country-men*. It was this *Noble-man's* commendation, “that he did not think himself too great to be *God's* “*Servant*, and that *amidst his Pomp*, he could attend “*Religion*: And to give him his due *praise*, I do not “see but that this *black Prince* may be a *Copy* for the “best of us to write after; a *Pattern* worthy the *brightest Professor's* *Imitation*; and of whom, to use our “*Saviour's* words, I may say, *Verily, I have not found* “*so great Faith*, no not in *Israel*, &c. By which words of this *Sermon*, the *Preacher* doth evidently confute this *malicious suggestion*, touching the *Negro's* pretended *natural aversion* to *Religion*. And in truth, some of our People do in part confess no less, when in *England*, to prevent *Obloquy* (not regarded by others of them) for the *Credit* of their *Island*, (and no less to make a fair shew) they procure, at least give way to, the *Baptizing* of their *Attendants*, as I have before mentioned. (Like those in *England*, who to save their *Places* and *Credits* at once, do dare to be guilty of that *superstition* at twenty miles distance, which they will not adventure upon nearer *Home*). It were to be wished upon their return, that, laying

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aside

afide that suspicion of *Averseness*, (which they thereby grant to be but a *Fiction*), they would remember to compleat *here*, what they *there* began. It being to be presumed that the many thousands remaining, have *the like precious Souls*, tho not blessed with setting foot upon *English Soil*. But this would go near too much to affront the Principle here, (of which, Mr. *Ligon*, whom I but now mentioned, gives an Account in the Reply that one made to him, upon a Motion of the like nature) and scandalize their weak Brethren: Who might be apt to suspect them for *Christians indeed*, and *Apostates* to the Cause; should they openly persist to commit a thing so contradictory to their long continued *Irreligion*.

5. Howbeit notwithstanding these so pregnant Instances, and their own knowledg and experience to the contrary, to make out this *Averseness*, they relate a story of a thing called a *Chappel* belonging to a private Family, wherein a *Preachment* (for Sermon I shall not call it, the *Speaker* wanting his *Orders*, together with divers other very requisite Qualifications) was made each *Sunday* in the Afternoon; the *Holder-forth* (notwithstanding his said *Infirmity* as to *Orders*, &c.)

With this Person it was customary for him to Baptize in the Neighbouring Parishes; and that at un-der-rates (which was enough to spoil the Trade.) He would also join Couples in Marriage, and do any Offices where Money was to be got; the Ministers being not able to prevent nor hinder him; The Vestries (who are our Supreme Church-Governours) not favouring their Complaints, as being themselves not willing to be confin'd: Nor have the Ministers, even those in Orders, much cause to be displeas'd, themselves (specially the more popular) usually taking the liberty of their

being usually taken up in a *Parochial* charge in the Morning. Now unto this our stupid *Africans*, being admitted, (for which *Supererrogation*, the good Man the *Master* was heartily laugh't at, tho without cause, as I shall shew:)

Neigh-

Neighbours *Parishes* and *Pulpits* upon all occasions, both without and against the Proprietors consent.

were not in the least edified. Nor did they at all seek after *Baptism*, the necessity and benefit whereof they were never taught. Nor could they so much as repeat the *Lord's Prayer*, *Creed*, or *Decalogue*, because the *Speaker*, attending higher Doctrines and *Speculations* (tho I take him for no *Fanatic*) did never acquaint them therewith: This and Catechizing, being with the generality (whom he was to please, or all was gone) quite out of Fashion. Nor did these silly *Negro's*, so much as understand wherefore they were brought thither, it being never told them. The profound *Doctor*, believing his Reputation might be diminished, if in his Zeal (of which he was not at all suspected) he had condescended to apply any part of his Discourse to them, so much as in private, but much more in publick; which indeed is the mighty dread of some others besides him. Whereby under these great means, the *Negro's*, who were quartered in the most distant part of their Meeting-place, remained still as brutish as even the more learned *English*, unto whose wiser Capacities the lofty *Harang* was solely fitted and directed, without the least application to the other. Who poor Wretches, apprehended (and, I believe, truly enough) their being brought thither to be no other than a specious pretence, only to cheat them of their *Dance* and *Musick*, and to abridg their *Liberty*, their other work being over; (like those who by their zeal for the *Sabbath*, do reap this great spiritual advantage of having their Servants thereby always in their eye;) They in the mean time esteeming the *Church* for their *Prison*. Which is no wonder, our whiter People (as we distinguish) being much of the same Faith, touching going to *Church*, and *Religion*: For otherwise our few and

and narrow Churches could not upon Sundays even in the *Mornings* (for in the *Afternoons* we seldom Assemble, as contrary to the more laudable custom of our Colonies) amongst such multitudes of People, be so thin and empty. But notwithstanding from this single Instance (not to be parallel'd in all the Plantations, except in *New-England*) decrepit and simple as it is, they very roundly infer this general conclusion, viz. of the strange Antipathy of Negro's to Christianity. Which, (admitting it in any part for true) cannot certainly be greater, than to *Work and Labour*; and yet their *Taskmasters* have (notwithstanding) a Faculty to make them willing: And might no question bring about the other with equal facility, would they apply themselves to it, with but half the industry and affection they shew towards these. Nor is it likely that their prejudices to Religion (not, as I have often said, in the least discernable in any of them) should make them unwilling to part with an hour from the heat of the Field, to be spent in no harder Service, than learning their Prayers, with other necessary parts of Religion, at rest and under the cool shade. A priviledg never like to be obtained for them, whilst the World is so rivetted in our Peoples Hearts; who, would they but be less good natur'd to themselves, might find as great Instances (it may be much greater) of untractableness and stupidity even at Home, and amongst Englishmen; who yet must not therefore (and here I pray mark our great Christian partiality) be straightways reputed unmeet to be called Christians; much less denied to be Men. But, even admitting the whole Charge, yet they might have fetcht this alleaged Averseness, from a more probable and nearer Cause, viz. the derision with which themselves do usually entertain all Discourses about Religion, and their disrespect and barbarous treating of the Ministers of it; whereof these Negro's cannot

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be ignorant. Tho possibly no less also from the same reason, for which the Americans are said to have disaffected Heaven, namely, the Cruelties exercised by the Spaniards over them.

§. IV. 1. But yet further to acquit themselves of all Injustice in this Point (tho at no less rate than Blasphemy), they are not ashamed some of them to affirm, that the Negro's belief in the Deity is more simple, pure, and sincere than the Christians: Others of them do flatter themselves with a like wicked Principle of the no necessity of Christianity, in order to attain Salvation; whilst by a false Key of Imagination, they open Heaven Gates, and do very frankly bestow Salvation upon Turks and Heathens; Accounting the contrary Opinion to proceed from the ill nature and peevishness of Melancholy Religionists and Churchmen: So also that the Jews believe sufficiently of Christ, by their expectation of the Messiah to come. And this I have heard maintained, not by our *Dunghil Wits*, but by the *Virtuosi* of the place. All which impious Conceits, do but bespeak their Malice against Religion, and at the best do seem to affirm no less than that Christ's coming into the World, was either a Fiction, (which he that openly proclaimed his— to be as honest

My indignation against these Blasphemies, forbids me to conceal them; the Authors whereof are Persons considerable for Place and wishal the grand enemies of Religion, no less than of the Ministry.

a Woman as the most glorious and blessed VIRGIN, no doubt believed) or to no purpose. Thereby rendring the Preaching of the Apostles, and the Faith of all Christians (their own also, if they have any), to be but vain, if Salvation may be had as well, or better without it.

2. For certainly, were this true, it had not been need- less for St. Peter to have advised the Zealous Jews,

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Acts 2.23. to Repent, and be Baptized every one of them in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, thereby to obtain Remission of Sins, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost. And our Lord's appearing to St. Paul before his Conversion, and then ordering him to address himself to *Ananias* (supposed to be the then Bishop of *Damascus*) to be told by him, *τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν, what he must do*, *Acts 9.6.* had been no less idle, than the same Apostles preaching afterwards to others must also have been. And so His words uttered, *St. John 15.5.* *He that abideth in me, &c. For without me ye can do nothing.* And St. Peter to the Jewish Sanhedrim, had declared a very gross and palpable untruth, when to their Faces he positively declared, that *there was no Salvation [to be obtained] but by Christ*, if the same were no less attainable, not only by *Moses*, but by *Mahomet* also, or any other prosperous Impostor in Religion. And so likewise the Angel directing *Cornelius* to send for St. Peter, *who when he was come, should tell him, what he MUST DO*, (the very same that was by our Blessed Lord said to St. Paul; I say, that this) had been an evident *Delusion*, seeing there was no such Necessity of Christianity, as that impersonal [Must] doth import. And this of *Cornelius*, is a most pregnant Argument (and in truth unanswerable) both for the necessity of Christianity, and, I think also, of the Ministry. Who, *if ever any Person could*, might certainly no less have been saved without either. He being one that feared God with all his House, holding it in vain to be Pious himself, if he suffered his Family to be wicked. He was, as his Character declareth, *Ευσεβής, a Religious and devout Worshipper: One that gave much Alms, and prayed to God always; and at the 30th verse, we find him addicted to Fasting, a duty practised only by devout Persons: And for the certainty thereof, this we find all of it attested from the*

the Mouth of the Holy Ghost, and by the Message and Confession of an holy Angel. But notwithstanding that his Prayers were heard, and his Alms had in remembrance in the sight of God; yet the main thing, the Knowledge of Christ being wanting, St. Peter (our Lord resolving to have his Work performed by its proper Ministers) must be sent for (the Angel having no further Commission) to instruct him in that most important Knowledge of Christ. And for the Negro's belief of the Deity, St. Philip's Preaching to the Eunuch by the like especial Mandate, shews that his former belief was of it self, and without this, insufficient, tho otherwise never so Pure, Simple, and Sincere. Nor had there been any need thereof, if Reprobated and Un capable, or naturally destitute of any Right thereto. But that neither the Negro's simple Faith, nor other Mens abundant Charity, nor yet the Jews Dreams of their Messiah to come, can save any Man tho living never so uprightly therein; our Blessed Lord's Answer to the Samaritan Woman, *St. John 4. Ye worship ye know not what, we know what we worship; for Salvation is of the [true Church and Believers only, which are the] Jews*, doth to me fully prove. Wherefore I shall be bold to conclude this Point, in the words of the 18th Article of our Church, in which we find it declared; "That they are to be had Accursed, that presume to say, that every Man shall be saved by the Law, or Sect, which he professeth: For that holy Scripture doth set forth unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby Men must be saved.

§. V. 1. Well, but if this will not do, they are sure that the next shall; wherein 'tis pretended, first, That their Slaves are not hindred, for that they may be Christians if they will: Secondly, That granting they were hindred, yet that it would be no Wrong nor Injustice

to them, for that at the worst, they could thereby be but in the same condition here, in which they should have otherwise remained in their Native Country: And lastly, *That they neither seek nor desire it.*

2. To which I answer, First, That if it be true, that they indeed do not hinder them from embracing *Christianity*, they have then the less guilt upon them, and they are not to answer for so vile a Crime. Yet will not this excuse them, it being without doubt *their strictest Duty*, not only, not to hinder them, but to persuade and win them to become *Christians*; as I shall more fully shew, when I come to answer their third *Allegation*.

3. But secondly, As this Answer can no way excuse them, so neither indeed is it *true*: For to be plain, I must positively affirm, that they are *hindred*; and that more or less, these four ways.

4. First, By depriving them of *Time*, and denying them Persons to *instruct* them, and even imposing upon them a necessity of *planting Provision* for their Suttenance, even upon *Sundays*.

5. Secondly, By discouragements and *scoffs*, instilling into them a *slight esteem*, with an opinion of the *no necessity of Religion*, as to *Slaves and Negro's*. Which, next a desire of being Idle, (a Vice incident to our own People) is the cause of their avoiding the Room at Prayers (of which see P. 9.). Now *Scoffing* is term'd a *Persecution*, Gal. 4. 29. compared with Gen. 21. 9. Things in their proper Nature honourable, being apt hereby to be rendred *base and ridiculous*. And such a *Persecution* it is, as the most crafty Enemies of *Religion*, did hold it for the most effectual way to destroy *Christianity*; and as such was formerly no less dreaded by *Christians*. Nor can we blame the *Negro's*, if they condemn the *Religion* of the *English*, which they hourly
both

both hear and see *trampled upon*, and *undervalued* by themselves.

6. Thirdly, By direct force and punishment of the *Innocent Offenders* therein, thereby to deter all others: Which in truth hath struck such a *dread* into them; that few have since had the *Courage* to make the least offer at it. And some, whilst privately learning their Prayers, dictated to them, have given such manifest *Indications* of their *Fears*, that, as if *attempting some Villany*, upon the least *noise or stir*, their *Spirits* have failed them, and they have wanted Power to proceed, but were forced to give off, till the Coast were clear, and they found that they might attend with more Security. And hereof 'tis easie to produce divers Instances, if required.

7. But there hath been a Force known to have been used, beyond *ill Looks*, *Frowns*, or bare *Words*; which 'tis certain was once (and for ought I know oftner) *without any great discredit to the Author*, eminently, and in the face of the *Sun*, executed upon a poor Wretch, offending in this kind. His Crime being neither more nor less, than receiving *Baptism* upon a *Sunday-Morning* at his *Parish-Church*, from the Hands of the *Minister* thereof: Who was said afterwards to excuse himself thus, *That he could not deny it, being demanded of him*. But the *Negro* at his return, did not escape so easily: The *brutish* Overseer instantly taking him to task, and giving him to understand, that that was no *Sunday-work* for those of his *Complexion*; that he had other business for him, the neglect whereof should cost him an *Afternoons baptism in Blood* (those I heard were his very words) as in the *Morning* he had received a *baptism with Water*; which he accordingly made good. Of which the *Negro* afterward complaining to the same *Minister*, and he to the then *Governor*, the miserable Wretch was for ever after so unmercifully treated

treated by that inhumane Devil, that to avoid his Cruelty, betaking himself to the Woods, he there perished. An act exceeding all the Examples of Turkish Barbarity, and scarce to be parallel'd amongst the Immanities of the most savage Creatures; who rarely (if ever) are known (unprovoked) to fall foul of, and to worry and destroy those of their own kind; but contrarily; to defend them against the violence of otherlike, but different, Beasts of Prey. The villanous Author whereof deserved, beyond the Vengeance inflicted on the perfidious Pedant of Falerii, mentioned by Livie, lib. 5. to have been whipt to Death by the residue of his Slaves. Which notwithstanding he has escaped, yet let him know, that Divine Vengeance, tho it be slow, is sure; and that without a sincere Repentance, attended with strong endeavours to repair this Injury by him done to God and to Religion, there is a fearful Punishment reserved for him; A Baptism also, not of Water, (or Blood only), but in the Lake that burns with Fire and Brimstone. Nor here let any one by reason of the horridness of this Fact, straightway therefore discredit the Relation, as impossible to be acted amongst Christians; the Story being rise in all Mens Knowledge and Discourse, that care to remember; or take notice of it; and those that do not, being [here] unable to deny it.

