

A
SUPPLEMENT

TO THE
Negro's & Indian's
ADVOCATE:

OR,

Some further CONSIDERATIONS and PROPOSALS
for the effectual and speedy carrying on of the Negro's
Christianity in our Plantations (Notwithstanding the
late pretended IMPOSSIBILITIES) without any
prejudice to their Owners.

By M. G. A Presbyterian of the Church of ENGLAND.

(Gadsden.)

St. Luke 18. 4. *He would not for a while, but, &c.*

St. Mat. 21. 24. *Afterward he repented; and went.*

Who made you Ministers of the Gospel to the *White* People only,
and not to the *Tawneys* and *Blacks* also? *Quakers* Speech
to the Ministers of *Barbadoes*, p. 4. of *Negro's Advocate*.

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The PREFACE.

THE Agents and Factors for the Plantations, being lately requir'd to give in their Reasons, for their refusing to make their Negro's Christians, (as if any Reasons against Christianity could be admitted!) they, it seems, proved so masculine and strong, that the Design was instantly given up for impossible. Of these Reasons such as they are, * I have here given a Specimen; and in Answer thereto; (that the World may judge of their Impossibility, and wishal, see how easily our People are to be satisfied in a business (even) of this Weight and Moment;) have oppos'd against them only these three Proposals, as sufficient to compleat the whole Work, if duly followed: First, That our Planters Interest in their Negro's and other Slaves, be secured. Secondly, That the Ministers there, be both oblig'd and encourag'd. (the only thing wanting) to preach to their People, touching this Duty. Thirdly, That their Negro's Sunday-Labour and Polygamic be prohibited. By the First of these, Their common pretence of Interest will be remov'd; and all Colour for complaining upon that account, would be wash'd off. Now, why this should be oppos'd or denied, I see not. For what Inconvenience or Prejudice can arise to the Owner (or to us) by having his Right secured? And his dearest Mammon being safe, his Thoughts will be more at ease, and he may then be at leisure to attend upon the Duties of Religion, and to serve Christ. Or how, in the Second place, can the Ministers preaching hurt him, since at the end of the Sermon he will be left to his former Liberty; nothing of Force or of Compulsion being in the least required, or intended? Only will be prest upon his Conscience, and the necessity of it will be laid before him; but whether he will hear, or whether he will forbear, will remain as much at his own choice, as it did before. This may not be doubted, but that whilst some of the looser sort shall, with the Athenian Atheists and Epicures Act. 17. only mock, and make sport, (or, which is worse, Observe our Endeavours; others, like the devout Arcopagite, will be affect'd with the heavenly Doctrine, and persuaded to cleave unto it, and to obey the Truth; And then our Labour will not be wholly lost. But rather from these small beginnings, a great Door and effectual will be open'd unto us, notwithstanding the many Adversaries: And this little Leaven may in time grow sufficient to season, not only the lesser Islands, but also the vast Continent of our America. It being Im-

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But above all that **accursed** Tyranny us'd towards the *Souls* of those miserable Wretches, *can never sufficiently be bewailed*, who are daily assaulted by those professed Enemies of Christ, to turn Apostates to the *Christian Faith*, and to deny that *only Name given under Heaven*, by which they can be saved: Whereby they lye under a continual Temptation to abandon their Religion, that they may obtain their Liberty. *Brief for the Captives in Algiers.*

The Office for the Baptism of such as are of riper Years, may be always useful for the Baptizing of *Natives in our Plantations*, and others converted to the Faith. *Pref. to Com. Pr.*

Do in God's Name earnestly require that due and true Execution hereof be had. — As they will answer before God for such Evils and Plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his People for neglecting this, &c. *Act of Unif. 1. Eliz.*

Act. 26. 16. I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to ordain thee a Minister, and a Witness, both of these things, which thou hast seen, and of those things, in the which I will appear unto thee.

17. Delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee.

18. To open their Eyes, and to turn them from Darkness to Light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of Sins, and Inheritance among them which are sanctified by Faith which is in the

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possible that Christianity should be without Followers, if allowed but Scope and Liberty, and a free Course, the other Means and Encouragements should be wanting. And for the Third, The profit from thence arising, is so sordid and inconsiderable, and wishal so utterly inconsistent with brittannity (especialy * ours) that, no confederate or discreet Person who owns this, can do less than abhor (pardon the Expression, I hope, it will not be offensive in this Case) and be ashamed of that. This these insuperable Difficulties are, we see, in a Moment put to flight, and a most smooth and easy Path is chalked out to this Work, notwithstanding the Impossibilities. So that nothing besides a supine Sloath on the one hand, or direct Irreligion on the other, can cause any further Stop to our Negro's Christianity; and we shall be for ever left without Excuse, should it be any longer neglected, or opposed. And God may justly take it out of our hands, and transfer it to others, who will do it. And then those Myriads of People, who, if by us initiated into Christianity, might (so far) have been a Strength and Defence to our Religion (in this time of its distress,) being first Instructed in a way so opposite thereto, will afford the same Advantage against it. So that to neglect or hinder this Work, is a manifest betraying of the Protestant Interest, and no less an advancing of Popery: which they that do, can be no other than open Enemies to the King and Kingdom. Nor in the last place, can the Ministers be displeas'd hereat, but rather be invited to give God thanks for the opportunity. For, if this be not needful, neither is their other Preaching; and all the World may as well be saved without

* Who have so high a Veneration for the Sundays, even beyond all other Christians.

Christianity, as those Negro's. But if without becoming * Christians, they cannot be saved, then are we by this unfaithful Silence, as much as in us lyeth, the cause of their Damnation. And here let no one think strange of my earnestness herein, which I conceive to be my Duty both as a Clergy-man and a Christian: being also loath to be baffled (by such Paulty Objections) in so good and righteous a Cause; To promote which, as it was the sole End of my returning home from those parts, so I am fully purpos'd (by God's assistance) not to desist from the pursuit (non si capiundos mihi sciam esse inimicos omnes [Colonas]), notwithstanding any the greatest discouragements whatsoever, until arriv'd within a prospect of its accomplishment.

* See Act 4. ver. 12. As also the late Alg. Breef, That on-ly Name, &c.

Salus hominis opus dignum Deo. Terr.



A SUPPLEMENT to the Negro's and Indian's, ADVOCATE,

OR,

Some further PROPOSALS, &c.

BEfore we enter upon this Debate, to prevent all troublesome Clamors and Objections against it, upon the score of Interest, this Position should first be laid down, and as a Principle fixt and Eternal, and from which a true Christian (a not recede, be resolv'd on, (viz.) That no Interest how great or (otherwise) just soever, may be admitted to stand in Competition with Christianity. The Question (else) being the same, as between Christ and Barabbas. that is, whether of the two, Religion and the Glory of God, with the good of Souls; or worldly Pelf and filthy Lucre shall be preferred. And then this Position being first laid down, afterwards to fall to considering of the best Expedients for the carrying of it on, with the least prejudice to that Interest; if any such would happen to interpose. And this would be to act like Christians; and might (besides) in the end prove as little hurtful to any just Interest, as that other Method so much in fashion, of consulting Interest first, and then leaving Christianity to be contented with such favours and kindnesses, as the Devil and Mammon shall at last please to afford her.

§ I.

Were they done they'd quickly find out expedients to save their Interest.

And here also in this Consideration, we are especially to avoid Splitting upon this Solecism, both in Policy and Discretion, and against which, Eccles hath so wisely cautioned us, ch. 37. v. 11. [Not to ask Counsel for Religion of one that hath no Religion, nor of Justice of him that hath no Justice] nor of a Coward about Matters of War, nor of a Merchant concerning Exchange, nor of a Buyer concerning selling &c. for such will counsel for themselves, ver. 8. So likewise for a Christian not to be guided or led by Self-ended Men, Enemies to his Profession, in these Debates and Proposals made for the Advancement of it. Such being

[This Part of the verse] is not found in the present Translation, & but in some other it is, particularly that of Geneva.

only

only like to raise *Obstructions*, as hitherto, they have always done, and (as lately) to render that for impossible, which has not the least difficulty in it, where a right Method is used for effecting it.

