There shall be sung another golden age, 
The rise of Empire and of arts, 
The good and great inspiring epic rage 
The wisest heads and noblest hearts. …  

Westward the course of Empire takes its way, 
The four first acts already past, 
A fifth shall close the drama with the day, 
The world’s great effort is the last.

-- George Berkeley, America or the Muses Refuge: A Prophesy (1726)

In the early eighteenth century, two ministers of the Church of England, Thomas Bray and George Berkeley, presented contrasting visions for how best to educate and convert to Christianity American Indians. Berkeley sketched a plan that would bring young Indians to an elite college on Bermuda Island where they would receive a liberal arts education. After graduation, the Indians would be encouraged to return to their native communities, where, it was hoped, they would impart their newfound knowledge of religion, and of letters and sciences, to their relations. Since these educated Indians would know how to read and speak English, while still having retained their native language, they would be well-placed to become cultural brokers between Christianity and barbarism.

Bray sketched an entirely different kind of plan for the education and conversion of American Indians. In his view, individual Indians should not be taken from their homes and educated on a remote island. Rather, European men and women should be sent to live within Indian communities. There they could impart to the Indians not a liberal arts education emphasizing philosophy and theology, but a practical education emphasizing manners and skills.

Bray was convinced that “heathens” and “savages” first had to be “civilized” and “humanized”

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before they would be fit to receive more complex ideas, like the principles of Christianity. Bray explained that this was because “there can be no Instruction of a People Wild and Savage, ‘till in some Measure Civilized, or Tam’d, and thereby rendered susceptible of Christian Doctrine.”

Thomas Bray (1658-1730) was a central figure in London’s reforming movement. He frequented the latitudinarian circles in London—latitudinarians were the more moderate members of the Church of England—and he was an active member of London’s societies for reformation of manners, which organized the arrest and prosecution in the civil courts of men and women who were found transgressing the moral laws against prostitution, swearing, drunkenness, and gambling. For many years he was the church’s representative in the American colonies, and back in London he was responsible for the establishment of two significant eighteenth-century voluntary associations: the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which organized the distribution of books and the formation of charity schools in England and abroad, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which organized the placement of missionaries in the colonies. Bray also worked for prison reform, and not least of all, he established some of the first public libraries on both sides of the Atlantic.

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3 Bray preached two sermons for the societies for reformation of manners: *A Sermon preached at St. Mary-le-Bow, before the Societies for Reformation of Manners, December 27, 1708* (London, 1709), and *The Good Fight of Faith* (London, 1709).
Bray thought that people in the remote country regions of England and Wales still resembled their primitive ancestors. In these places, progress was arrested. One of Bray’s early goals, then, was to establish libraries and schools in the English countryside, which, he said “may enable us to erase that Ignorance, and Barbarity, those Brutish Manners, and Paganish Vices and Customs” that still characterized so many people. Bray often drew parallels between primitive peoples not only through time but also across space: the poor and ignorant in England could be compared to the heathen inhabitants across the Atlantic. Indeed, his target was never limited to the remote regions in England; there was hope for great progress to be made in America as well.

Latitudinarians, leaders of the church of England after the Revolution of 1688, which put William III on the throne, understood human beings as rational creatures who lived a purposeful existence of obedience to a moral law. And yet, they did not describe human nature as static; rather they insisted on the possibility for human improvement, and came to see habits and customs as responsible for shaping human beings and their societies. The London reforming societies, influenced by latitudinarian thought, argued that only people who were in control of their own bodies were capable of rational thoughts. These societies worked in various ways to help people discipline their behavior—by breaking their bad habits and forming good ones. Here we will see Bray applying this view in the context of the American Indians. According to him, before they could receive the principles of Christianity, Indians had to learn good manners and

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5 Thomas Bray, A Supplement to the Bibliotheca Parochialis (London, 1697), 4. In his Bibliotheca Catechetica (London, 1702), Bray repeated that his goal was “to furnish such our poor Cures at home, with what may enable us to erase that Ignorance and Barbarity, those Brutish Manners, and Paganish Vices and Customs, which do to this day so hideously deform the greatest part of Mankind,” 4. In both these texts, Bray also explained that libraries might provide encouragement to clergy going to remote parishes, like “Wales, the Isle of Man, and other Northern parts of this Kingdom,” where, Bray said, “Nature is most unkind, and uninviting.” He admitted that “it is a matter of sad Consideration to see how Barbarous, and Ignorant those places now mentioned, do still remain.” A library would thus balance the inconvenience of those parts. “As ungrateful as is the Climate,” Bray thought, “Men of Worth would follow books, it being natural for Persons who are Lovers of Knowledge and Religion, to value all Places alike where Religion and Learning do flourish,” A Supplement, 9-10; Bibliotheca Catechetica, 9-10.
habits: how to establish property, work the land, preserve food for the winter, make and wear clothes, keep themselves and their homes orderly and clean. Only after their manners and habits were thus improved, could their rational capabilities improve as well. For Bray, this civilizing process—and ultimately, conversion process—would be effective when it was applied to entire communities, not merely to a few individuals.6