8. Fourthly, They are hindred by muzzling Their Mouths, who should acquaint them therewith, and by rendring the Work very unsafe, even to the Guides of Souls, and Ministers of Religion, which that Quaker's Harangue, recited in the Introduction to this Discourse, as also the Minister's crude Apologie and Excuse, (who Baptized that persecuted and even Martyred Negro, I but now spoke of,) do enough imply. Who had he not been an Estated Person (a happiness now not attainable) and no less strongly fortified with great Friends and Relations;

Relations, and withal an Ancient Scander (tho since fallen), he had for this been undoubtedly Ruin'd. And I am verily persuaded, that none here besides durst to have done the same: Nor, I am confident, would he himself have had the Courage to have committed the like Act again upon any other; as by an Instance, wherein he was since concerned, I shall immediately shew. So that if our Negro's, who never understood either the Benefit or Necessity thereof (these being things carefully kept from their knowledge), in contempt of Scoffs and Discouragements, their want of Leisure and Instruction, and in despite of the Overseers Rods, shall notwithstanding all these have a stomach to be Christians, (without thanks to us) they may be so when soever they will; all these being reputed no Impediments thereto.

9. To this I shall add the Barbarous Usage of the Preacher before mentioned, together with the Calumnies and spiteful Reproaches, wherewith they persued him even to those places whither he retired to avoid their Insolencies; of which 'tis certain, his Sermon (a part whereof, partly for his Vindication, and partly to let the World see what kind of Doctrine it is they here much Nauseate, I have here Transcribed) was the chief, if not the sole occasion. Nor shall I omit that when another had in discourse proposed something tending hereto; his Proposal was so maliciously represented amongst the Rabble, that he told me, he was endangered thereby.

10. The sence whereof did so much work upon one, whom also for his character I pity, that he durst not give Christian Burial to a Mulatto Child born in his House, and by himself privately (tho not without importunity) Baptized: The Father being of the Scottish Nation, and the Mother his Domestic Slave. For which reason she must be unmarried (tho Baptiz'd);

left the Husband should thereby be *invested* with a propriety in her, and she should become no longer his; who was therefore compelled *to live in Fornication*.

11. For which cause also, when a certain *good natured* wealthy Person (and this is the Instance I promised) did *upon his death-bed*, make a Testamentary Alotment of some Weekly exceedings for Diet to six *Negro's*, during their Lives, in requital of their Fidelity and good Services to him; two *Ministers* (who successively came to visit him, and for whom he professed a particular kindness) being (in my hearing) pressed severally as they came, *to make use of the opportunity, and to try whether in that good Humour he might not be further wrought upon, so as to perfect and compleat his Charity, by a more necessary provision for their Souls, and persuading him to give order likewise for the instructing and baptizing of those six Negro's*; It was strange to observe how they were startled at this so unexpected motion; each of them giving manifest Indications of his inward Grief, but replying, *That as such Proposals were altogether new and without precedent (O turpem notam temporum !) so they thought it neither seasonable nor safe at that time quieta movere, nor to cause disturbance by such an Innovation. Neither did they judge it prudente thereby to disoblige their Friends, whereof they had not many in the Island, and to exasperate their Enemies. And being withal sensible what it was to perish unpitied and unregarded; and no less certain (even at the best, and supposing they should have the luck to escape a grave and insignificant Rebuke for their indiscreet Zeal) to be upon their greatest Sufferings, referred for their reward to another World, but never to hope for either pity or compassion from any in this.* And here we may reade the evil consequence of making *Ministers Annual Stipendiaries*, and of subjecting them to the *Arbitrary Talons of Vesteries*, made up for the most part of sordid Plebeians

Plebeians, the very Dregs of the *English Nation*, with whom to be truly *Conscientious*, is the height of *madness* and folly; and whose displeasure, even of any one of them, tho in the most Righteous Cause, doth portend the parties *most certain Ruine*.

12, AND so much for their fifth *Allegation*: Now to the second I answer: First, That they are not sure but that by other ways, their *Negro's* Christianity might have been brought about, even in their own *Native Country*; where on the one hand there is a *freedom* and liberty of persuading, and of attending thereto on the other; Advantages hardly to be met with, or to be expected here.

13. For, first, It is not impossible but that some of those, whom we here do usually reproach for *Madness*, ('tis happy for St Paul that he is dead; for his very Christians would now not stick to affirm him *besides himself*:) might in imitation of the first *Disciples*, be (like them) possessed with *ardent* desires to enlarge the *Territories of Christianity*, and charitably to undertake *Voyages* thither for the *good of Souls*. Or that some of those more sober and *wiser* Men, who travel for *Preferment*, and *Wealth*, might by some chance or other be invited thither, as divers are: Where 'tis possible, remembering the *WO* to the *unprofitable Servant*, and observing so much occasion and need in those parts for the *employment* of their *Talents*, (with which *God had intrusted them*) ; they might in time bethink themselves; and laying aside (in some measure) the *study of the World*, might more carefully addict themselves to that true *Labour* for which they were appointed and called: Or, which one would think less unlikely; our *zealous Nonconformists*, struck with those *Terrours* which they give out, for the reason of their thwarting the *Law at Home* (where there is no want of their *Labour*)

considering the much greater *Harvest* in those parts, might have resorted *thither*, thereby to have convinced the World, that their pretences were *real*: and that the gaining of *Souls* to *Christ*, not the draining of their *Profelytes* Purfes, and living in ease and *delicacy* in the Wealthier Places *only*, was indeed their great and mighty *Aim*, both in their *Preaching*, and other Actions of their Life: And there being in those Countries both Liberty, (void of *Persecuting* Laws and *Magistrates*, and free from the *Impositions* of *Bishops* and *Ceremonies*) and Occasion enough for even *thousands* of them. Besides, they should, like the *Sons of the Prophets*, consider that *their place where they dwell*, is too *straight* for them; and replenished with others more suitable to the *Genius* of the Government, whereas elsewhere there is no *Confinement* to such Inconveniencies. And this also would be a *noble imitation* of those first *Christians*, who when *Persecuted in Judea*, fled into other parts, and there preached the *Gospel*. Or fourthly, Some *Roman* Votaries, (they being of *those that sow besides all Waters*) might out of their *Annual Missions*, be allotted for those *Quarters*, and for ought we know are now preaching to their *Relations*; whose condition as to *Religion* cannot be worse; something *bettered* it certainly may be, tho perchance not *comparable* to *what it ought*. And in all these cases, 'twere hard if after so *much Toil*, their *Nets* should still be returned *emptied*. Especially where those *irresistible* impediments to the growth of Religion, the *scoffs* and *flirts* of our *Witty Brutes* and *Atheists*, do not interpose to alight the more *timerous* and *wary Frye*, and to *hinder their Draught*. Lastly, Some *poor Captive*, like the *Woman* carried into *Iberia*, or as *Fruventius* and *Aedesius*, strangers accidentally arriving there, might happily, by *Divine Providence*, have been the *Authors* of their conversion to *Christ*; Nothing in all this being *impos-*

impossible. And therefore they seem to *Discourse* at random, and without aim, who affirm that our *Negro's*, tho here continued in their first state of *Genitivism*, are yet in no worse condition, than they should have been in *Africa*; and that therefore no wrong is done them. Indeed, had they been *Transported* hither, and here made *Christians*, tho they had payed no less than their *Liberty* and *Quiet*, for the kindness, (to which they are forced *without it*.) I am persuaded they had spoken nearer to the purpose.

14. NOR will their third *Allegation*, that *they neither desire nor seek after it*, (to which, should they go about it, they should be sure to receive that reply, which *Pharaoh* made to the *Israelites*, upon the like suit, *Exod. 5. 17. Ye are idle, &c.*) any more excuse them, than the two former. It being a *Christians* strictest duty, by his being such, to persuade and *invite* unbelievers and wicked Men, tho of a more distant and remote *Relation* to us, than our *Slaves* are, to *serve God*, and to embrace that *Faith* and *Religion*, by which himself doth hope to be saved, and without which he knows the other cannot. But if the parties be such, as over whom he hath a *just Authority*, I there conceive it his *Duty*, if possible to *compel them to it*; I mean by all fair and laudable means: As both the *Parable of the Supper*, *St. Luke 14.* and *Josias's* compelling *Judah* and *Israel* to *serve the Lord*, do manifestly prove. And therefore the *Patriarchs* in the Bible, tho their *Servants* sought it not (possibly) any more than these, yet by their own *Authority* they initiated them into Religion. Hence *Abraham* whose honour it was, *That he would command* (and that certainly is *Compulsion*) *his Children* and *his Household*, after him to *keep the Way of the Lord*, (and in the steps of whose *Faith* each *Christian* ought to walk, *Rom. 4. 12.*)

is intimated to have *Instructed and Catechized* those three hundred and eighteen, whom he led forth to *redeem his Cousin Lot*: As may be seen by comparing *Gen. 14. 14.* with *Prov. 22. 6.* and their several *Manumissions*. And what he began, his *Posterity* continued, whose *Slaves* were not only *Circumcised*, but also admitted to the *Passover*; which last were both by *special Command*, whilst the other were purely *voluntary*; yet commended, as *being also their Duty* even by the *Law of Nature*, and that Principle of doing good, so far as we are able, implanted in our *Hearts*. So also *Josiah* resolved, That his *Household should serve the Lord*, as well as himself. And *David*, *Psal. 101.* purposed to retain none but *faithful Persons* to dwell in his *House*. And *Cornelius*, even before his conversion, or knowledge of *Christ*, is said to *fear God with all his House*. Without which, I fear, he had missed the character of being a *devout Man*. And it is no less evident, that in the *Gospel*, the *Faithful* held it their *Duty*, even by virtue of their *Calling and Profession*, to *Christianize* their *Servants*. Every such (even as *Children* and *Subjects*, are to *Parents* and *Magistrates*) being as it were so many *Limbs and Members* of their *Masters* and *Owners*, and in some sort the same to them as their *Children*, and no less accountable both to *God* and *Man* for them. From whence it may seem, That the same word in the three *learned Languages*, is frequently used to express both a *Servant* and a *Son*; to intimate that strict care which each *Father* and *Master* had, and ought still to use for the preservation, and due provision for them, both as to *Soul* and *Body*, and for their *Spiritual* as well as *Temporal Food*. And for all others it is *Charity*, if not *Duty*, to keep Men *out of Misery and Ruine*, even against their *Wills*. And tho' they be insensible of it, should they therefore be allowed to perish, our selves beholding it; and not

advising them of the danger? Should a *Physician* permit his *Patient* to starve himself, because he hath lost his *Appetite* through the viciousness of his *Stomach*, or over-long *Fasting* and *Abstinence*, and not be accounted (tho' he escape being indicted) for a *Murderer*? 'Tis true, if after due provision made and tendered, he rejects it, and perisheth in that obstinate refusal, after all due *Means* and *Arguments* used to convince him, then we may say to him, *Perditio ex te ipso*, and the whole *guilt* of his destruction will lie at his own door. And therefore admitting it to be no wrong to the *Negro's* in not making them *Christians*, and that, what is before affirmed, they were of no probability of attaining to the knowledge of *Christ* in *Guinea*, which also is conjectural, and but a mean commendation of the *Trader's* thither, (who, I have heard, are by *Bond* always obliged to the contrary); yet certainly we herein wrong our selves, by neglecting our *Duty* in so high a measure, whilst instead of performing *faithful service* to *Christ*, to whom we have vowed our whole *Min*, we in the mean time are found to serve the *Devil* and *Manimon* only. For, as the *Orator* testifies, that *Person* may justly be reputed an accessory to a *Mischief*, which he might, but did not prevent: Agreeable to that of *St. James 4.* and the last ver. *To him that knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is Sin*. And if *Sins of Omission* be by some accounted greater than those that are acted or done, there is no doubt but that he who wounds his *Soul* by omitting his *Duty*, injures and hurts himself equally with him that commits a *Villany*. Nor shall I be afraid to affirm, that if this I am speaking of, touching our *Negro's Christianity* being hindered (or at least neglected) be no *Sin*, then neither is *Perjury*, *Murder*, nor *Adultery*. And they, who, being concerned herein, do hold themselves innocent, may as safely presume that that our *Saviour Christ*, to promote

their Gain, will dispense with the most palpable violation of all his Laws. For Christianity is a Religion of Charity, which teacheth us to be Eyes to the Blind, Ears to the Deaf, Feet to the Lame, and calls upon us to open our Mouths for the Dumb, and which cannot Speak in their own cause. And it was Christ's advice to sell all and give to the Poor, for the furtherance of Christianity. And if the Primitive Christians did from thence conceive themselves obliged to dispose of their whole Estates for the support of poor Believers, and the increase of the Church, doubtless they were far from any deduction either from that, or from any other Text, for the obstructing it for their private Gain. Now 'tis all one to forego our Profit for the same good End, as thus to dispose of it when acquired. And that Piety is no less acceptable, which is the means of introducing new Believers, than of preserving the old. Nor is its worth at all lessened by the quality of the Parties won and brought over to the Faith; one Soul being as precious and dear to God as another, and a Slave, being in his sight not inferiour to his Masters. And where the consideration of the End, namely, the good of Souls, is the same, the excellency of the Duty cannot be abated, by any less worthy intervening Circumstances. And this is to be understood as relating to the care we ought to use for the Salvation of Strangers, living at the remotest distance, and without relation to us. But here is no such plea or pretence; tho' it would be but of small force. The parties we speak of being their Servants, and even branches of each Family, by whom they in a manner wholly subsist; (some, and those not a few, having by their Negro's labour arrived to vast Riches) and for whose Souls they are as certainly accountable to God, as for their own. Who therefore cannot but claim a share equal with themselves, in all things absolutely necessary for their life and being, and the enabling

enabling them to perform whatsoever is by God or Man required of them. The detaining whereof, as St. Paul, 1 Tim. 5. 8. determines it, is no less than a rejecting of the Faith, and makes the Oppressor become WORSE than an INFIDEL. Whose calling himself a Christian, whilst (indeed) he is none, doth call to mind St. John's Censure, Apoc. 2. 9. of the like sort of People in his time, and gives us no less occasion to apply it here; I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan.