No more are we to proceed herein, by the sole Advice of Persons *unacquainted* with the true State and Condition of the places where this Settlement or Conversion is to be wrought. Such, tho never so discreet and wise as to other matters here at home, being as it were wholly blind and in the dark, as to Affairs there. And therefore are almost equally unlikely, even with the forms, (unless by accident) to give proper and fit Directions for the happy promoting and carrying on of any good Design, whether in *Church* or *State*, for the benefit of those Parts.

§ II. These things being agreed on, we must then fall to consider of the People amongst whom we are to take our lot, and thereto to have an especial regard : As, whether they be *Slaves*, subject to the *English*, such as most of the *Negro's* there are ; or *free People* living of themselves, either amongst, or distant from, the *English* ; such as most of the *Indians* on the Continent. (in *Virginia*, &c.) are. Or lastly, whether this is to be performed, by way of further Settlement, and Establishment, even amongst the *English* themselves, which also is no less necessary. In all, which Cases, we are to act only by *prudential Rules*, and to proceed therein, by *different Methods* and *Ways* : That, 'tis possible, being less fit or convenient for the one, which is only proper and necessary for the other ; and so also on the contrary. *Not in any of these is any thing of Force, or of Compulsion to be used, but all must be carried on quietly and by degrees*, as God shall please to favour our Endeavours with suitable and prosperous Opportunities.

§ III. Now concerning the *Negro's*, whom I should think fit to be first taken in hand, (as being the easiest Task,) would these *Owners* be persuaded to consent thereto ; & the most absolutely necessary, this neglect being the most scandalous, and wishal, the most impossible to be defended or excused. The first and great step will be to procure (what I but just mentioned) their *Owners consent*, as being to be supposed *were* thereto, not altogether, as is here believed, out of *Interest* ; (it being already secured to them by *Laws* of their own) but by reason of the trouble, and the fancied *needlessness* of the Work ; and

How much fuller of Generosity and Zeal for their Religion, the *Major Part* are (see the *Brief*) than these *nominal Christians* ? For those do invite their *Slaves* and *Captives* with the assurance of *Liberty*, to embrace their *Superstition* ; whilst the other avoid that danger, do industriously conceal their *Religion* from them.

and to prevent all danger from their *Slaves* being furnisht with knowledge, consequently, they conceive thereto. However, because they pretend the other (and something there may be in that too) to take off that *pretence* ; it will be requisite,

1. That a *Law* be enacted to confirm such *Laws* of theirs, as are or shall be hereafter made to secure their just *Interest* in their *Slaves* ; That they may thereby be continued in their present State of *Servitude*, notwithstanding their being afterward *baptised*.

2. That all *unjust Interests*, and *ungodly Advantages* arising from their *Slaves Sunday-labour* and *Polygamie* (neither of them sufferable amongst *Christians*) be upon severest Penalties prohibited ; and this as well to the *unbaptised*, as to the rest. Nor will this (but much less the other) be *grievous* to the *Slave*, as is pretended. There being some of them that live *singles* Others that content themselves only with *one Wife* ; And the rest taking the *Libertie* of *more*, only out of a *Licentious* and rambling *humor*, and by their *Master's Connivance* and *Toleration* ; Who esteeming them but as *Cattle*, and desirous of their *Increase*, are apter to encourage, than to restrain them from it. But having such an *absolute Authority* and *Command* over them, might with a bare check, or but a frown, break them of it. And this may be inferred from the *Virginia Negro's* ; who, tho imported from the same places, are not (so far as I could learn) addicted to *Polygamie* ; but rather of themselves choosing to follow the Custom of the *English*, to whom they are *Slaves* there.

These *pretences* being thus fairly removed, if any *Aversion* still remains, (as 'tis to be feared there will, and that for the truest Reasons * above mentioned,) they must afterwards be invited thereto by good *Sermons*, & *Books* ; Preacht and *Writ* upon this Subject, and by *discouraging* with them in *private*. As also by the Example of the *Ministers* themselves in their *Families*. And lastly, (and which will do more then all the rest) by *Encouragements* from the *Government*. Likewise, it might be remembered, what I have heard affirmed ; that there is a certain Clause, always inserted in their *Charters* and *Patents*, for the *Propagation* of

* Such a Law could not, as has been feared, be any *Precedent* for *Slavery*, where it has before been always practised ; and they having already made *Laws* among themselves for the same purpose. * Till such a Law may be obtained, the *Bermudian* Custom of *Indentures* for ninety-nine Years Service might be used, that is, if they think their own *Laws* not sufficient.

