Witt Bookhby THE 8° Cap # SG degro's & Indians ADVOCATE Suing for their Admission into the CHURCH: PERSUASIVE to the Instructing and Baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in our Plantations. SHEWING:

That as the Compliance therewith can prejudice no Mans just Interest; So the wilful Neglecting and Opposing of it, is no less than a like Apostacy from the Christian Faith.

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

idges 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 1:10 came up out of the Land of Egypt, unto this Day. Es 4.20. We cannot but speak the things which we have seen an it.

we must answer for our salle Words, how much more ju silence? Se. Augustin.

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they that Sell them say, Bleffed 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 πρώτον Αεύδος of their Negro's brutality, do I see how those other Inhumanities, as their Emasculating and Beheading them, their croping 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 murthering of Souls; Invented only to defeat the Mercies of God in their bleffed 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 Affertion.

6. 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

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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 forseiture of this Right by Servitude. Now as before, they imployed 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 sim-

ply, and abitracted from the latter.

2. Before I shall go about to answer which, I shall defire the Reader to remark that what they have hitherto urged, is only against the Christianizing of Negro's, with fuch 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 Manumissed 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 felves;) enjoyed amongst them a more happy and blessed state, as to Religion. Which in truth they cannot affirm even of fuch 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 most effectual way to disturb it, had their Relations and Friends been strong enough. To whose Temer and Disposition, nothing is more contrary then hard about, nor esteemed so miserable a condition; which the Parents tears (one whereof was a Werrowanza, that is, a Toparch, or Royester of the place; and the rest his principal great Men) shed at the view hereof, 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. extended to their very Souls, and was a kind of Reprobation. 5. That this is a sufficient Ground not only for enflaving them, but for keeping them from the exercise of Religion. Nothing of which last can posfibly from thence be deduced; nor even the former of enflaving 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 infinuate) that Noah and his Sons descend-

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

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

find, before they had crost all Africa.

7. But secondly, Supposing both to have happened yet 'tis not likely, at least not certain, that his Positive have kept possession there ever since, and that up on 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 equestioned, than by us here in America, to whomist 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 Fritains, or the old Romans to the Aborigines.

8. Thirdly, This, as to a great part of it, is not on ly uncertain and unlikely, but plainly false. For in a 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 thave been Childless) we find two of them were teated in Asia; only Mizraim, for the Name, sha

de Nilw, 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 bilistines (living also in Asia), were his Off-spring: Nor will this concerning Mizraim (for we have nohing but the concurrence of the Name to prove it) oring any great comfort to the Cause, if we conider its Remoteness from the parts we speak of, and he many great changes (probably (if known) no els objectable against the rest) these Egyptians, or Mizraimites, since first carried Captives by Nebuchadnezzar, that is, for above two thousand Years, have elt. In so much that the true Egyptians do seem ince to have been swallowed up, and even lost in hese 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 sirst, 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 Assirtant, was

was left for Epher, Abraham's Nephew by Keturah, 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 Nimrod might be pretended to have been after he had travelled into Africa, and left a Colony there; (to omit the tedious. ness and difficulty of the way) it is said express, that they journeed thither from the East, not to be underflood of Africa, which is South from thence. 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 then a parting, or dividing the several Territories and Quarters of the World; vet, 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 ver 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.

this Quarter of the World to be Peopled from Arabia, by Cham's Posterity, crossing the Red Sca: 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 Aboads made by Cham's Posterity. And so much

for the first Supposure.

12. THEIR

. 12. THEIR second carries a more apparent Falsiy, viz. That, that severe Imprecation of Noah, was lenounced against the whole Family of Cham; whereas tis evident that none besides Canaan his youngest Son, was mentioned, and therefore not concerned therein; t being no less than thrice, Gen. 9. expresly said, that Canaan should be their Servant. And so before, Cursed be Canaan, a Servant of Servants shall be be. Now whatsoever may be presumed of the nearer Inhabitants of Africa, (which also is disputable) there is not the least probability from boly 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 boly Scripture, we are not to strain the words beyond their natu-ral sense. And seeing Canaan alone was mentioned, (for which reason his Children are, Wisd. 12. 11. filed the accurfed 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 Survivers 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 Posierity, 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 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 nther 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 threatning of Terufalem, did justifie Nebuchadnezzar's burning it, and murthering the Inhabitants; for which be was to expect a fearful judgment, Isa. 10. & Jer. 25. &c. And so IJaac'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 thorowly executed, there is no reason it should now again be repeased, 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 fame 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 is made of any beyond Canaan's Person. Now this, as it is contrary to that so equitable a Rule in expounding of Scripture, which I before mention'd; fo 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, not withstanding the Curfe, 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 feen, 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 cursed 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 bis 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 Mascusline, before always dying young, lived to an honourable Age: 'For God, saith the same Person, changeth his pur-"pose concerning the punishment of Men upon their Repentance. And as [for ever] doth in the Hebrero 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

here affixed to Canaan's Curse, which it is not; yet there is no question but (as the Apostle testifies of the obstinate 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 affurance of the first, so neither doth it follow that Servitude should be attended with such dismal effectis, 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 themseruple to allow their Aissoures (the general currant Appellative both in Greek and Latine, (like as Cush, the name given to Cham's Nephew, Nimrods 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 I Il. bespeaks Jupiter and his fellow Dieties, as vouchsating them their presence at a Banquet, and to become their Guests,

Σεύς 'β έπ' όπέανον μετ' άμύμονας 'Αιθιοπήας Χθιζός ήρη μετά δαίτα: θεοί δι άμα πάντος έποιτο:

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 fir. 14.25. and from the same Poets and Writers of the Heathen, particularly