Ezek. 8. 15.

Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O Son of Man? Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations than these.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

That the Inconveniencies here pretended for this Neglect being examined, will be found nothing such, but rather the contrary.

§. I. n. 1. **T**He absolute necessity of a Christian's promoting Christianity, even in despite of the greatest Difficulties and Inconveniencies being shewed, I come now in the last place to examin those very *Inconveniencies*, and to try whether they are indeed such, as they are pretended; or whether the continuance of those practices for whose *Justification* this Plea was invented, will not upon a due trial be found more *inconvenient* and prejudicial to our *Interest*: At least whether *Christianity*, notwithstanding these *pretences* (whether true or false) may not, upon the score of its *innocent* deportment, and unquestionable *blamelessness* in all Ages, without the least hazard to any Man's *just Right and Interest*, be afforded a free course, and find entertainment amongst all Conditions and Degrees without *prejudice*, or *offence* to any.

2. And here I shall not conceal, what I have often within my own Breast considered and wondered at; how, and with what *Frons* these Persons who proclaim to the World, the *inconveniencies* and dangers threatned by *Christianity* to their *Estates and Lives*, (for no less are the things in controversy) can utter things which I am certain themselves neither do, nor can, believe: It being impossible but that Men endued with *common sense* must know (and that with the highest certainty that they can have), that nothing of prejudice can really

accrue

accrue to any Man by the *Christian Religion*. But much less can they be imagined ever to have entertained any thoughts touching a *future Account* to be given for such *blasphemous suggestions*, which to the dishonour of their *blest Redeemer*, and his *Eternal Truth*, they continually belch forth without the least shame or blush. For otherwise *Christianity* might doubtless have found more *candid and civil usage* from them, than to have thus put upon her such an *hideous and frightful Dress*, as these have taken the boldness to represent her in, unto the more ignorant and belov'd *Herd of Mankind*, in these *remote Quarters* of the World.

3. For it cannot but appear evident, even to the dimmest and most blarney'd sight, that no such extraordinary danger can possibly attend the *Work*, I am here suing for, on our *Slaves* Behalf; there being no persecuting *Magistrates* carrying in their Breasts an *hostile Enmity* against either the *Professors*, or *Promoters* of it; nor yet breathing out *slaughter and destruction* to them. There are no *Confiscations* of *Estates* or *Goods*; no loss of *Liberty* threatned; nor is it a *Crime* now to be a *Christian*; the *Civil Powers* being such themselves; and *Kings* and *Queens* being long since become *Patrons* and *Nurses* of the *Church*.

4. Yet notwithstanding this, they are not ashamed to infer ('tis true, not always in express words, as I have said) even as great *Mischiefs* from their *Negro-Slaves* becoming *Christians* (but not otherwise) as the *Faithful* in the *Primitive Times* sustained from the most persecuting *Heathens*. It being their common *Affirmation*, That the *Baptizing* of their *Negro's*, is the ready way to have all their *Throats cut*, &c. which my self, and I believe thousands of others have heard declared and insisted upon by them, with much *vehemency* and *indignation*; tho' without any great shew of *Reason* to make it out. For being at any time demanded,

manded, from whence those fears could arise, they should never fail most pertinaciously to persist in the Affirmative, *That it was so.* Which, with the addition of a few angry words, and un-

civil rude speeches, in reply to those demands, thereby to testify their displeasure thereat, as well as the danger of enquiring further into their secrets, was what was usuall to be gotten from them.

5. But that which I have casually learned from certain False-Brothers of the Society, hath in their more retired Cabals, been alledged by them (and which indeed was no other than what I before suspected) was principally these three things.

6. First, They object the Knowledge wherewith their Slaves would be thereby furnished; which they are sure will make them less governable; and like the Galileans of old, or our seditious Reformers in 1642. to mutiny and rebel, to free themselves from Tyranny and Oppression: Possess them with the Quakers, (of whom here are great numbers) and other Phanatic's spirit of Obstinacy, against all Laws and Government, and dispose them rather to suffer Death than to be subject, and at last out of pure Conscience, to murder their Masters.

7. Secondly, They object the charge and loss of Time, viz. from their Sunday-work, &c. with divers other the like sore Inconveniencies, which in the end will (forsooth) strike deep at their Profit, and quite ruine their Estates. And therefore they often repeat this saying, *If the Negro's get to be Baptized, they must then e'ne take the Island to themselves.*

8. Thirdly, They complain that the Terms of Christianity are in some things too large, but in some other too narrow for them; both ways inconsistent with the condition of Bondage: And therefore that their Negro's

are

are not to be admitted to, nor entrusted therewith. In which three we have a brief Account of both the Principles and Men, that are such fierce Enemies to this way of propagating Christianity: Their Religion and Interest are of one and the same piece, nor are they ashamed to own it to the World. Doubtless, these do conclude the Merchant in the Gospel, who judged it worth his while to sell all that he had besides, to purchase that Pearl, to have had but a very shallow Pate, for setting such a high value upon nothing, or at most, but Toys and Fooleries, whose worth they believe lies only in the fancy and opinion of the Wearer, not in any intrinsic excellency of their own.

9. But to undeceive the more well disposed, and to defeat their Malice by unfolding this Mystery of Anti-Religionism: I shall in answer to their first Objection, here demand of them, of what kind that Knowledge is they stand so much in fear of? Is it the knowledge of Vertue and Goodness? Certainly it cannot be other which Christianity instructs Men in. And how can there arise any danger from such knowledge should they receive in never so great a proportion? Can the Decalogue, Creed, and Lords Prayer, with some few Catechistical and general Points of the more necessary parts of Christianity from thence deduced, prove so poysonous to the minds of Men, as to make them deserve a Character due only to the vilest Blood-suckers, and cruel Assassins? Or can these be a means to render them suspected, or dangerous to the World, when 'tis known that nothing but the non-observance of them, is the sole occasion of all, as well the greatest as the least evils? And therefore the Slaves Right understanding and instruction in these Doctrines, can no more be a motive to him to slacken his Duty, or prejudice his Master, than an Artizan's known skill in his Trade can unqualifie him for being employed therein, or his tried Honesty

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from being either trusted or dealt with. This knowledg therefore must in common Reason, be concluded to be the *Master's* chiefest Interest, being indeed a worthy inducement to the *biggest trust and confidence* in his *Servant*, thus endued therewith, and no less ought to be his *first care*; That is, to make him *Just, True,* and *Honest* to himself. At least, none can reasonably be the more suspected for addicting themselves to *such a Study*, which only directs to *Integrity and Vertue*: Where though they may be thought to begin but in *Jest*, yet 'tis probable, they may end in *Earnest*: Their Reason may be overcome by the force of its *Argument*; or else their sight may be captivated: For, *Kidit banc, visams cupit*, doth here very often follow; the *shallow understanding of Vertue* (as *Plato* observed) being apt to create *most ardent affections* to it. Nor can any *genuine*, or *srine principle* of *Christianity*, give the least occasion for either *Fears* or *Jealousies*, because in their own proper nature the *most innocent and opposite* to all *Frauds, guileful Practices, and worldly Policies*; of any *Religion ever yet professed or taught*. Those *Crests and Circumventions*, which the generality of Men do not once *scruple*, being most loathsome to the Mind of a true *Christian*. And therefore it is most evident, that no *Master* can be endangered by his *Slaves* instruction therein, which these *Blasphemers*, who affirm the contrary, cannot but *know*; unless we will suppose them like *Owls and Bats*, to be stark blind in the clearest *Meridian light*; and that amidst all the *Books and Sermons*, with which this *latter Age* hath been so abundantly stored, any Man can possibly still remain so ignorant, (tho' *subtile enough as to other less commendable and excellent things*) as to be utterly unacquainted, with the *first and greatest points* of his *Religion*.

9. But here withal, I must confess, that I am not of their mind, who hold none fit to be admitted for
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Christians and Members of the Church, but *Gifted, Wise People* only. Such as are able to *Extemporize* an hour or two, and *speak to a Text*, as they call it. This possibly, as being of that *kind of Knowledg or Science* which may be apt to *puff them up*, might in its consequence prove fatal: It being not to be wondred at, if their swelling *Tympany of fancied Abilities* do make them presume, since we read that when *Hagar*, (a *Bond-Woman* too) had conceived, she soon began to behave her self impudently towards her *Mistress*. The knowledg therefore which I here plead for, is *such as tends to their Edification only*, being of things *absolutely necessary*, as of *God*, our *Blessed Saviour*, and of the *Holy Spirit*; of *Faith, Hope, and Charity*, and of *Repentance*, of living *uprightly*, and of a conscientious discharge of their *Duty both to God and Man*. And if these can be *hurtful*, then I shall not be ashamed even with the *Adversaries* to confess, that the knowledg of *Christ's Religion*, is a thing *Repugnant*, and *Inconsistent* with the *most honest and just Interest*, and wholly tending to *disturb the good Order and Peace of the World*. And yet here I would not be misconstrued, as if intending to *abridg* any *Masters kindness* to his *Slave*, who hath a desire to furnish him with greater knowledg: Only my request is, *That he would not damn him for the want of this*; which as I am sure it is *sufficient to save him*, so neither is it *considerable enough*, for his *Masters fears*. And so much touching this *first Point*, viz. *The danger arising from the Negro's knowledge*.

10. The second is an Implication of the foulest charge against *Christianity*, which the worst *Enemies* of it did ever suggest, but could never prove, viz. *That it instigates Men to Mutiny and Rebellion*: Which cannot possibly be true of it, but by *Principles directing thereunto*, therein contained and taught. Which if so, then 'twere impossible for a *Christian* not to be a *Rebel*;
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and the better *Christian the more Rebellious*. But unto such *Practices* nothing is more diametrically opposite, than the genuine *Doctrines of Christianity*.

11. For first, It presseth *absolute* and entire *Obedience* to *Rulers* and *Superiours*, as may be collected from almost innumerable places of *Scripture*; but more especially from the *13th* to the *Romans*, and from *St. Peter's* and *St. Judes Epistles*. And our *Lord's* answer to the *Herodians*, is sufficient to silence all *Cavillation* touching this *Duty*. It gives the *Title of Gods* to *Kings* and *Magistrates*, forbidding so much as to *surmise evil of them*. And this is so plainly and evidently true, that amongst *Atheists* and *Commonwealths-Men*, (*two Names for one and the same thing*) it is the only *Crime* known to be by them charged with, *viz. That it invests Governours and Monarchs with so independent and absolute a Power*. And thereupon have for *divers Years past*, wisely endeavoured the *suppression of it*, to prevent (what they are pleased to term) *Tyranny* and *Slavery*, and in order to the *advancing the liberty of the Subject*.

12. Secondly, It establisheth the *Authority of Masters*, over their *Servants* and *Slaves*, in as high a measure, as even themselves could have prescribed; in a due proportion placing them in a no less *absolute degree of Power*, than the former. *Exacting the strictest Fidelity*; and that without any respect to their *Quality and Condition*, but of their *natural and true Right of Authority over them*. Requiring service with *singleness of heart, as unto the Lord, and not unto Men*, *Ephes. 6. 5, 7*. And so far it is from encouraging *Resistance*, that it allows them not the *liberty of Gainsaying*, or making *undutiful replys* to their *Masters*. And referring them to *future recompence in Heaven*, for their *faithful services done to them upon Earth*, *Eph. 6. 8*. Of which *Ties and Promises*, *Gentile Slaves* being

destitute,

destitute, no such *Fidelity* can be from them hoped for, or expected. And so far is this *Religion* from a *tendencie to Anarchy*, or any *Lévellling Tenets* (as being *founded not in a Parity, but a Superiority*, not in a *Democracy*, but in an *Aristocracie*) that a conformity to that *Axiom*; *Æqualitate nihil iniquius*; *Nothing is more dangerous than Equality*; has been her most *professed and constant Practice* from her first appearance *untill this very day*.

13. Thirdly, It enjoyns to all in general an *abhorrence of evil*, tho such only in *appearance*. But much more prohibiting those things *which are plainly such*, and even of the *grosslest and wrankest kind*. It further puts a *restraint upon the Thoughts and Desires*; which no other *Religion* doth; forbids us to be *revengeful*, or to *return evil*. And therefore far out-doeth the *Heathen Divinity*; which permitted *Revenge in case of Injury*, allowed in no case amongst *Christians*. So that whosoever can pick *Rebellion*, or *cutting of Throats* out of these *Principles*; may as easily prove *Adultery* lawful from the *Seventh Commandment*, or *Slandering* from the *Ninth*; *reconcile Contradictions*, and bring *Contraries to concur and agree* in all *Points* at one and the same time.