§ IV.

reason Assigned by most of our Writers and Historians for God's Discoveries.

(viz.) Of the trouble, and of the supposed needlessness of this Work ; &c.

* Whether this be or not, I am sure, 'tis the chief good-ness to us in these *Christianity*

Christianity there; never hitherto (except by the *New-England Men*) in the least complied with; but rather with their *utmost care and vigilance* obstructed by them.

§ V. Another way, and which 'tis possible might prove most effectual, would be to get this impiety decayed here in *England*; where our *Planters* have an extraordinary *Ambition* to be *thought well of*, and thereby to *shame* them into *better Principles*. Now this is to be done; First, by sending some *grave and discreet Men*, (*Persons of Esteem and Reputation* with the more *eminent Merchants* here, who trade into those *parts*;) to persuade and convince them of the *Duty and Necessity* thereof, and to invite them to endeavour the *procuring* of such a *Law*, as I have before mentioned. Also by *Sermons at Court*, and in the *City*, especially *this ensuing Lent*; this being as much (perchance a great deal more) needing to be repented of, because as likely to *provoke God's Wrath*, as other sins. And lastly by the *Ministers* frequent inveighing against this *impiety*, in other of the chief *Cities* and *Sea-port Towns*, to which the *Traders* from those places do most resort. But above all a *General Fast* to implore the *divine Benediction* upon this *Work*, would give the *World* such notice, and so inflame the *publick Zeal* at the news of this strange *Irreligion*, that nothing can be supposed more conducive to the *destroying* of it. For hereby each *good Christian's* Mouth must upon every occasion be opened against them, and so in a short time would force them to yield. And when in the *Plantations* it should come to be understood that their *impiety* was so *decryed and odious* here, it would go near to fall even of it self. Besides the *Quakers* (who with the *New-England Men*, are the *only* Witnesses of this *Truth* in those *Parts*;) and whose *Meetings* the *Negro's* are therefore strictly prohibited) might be something instrumental hereto, and would be good enough to help to dispute them out of their *brutish* Gentilism.

§ VI. Now for the *Ministers* in the *Plantations*, it will be requisite that they be obliged each *first Sunday* (at least) of every *Moneth*, to preach to their *Charges* upon this *Subject*, and earnestly to press it upon their *Consciences*. But more especially to be *exemplary* therein in their *own Families*; both *Catechising* and *Baptizing* their *Slaves*, (where they have any) as soon as they shall be found fit, and that openly in the *Church*, for the *Example* of others.

And that no *Awe* nor *Fear* may remain upon their *Spirits*, it will be requisite that a sufficient *Maintainance* be settled upon them for *life*, without dependence upon the *Arbitrary* favour of *Vestries*.

The

The several *Governours* also should be obliged to protect them therein against abuses. But to put the sharper edge upon their *Zeal*, some *certainty* of *Preferment* should be proposed to them upon their return for *England*, after some 5 or 7 Years continuance in this service there. The want whereof (at least in the *Performance*) both will, and has been, the great occasion of this sad neglect hitherto, and the very bane of all *Religion* in those parts. It being apt to be lookt upon as want of *Discretion*, for Men to draw upon themselves nothing but ill usage there, to be certainly entertained with *worse* here; and as one faith, to adventure the getting of *broken Heads* in the *Churches* service, afterwards at their return to be rewarded with that which shall break their *Hearts* too. Besides, there should some regard be had of their *Degrees* in the *Universities*; as also for enlarging the *Term* for *Lease* of *livings*, (or provision for *Admission* by *Proxies*;) the *Term* at present prescribed and limited by *Law*, being much too short and narrow to make a *Patron's* kindness useful to a *Minister* abroad upon this *Service*. And it being but an ill *Encouragement*, and no way becoming *Christian* Government for Men (incurring such *Hazards*, upon so important a *Work*), thereby to be placed under greater disadvantages, than they could, had they remained idle at home.