Thomas Bray’s unrealized plan to send missionaries to live within the Indian communities in America highlights some of the larger implications of the reform movement in the bourgeoning British Empire of the early eighteenth century. Reformers in London had argued time and time again that Christianity was a tool of sociability and civilization. In England, these reformers had been confronted with the problem of how to unite people with different religious convictions into one peaceful community. As a solution, they emphasized Christian behavior over beliefs. When reformers directed their attention to the American colonies, they were confronted with a new problem: how to unite people—European settlers, African slaves, and American Indians—whose differences were much more pronounced. Ultimately, reformers aimed to create civilized subjects—unified through shared manners and mores—throughout the British Empire. They were never just working for conversion; they were working for civilization. By looking at the ideas of reformers like Bray, we can get a sense of how members of the reforming societies began to conceive of the imperial project as a civilizing process, and how they saw themselves as key agents in the creation of a unified British identity.

Near the end of his life, Bray published a rather unusual packet of miscellaneous works. It contained a letter addressed to the clergy in Maryland, a plan for the conversion of heathens in

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6 For an idea of which Indians Bray had in mind, see Missionalia, 60-61: Clans of Indians next adjoining to the Habitations of the English. Besides that…those beyond the Mountains describ’d by Hennipen, Lahontan, and others… The Queen of Ponomki’s People, I have been told, were formerly a Considerable Nation, but now have been reduc’d to not many Scores. And in my Parochial Visitation towards the Fall of the Potomock, I pass’d by the Hutts of such another Cast…think they call them the Potapski Indians.”
America, a biography of a Roman Catholic missionary, a book-list, and several other tracts, all of which he hoped would have practical value for the missionaries in the colonies. Only a few copies of Missionalia: Or a Collection of Missionary Pieces Relating to the Conversion of the Heathen; both the African Negroes and American Indians (1726/7) can be found in libraries today. It was printed and distributed by the Associates of Dr. Bray, an organization Bray had founded in 1724 to assist him in the administration of a large sum of money earmarked for the conversion of black slaves in America. The origins of this organization can be traced to 1697, when Bray traveled to Holland in order to secure funds from King William for the development of libraries in the colonies. Although the trip was unsuccessful, it was not unproductive: in The Hague, Bray made the acquaintance of one of William’s secretaries, Abel Tassin D’Allone, who, at his death in 1721, bequeathed £900 to Bray for the education of the slaves on the plantations. It was to administer this money that Bray formed his Associates.

The centerpiece of Bray’s Missionalia was an attack on the famous philosopher, and then dean of the English Church in Ireland, George Berkeley, who in 1724 had published his Proposal to build and maintain a college for the education of American Indians on Bermuda Island. In the Missionalia, Bray offered an alternative scheme for “civilizing” and “humanizing” the Indians, explaining how the large sums of money Berkeley had raised for his school in

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7 Missionalia: Or a Collection of Missionary Pieces Relating to the Conversion of the Heathen; both the African Negroes and American Indians (London, 1727). The British Library holds a copy, and a copy from Harvard is available on ECCO.
8 SPG MSS Letters A, vol. 9, letter 17. At this point Bray was no longer officially involved with the SPCK or the SPG. The SPG assumed that Bray would transfer D’Allone’s money to it, since the education of slaves in America fell under its purview. However, when Bray made clear that D’Allone had requested that the money be administered by Bray himself, the society dropped the matter. Bray formed the Associates because his health was in decline. The Associates were given the official name, Trustees for Mr. D’Allone’s Charity for the Instruction of the Negroes in America, but were usually referred to as Dr. Bray’s Associates. In 1730, soon after Bray’s death, this organization became responsible for the Georgia Trust, charged with making a charitable colony in America for debtors. Associates included the famous James Oglethorpe, as well as Berkeley’s good friend, George Percival.
9 George Berkeley, A Proposal for the better Supplying of Churches in our Plantations, and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda (London, 1724). Berkeley would later become Bishop of Cloyne.
Bermuda could be better spent. Bray’s criticisms of the Bermuda plan were not off the mark: ultimately, Berkeley’s project—despite great investments of money and effort—was never realized (to the great disappointment of the dean). A comparison of these two texts illuminates the ways that English reformers began to understand their role in the formation of civilized and Christian subjects of a new British empire. The emphasis of this paper, however, is on Bray, who, as one of the most significant reformers of this period, conveys through his unusual—and often disturbing—ideas some of the implications of reform for the development of a new imperial ideology.  