14. And therefore the *Delusions of those Atheists*; and *Impostors* in *1642*, and afterwards, (since declared, *viz. by the Parl. in 1660*, to be no *Protestants*, and as certainly no *Christians*) to whom *Christ* will one day return but small thanks for *occasioning his Doctrine thus to be blasphemed*; can be no such convincing *Argument*, that their *Murders* and *Depredations*, tho *falsly pretending Scripture and Inspiration* for them, were the *genuine result of Christian Principles*; until better *Proof and Reasons* for it be produced, than their own bare *Affirmations*. And for the *Galileans action*, it was (like other of the *seditions attempts* of that *Nation*, both before and after to *assert Liberty*)

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but a *Jewish Dream*, which Christ himself did to their no small indignation plainly disown, and in that his answer to the *Herodians*, St. Mat. 16. utterly condemn. And for the *Quakers* obstinacy (whom yet they *here support and encourage* against the *Ministers*) I know no further nor better use can be made of it, than from thence to infer the necessity of Church-Government, and of suppressing false Opinions in Religion, from whence this Obstinacy is occasioned and derived, But not therefore to stifle and hinder Men from the knowledge of that Profession and Truth, which teacheth the contrary. But our People, who in truth have as little stomach to submit to others, as they believe their *Slaves* have to submit to them, will scarcely be brought to approve of this Use, or Inference. Tho these *Quakers* refusal to bear Arms, and to defend their *Island*, (no not in case of an Invasion) together with their *Commission dormant* of *New Light* and Revelation, reserved against some fit time and opportunity of Action (whereby no Man is secure) do often put them upon thoughts of using Violence to that their own dear principle of *Libertinism*, no less than to the others tender Consciences.

15. Lastly, For *Insurrections* and *Revolts*, nothing can be imagined a greater Security against them, than a sincere inward persuasion of the truth of *Christianity*, with a thorow knowledge of its Principles. Of which the effects have been lately seen in *New-England*, where their *Christian-Indians Fidelity* was tried to the uttermost; encountred on the one hand by the *jealous sirmises of their Friends*, and on the other by the both invitations and threatnings of their *Enemies*, if at least we may so term their *unconverted* Country-men: Yet in despite of all, they remained firm to the *English*. Who, after that they durst trust them, became very serviceable to our People there, as hath been attested by more than one of their *Writers*. So powerful are the Bonds of Religion to unite the minds of Men, tho of most different

different and even contrary *Interests*: And when sincere and hearty proving *indissoluble*, tho under the darkest *Eclipse* and trial of *Adversity*. Making Men to forget their own People, and their *Fathers House*, and joyning them in affection to the most distant *Strangers*. For these having so fair an opportunity of *Revolsing*, and all the invitations and arguments for it, which Men upon such occasions could wish for; as, the ridding their Country of *Foraigners*, and the enriching themselves with the *Spoils* of their well-built and better furnished Houses; their *Lands* manured and stored with *Cattel*, and abounding with many other conveniencies, which themselves never were blessed with: And lastly, the *Royetlets* and several *Tribes* of that spacious Continent, all in a manner up in Arms, and *unanimous* for the rooting them out of it. Yet none of all these considerations could prevail with those *Indians*, whose minds were thus seasoned with Religion, to falsifie their Faith once plighted to the *English*. With whom doubtless things might have gone much harder, had they been deserted by them. And they might perchance (all things considered) have been glad to leave their more *Inland Stations*, and forced to retire and betake themselves to their greater Strengths on the *Sea-Coast*; there to have remained pent up, and despairing ever to recover their lost Territory, but by the aid of *extrinsic* force, which would (probably) have cost them more, than they are willing to part with. And to come a little nearer, even to our own *Island*, where 'tis possible that the late *Plot* had not been so near taking effect, had the greater, or indeed any considerable, number of the *Negro's* here been *Christians*. One thing more I shall add, that the *Spanish Indians* in *America*, are not recorded once to have rebelled since their first *Reduction* under the *Spanish* Power; nor have the *Conquerers* themselves been disturbed with any

Intestine Broyls, that have been considerable; which is more then we can boast of in our *Colonies*; tho' seated (I speak even of the *Eldest of them*) not above one third part of the time, that the *other* have enjoyed theirs. Which effect I can ascribe to nothing more, then to the force and power of *Religion*.

16. But there is one *Instance* worth all that can be produced, or said upon this Subject, and that is the Example of the *Theban Legion*; which I shall present in the words of a *Modern Author* *.

* Mr. Dudley Diggs, of the unlawfulness of Subjects taking up Arms against their Prince, &c.

"It is, saith he, one of the noblest passages in all the Ecclesiastical History, wherein Christianity

"did shine forth in its full Lustre, and it affords plentiful Light for our instruction. This band consisted of almost 7000 Men, all Christians. The Emperour *Maximian* commands the whole Army to offer Sacrifice to false Gods; they remove their Quarters, that they might avoid, if it were possible, this occasion of discontenting him. He summons them to perform their part in this devilish Worship. They are forced to return an humble denial, and their resolution not to disobey God, for whose sake they had ever been, and would continue faithful Servants unto him. The Emperour unsatisfied with this Answer, puts them to a *Decimation*. They submit with much Cheerfulness, and die, praying for their Murderers. After this sad Spectacle, his Commands are renewed; but prevail nothing upon the *Remainder*; wherefore they are all Butchered without the least resistance. There was no delay in their Death, except from the weariness of the Executioners. This was truly to confess him, *who was led as a Sheep to the slaughter*, and like a Lamb opened not his Mouth; and they a Flock of his Fold, are quietly devoured

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"by ravening Wolves. The Commander of this Regiment *Mauritius* could not contain his joy, when he had seen the first Decimation gallantly suffered. How fearful was I, said he, to his Fellow Souldiers (for armed Men may be tempted to defend themselves), lest any of them upon colour of just resistance for self-preservation in an innocent Cause, should have struggled against this blessed Slaughter, I was watchful, and had *Christ's* Example in readiness, who commanded his Disciple to put his Sword into the Scabbard. *Salus vestra non periclitatur, nisi armis vestris*; If you use not your Weapons, I have God's own Warrant for your safety.

17. "Despair it self could not conquer one single Patience, which yet creates valour in Cowards, and makes them more couragious in Extremities, because they are Fearful; since they are likely to endeavour most to preserve Life, who are most terrified with Death.

18. "But it may be objected, *Vires deerant*, they were not able to go thorow with the Rebellion. This very Objection, saith he, was made by the Ancients, and answered by themselves to our Hands. Their Speeches witness sufficient strength, if Religion had not tied their Hands. Which had they been other than truth, must have armed their so potent Adversaries with sufficient Arguments against them,

19. The same learned Author goes on, and tells us that, "St. *Cyprian* saith expressly, *Quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus*; Tho' we have competent Forces enough, yet we wrestle not with our Oppressors. The *Theban Legion* was in a posture of resistance, but they durst not lift up those hands, into which the Emperour had put Weapons, against his Personal Commands, tho' unjust and bloody, Six thousand six hundred sixty six Men, of such extra-

“ ordinary Valour, as did not entertain the least fear
 “ of Death, might probably have conquered, (and
 “ this Cruelty might have encreased their Party, by
 “ the defection of Male-contents) at least they must
 “ certainly have made some sport for their Lives:
 “ They could not have wanted that Comfort, which
 “ to some tastes is beyond the pleasure of Life, *to die*
 “ *revenged.* Besides, had not the Emperour and his
 “ Council known them *true Christians*, and been acquaint-
 “ ed with the tameness of that Profession towards the
 “ Higher Powers, he would never have hazarded a
 “ Rebellion, by making so considerable an Army de-
 “ sperate.

20. “ And *Tertallian, Cui bello idonei non prompti fu-*
 “ *issemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libentur trucidat-*
 “ *mur;* How could they possibly receive a Foil, tho
 “ short in number, who so quietly do suffer our
 “ Throats to be cut? *Numeri damnum virtus pensaret,*
 “ tho we wanted the advantage of number, which you
 “ perceive we do not, Courage would supply that de-
 “ fect; And tho fewer, since we condemn our own
 “ Lives, we might be Masters of yours. We could
 “ undo you, not if we should Rebel, but if we would
 “ be Idle; we were lost, if we did not Fight for you,
 “ *Vestra omnia implevimus, castra ipsa,* &c. We fill all
 “ places in the Empire, and even your Camp would
 “ be empty without us *Christians.* The same Father
 “ makes a bold Challenge, and desires them to pro-
 “ duce, if they can, but one example of any *Christian*
 “ taking part with Rebels. Their unanimous Con-
 “ fession was, We kiss the Hands that wound us, and
 “ the Example of Christ is made our Law. *Inde est*
 “ *quod nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec*
 “ *se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimi-*
 “ *us & copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur.* For this cause
 “ none of us makes resistance, when apprehended, nor
 “ revengeth

“ revengeth your unjust Violence; for God is able to
 “ reward our Patience, and to requite all our Suffer-
 “ ings. *Si injuriam,* &c. If you depend upon God,
 “ he will undertake your Quarrel, and revenge your
 “ Wrongs; your Wounds shall save you: and if you
 “ fall a Martyr, you shall rise a Saint. What cannot
 “ our Sufferings do? They make even God our Deb-
 “ tor; He owes us Heaven for our selves, and Hell
 “ for our Enemies, but we breath out our Souls in
 “ Prayer, that he may be entreated not to pay this.
 “ Here is the Patience and Faith of the Saints; they
 “ believed, therefore they suffered such things, &c.
 Thus far that *loyal and ingenious Person*, in whom is
 legible the *genuine temper and spirit of a Christian*; Un-
 less it can be supposed that the whole multitude of
 them, *as well their more learned Guides*, as the ignorant
 and simple, were wholly unacquainted with their Pro-
 fession. And from hence, with what else-where hath
 been said, I may safely presume to conclude, that *Chri-*
stianity which obligeth Men to the strictest Vertue, and that
 upon such weighty Motives, as no Profession did ever
 pretend to, *is so far from working Mischief to Superiours*
and Governours, that it rather appears of absolute necessity
for the security both of Themselves and their Affairs, that
their Subjects be thorowly acquainted with it; As, ere
 I come to close up my Discourse, I hope, I shall yet
 further shew.

§. II. 1. The first and great *danger* which concerns
 their *Lives* being escaped, I come to examine the *two*
last Objections, which for their near affinity and resem-
 blance, I shall twitt together, and dispatch under one.
 These do concern their *Estates* and worldly *Interests*,
 things no less dear unto them; but both dearer than
 Religion; for otherwise such Objections had not been
 to be answered, Now in the first they affirm, Their

Estates will be threatned no less than four several ways; of each of which I shall give this short, but true Account; viz. That, the first is *Idle and Ridiculous*; the second *Sordid and Unchristian*: The third a *mixture of Gentile and Mahometan* Superstition and Irreligion: The fourth *Inhumane and Monstrous, a reproach to Mankind, and a dishonour to the English Government and Nation.*

2. For the first, They affirm their Estates will suffer by the Charges from hence ensuing: As by *Baptizing, Marrying, Churching, and Burying their Slaves.* All now either totally omitted, or else performed by the *Overseers*, (in a kind of prophane Merriment, and derision as it were of the Ordinances), or (as in Marriage) by mutual agreement amongst themselves; and (as is used jestingly here to be said, when speaking of the *Quakers* (like) Marriages) *after the Negro fashion.* As for *Visitation of the Sick*, I shall not insert it in the List, because here laid aside in a manner by all, besides the richer English. The other (like those poor desperate Souls in Limbo, that for want of Money, have no Body to pray them out) being by the remoteness of their Habitations, the frequent badness of the Weather and the Ways, the scarcity of Ministers, an evil, but little felt, tho much fewer, (notwithstanding there are not above five;) and the numerousness of the *Inhabitants*: (supposed not fewer than one hundred and odd thousands) not possibly to be thought on, unless we should suppose the Ministers always on Horse-back for that very work: And then *who should preach (without Book) upon Sundays?*

A County in England of the same extent with this Island, has commonly 100 or more Parishes and Ministers; all, one with another, not worse provided for Maintenance, tho not a quarter so Populous nor Rich as these here.

3. Secondly, They apprehend that this would produce a necessity of enlarging their Churches, and encreasing

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the number of Parishes and Ministers, of both which there are but too many already, *half of the Churches being destitute of Ministers*, tho but Eleven in all. And in those Churches that are better supplied, 'tis known that the *Prayers and Sermons* are usually delivered to little more than the bare Walls only, notwithstanding the multitude of People belonging to each; of whom not a fifth part (*I speak only of the English*) could be admitted into most of them, *should they all appear.*

4. Thirdly, They add the time to be spent in this (needless) *work of Religion*, which amongst so many labouring Hands must be considerable. Besides their *Sunday-work*, would be quite lost, as also their increase by the *Negro's Polygamy.*

5. Fourthly, They have a strange apprehension and foresight, *that their Slaves when admitted Christians*, would be apt to expect better usage (*which even Heathens will tell them they ought to have without it*) for *Food, Clothes, and Rest*, and more merciful Correction, moderated according to some Law, (and not left to each Tyrants pleasure) which perchance, *may be but reasonable.* These, as indeed the former, they sparingly mention, being ashamed to own, and it were to be wished they would also to practise, them. Of all which I shall leave others to judg, whether they do not fully answer my short Character and Description of them.

6. But as bad as these are, the following are worse; wherein like down-right *Atheists*, they stand up for *Libertinism*, and object directly against Christianity, blaming the equability and justice of

Luc. l. 9. Olim vera fides-- obit, nunc & ficta perit. They declare their Sin as Sodom, Isa. 39.

its Terms, the thing that chiefly renders it commendable. These they complain of, as on the one hand too large, but on the other too straight and narrow, in neither able to content them, being both, they say,

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inconsistent with Bondage. These Terms are, 1. Privileges. 2. Prohibitions.

6. The *Privileges* are chiefly these three: First, Their *Slaves admittance to an Oath*, which, being at present *Heathens*, are scarce currant in a *Christian Court*; as some of them have been made to understand in *England* from a certain *Judg's* reprehending and menacing of them for their brutish neglect herein; tho they were not ignorant of it before. Secondly, Their *equality as to the Communion and Church-Administrations*; which, to all are, or ought to be, the same. Thirdly, The *inconvenience* that may ensue upon their acquaintance with this Precept of our Blessed Saviour; *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*. It may perchance be expected that I should add a fourth, *viz. A supposed Right to Freedom, and of being set at Liberty* immediately upon their *Baptism*; which is by some apprehended to be in it self a *release from Servitude*. To which last, (tho it be needless, they having secured that *Interest*, as I have understood, by a Law of their own, whose *Validity* they do not question,) I shall speak something also, after having first replied to the three former.