Now for the *Planter's* late *Objections* against this *Work*, as I have heard them represented (and I believe they are the best they had), tho I have before taken notice of them (which their being both asserted and credited here, doth very much justify) yet I shall again repeat and briefly answer them, *such as they are*, being indeed either *false*, or *frivolous*, or both: and such as will suffice to satisfy us, that they who can openly affirm and maintain such things here, may not be unapt to believe and practise worse there. But they are these.

1. They object their *Negro's* want of *English*; Whereas 'tis certain that there are some thousands of them, who understand *English*, no worse than our own *People*. Let them begin with those.

2. That it would make them less governable; the contrary to which is experimentally known amongst their Neighbours, both *French* & *Spanish* in those parts. Now 'twould be too great a blemish to the *Reformation*, to suppose that *Papery* only makes its *Converts* better, but *Protestantism* worse; as this Allegation being admitted, it must be granted. And to prevent any fond conceit in them of *Liberty*, (an especial Branch of the same *Article*;) if there be any such danger, let two or three of each great *Family* be first *dispos-*

§ VII.

Even to the Brutality of their Negroes.

As to the White Governour of *St. Christopher's*, & *St. Christopher's*, who has been amongst them, all while.

rised; whereby the rest seeing them, continued as they were, that Opinion would soon vanish: As may be concluded from the like Experiment upon another like foolish persuasion, (*viz.*) of their returning into their own Country upon their Death; confuted by fixing Negro's Head upon a Pole. Besides, there cannot be the least ground for this fear, unless all, whether fit or not, should at once be baptised, which were a madness to suppose. Nor is it to be imagined that they should only be baptised, the bare outward Rite being little available, without understanding it; Which would take them off from harbouring such idle Hopes and vain Imaginations, if before embraced by them.

3. As for their pretended Aversion to Christianity, the contrary thereto is known of most of them. And tho' it is to be confessed that some are more careless, and indifferent (having bin taught by the English to be needless for them) yet for the general they are observed to be rather ambitious of it. Nor, I dare affirm, can any single Instance of such aversion in any one of them, be produced.

4. As to their (alike pretended) Stupidity, there is as little truth therein: divers of them being known and confessed by their Owners, to be extraordinary Ingenious, and even to exceed many of the English. And for the rest, they are much the same with other People, destitute of the means of knowledge, and wanting Education.

5. One thing more there remains to be added, of which, tho' they may be most afraid, yet they carefully keep it to themselves, and that is the possibility of their Slaves Expectation; not of Freedom, but of more merciful Usage from them. (which is but reason they should have, whether made Christians or not;) As, That their frequent Emasculatings, Amputations of Leggs, cropping off of Ears (and of Heads too); scant Allowance for Food and Cloaths, and (often) no less working, than starving them to Death, and their unmerciful Correction of them, will not be so commendably practised upon them, when (nor now by) Christians, as they are thought safe and allowable in their present State of Brutality and Gentilism. And this is the true meaning of their second Objection, wherein they pretend it will make them less Governable.

§ VIII. And thus I suppose it is evident enough, how thin and slender their Fig-leave Reasons and Objections against our Negro's Christianity, are: Yet have been thought sufficient hitherto, (and may they be suffered, are still like) to be made the pious Pretences for the hindering thereof: And at the same time, for allowing a free Course

See Negro's
Advocate,
p. 40-41,
II. &c.

Course to Gentilism, and that under a Christian Government; * together with the permission of innumerable other the grossest Impieties. Which rather than they should be any longer continued, and God be thereby dishonoured, it were preferable that the places themselves were all under water. But however, in the mean time, a more accursed Tyranny over the Souls of those miserable Wretches, (I speak only the Language of the late Brief) has thereby been exercised, then that never sufficiently to be bewailed, (to the Honour of Church and Nation be it spoken,) practised upon their Captives, by the less inhumane * Algerines.