**Two views of the clergy in America.**

In all probability, Berkeley never intended to offend Bray when he wrote his *Proposal* (1724). However, it was not difficult to see in that pamphlet a direct attack on Bray’s lifework. In it, Berkeley argued that in spite of whatever efforts had been made to organize libraries and schools in the colonies, as well as to send missionaries to the parishes there, American men and women remained as ignorant and rude as ever. He described the settlers as still having “little

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10 Two early twentieth-century articles written by Anglican apologists discuss Berkeley and Bray: Steiner, “‘Two Eighteenth Century Missionary Plans,’” *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 11, no. 3 (July 1903), 289-305, and McCulloch, “A Plea for Further Missionary Activity in Colonial America,” *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, vol 15, no. 3 (September, 1946). However, these are both brief accounts and provide very little analysis of the sources. Edward Andrews, in *Native Apostles* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2013) mentions Bray’s response to Berkeley in a short paragraph. Scholarship on George Berkeley not only focuses on his philosophical ideas, but also on his experiences in America. However, although Berkeley’s plan for a college in Bermuda is often mentioned, scholars have failed to look at the plan closely, let alone situate it beside Bray’s competing plan. See: Rand, *Berkeley’s American Sojourn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1932), Gaustad, *Berkeley in America* (New Haven: Yale, 1979), Berman, *George Berkeley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), Bradatan, *The Other Bishop Berkeley* (New York: Fordham, 2006). Most of these do not even mention Bray at all. For recent interest in the Irish Enlightenment, see the special volume of the *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Spring 2012).

11 Although it is unlikely that Berkeley had Bray directly in mind when he wrote his *Proposals*, he certainly knew of Bray, and the money in the D’Allone trust. In a letter to his good friend, Lord Percival, who was also one of Bray’s Associates, Berkeley wrote to encourage the Associates to give the £900 from the trust to his Bermuda project: “Lord Palmerston is desirous that nine hundred and odd pounds in his hands should be disposed of to this our college for breeding up young negroes agreeable to Mr. Delon’s will. The trustees for directing the disposal thereof are your Lordship, Dr. Bray, Mr. Hales, his brother, and Mr. Beleitha. The majority of these are of Lord Palmerston’s mind, and your Lordship’s concurrence hath been applied for.” (London, 10 February 1725/26.) Hight, ed., *The Correspondence of George Berkeley* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 218-219. Evidently, Bray was not part of the majority. Within the year Bray wrote his *Missionalia* piece against Berkeley; he must have felt that his control over the D’Allone funds was being threatened by the Bermuda Project.
sense of religion, and a most notorious corruption of manners,” and the natives as continuing “in much the same ignorance and barbarism, in which we found them above a hundred years ago.” By crediting “several excellent persons of the Church of England”—namely Bray and the members of the reforming societies—for their “good intentions” in conveying Christian knowledge and manners abroad and “even [having] combined into societies for that very purpose,” Berkeley at the same time drew attention to their failure.12 We can imagine how outraged Bray must have felt when he read the Proposal. Here he was, an old man, having devoted the greater part of his life to organizing missionaries and libraries in the colonies, confronted with the famous philosopher, who had just raised astounding sums of money for a utopian missionary plan in Bermuda.

For Berkeley, it was a disheartening fact that in America, the English missionaries, rather than transmitting Christianity and civilization to the people there, had “themselves degenerated into Heathens.”13 More than a quarter of a century earlier, Bray had first voiced his own concerns over the quality of clergymen going abroad. He then had recognized that only the most desperate men crossed the Atlantic to take up residence in one of the impoverished parishes there. But since that time, Bray had implemented several schemes to remedy this situation, not least of all his library scheme, which he was confident had done much to guarantee that the American parishes were, and would continue to be, filled by knowledgeable, moral, and mannered clergymen.14 He thought he had been especially successful in placing worthy ministers in the parishes in Maryland, where he had been stationed for several months in 1699 as the

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12 Berkeley, A Proposal (1724), 3-4. Berkeley must have been referring to the SPCK as well as the SPG, since he explicitly wrote that these men, having formed themselves into societies, had “given great encouragement, not only for English missionaries in the West Indies, but also, for the reformed of other nations, led by their example, to propagate Christianity in the East,” 3. He was referring here to the new work of the SPCK in India.
14 In many of the parishes in America, Bray had established parochial libraries, and thought these would draw men of the best qualities there.
Bishop of London’s commissary. Bray had not only hand-picked most of Maryland’s clergymen himself, but while he had been in that colony, he had visited these men, inspected their libraries and schoolhouses, drafted a law for their established maintenance, and preached several sermons to them. In the *Missionalia*, Bray addressed the clergy of Maryland as his “Dearly Beloved Brethren,” telling them that he could “Testify even now, above Thirty Years since I had some Relation to *Maryland*: The singular Affection I have, for so long Time, bore to the whole Province, and in an especial Manner to the Clergy therein, that I still retain.” So when Berkeley wrote in his *Proposals*, how “very meanly qualified both in learning and morals” the clergy in America were, it is not surprising that Bray took these criticisms to heart.  