7. The first whereof is their *admission to an Oath*, wherein they seem again to have forgotten, the thing I am interceding and suing for on their behalf, *viz. That they may be made Christians*; which, as is before shewed, is certainly of it self a sufficient remedy and security against all temptations to *Perjury*. A Crime, which according to the true Principles thereof, is next to *irremissible*: And for which the *Ancient Canons* did enjoin Penance to the Offender during his *Life*.

8. And yet should we suppose the worst, I cannot imagine the danger to be greater than it was in former Ages, when both *Slaves* and *Villains* were freely admitted, without this scruple, to give Evidence; even as in *Poland*, and elsewhere, 'tis not to be doubted, but they

they still are. Nor do I conceive that *St. Paul* thought his *Christian Slaves* Oath more to be suspected than other Mens, whilst they no less stuck to the Principles of *Christianity*. And in truth, at the same rate, all the World may be no less suspected: it being possible that all Men may prove deceitful and wicked, tho not in the least probable.

9. That their *Oath may be useful*, we even now find, where their bare word or testimony given without it, is often found very serviceable, tho not admitted for a sufficient proof. The want whereof is many times no small *impediment* to the course of *Justice*. And for *Subornations*, the thing chiefly objected; for my part, as I see not but they might (especially being made *Christians*) be as well trusted as most others; so should any such thing happen, it will be presumed that the *wise Judges* will be no less *Eagle-eyed*, and able to descry such practices in these, than in the *English*.

10. As for the second, it is hard to find out what they intend by it, unless it should be that the *Negro's* would thereby be apt to think more proudly of themselves, and less worthily of their *Masters*; which yet cannot be gathered from *Christianity*, nor indeed can ever happen, if *St. Paul's* rule be well applied; And they that have believing *Masters*, let them not despise them, because they are *Brethren*, but rather do them [the better] service, because they are *Believers*, 1 Tim. 6. So that this Authority of the *Master* is so far from being hereby diminished, that it is rather confirmed, and a stricter observance for that cause charged upon the *Servants Conscience*. Nor do we find that *Abraham, Job, &c.* were the less esteemed by their *Bondmen*, for their being initiated into *Religion*, by the same *Ceremonies* with themselves; neither do we find or suspect this in our *English* Servants, or *Dependents*. That *Woman* also whose *Negro* (P. 38.) I baptized, had not more cause

to complain that he thereafter failed in his *Duty* and *Fidelity*, tho' he quarrel'd at it. Nor yet two others in *Virginia* (the former being in *Carolina*) whom I likewise Baptized, were ever taxed by their *Masters*, as less diligent after *Baptism*, than they were before. Nor lastly, did the *Hebrew* or *Christian Masters*, nor I believe hardly any other Sect, ever ascribe to *Religion* the disorders of their Servants as the cause thereof, if at any time they found themselves disrespected by them. Except only the *Romans Saturnalia*, wherein the Slaves were permitted to retaliate their *Masters* cruelties; which extravagancy *Christianity* doth not in the least allow of. And for the third, they may remember, that if Christ hath taught, *That we should love our Neighbours as our selves*, his Apostle hath from his Mouth also, no less enjoyned *Servants obedience to their Masters*; which two *Precepts* do no more thwart either the other, than that of the same Apostle, commanding, *To render to every Man his due*, and *Masters to allow their Servants that which is just and equal*, doth destroy their just Right and *Authority* over them. And this, if we were to deal with Men that had any sense of *Christianity*, or *Religion*, (which the *Objection* doth most evidently shew that they have not) might prove satisfactory to them; but as the case stands, 'tis not to be hoped will much avail to their *Conviction*;

12. And as to that which some would in the fourth place object, touching their release from servitude upon *Baptism*, tho' I do not see that they here do retain any *apprehensions* thereof, their *Law* (of which I have only heard mention here, but do know that there is such both in *Virginia* and *Mary-land*) having carefully barred all such *Pleas*; yet were there no such *Law* enacted, I cannot understand that a necessity for such a release doth arise from any Principles of *Christianity*, nor of *Religion* in general. For if we look into the

the Old Testament, we find that *Circumcision* (to the Faithful then the same with *Baptism* now) did not release *Abraham's* three hundred and eighteen Slaves, nor those afterwards belonging to his Posterity, any more than their partaking of the *Passover*, *Exod. 12.* did; of which yet no hired *Servant* was to eat. And the *Gibeonites* were perpetual *Bondmen* and *Vassals*, notwithstanding their admittance to the *Temple*, and to *Religion*. And then to come to *Christianity* and the *New Testament*, *Onesimus*, who is stiled [*Δσλος*, a Slave] (to *Philemon*) as (that word importing no less) is generally agreed, was not made a Freeman by his being Baptized; which *S. Paul's* returning him to his Master, a *Christian* also, and his interceeding for him, doth manifest. Whom tho' he bespeaks as a *Convert*, yet lets him know that his *Obligation* to his *Master* was still the same. And tho' he professeth that he might be much bold in Christ to enjoyn *Philemon* that which was convenient, yet that he chose rather to entreat him by *Love*: And what was that? Not that he might be set at liberty, as being now a *Christian*, and even a *Brother*; but that, forgetting wherein he had offended, being now a *Penitent* and a *Convert*, he would receive him again. Nor against this do we find *Onesimus* urging his *Privilege*, nor refusing to carry the *Letter* with his own hand. A manifest sign that there was then no such understood, or heard of. And in *1 Cor. 7. 21, 22.* where the same *St. Paul* asserts the privilege of *Christian Servants*, he withal tells them their *Duty*, giving them to know, that they were to abide in the same *Calling*, wherein they were when first converted, or called; not but that if they could procure their liberty, they should rather use it. And if any shall demand what then is that liberty of a *Christian*, which *St. Paul* elsewhere asserts and urgeth? I answer, That I know no more by it, than a liberty from the yoke of *Judaism*, from

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Sabbath, Circumcision, and such like Ordinances and Levitical Ceremonies. As also a release from our former slavery to our *Lusts*, which is the greatest liberty and happiness, if considered and understood. And lastly, An admission to *serve Christ*, our *most perfect Freedom*, and to partake of the Privileges and Promises of the *Gospel*, and thereby to obtain an *Adoption to the glorious liberty of the Sons of God in Heaven*. Which certainly are far greater Immunities, than a bare release from temporal Servitude can possibly amount to. For Christ's *Kingdom* being not of this World, his *Religion* was never designed to deprive any Man of his *civil Rights*, but rather did *confirm them all to us*. And to shew that *Bondage* is not *inconsistent with Christianity*, we see it practised by other Christian Nations in these parts without the least prejudice to them: Even as not one hundred Years since in *England, Villanage*, a kind of *Slavery*, was in force, and still is in other Countries; and some do say, in our own too.

13. And whereas 'tis further Objected, That certain *Cathons and Imperial Edicts* (neither of them admitted here), and the *Municipal Laws* of some Countries ('tis possible of *England* it self) heretofore enacted or decreed for the honour of *Christianity*, or to strengthen its Party against the *Heathen*, do oppose this continuation of our *Slaves* in *Bondage*. I answer, First, That these Laws being designed for the good of *Servants*, and the promoting of *Christianity*, there is now no reason they should be continued, when *experimentally* found, through the *hardness of Mens Hearts*, so great impediments thereto; and even to be turned against them, for the benefit of whose *Bodies and Souls* they were intended. But, Secondly, I add, that this (the true) doth not trouble my Assertion, because we do not find that these Laws do flow from any necessity thereof, concluded in the Principles of *Christianity*;

as being merely *voluntary*, and the effects only of the good Nature and Piety of their first Christian Contrivers; and to which a Christian (as such) is no more bound, than to *sell all his Goods, and give them to the Poor*: Which yet may be a good work, and very commendable, in those that shall aspire after such perfection.

14. But yet further, if any shall make it a matter of *Conscience* to continue Christians in *Servitude*; it would concern those that entertain that scruple (which I fear few do) to remember how much more against a good Conscience it is, either through Sloth, or for a petty Profit, to keep Men, *that have Souls to be saved*, destitute of the means thereto, and consequently to occasion their *Damnation*; than simply to retain them under *Servitude*, abstracted from that other *Irreligion*. Which tho perhaps less commendable in *Christians*, is far short of the Impiety of keeping them *Slaves to Hell*, and to *our selves too*. And here also, supposing the worst, it ought by Christians to be considered how much the loss of a *Servant* is less than of a *Soul*, (yea of many) for whom *Christ died*, no less than for their *Masters*; and who cannot expect to be *saved*, if the other, *through their occasion*, perishes. But letting this scruple pass, (to salve which there never will be here any occasion), I think it clear enough that *Christianity* doth not lessen any obligations of *Servants* to their lawful *Masters*: And therefore that if any *positive Laws* to the contrary do as yet stand in their way, I should be apt to recommend the *Bermudian caution* of *Indentures* for 99 years Service, to our Peoples imitation, in the interim till those Laws (I say, if any such there be) might by *Authority* be fairly removed.

§. III. 1. And thus our dangers from the *Privileges* being cleared, I proceed to do the like by the *Prohibitions*,

tions, viz. Of their *Polygamy*, their *Sunday-Labour*, frequent *repudiating* and *changing* their *Wives*; usual amongst most *Heathens*. As also their *Idolatrous Dances* and *Revels*, permitted and practised by them (so often as they can steal any time from their *Work*) even upon that *Day*, whose *Morality* (to the danger of straining it to the height of a *Jewish Sabbath*) hath been so much, for these many Years, insisted on amongst the *English*; with other such *Recreations* and *Customs*, by them brought out of *Africa*, and here connived at, because either *gainful* to their *Owners*, (such as the first) or grateful to the poor *Slave*. (such as the latter) without prejudice to their *Masters Business*. None of which yet are heard of amongst the *Virginia Negro's*, tho' alike *Gentiles* with these: And there not laid aside or forbidden, but forgotten by disuse.

2. Now might not this cause one to stand still and to admire, how such things should come to be, I do not say, *justified*, but even permitted, or endured by *Christians*: Who, as before they were not ashamed to begrudge the poor *Wretches* thus spending their *strength* and *days* in their *Service*, even a miserable *Subsistence*, for they expect no more: So here they alledge things palpably wicked, as a pretence for a worse and more dangerous *Frugality*, if I may so call it, viz. *The starving of their Souls*. Contenting themselves to give a free course to *Turkish* and *Heathenish* Licentiousness, and even to all *Irreligion* and *Atheism*, for a wretched false *Gain*; but in the mean time *blindly overlooking*, the many greater *Advantages*, which are the undoubted fruit of true *Christianity*.

3. For can it be believed that the small trouble of *Christenings*, to be had without *Fees*; as also of *Catechizing*, *Marrying*, *Churching* and *Burying* of them (the consenting to which will one Day, like *Nehemiah's* good deeds for *Jerusalem*, or *Tobit's* charity for the *Dead*, be

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our greatest comfort;) can equal, or any way be compared with the solid benefit and satisfaction arising from the unquestionable *Fidelity* and

Integrity of a virtuous Servant? Can a few hours *Sunday-Work* (for I plead not for the other *Holy-days*) be alike beneficial to us, as the same spent in learning them their *Duty*, or as the blessing of *God* upon us for it in the ensuing *Week*? Can *starving*, or *working them to Death*, (for it cannot be denied but that these are too frequent) be equally profitable with keeping them alive for our future *Service*? Or can we believe it alike expedient, or conducive to our *Interest*, to be put each *Year* to purchase and train up *Raw*, *Ignorant*, and *unhandy Barbarians*, with preserving for our occasions, the tried and more experienced, by good *usage* of them?

'Tis true, you may alledge the temptation and certainty of the present *Profit*, with the uncertainty of future *Contingencies*, the possibility of their out-living those *hardships*, and of their dying also under better *usage*; yet surely this is but a *brutish Plea*, and at best not a little favouring of their *Providence*, who devour all at one *Meal*, as uncertain whether ever they should live to enjoy another.

18. As for the charge of *Instructing* them, if they think it too much to undertake themselves, (which the *holy Patriarchs* did not) they cannot but know the same *Person*, who attends this work upon *Sundays*, or *Saturdays Afternoon*, (which last was formerly allowed to both *Slaves* and *Servants*, when this *Island* was less *Wealthy* and *Populous*, than now it is) may be further useful in the rest of the *Week*; particularly in teaching their *own*, and the neighbouring *Youth*, (or possibly in keeping their *Accounts*, &c.) which would prevent a greater *Charge*, together with the hazard

Think upon me, O my God, for good according to all that I have done for this People, Neh. 5.

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of transporting them to *Europe* for Education: Not omitting that so much (beyond the *danger* of the *Sea*, and of different *Climes*) worse mischief of their being betimes *Debauched*; scarce to be avoided at so great a distance from their *Parents care and inspection*, as in many Instances is too apparent. And this also might be a means in some measure to put a stop to that *Barbarism*, which through the want of *Schools*, do threaten the irrecoverable *Ruine* of all our *Hopes in them*.

19. As for the danger of our *Slaves release from Servitude* thereby, to what I have said before, I shall only add, That if they suspect the *Validity* of their own *Laws*, the contrary to which I have always found; no doubt but his *Majesty*, and the Honourable *Houses of Parliament*, will have their *Ears open* to their just *Fears and Complaints*, thus arising from a pious sense of their *Duty*, and the safety of their *Peoples Souls*, no less than of their own; so as to fortifie their *Interest* with as good *Laws and Fences*, as themselves shall in *Reason* propose, or their *Omnipotence* (pardon the expression, *Rulers can do much within their proper Spheres*) can create, or give life to. Nor let that over-proud fear of thereby acknowledging (*what they cannot possibly avoid*,) their dependence upon *England*, nor that of rendring the rest of their *Laws*, with their *Legislative Power* (which, I confess, some would fain extend beyond its *due bounds*) questionable, be any impediment thereto; since neither the one nor the other are more *secured* without it: And these two being known to be *different things* in *Law*, viz. *To corroborate an old, and create a new Title*.