§ IX. Yet now after this, if difficulties shall still be urged, (as no doubt but there will) and this Work upon that stale pretence must be further neglected and deferred; I shall in opposition thereto, be bold to make some few demands: As, what those difficulties should be, which are so much greater, it seems, than those our Ancestors encountered with, even in Pagan Regions, and happily overcame? Whether we ever tried how difficult the Work was, thereby to satisfy our selves, whether (indeed) it be such as it is apprehended (or, at least, pretended?) And whether such a trial would not justify us more, than thus, without trying, to conclude it Impossible? But if it be impossible, why do we pray for it, since all such Prayers must be vain & superfluous and therefore unlawful; and why then are they not razed out of our Liturgy? But is it impossible for us to endeavour the securing of our Peop's Interest, Or for the Ministers there, to preach to them, and to press the necessity of this Duty to their People; Which they have before Vowed to do, sealing the same with the blessed Sacrament, at their Ordinations; Or to begin at home, with those of their own Families? Or suppose they should be still backward, are there no ways to stir them up, and to provoke their Industry, as well to this, as to other (less necessary) Works; Or cannot they be minded thereof by Letters and Precepts (*Valcant quantum valere possunt*) armed with suitable Motives and Arguments to excite their Zeal, never omitted in any case else, where the design has been thought worth the pains and trouble of attempting? And why should the promoting of Christianity (under a Christian Government, and even in Christian Families,) be now so much harder, than heretofore it was amongst Heathens & Persecutors? or for Protestants, than for Papists? and for Us, than for the New-England Men? Or, that having formerly been able to reduce the wildest Out-Laws, it should prevail nothing upon better People, pretendedly (at least) its Friends, and (outwardly) Professors of it; And who (especially after sufficient means used for their Conviction, and the Necessity thereof

* Which had it not at first been permitted to these, perhaps that other had never happened.

* Who do endeavour to save their Souls, (would their way do it) while they detain in bondage their bodies.

thereof made out to them) must have far less pretence of Reason for opposing; than the old Gentiles had.

Now if these things be *Impossible*, or *Difficult*, I must then confess, that we still may, with as little *Conscience* and *Christianity*, as we have done hitherto, let this Work sleep and rest till another Age, when the *Times* shall prove more *auspicious*, and the *Powers* more *favourable*, and those obstructing *Difficulties* and *Impossibilities* shall be all removed; That is, till the Evil be grown matterless, and the *Curse of God*; now in the pursuit, has overtaken us, and fully revenged the Cause of his Name, and of the *numberless Souls*, who already have, and are hereby still in danger to perish, through

this most *unchristian* and *scandalous* Neglect; and which till it ceases, and this* accursed thing

* See the Coll. for the 18th Feb. Decemb. 22. 1680. and the *Ag. Brief.*

be removed from among us, and (to use the *Philistine* Sages' expression, 1 *Sam.* 6. 5.) We do give *Glory to the God of Israel*, In vain shall we expect, that he will lighten His hand from off us, and from off our Gods; (our Princes and Rulers,) and from off our Land.

In short, there is nothing upon Earth more *feasible* than this Design, were it but *heartily undertaken*, and, as I have said, a *right Method used for the effecting* of it. But if we shall suffer our selves to be baffled and frightened out of our Understandings and Reason by *bold Affirmers*, *Enemies to Pietie* and to *all Religion*; and who make *Mammon* their Gods, and shall quietly and contentedly sit down satisfied with their idle and false pre-

As if St. Paul should have asked *Elmas* the Sorcerer (*Act.* 13.) to preach to the *Deputies*.

tences, (without the inquiring into the *Merit* and *Truth* of them;) As it is a most infallible

Sign of our little *Affection* thereto; So it is as sad an *Omen* of the less *hopes*, or even *possibility*, of its being ever effected; but by other hands; which it will not be *Honourable*, *Happy*, nor safe for us to expect, or see.

And so much shall suffice for this first part, touching the promoting of *Christianity* amongst our *Negro Slaves* in the *Plantations*: Concerning the free *Tributary Indians* and the *English* (each of them a Task of the like difficulty with the former,) I shall hereafter speak, as what I have now said shall find *Approbation*.

Phil. 1. 28. In nothing terrified by your *Adversaries*, which is to them an evident token of *Perdition*, but to you of *Salvation*!

Magna est veritas [Christiana], & prevalebit.