Berkeley thought that what America needed was its own educational facility, a seminary, which could fashion ministers from among the native American populations, both settler and Indian. As long as all clergymen originated from Britain, America would continue to be supplied with the most ignorant and ill-mannered among them. As Berkeley explained, little could be expected from those, “who quit their native country on no other motive, than that they are not able to procure a livelihood in it, which is known to be often the case.” But, with a seminary on American soil, he was sure, young men born in the colonies might become ministers; and in this way it was much more likely that, “men of merit would be then glad to fill the churches of their native country, which are now a drain for the very dregs and refuse of ours.” An American ministry, Berkeley thought, had to be supplied by American men.  

It was essential that America have polite, mannered, well-spoken clergymen, for, Berkeley insisted, “the surest means to reform the morals, and soften the behaviour of men”

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15 Bray, *Missionalia* (1727), Dedication; 1. Berkeley, *Proposals* (1724), 4. In his *Missionalia*, Bray, always working on his Library Project, also informed the clergy in America that he was happy for “The Opportunity lately given me, to testify my singular Esteem and Affection for you, as also to give the Reason of my now sending the small Supply of Books towards the Increase of your Libraries, which you will find in the ensuing Scheme and Catalogue;” 3.  
16 Berkeley, *Proposals* (1724) 4-5.
depended on the character and skill of the preacher. He recognized, like Bray, how important manners were to the transmission of ideas: “mankind are more apt to copy characters than to practice precepts.” However, when Berkeley thought about molding the character of the missionaries, he imagined he would make it after his own image—classically trained scholar, skilled orator and man of letters. He acknowledged that “the same doctrine, which maketh great impression, when delivered with decency and address, loseth very much of its force by passing through awkward or unskillful hands.”\(^{17}\) His missionaries, trained by himself and his colleagues in the seminary on Bermuda, would have no such failings in the art of rhetoric.

In particular, Berkeley hoped to attract “the children of savage Americans” to his seminary. He imagined that, after having received a good education, these Indians would return to their original communities, where they would impart what they had learned to their families, and in this way, knowledge would soon spread throughout the uncultivated—and previously unreachable—parts of America. Outsiders could never be effective missionaries to the Indians “if we consider,” Berkeley wrote, “the difference of language, their wild ways of living, and above all, the great jealousy and prejudice which savage nations have towards foreigners, or innovations introduced by them.” However, although Indians were rarely receptive to the strange ideas and habits of foreigners, surely, he thought, they would be open to innovations introduced by their own kin. Indeed, Berkeley assumed, they “would be less apt to suspect, and readier to embrace a doctrine recommended by neighbours or relations, men of their own blood and language, who would not be thought to have designs on the liberty or property of their converts.” Thus, it seemed to him, a few educated Indians would serve as the most effective

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 4.
means of bringing about the education and conversion of entire native communities.\textsuperscript{18}

Bray responded to Berkeley’s attack on the character of the colonial clergy. He composed his \textit{Missionalia} as a “Vindication of the Plantation-Clergy” and of those who were responsible for sending them abroad—namely, Bray and his friends. With this work, he hoped to discredit the view that “none but Illiterate Creatures have been hitherto sent upon that Mission (a prejudice which is found to operate strongly…since Dean Barkley has found Means and Encouragement to disperse his Libel throughout the Kingdom.)”\textsuperscript{19} Bray was especially eager to challenge any insinuation that the libraries he had worked so hard to establish were not fulfilling their purpose. “Indeed,” he wrote, “it would be a Thousand pities, that after so much Pains and Expense of Time and Money, that any one of these \textit{Parochial Libraries}, should ever be rendered useless by having ever an Idle and Illiterate Drone put in Possession of such a Treasure, and Means of Improvement.” He asked, “with what Face of Modesty” could any man accept a position in a colonial parish with one of these libraries, and have neither the inclination nor the capacity to use it. Bray imagined ministers of the greatest erudition filling the posts in the colonial parishes, where there were often more books available to them than in many of the poorer parishes in England and Wales. “In the Name of Goodness,” he exclaimed, “let such an Illiterate remain on this side of the Ocean,” rather than venture to America, especially Maryland, where, he pointed out, not only did the parochial libraries match some of the best libraries back home, but where there was furthermore a truly extensive general library, “provided on purpose, as to stimulate the Studious, so to enable them to attain to Higher Improvements in useful

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 5-6. For attempts by Europeans to produce native missionaries, see Andrews, \textit{Native Apostles} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2013)

\textsuperscript{19} Bray, \textit{Missionalia} (1727), Dedication. He was also defending the members of his organization, the SPG, to which, somewhat ironically, Berkeley would later belong; see below.
Learning.” For Bray, his network of libraries in the American colonies ensured the continual education of missionaries stationed there.