6. And for the charge of dividing and lessning the *Parishes*, (very necessary if but the for *English* alone) and the encreasing the number both of *Churches* and *Ministers* (tho this doth not absolutely follow; the forc-

foregoing Expedient being admitted, nor perhaps without it;) All the danger which from thence is like to arise, is, that thereby we are like to be made better *Christians*, and by such a convenience *enabled more duly to serve God*; a benefit well worth the *purchasing* at so small an *Expence*. Tho *Christians* in such a case should first reflect upon the *Prophets* reply to King *Amaziah*, 2 Chron. 25.9. *The Lord is able to give thee much more than this*. And the old *Jewish Aphorism*, *Decima ut dives fias*, answering to our *English Adage*, that *Meat and Mass*, (others have rendred it, *Prayer and Provender*) *do never hinder Work*, do confirm that in the Sum total, *Nothing is lost by our attending upon God's Service and Religion*.

7. Hereby also, besides the *Integrity and Long-livedness* of their *Slaves* (which would abundantly recompence the loss of other less commendable *Profits* and *Advantages*), their gettings would not be so clogg'd with those *troublesome gripes*, and *stings of Conscience*, which first or last are the certain *Appendices* of *unlawful and bloody Gain*; nor with that *Curse* denounced by the *Prophet*, *Hab. 2. 6, 7, 8*. for such *Unmercifulness and Impiety*. Nor would their *Estates* be so subject to that *Moth and Canker*, which some observing *Persons* (not over addicted to *Priests*, nor to *Religion*, 'tis well known, but) even from amongst themselves, have (so forcible are *Right words*, *Job 6. 25.*) been brought to confess, as being most *Notorious*: Who at the same time could not find out any cause whereto to ascribe those apparent effects, besides that of *oppressing these People*. For as an *Achan*, or a *Saul* may trouble *Israel*, so even very *Gibeonites* may *blest the Inheritance of the Lord*. And so all would be enjoyed with greater *Security*: And that which now is as *unstable as Water*, and a *Curse* rather than a *Blessing*, would be a *durable and firm Possession*; not as now for the most part to the *immediate*

Heirs only, but even to the succession of many Generations: For as one very well observes, "Interest is best preserved by Justice and Equity, which will entitle it to that blessing from God, which he hath promised in his Word, and which are naturally apt to be instrumental to Providence in producing that good, which he hath promised."

8. And as each private Man, so also the public will be made more happy. Religion, saith one, causeth good Orders, and good Orders do create Peace and Concord, which is a Peoples greatest strength. A Fool, if he tread in the ways of Holiness and Religion cannot err, according to the Prophet *Isaiab* 35. 8. There shall be an High-way and a Way, and it shall be called the Way of HOLINESS; the wayfaring Men, tho Fools, shall not err therein. And on the other side, *Baalam* hired to procure the ruine of *Israel*, could not devise a more pernicious Counsel, than to make *Israel* sin. *Livie* in his fifth Book, rehearseth a speech of *Camillus*, to the Romans, wherein he appeals to their own Experience, whether ever they had better Luck, than when they carefully served God, or worse than when they neglected it. So *Horace* also in his l. 3. Ode 6. And *Cicero* ascribes all the good fortune of the same People (and no less doth *St. Augustine* in his Book, *De Civitate Dei*;) to their Piety and Devotion. *Nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos; nec deniq; hoc ipso hujus gentis & terræ domestico nativóq; sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate ac Religione, atq; hac unâ sapientiâ quod deorum immortalium Numine omnia regi gubernariq; proficimus, omnes gentes Nationesq; superavimus;* That is, *We* [Romans] neither outnumbered the Spaniards, nor were stronger than the Gauls, nor outwitted the Carthaginians, nor were more learned than the Greeks, nor surpassed the Italians and Latines, our predecessors in their natural Capacities: But by our Religion, Piety,

Piety, and by this one only point of WISDOM, that we believed all things to be directed by the appointment of Heaven, we have been able to worst all other Nations. *Xenophon* tells us, That the great *Cyrus* laid not the foundation of his Persian Monarchie so much by his Valour and Wisdom, as a Religious Worship of Heaven, and a liberality even to profuseness in the service thereof. This also was that which did aggrandize *Alexander* the founder of the *Macdonian* Empire. And hence it was, saith one, That the Romans made not an unworthy choice of a Commander, or Officer, for many Years; the way there to be preferred, being by Religion, Therefore this became the grand Emulation of the People, Soldiers, Captains, and Senatours. And *Comines* was persuaded, that hereof did spring the greatness of the *Venetian* Seigniory. From thence *Machiavel* admonisheth those Princes and Republic's, that would keep themselves from Ruine, above all things to preserve the Rights of their Religion uncorrupt, and to maintain it always venerable. And he further adds, That there is no surer sign of a Countries destruction, than to see in it a contempt of Divine Worship.

9. Before I can conclude this part, I must crave leave to recite another memorable passage out of *Livie's* first Book of his *Roman History*, as conceiving it pertinent to the Point I am upon: It being touching the effects of Religion upon *Rome's* first Planters, for that also was a Colonie. Whom in the first place, he bespeaks to have been a People rude and savage: But to abate whose fierceness, and to render them more tame and mansuete; *Numa* their second King, endeavours by good Laws and Orders, to reduce them to Civility, thereby as it were to reedifie that City, whose Foundation had before been laid by Force and Arms. Howbeit this being too little to accomplish his purpose, (a thing worthy to be taken Notice of;) He in the next place,

deviseth to bring them to some sense of Religion, and the fear of God; *Rem omnium primam ad multitudinem efficacissimam ratus; judging this above all most operative upon the generality of Men.* Whereby, as it follows, their Minds possessed with an awe of Religion; A solemn promise and the respect of an Oath, did, without further Laws or Penalties, govern the City. Nor was the blessing from abroad attending their Devotion, less remarkable. For, saith our Author, This Piety observed in them, did so affect their Neighbours: *Ut civitatem totam in culum versam Deorum violari ducerent nefas: That they judged it Sacrilegious to vex or molest a People, so addicted to the Service of God.* I shall leave our People to make the Application, without adding any thing more thereto, than what our Lord Christ replied to the Inquisitive Lawyer, St. Luke 10. 37. *Vade & tu fac similiter, Go and do thou likewise.*

Ezek. 8. 17.

Then said he unto me, —Is it a light thing—that they commit the Abominations, which they commit here? For they have filled the Land with Violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: And lo they are [*ὡς μωχεπισκοπῆς*] like them that make Sport or Mock.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Wherein certain little Shifts and Pretences from England are examined, and found weightless. Also some few Proposals preparatory to this Work are laid down; with Exhortations to both Ministers and People, to a chearful and speedy betaking themselves thereto.

§. I. n. 1. MY three General Assertions being finish'd, I should with them here draw to a full Conclusion, did not an Objection or two from the further Shore oblige me to the contrary. Where (as I have heard, it was not long since threatned from another place, and is since fallen out, tho not upon the occasion which they desired, as a pretence for it;) it is feared that the enforcing hereof (as if nothing less could be used) would go near to endanger a Rebellion, and is therefore believed less safe to be attempted, especially in case it should not succeed. Secondly, They suppose The time to be unseasonable; the Jews pretence, Hag. 1. Thirdly, That since they cannot yet compass to settle Religion at Home; how should they hope to accomplish any settlement in those remote parts? So that here are no less than three terrible Lions in our way to this work: Of all which yet, if well lookt into, David's words, Psal. 53. will be undoubtedly verified, *There were they in great fear, where no fear was.*

2. For, First, It is to be considered that the disproportion between these two, is as wide as between the setting up of a Cottage and a Palace, or the building of St. Paul's and of a Country Church: Where he that wants sufficient Strength and Materials for the one, may

yet be amply furnisht for the other. And here also is the same difference as between a *Being* and a *Well-being*; which those that shall be apt to *envie* the last, will blush to *deny* the first; this being by all granted necessary, which is the utmost of our wishes here. Besides, there the *Dissenting Parties* are at enmity with, and do oppose that settlement, who yet, I doubt not, would all of them put their helping hand to this: None besides direct *Atheists* (and I hope our good People here will pardon me for this) daring to object against it. And, for the Time, the Prophet *Haggai* has answer'd it to my hand, in the *Chapter* before mentioned. And so much shall suffice for the two last *Objections*.

3. Now to the former, I shall answer, That as I hold our Planters and Merchants *Interests* too great in *England*, ever to betray them into such a folly as a *Rebellion*; so I presume the ill success of it elsewhere, and the less probability of better here, where most of their subsistence is imported from *Foreign parts*, would be enough to prevent all such *Attempts*.

4. But were our security against such fears greater and the danger less; yet, I must confess I am not for forcing, but persuading our People thereto, by good *Sermons* and *Pious Books*, preached and wrote upon that Subject: And no less by encouragements from the *Government* (where it ought to begin) to both *Ministers* and *People*, who should be most forward and industrious therein. 'Tis I know out of Fashion with the *English*, to prefer Men for Religion, but only for *Craft* and *Wealth*, which is the cause that things do so happily succeed with us. Whereas the *holy Scripture* (as also the practice of the wiser *Heathen*) will teach us, that the *Magistrates* properest qualifications are *Piety* and *Temperance*; such only as feared *God*, Men of *Truth*, and that hated *Covetousness*, being to be advanced to that *Dignity*. Now if this course were taken

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ken, besides that it would cut off all pretences for *Stirs* and *Commotions*, this design could not fail of making a considerable progress in a very short time. Especially, knowing how grateful a thing *Power* and *Honour* is to our thriving *Planters*, and how *Ambitious* they are to catch at every shadow of *Title* or *Preferment*.

5. But next thereto will be the procuring that this *Impiety* be taken notice of and decried at Home, especially in *London*; where they have an extraordinary *Ambition* to be thought well of. This, alone, if well understood, and for some time carefully kept up and managed, would operate and strike deeper into them, than even *St. Paul's 14 Epistles*, together with the *Sermons* and *Comments* thereupon, of a thousand Years past and to come.

6. Yet since that this last must in all likelihood be difficult to be brought about to any great purpose, our old *English Zeal* being so much abated; I shall go a nearer way to work, and propose some few things, which shall concern, 1. The *Ministers*. 2. The *People*.

7. Concerning the *Ministers*, (and here my Brethren will, I hope, take no offence, their *Infirmity* and *Failure* herein being so long since proclaimed by the Pen of that *Quaker*;) I shall propose first, That each *Minister* invested with the *cure of Souls*, be in his particular Station strictly obliged, once at least each Month, to press this Duty from a *suitable Text* unto his charges; not omitting the same at other times. But, *Secondly*, That above all things they be especially *Exemplary* therein in their own Families, by *Instructing* and *Catechizing* their *Slaves*, and in due time admitting them to the *Sacrament of Baptism*.

8. Concerning the *People*, I shall propose only, That each *Owner* possessed of a *baptized Slave*, be obliged to allow him the free and full Exercise of *Religion*, without compelling or suffering him to practise his former *Gentilism*

Gentilism. And that to hinder a Slave from being Baptized, or to molest any Minister for doing that charitable Office; or, after this, to deny him the Exercise of Religion, should be a present and absolute release to the said Slave for ever.

9. But then in order hereto, it would be convenient, and even highly necessary, that the Ministers (I speak not this for *my self*, as having no such Charge, and being resolved so to continue, till they) be freed from their Vestry dependences, by a sufficient Maintenance (for which the alone restitution of their Globes would in some places suffice,) and settled in their Benefices for Life: For otherwise they shall pass their time in perpetual fear of offending, and to be afterwards Checkt and Starved for conscientiously discharging their Duty. And that there

For what Encouragement is it for Men to put themselves into the Public Service, and venture their Lives and endure Misery, when they shall but thereby deprive themselves of those Opportunities (which others at Home shall seize) of which perchance they were certain, had they been present: And after this to be lookt upon but as Vagabonds at their return?

be some Regard had and provision made for them of (at least) a Subsistence upon their return, after some convenient time, into England. (The Missionaries into Maryland being, as I have heard, always sent for, after 4 Years continuance there; their Superiours thinking it too unreasonable to oblige them to a longer abode.) There being not the simplest Curate there, whose hopes (without any hazard) are not greater, than they can possibly be supposed here. And it being against reason that any innocent Man should, as if for some great Villany, be condemned to perpetual Exile amongst a People utter Enemies to his Profession, and even worse than Strangers. And lastly, That some one Person or more, be constituted as Agents for each Colony, to represent

present the grievances of the Church and Ministers to the Government in England, it having been hitherto found to very little purpose to make Complaints here. Witness

that Scoff of some Members of the, &c. in reply to the Ministers Petition, bidding them for shame to put it up in their Pockets; least the Quakers (whose abuses they complained of) should see it and laugh at them; which was all the Redress they then did, or are since like to get. Besides all this it would be but just, that all Scoffs at Religion, should be prohibited upon severest Penalties. That our Slaves Polygamy, with their Sunday-work, be restrained; no less to those that remain Heathens, than to such as shall become Christians. That so that filthy Lucre, (which is indeed the same with Theft, or Sacriledg,) may be no longer a temptation for continuing them Heathens; nor their being Heathens be made a pretence for that Irreligion. Which preparations being once made (and without them all will be nothing), the work afterwards will go on smooth and easie, and even in a short time prosper into a Perfection: As ere this it might have done, had not the opposition of such who believe that Labour may well enough be performed without Religion, stood in the way.

10. Nor will the generality of the People be dissatisfied therewith, when they shall understand it to be not more their Duty than their Interest: Some few of them having been discoursed already into this acknowledgment, That in regard Religion would be apt to create a Conscience in their Slaves, it might be convenient, in order to make them the truer Servants. If this were frequently inculcated unto the many, with the hopes of other advantages together inspired into them, no doubt

I speak not this as reflecting so much on the Place, at the usage: For, as the Poet wisht,

—Neq; enim miser esse recusō:

Sed precor ut possim tuius esse miser.

doubt the *Majority* would soon be wrought into a *Compliance*, and even the rest observing the blessed *Fruits* thereof, would become less sturdy in their *Opposition*. Nor can the *Government* be other than pleased thereat; considering the great security, it will above all other *Interest* assuredly reap thereby.

§. II. n. 1. Wherefore, *Be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, and be strong, O Joshua, the Son of Jozedech, the High Priest, and be strong all the People of the Land, and Work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts; as the Prophet Haggai, Chap. 2. 4. speaks.* And let both *Ministers* and *People* encourage and provoke each other to *Love* and to *good Works*. Let the *Ministers* set before them the *Religious Profession* of holy *Job*, declaring his esteem for the word of *God's Mouth*, viz. the work of *Religion*, to be more than for his necessary *Food*. But especially the Example of their *B. Master*, whose *Meat* it was to do the *Will* of him that sent him, and to finish his *Work*. And with the great *St. Paul*, let us be evermore pressed in *Spirit*, and straightned in our *Bowels*, at the thoughts of these Peoples deplorable *Estate*; Not only the poor *Barbarians*, from whom the *Key of Knowledge* is kept, and who are hindered from entering in, but the *English*, who are the *Authors* thereof. And as *Miltiades* Victories did so inflame the emulous mind of *Themistocles*, that he could not rest for them; so let the *Memory* of others more glorious *Achievements* in this kind, provoke in us the like pious *Emulation*, not suffering us to give sleep to our *Eyes*, nor slumber to our *Eyelids*, until we have arrived within a prospect of its accomplishment. Let us consider, that we have no more *Dispensation* for our silence than the *Apostles*, with other succeeding holy *Bishops* and *Priests*, had, who first planted and watered the *Church* with their *Blood*; and went about, and preached every where, when it was

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death to be a *Christian*. That *Faith* is an active and prolific *Grace*; and cannot remain in *Idleness*, but must operate and employ that *Heavenly Heat* which it receives from above, for the use of others. That there is no *Neutrality* in this *War*, and that whoever is not actually in *Arms* prepared to fight against *Sin* and *Infidelity*, is to be reputed a *Conspirator* with them. That there is the same *Heaven* and *Salvation* proposed for the conversion of *Slaves*, as of more illustrious *Grandeers*; the whole being but the *Saving of Souls*; the effecting of which upon but a very few, is worth the *Labour* of many, all their lives. Even *we*, no less than *St. Paul*, are debtors to the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, to the *Wise* and to the *Unwise*. And *God* hath by an extraordinary *Providence*, brought these *People* to our very *Doors*, to try our *Justice*, and to see whether we will pay his *Debt*, unto which, if ever any did, each *Soul* of us do stand most firmly obliged. Look upon them, and you cannot but see in their *Countenances* the lively *Effigies* of *St. Paul's Macedonian*, imploring your help: And, O! let not the *blood of Souls* cry from the *Earth* for *Vengeance* against us. Reflect but upon the sad *Doom* denounced against the *fearful and unbelieving*, *Rev. 21.* and remember that the first great *Founders* of our *Faith* were no *Cowards*. Think what a shame it is, that we have given such just occasion to the *enemies* of *Religion*, to reproach and triumph over our *Timidity*, or, which is worse, our temporizing for *filthy Lucre*. And since, — *Fis est & ab hoste doceri*, and that the bitterest *Reproaches* may have a *salubrious Energie*, when prudently applied; let us view the *Charge* (drawn out of our own *Liturgie* against us) and from thence learn to prevent a *second*; and by wise endeavours for the *redeeming* of our past *Errors*, give undeniable proofs of the *deep sense* we have of this *Duty*. Nor are we to

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flight those *puny* Adversaries, but to reform our selves; remembering that of *Solomon*,

And that of Cicero, Negligere de se quid quisq; dicat non solum arrogantis est, sed prorsus dissoluti. l. 2. Off.

Prov. 29. 1. and also 12. 1. which I shall not repeat. And if it can be possible for an *Heathenish* indifferency to

harbour in so much as but one single Brest of any devoted to a nearer and more peculiar *Service of Christ* in the Ministry; yet let his *Prudence* teach him to throw his *Garment* over that part of his *Nakedness*, and to try at least to conceal it from the World. And, *Si non re ipsa dolet*, If he cannot be passionately concerned, *disimulare certè est Hominis*, it would be his *Wisdom* not to betray himself, nor disgrace his company. Especially in this day of Rebuke, when the *Mouth of the Slanderer* is opened, thus bidding us *desiance*. Nor let the opposition and peevishness of *unreasonable Men* dishearten us; as knowing that our true portion is to be sent forth *as Sheep amongst Wolves*; and that success is for the most part the companion of a restless Industry. *Nothing*, as the *Wise Man* saith, *Prov.* 27. 4.

* As also 2 Kings 18. 31. & Isa. 37. 32.

(see the * Original and Greek) being of force to withstand Z E A L. The Stars, they say, cannot exercise their

Influence upon the *sphere of Fire*: And certainly the *Heavens* do rarely look with a malign *Aspect* upon Industry; nor is it often seen that God doth interpose his Power to thwart an *honest Diligence*, even in common and *Worldly Designs*; or if He doth, He seldom confounds it: How much more then may we be confident of his favour in those *Heavenly Enterprizes*, which himself hath commanded and promised his Assistance to the undertakers. And since that the most *glorious Designs* do often prove abortive for want of *Resolution*, a repulse or two ought not to blunt, but whet our *Desires*.

fires. Remembering that *Difficulties* are the common pretences and *Mormo's* of inglorious Sloath, but spurs and encouragements to a resolved Diligence. Nor ought any to be discouraged from *letting down their Nets*, because some perchance have already *toiled to no purpose*: since by the *Divine Benediction*, attending our patience and perseverance, 'tis possible we may yet obtain such a lucky Draught, as that our *Nets* being ready to break through the multitude of *Fishes*, we may be forced to *becken* to our *Friends and Partners* on the *British Shore*, to come in to our assistance. *St. Bede l. Hist. Eccl. Angl.* relates, that in the *Infancy of our Church*, such a disappointment happened in an unconverted part of our *Nation*; at which yet, he tells us that others, nothing discouraged, in a second attempt perfected what the former had left for desperate. Even so we overlooking all *Difficulties*, and *pressing still forward to the Mark*, if we faint not, may obtain that *Prize* for which we set forth, and accomplish a Work greatly tending to the *Glory of God*, and to the happiness of these poor Peoples Souls, no less than of our own. But, *O were our Duty*, (as *St. Chryf.* sweetly exhorteth, l. 6. de *Sacerd.* c. 40.) of *Piety and a virtuous Life faithfully complied with*, we might soon, and even without *Miracles*, *convert the World!* Wherefore, *Lift up the Hands that hang down, and the feeble Knees*, as saith the *Apostle*. Let us be *instant in season and out of season*, and *keep back nothing of the whole Council of God*, that is necessary for the Souls of Men. That so when our Lord shall come to require his *Sheep*, calling unto us, as *Augustus* is said to have done to *Varus*, to restore the Souls committed to our Charge; *We may give our Account with Joy and not with Grief*. And that we now *feeding the Flock of God*, and *taking the oversight thereof* (not by constraint but willingly; not for filthy Lucre, but of a ready Mind) may, when the chief Shepherd

Shepherd, shall appear; receive a Crown of Glory, which fadeth not away.

2. And for the People, I shall propose unto them three *general Rules* in this *Affair* to be guided by. Whereof the first is, To make the *Negro's* case our own, as being the best way, to judge what is fit for others. And then to remember how unjust it would seem to one of us, that our *different White* should deprive us of the least Advantage; much more of the greatest, which *Religion* is. That *Injunction* of our Blessed Lord, of *dealing so with all Men*, as we should upon the like change of our Fortunes expect from them, being a Principle highly Moral, and Natural; and sufficient to make us wave those proud distinctions, which only avarice, and a too worthy conceit of our selves, have taught us.

3. And to this I shall, under the same Head, add some few other Considerations of the same kind, which may greatly add to our Security. As, 1. To reflect how dangerous *Extremities* are, and that as *nothing violent is lasting*, so nothing is more *permanent* than *Moderation*. 2. To think how inconvenient this Distance and Difference between Man and Man, *Indians* and *Negro's*, *English* and both, may in time prove. The *Poets* advice,

Tros Tyrinſq; mihi nullo discrimine agetur:

being much more conducive to our Happiness and Security. 3. To meditate what fit *Instruments* for any *State Revolution*, such miserable People are; who being very *numerous*, should not be too much *Exasperated*, nor driven into *Desperation*. 4. To reflect what a reproach and dishonour to the *English Nation*, and *Government*, our *unchristian* treating of these People is. 5. Wisely to look rather to the *most lasting*, then to the *present Gain*; And in consequence thereof,

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Not to labour (so much) for the Meat that perisheth, &c. St. John 6. Lastly, To remember at whose Hands their Blood will be required, if they perish; and not think with Cain to shift the Guilt off, by demanding, *Am I my Slaves keeper*, which certainly each of you are. And therefore to be merciful to your own Souls, if not to your Slaves. He that taketh warning shall deliver his Soul, Ezek. 33. But otherwise his Blood shall be upon his own Head.

4. Secondly, I shall beseech you to look unto the *Generation of God's Children*; and to see what is done by others, whether at Home or Abroad, by our own *Countrymen*, or by *Strangers*, both in *Europe*, and in their remoter *Colonies*, and from thence to collect and imitate the best Examples. As for our own *Nation*, if we look into *New-England*, they scruple not to admit either *Negro's* or *Indians*, when-capacitated and fit for it, to their very *Sacraments*, which very many of the *English* cannot obtain. The *Infants* also of such are allowed *Baptism*: And of the *Bermudians* I have (Page 143) before spoken.

5. Again, If we appeal to our Mother-Country, the respect there to them is *notorious*, and even become the *Scoff* of this place. 'Tis true, their *Zeal* is said of late to be much abated. But this, as 'tis the Crime of some few, whose great *Wisdom* consisteth only in getting of *Money* (the grand *Antichrist* of our *English Nation*, which, in the very letter of the Text, they exalt, *ὁτι πάλιν λέγομεν τὸ θεόν, ἢ σεβασμῶν*, above God and Religion:.) So I doubt not but their *Impiety* will in time be better lookt into, and a stop be put to its further growth, at least there: And those *Mammonists* be obliged to a more *Christian* deportment and compliance with the universal practice of all Believers; especially of our *English Nation*, till now.

6. And as to *Foreign Nations* 'tis certain, that they

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treat their Negro's and others, both here and in Europe, as Men capacitated for the like hopes with themselves. And in consequence of that belief, do not only permit, but compel them to partake with themselves in Religion. Of whom some are daily promoted to the Priesthood, and other Offices in the Church. And I have here seen and discoursed with divers, who were brought from those parts; which, besides some Reports of that nature which I had otherwise met with, hath ascertained me of the truth thereof. Now all these, were they not better principled, might urge the like Objections against their being made Christians, which our selves do here. But they are not yet arrived to that wisdom and fore-sight as to apprehend the Dangers and Inconveniencies of Religion.

7. Thirdly, I shall recommend unto them, 1. A frequent view of the Terms, by which only they can pretend a Right to God's Temporal Blessings. He gave them the Lands of the Heathen, saith David, that they might observe his Statutes, and keep his Laws. So that obedience to God's Laws can only entitle Men to the good things that they here enjoy: Which if referred to Christianity, doth, no question, amongst other, infer this Duty also. 2. And then after a serious view of the Terms, to see how others have fared upon the forfeiture. St. Paul speaking of the Jews, Rom. 9. hath these words, Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by Faith. And in the Acts, he bespeaks the same Jews to have thrust from them the Word of Eternal Life. And in another place not only so, but they are also charged with forbidding the Preaching of it to the Gentiles, that they might be saved: The crying Sin of these Colonies! From which impudent despite done to Religion, he ominates their speedy destruction, and that Wrath which should (and not long after did) come upon them even to their utter Extermination, 1 Thess. 2. 16.

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And, 3ly. After all, to apply this unto our selves, If God spared not the Natural Branches, how much less will he spare thee? Be not therefore high-minded, but fear; for otherwise thou also shalt be broken off. Not is this the utmost of the danger; but there is mentioned something further, 2 Thess. 1. The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels, in flaming Fire, taking vengeance of them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his Power; when he shall come to be admired in his Saints, and to be glorified in all them that believe.

8. But if none of all these Considerations will prevail, the last thing I shall propose, is, That you will now at length remove that Vizard, and undeceive the World, who have been apt hitherto, because going by that Name; to believe you Christians: Which Name with what face Men can thus usurp, whose practices do prove them not so much as tolerable Heathens, is in truth my great wonder and astonishment; and whilst they retain, *Istam in figura hominis feritatem & immanitatem bellue*; Such a brutish ferity under humane appearance. Since the Orator (as before P. 87, 88.) informs us, That it is more against Nature, for one Man to wrong another, for his private Gain, than Death, Poverty, Pain, or any other Calamity. That they who do hold the contrary, do separate Man from himself. That he is mistaken that thinks any discommodity either of Body or Estate, to be sorer than the Vices of the Mind. That no Man's Life can be more profitable, than such a disposition of mind, not to violate any, even the most despicable Wretch, for his Profits sake. Which being true, where will your pretended Christianity be found, who against all Conscience and Reason, are so unjust and cruel to your Slaves? Wherefore till you can afford to

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comport your selves more agreeable thereto, be but so just to your selves and us, as to decline the Name: That so your Inhumanity, Avarice, and Irreligion, may no longer be a Stain and Reproach to that Profession; unto which otherwise the Generality will be apt to ascribe them. Nor let any one think strange of this Proposal, which is but Just and Reasonable: It being a most undoubted Truth, and for which, I think, I should not be afraid to become a Martyr, *That they who do industriously oppose the propagation of Christianity, especially in their own Families, can be themselves (at most) but Heathens.*

9. Nor let any here go about to take Sanctuary under that Turkish Tenet, *That God accepts not the Services of Slaves.* This, like the rest, being but a poor Shift, and will hardly stand them in stead, when the rust of their ill-gotten Treasure, for which they have sinned against their own Souls, shall be a witness against them; it being certain, that whatever is perfect in its kind, is equally grateful to an impartial Goodness. And should any Act of theirs prove less perfect, yet where out of their power to remedy, it cannot be less accepted by Him, who requires no more than he gives, and judges by the intent, and respects not how great, but how good our Offerings are; and hath moreover by his Apostle, 2 Cor. 8. declared, *That if there be first a willing Mind, it is accepted according to what a Man hath, not according to what he hath not.* No act of the Soul being to be reputed faulty, for the infirmities of the Body, any more than a Prisoner can be accountable for his Keepers cruelty, or a Slave for his Masters.