That missionaries in the colonies were willing to accept books as partial compensation for their work abroad was no sign of desperation on their part, Bray said; rather it confirmed that they had “a due Value for Books” and that their “Hearts are in their Studies.” Bray made a point to mention that the same organization—the SPCK—that established libraries abroad, had established them in Britain as well—“so that our People at Home may not sink into utter Ignorance and Barbarity.”

Perhaps, however, there might be some truth to Berkeley’s criticisms of the American clergy. At the very least, Bray was compelled to offer a response to them: he outlined additional measures to be taken to assure the fitness of future missionaries. First, he thought potential missionaries should be given a probation period—about a year—during which time they would remain in London where they could further their education as well as be observed by their superiors, the Bishop of London and the members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This would assure that “Persons of Sobriety, Piety and good Abilities be sent on the Mission.” During the probation period, the missionary would prepare himself for his post “by laying in a good Stock of Knowledge in the Study of Select Tracts.” At the same time, his superiors in London would have the opportunity to evaluate whether he was fit for duty by

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20 Ibid. Bray had established a large public library in Annapolis. He pointed out that several of the colonies had even passed laws to protect their libraries. Bray certainly thought the reputation of his lifework was at stake.

21 Ibid. Bray explained that in England “there are no such Libraries yet provided, but what have been by the same Hands as those in Maryland.” Anxious that men studying for ecclesiastical office know what great treasures were available to them in the colonies, Bray wrote, “And it seems now to be rendered necessary, that young Divines or Candidates for Orders, in our Universities, should be appriz’d that there are such standing Encouragements [Libraries] in every Parish in Maryland...which may be Inducements to Men of Letters, and Lovers of Books, who also are generally Persons of best Morals, and greatest Sobriety, from Time to Time hereafter to go as Missionaries into that Province,” Dedication.
observing his “Industry, prudent Behavior, and good Conduct.” For Bray, any successful missionary needed to be equipped with two tools: knowledge of the great books, and mastery of good habits.

Second, Bray proposed a measure that dovetailed with his own work in prison reform. While on probation, the missionary could gain experience working with poor, ignorant and vicious men and women by volunteering in the local prisons. Bray described his idea: “it has been thought of Use to employ [the missionaries] during their Probation in Preaching to our poor Prisoners in Two of the most forlorn Prisons in the Outparts of this City.” This work, Bray explained, would accustom missionaries “to the most distasteful part of their Office” and also “bring them to a Temper of Mind, and facility of Expression to the level and low Capacities of the most Ignorant.” It would thus “fit and prepare them for that Part of the Mission relating to the poor heathen.” We can see that in Bray’s mind, the poor, ignorant, disorderly, and criminal in England had similar characteristics to the heathen in America.

Still more measures might be taken across the Atlantic. An “instructor” could be stationed in the colonies, where he would be entrusted to “Conduct this whole Affair,” by keeping an eye on the clergy there. Bray imagined that the inspector would maintain a register of the people instructed in each parish; send a copy of this as well as other accounts to his superiors in London; suggest to them better methods to promote “the Good Design” with greater success; and inform them of any barriers that were hindering progress. Bray also recommended the appointment of a “curator”—perhaps the same person—to develop the libraries in the parishes, to oversee book circulation among the clergy, and to supervise the education of the inhabitants. In short, this curator would be responsible for advancing learning and culture in the

22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
colonies. Bray drew a parallel between the curator’s work in America and his own work in England. With his associates, he said, he had recently taken on “the Genuine Sister-Design,” focusing on Britain, “namely to be Curators for Increasing the Number of Parochial Libraries in our Meanly-endow’d Cures here at Home.” He admitted that Christianity—and civilization—was needed not just overseas, but also “in the Extreme and Remoter Parts of the Nation.” If something was not done for the people in those regions, their steady decline “would in Time, bring them down to the Level of the [black slaves] against whose Ignorance [the missionaries] have begun…to provide for.”24 For Bray, again, there were many similarities to be made between the ignorant and poor in England and the heathen in America—they both occupied a lower stage of cultural development.