10. Let not then the Negro too much despond, or sink under these Discouragements; but rather assure himself, *That since God cannot but have a desire to the work of his Hands: nothing but his own neglect can prevent his Happiness: And that since He sent his Son to*

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*Redeem all, there is Mercy in store for him also. For (to apply the words of the Evangelical Prophet to this case) the Son of the Stranger, that hath joyned himself to the Lord, is not to speak, saying, The Lord hath utterly separated me from his People; neither let the Eunuch say, I am a dead Tree. For thus saith the Lord, even unto them that chuse the things that please me, and that take hold of my Covenant, will I give in mine House, and within my Walls, a Place and a Name, better than of Sons and Daughters, and I will give them an everlasting Name, that shall not be cut off. Also the Sons of the Stranger that joyn themselves to the Lord to serve him, and so love the Name of the Lord, and to be his Servants; even them will I bring to my holy Mountain, and make them joyful in my House of Prayer: Their Burnt-offerings and their Sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine Altar; for mine House shall be called an House of Prayer for all People, Isa. 56. Now these Evangelical Promises of Admittance and Acceptance being so general, and without any respect of Persons, it cannot be doubted but these are comprehended in them. Wherefore, to determine all in the words of the Apostle, Gal. 3. 26, 28, 29. & 4. 7. *If thou, O black Ethiopian, art become Christ's Disciple and Servant, and dost by Faith truly embrace and lay hold of him, then art thou, as to thy Soul, and all the ends and purposes of the Gospel, no longer a Slave but a Son, and even Abraham's Seed: And if a Son, then an Heir of God through Christ according to the Promise: For we are all the Children of God by Faith in Christ Jesus.* Unto which, neither Condition, Country, Complexion nor Descent, can be any Impediment. *There being in him neither Jew nor Greek, Bond nor Free, Male nor Female: For we are all one in Christ Jesus.**

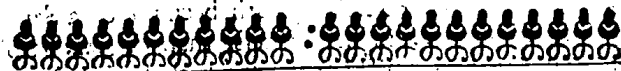
11. I shall close up my Discourse with that advice of Jeremiah, Chap. 13. 16. *Give Glory to the Lord your God before*

before he cause Darkness, and before your Feet stumble upon the dark Mountains, and while ye look for Light, be turn it into the shadow of Death and make it gross Darkness: Adding only that Religious Expostulation of the Philistine Priests and Sages, (1 Sam. 6.) to their Princes and Optimates, touching the dimission of the Captivated Ark: *Wherefore do ye harden your Hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their Hearts? When he had wrought wonderfully among them, did they not let the People go and they departed?* That is, they found it requisite and necessary to do them that Right and Justice: And it will be our Wisdom to do so too.

12. And thus have I finished this Discourse, wherein as I have not forbore to take notice of the least *Objections*, so neither, I think, have I inserted any thing that may, especially to those who understand the temper of this place, seem in the least superfluous. So that nothing being hereby left unanswered, nor any colour or shadow of Argument remaining, The Question must, I presume, be placed beyond dispute; nor can there be any pretence or cloak left for the Impieties here condemned. And unless the Opposers will defie the clearest Truth, they cannot but confess the Obligation upon their Souls for complying with this Duty, herein urged and asserted. Of which yet what may be the Issue, I shall not enquire, but rest satisfied that *I have done what I could, and delivered my Soul*; which I must declare that otherwise, I could not. And no less shall comfort my self, that whatever shall be the success, either through any neglect at Home, or opposition here; and that, tho it should happen, which I trust it cannot, (*Truth being most powerful and must prevail,*) that I should labour in vain, and spend my strength for nought and in vain, yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God. Amen.

—*Nunquam successu crescat honestum, Luc. 1.9.*

The



The State of Religion in Virginia, as it was some time before the late Rebellion, represented in a Letter to Sir W. B. then Governour thereof.

THAT I have made bold to present unto your Excellency this * mean Discourse (exposed to public view more of Necessity; and to vindicate my self, than of choice) is because it may no less need your Patronage, than the Author himself did, during his abode in that your Province of Virginia. A Colony that may be said wholly to owe it self to your Excellency, made happy by your Prudent Government, as being the Prime, if not the only Raiser of her to her present Greatness; having first rescued her from most imminent and apparent Destruction; whilst by your noble and wise Conduct, you not only broke the force of the Common Enemy, but so utterly subdued, as to extinguish in them all hopes, and to destroy the very Seeds of any future Disturbance, which might arise through their Occasion.

And having like a tender Father nourished and preserved that Colony in her Infancy and Non-age, you carefully guarded her ever since, having scarce set Foot off that Soil for well near these forty Years. Under whose Tutelage she is now almost grown Adult, needing no assistance from, but rather able to afford some to her Ma-

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her Country. So that we may without *Affentation* affirm, that your Excellency hath been no less a Sanctuary to *Virginia* in her distress, than *Virginia* hath been unto others. Which tho she hath happily since outgrown, yet your Excellency doth not cease still to make evident proof of your Innate Affection to her, yearly expending your proper Income and Revenue for the good of her; paying her much more Credit and Support than you receive; thereby demonstrating that the only reward you desire and wish, is that she may thrive and prosper.

But as our *Blessed Saviour* once said to the young Man in the *Gospel*, *Let lackest thou one thing to be perfect*; so may we, and I fear too truly, say of *Virginia*, that there is one thing, the Propagation and Establishing of Religion in her, wanting; which if by your Excellencies Piety added, would make your Name great, and your Memory glorious; no less than that place, which hath so long been the Seat of your Government, *Happy*. For there is no pious Eye nor Heart can consider the great (Neglect shall I say? or rather) contempt of Religion there, without resolving it self into Sighs and Tears. It is most certain that there are many Families, who have never been present at any public Exercise of Religion since their Importation into that Colony. The Ministers also are most miserably handled by their Plebeian Juniors, the *Vestries*; To whom the Hiring (that is the usual word there) and Admission of Ministers is solely left. And there being no Law obliging them to any more than to procure a *Lay-Reader* (to be obtained at a very moderate rate): They either resolve to have none at all, or reduce them to their own Terms; that is, to use them how they please, pay them what they list, and to discard them whenever they have a mind to it. And this is the recompence of their leaving their hopes in *England* (far more considerable to the meanest Curate, than

than whatever can possibly be apprehended there) together with their Friends and Relations, and their Native Soil, to venture their Lives into those parts amongst Strangers and Enemies to their Profession, who look upon them as a Burden; as being with their Families (where they have any) to be supported out of their Labour. So that I dare boldly aver, that our Discouragements there are much greater, than ever they were here in *England*, under the *Usurpers*. I shall, to avoid tediousness and multiplicity of Examples, Instance only in their being hired from Year to Year, and made to accept of Parishes at under Rates, which I think was never practised in those Times, especially upon such as were approved by their own Laws and conformable to their Government, which those Ministers now in *Virginia* in all things are to the Government there.

Sir, I would not be thought to speak this out of any design to disparage the Place; It being a Country so Fruitful, and withal so Pleasant, especially towards the Southern parts, as *Carolina*, &c. that I do prefer it before *England* in many things; but may justly equal it thereto in all; Those only excepted, which Time and multitudes of People must produce. Only I cannot but think it great pity, that a Region so richly furnished with Blessings of the Left, should so much want those more necessary ones of the Right-Hand.

Much less would I herein be thought to reflect upon your Excellency, who have always professed a great tenderness for Church-Men. For alas, these things are kept from your Ears; nor dare the Ministers, had they opportunity, acquaint you with them, for fear of being used worse. And there being no Superiour Clergyman, neither in Council nor in any place of Authority, for them to address their Complaints to, and by his means have their Grievances brought to your Excellencies knowledge

knowledg, they are left without Remedy. Besides, their *Adversaries* have that usual craft of undethand blasting their Fame, and charging them with *Unjustness*, (which is nothing else but a *swing for their own*,) or prepossessing your *Excellency* with forged Stories, either by themselves invented, or known to be as False, as the best Evidence can make them. But yet when thereby a *secret Prejudice* is conceived against them, and the cause unknown, they find it impossible to redeem their Reputations with your *Excellency*. But,

Dat veniam Corvis, vesat censura Columbas;

For where any thing is truly Chargeable, as is frequent amongst their *Leaden Lay-*

** How true this is, may be gathered from the Story of a certain Writing-Master who came into Virginia, first as Bishop thereof; but that not taking, he professed himself Doctor of Divinity, and wore a Scarlet Hood in the Pulpit, going by the name of Dr. Dacres, and shewing Orders under that Name. But, being discovered, hath since changed that Name to Acworth; yet to this hour continues his Preaching and Doctorship, if alive, which lately he was.*

Priests of the Vestries ordination (* which make up near two thirds of the Preachers); and is both the shame and grief of the rightly Ordained Clergie there; Nothing of this ever reaches your *Excellencie's* Ears. Those hungry Patrons knowing better how to make benefit by their *Vices*, than by the *Virtues* of the other.

The Laws also which are transmitted hither to invite the Subjects into those Parts, are many of them so intricate and obscure, (not to say contradictory and fallacious) that they seem rather to be *Traps and Pit-falls*, than Laws; I shall instance in two. The first is, That wherein Servitude for four Years is made the penalty

penalty of accepting of anothers Kindness (if I may so term it); that is, for permitting ones self to be Transported *gratis*, when with much seeming Curtesie and Importunity offered unto them: For thereby the Party (whether Minister or other, without exception) doth, by virtue of that Law, put himself into the Transporters power, and is made to become his Servant, or to Ransome himself from that Thralldom and Misery at a very great rate, perhaps four or five times so much as their Passage should have cost them. A deceit which no *Englishman*, not versed in those *American Arts and Frauds*, can provide against; and is indeed the great stay and support of the *Kidnappers Trade* and Mystery. A Trade that, 'tis thought, carries off and consumes not so little as ten thousand People out of this Kingdom yearly; which might have been a defence to their Mother-Country, but now are many of them miserably destroyed, without any advantage to it.

The second is that Act, wherein, (contradictory to it self, no less than to our Act of *Uniformity*, and to another of their own), it is declared, *That to the intent that Servants Marriages may not be made in secret, they are forbidden to be published* (before hand by Banns, the usual and only way of preventing that Secrecie); and that under no less penalty than 10000 pounds of *Tabacco*; a Sum almost (if not quite) double to divers *Ministers* Incom and Allowance. And this for a thing unto which they are bound under as great Penalties by the said *Act of Uniformity*, and other Laws enjoying the said Publications. Which being once by most of the *Ministers* of that *Colony*, in an humble Address and Petition to your *Excellency* represented, as both unreasonable and unpossible to be complied with, (at the same time giving in their reasons for that

that *Allegation*); they were so far from finding Redress from the *Assembly* then sitting, unto whom it was referred, that the *Ministers* found their condition much more uneasy afterward, than it was before. Besides the present Punishing of the Promoters thereof, tho' not under that, but another Guise. I might here also insert the danger which doth usually ensue to the *Minister* upon his demanding the benefit of those Laws which concern their Maintenance: This being a Crime, which no *Grandee* of any *Vestry*, throughout the Country, shall ever forgive.

To this may be added the profound Silence as to things given to Pious Uses; the not only permitting but commissioning *Lay-Men* to preach, and to enjoy four or five Parishes (but at under Rates): *Deacons* to undermine and thrust out *Presbyters*, to Administer the Sacraments, read the Absolution, and enjoy Pluralities. Their suffering Parishes to extend to sixty or seventy Miles in length, or letting them lie void for many Years together to save Charges, (as the Metropolis, your Honour's Parish, did (as 'tis said) for near twenty Years, some little Intervals only excepted): And in a word, the permitting of all things that concern the *Church* and *Religion*, to the Mercy of the People.

One thing I had almost forgotten, and that is, besides the establishing of *Religion* amongst the *English*, the propagating of it amongst the *Heathen*, both *Natives* and *Slaves* also brought from other parts. Which tho', as must be piously supposed, it were the only end of God's discovering those Countries to us, yet is there lookt upon, by our new Race of *Christians*, as so idle and Ridiculous, so utterly needless and unnecessary, that no Man can forfeit his Judgment more, than by any proposal looking or tending that way.

I presume I need not acquaint your Excellency, how useful *Religion*, where it hath not lost its Force, (and there it ought by all means to be revived) is to the ease and support of *Government*, and may prove, to the securing of the King's Interest in those *Plantations*. Nor what an excellent *Heathen* Writer tells us, *That Religion is the Cement of all Communities, and the chief Basis of Legislative Power: That it is much more easie to build a Castle (we may also add, To plant a Colony) in the open Air, without any ground to found it upon, than to establish a Government without Religion.* Much less that the despising of the *Ephod*, was the Rot of *Sauls* Kingdom and Government: And that the cause why *Jeroboam* is made to carry that infamous Train and Brand, *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin*, nineteen times after him in sacred Scripture, was only for the contempt of *Religion*, and his committing the sacred Oracles to unclean and unholy Hands. Your Excellency knows all these things already, and needs no information; who doubtless are possessed with a deep inward veneration and sense of *Religion* upon a much higher Account, and that is the *salvation of Souls*.

However, let me be bold to be your Remembrancer, and to mind your Excellency how needful it is, that those good Laws which are made for the suppression of *Vice*, and for reducing the People from this affected *Gentilism*, to a more diligent and conscientious discharge of their Duty to *God*, (the only sure means to retain them in their due Allegiance to their Sovereign) be by the Inferiour Magistrates more duly executed; The *Ministers* encouraged, and all Invaders of that sacred Calling, cashiered and punished for their bold and prophane *Usurpations*.

But I begin to exceed my Limits, in thus presuming

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ing to prescribe unto your *Excellency*, who are wise enough to effect whatsoever is necessary as to this most *Important Affair*, so soon as you shall find it expedient so to do: Whetefore beseeching your *Excellency* to excuse this Presumption, and to accept these my *weak Performances*, which I humbly submit unto your Censure, I am

Your Excellencies

Servant, and Orator,

M. G.

Pfal. 119. 12. It is time for the Lord to Work, for they have made void thy Law.

Ezek. 8. 12. For they say, The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the Earth.

F I N I S.