Not surprisingly, for Bray, the “Curator” and his successors in the colonies would need a special library, stocked with books that pertained to the larger aims of the missionary enterprise. This library would include not only the kinds of books of theology and general knowledge that were found in the parochial libraries, but it would also include “These farther requisite Ingredients, viz. a Collection of the Choicest Missionalia, as well Popish, (& fas est ab hoste doceri) as Protestant, that can be found, giving an Account of the Nature and Situation of Ministers, and Condition of Life, of the People to be Converted, of the Scheme of Doctrine necessary for their Institution, and of the best Method of Dealing with them.”25 Specifically, Bray was interested in building a library that would specialize in books on the manners and customs of the various heathen nations. Such a library would provide insight into how best to approach civilizing and converting the peoples of the world. His own Missionalia attempted to do just that.

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid. Interestingly, Bray included in his own Missionalia the work of Thomas a Jesu, a Roman Catholic missionary, whose life, Bray hoped would inspire others to imitation. He also included a biography Bernard Gilpin, the “Apostle of the North,” who brought “true Christianity” to the “superstitious, ignorant, and wild” parts of Northern England.
“The Impracticableness of Converting of any Savage or Barbarous People in their own Country”

Berkeley’s proposal to educate the American Indians had provoked Bray to direct his attention away from the question of converting black slaves, although he never abandoned his interest in this subject altogether. In fact, he often used black slaves as a point of comparison to highlight certain problems relating to the conversion of American Indians.

When Bray wrote his response to Berkeley’s plan, he began by addressing his Associates, and turned to the question that immediately concerned them—the education and conversion of black slaves—before moving on to address the same question concerning the American Indians. Bray emphasized the importance of the American clergy for this task, writing, “that the most Expedite and Natural Way to set that Work on Foot, would be, to induce the Clergy, above all others, in the Plantations, to take that Design to Heart.” The minister of each colonial parish (rather than an elite professor, as Berkeley might have had it) would assume responsibility for the instruction of black slaves, who were “as much a part of the Pastoral Charge as the Planters themselves.” Bray argued, against Berkeley, that local efforts would always be more effective than centralized ones when it came to instructing primitive peoples. He recalled that when he had asked several clergymen in Maryland whether they would be willing to instruct the slaves, “they unanimously declar’d we might be assur’d of at least Twenty, or Twenty Five worthy Ministers in that Province who would heartily Engage in it, being provided of the Assistances

26 Bray addressed his Associates: “as to the Negroe Slaves brought to the Continent of America, Mr. D’ALLONE having been pleas’d in his Letters to me before his Demise, as well as by the Express Words of his Will, to desire I would Assist him in his Design, by drawing a Scheme on which Plan this Good Work might be carry’d on with greatest Success; and you yourselves having been pleas’d to do the like; The Result of my Thoughts upon the whole, after the maturest Deliberation, please to take as follows…” In, Missionalia (1727), 3-4.
27 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 4; Dedication.
propos’d [books].”²⁸ It would take this small army of clergymen to fully infiltrate the heathen territories.

But if the clergyman were to succeed at their task, they needed the right tools—namely, “proper Books, both for their own, and the Negroes Use.” At the end of his Missionalia, Bray included a booklist divided into two categories meant to satisfy both of those requirements—books for the instructors and the instructed. He had already assembled numerous sets of books, many of which had been shipped abroad. Beyond that, Bray informed the clergy in Maryland, “it has been thought fit, with this first Cargo of Books, to send you a few Horn-Books [primers], Spelling-Books, and Catechisms, to distribute into proper Families.”²⁹ He thought these measures would suffice as aid to the American clergy in their efforts to convert the black slaves on the plantations. Bray, with the support of his Associates, had determined that the money from the D’Allone trust would be earmarked for maintaining missionaries near the plantations, and for providing them with appropriate books.³⁰

Now Bray turned his attention to the main issue at hand: what was to be done about the conversion of American Indians. Although he identified many common qualities in black slaves and American Indians, Bray also recognized that their immediate contexts were significantly different. While slaves were confined to the plantation and restrained to obedience by their masters, Indians remained wild and free. Thus, different approaches, he determined, had to be taken for their respective conversions. Bray was rather skeptical about the possibility of making much progress with the Indians. First of all, there were so few of them. Indeed, “there being…in some single Families of the Considerable Planters as many Heathen of the Negroe-

²⁸ Ibid., Dedication.
²⁹ Ibid., Dedication; 9. See also pages 4-5.
³⁰ See footnote 9.
Kind, as there are in some whole Nations, as they are reputed, of the American Indians.”

Since there were many more black slaves to be converted than there were Indians, putting resources toward the former would result in greater returns on investment. Nevertheless, Bray offered as a response to Berkeley, in perhaps the most telling part of this Missionalia, his advice on how to instruct the American Indians. This part he titled, *A Memorial Relating the Conversion, as well of the American Indians, as of the African Negroes*, and it was addressed to the clergymen in Maryland.

One of Bray’s main points in this work was that, although the social contexts of Indians and of blacks (in America) were significantly different, the social contexts of Indians and blacks (in Africa) were quite similar. In emphasizing this, Bray was suggesting that the circumstances of black men enslaved on the plantations had rendered them distinct from their kin still free in Africa. Noting that the D’Allone money was meant for the conversion of slaves in America, Bray asserted, “I say, in America, for had the Good Gentlemen form’d a Project of doing it in Africa, their Native Country, Where they have no Restraint from living in a Wild and Savage Manner, it wou’d have been very Impracticable.” The same was true of converting the Indians in America, as he explained: “The Reason of the Impracticableness of Converting of any Savage and Barbarous People, Africans or Americans, in their own Country, where, or at least whilst they Roam about in the Woods, Hunting after Prey as the Wild Beasts do, as is the Manner of the Indians, is very plain; That in such circumstances of living it is hardly conceivable how they shall be at all Instructed, or ever be brought to attend Instruction, much less retain it, so as to be

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31 Bray, *Missionalia* (1727), 12. Bray, addressing the clergy in Maryland, wrote, “we [do not] Confine you…to forward the Conversion of that Branch of Heathen, the African Blacks, who are now Slaves among you, so as to exclude the other Heathen Bordering upon you, from partaking of your Care. That these are principally in our Eye is, because our Application of the Charity we are entrusted with, is directed with Reference to these. …And because the Negroe Slaves being more by their peculiar Circumstances of living so Confin’d, as not to roam about in a Wild and Savage Way of Living (such as is that of the American Indians) we thence conceive your Pastoral Care in instructing of them, will more successfully Answer the Design of Mr. D’Allone’s Bequest: It is therefore principally expected, you should apply to this Part,” 12-13.
the better for it.” Slaves, on the other hand, could not easily abandon their studies “because the Negroe Slaves being more by their peculiar Circumstances of living so Confin’d, as not to roam about in a Wild and Savage Way of Living (such as is that of the American Indians).” Moreover, their confinement meant that slaves had been “already in some Measure brought into the Civil Life.”32 This was why D’Allone had specified that his money go to their education; slavery would be an asset to the conversion process.33 But what Bray was also suggesting was that American Indians could not in his view be converted until they, as a nation, had been civilized. In other words, they first had to be made into people who were no longer recognizably Indian, or savage, before they could be made Christians.

It seems counterproductive that Bray made sure to emphasize how useless it was to convert heathens in their own country, when the very aim of his essay was to argue for a particular scheme of converting Indians in America. But he made this point because, for him, the fundamental idea he wanted to convey was that there was no sense in attempting to convert a people to Christianity before first successfully “civilizing” them. Again and again, Bray argued for a reformation of Indian manners so that they would become enlightened, polite, sociable people, not very different from Englishmen. Bray summed up his plan for the Indians: “to the Humanizing of them, and Reducing them from a Savage to a Civil Way of life.”34 Although true Christianity could be apprehended by all rational men, many heathen peoples had lost their ability to reason correctly. They needed, as entire communities, to acquire better manners and habits, which would enable them to reclaim their rational natures. This development entailed a disciplining of their behavior, the advancing of their sciences and technologies, the ordering of their laws and their social arrangements. What Bray never lost sight of was his view that human

32 Bray, Missionalia (1727), Dedication; 13; 103.
33 For more on missionary work and slavery see Glasson, Mastering Christianity (Oxford, 2011).
34 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 102.
beings were social animals, and that their characters were shaped within their society—they were products of their social contexts. Thus, the improvement of one person had to be fortified by the collective improvement of all.

The Story of Two Africans

For Bray, American Indians were closest to Africans in Africa. Their civilizations were equally at an early stage of development, but also equally capable of advancement. Bray told the clergy in Maryland: “on the Continent of Africa the Wild Inhabitants [are] in like Circumstances with the Aborigines on your Borders. The Heathen in both Quarters of the World, Africa and America, seem to us as alike in Way of Living, and Sentiments of Religion, as two Eggs.” So that “the very same Method must be taken with both,” if either type of heathen could eventually be found “laying aside their Barbarous and Savage way of Life,” and in its place embracing a “Civil Life.” Bray explained that he had developed his approach to the conversion of the Indians by reflecting on certain lessons he had learned from an attempt, many years earlier, to convert some natives of South Africa. Here he referred to a “Scheme of Instructions” he had drawn up for the conversion of Africans—and now included in his Missionalia—since “any Directions proper to the State of the Negroe Heathens [are] also Practicable towards Christianizing the American Indians.”

Bray devoted many pages of the Missionalia to a story about two young African men whom he had encountered while he was in Maryland. According to this story, an English captain, having sailed to Delagoa, in Mozambique, in the southern part of Africa, found these two youths “to have something of a Genius and Curiosity” and convinced them to sail back with

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35 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 13-14. Bray told the Maryland clergy that he was sending them, especially the ones “whose Cures are in the Outparts of Maryland, nearest the Indians,” “a Copy of Instructions, drawn up for one lately sent Hence to instruct a Heathen Nation, on the South of Africa, who as to Religion, and their Way of Living, seem’d to us to be exactly like your American Indians,” 18-19.
him to England, so that they might see more of the world. The captain promised to return them afterwards to their home. However, the African youths never reached England; instead, the captain sold them into slavery. The two youths found themselves at the mercy of several masters, a hurricane, a shipwreck, the inhospitable terrain of Cuba, the African Company and the East India Company before they fell into the hands of a “kind” captain, who brought them to Bray’s parish in Maryland. While this captain was preparing to return the Africans to their home in Delagoa, Bray himself instructed the youths in Christian knowledge, and hired a school-master to teach them to read and write. Bray reported that indeed “they made a pretty good Progress both in Reading and Writing.”

Soon enough, the captain and his wards left for Delagoa. On the ship, the two youths were accompanied by the school teacher, whose duty it was to supervise their further studies, as well as to do what he could when they reached land to “gain the Favour of their Brother”—purported to be a Prince—“to make [an English] Settlement at Delagoa.” It was to this teacher that Bray wrote up a set of Instructions for the conversion of Africans (which was never followed), and which he now related in detail in his Missionalia.

Of the six steps Bray outlined in his Instructions, five of them specified how to form good behavior in the Africans, whereas one was devoted to the teaching of religious principles. The first step required that the Africans form sociable habits, that they settle their families on individual plots of land, and that that they accept divisions of property. Bray directed the missionary to persuade, “with the utmost Air of Goodness Possible,” the Africans “to be Willing and Desirous to leave off their Savage way of living in the Woods, and in Hunting Wild Beasts, and in Fighting with, and Destroying one another; and to betake themselves to a Human and

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36 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 21. For the story of the two Africans, see pages 20-48.
37 Ibid., 21. For Bray’s Instructions, see pages 22-38.
Sociable way of Living.” Bray, following John Locke, thought there could be no civil society without some form of property. However, he suggested that the Africans establish stable living arrangements by dividing up their territory, giving each family a share of land proportionate to its size.38

After the Africans were settled, the next step was to build dwellings and farms on their land. Bray told the missionary, “Perswade them to Build Houses, each Family one, upon that Share of Land allotted to them, and to Plough and Sow the Land with what Seeds are Proper; such as is fit for Tillage with Corn, or Rice, or Pulse; in the other Sort of Land to Plant Orchards and Vineyards; and, in Time, to make Gardens adjoining to their Houses for Herbs, Roots, and Salads.” By these means they would be able to live a sedentary life. The third step required women to preserve and store food for the winter, make clothes, and keep their houses clean and orderly. Women should “employ their Time at Home in making Bread, Butter and Cheese, and in preparing wholesome Food for the whole Family, Brewing the Liquors of all Sorts, Boiling or Roasting their Meat, in Spinning of Linen or Woolen for Clothing, also in Weaving, and then in making their Garments.”39 In this way the Africans might become clean, tidy, and healthy.

Once these good habits had been instilled, Bray was sure, the African heathens would begin to recognize the benefits of a civilized existence. He instructed the missionary, “Tell, and Convince them as far as Possible, how infinitely more Comfortable and Happily they will Live, every one, when well fed and clothed, in Houses of their own, than Wild in the Woods, exposed naked to the Cold in wet Seasons, and to the Scorching of the Sun in the Heats of Summer.” The latitudinarians had argued that Christianity brought happiness to individuals and societies. Bray borrowed that logic, applying it here in a new context: civilization, he said, brought happiness to

38 Ibid., 22. Locke, Two Treatises of Government (1690).
39 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 22-23.
individuals and societies. Next, the missionary had to instill a sense of morality into the heathens. So that they “curb unlawful Lusts,” the missionary should insist that the Africans “Marry, each of them the most Sober Woman they can find in their Country, contenting themselves each with having only one Wife, and by no Means to take to themselves more.” The fifth step required the missionary to convey the value of industriousness to the heathen people, so that they might exchange their “Wandering and an Idle Life” for “a Settled and Industrious way of Living.”

British imperial aims were not left out: “And lastly,” Bray wrote, “tell them, That to make themselves a more Happy People than hitherto they have been, the Good God has sent the English among them.” Keeping in mind that Bray had written these instructions with the goal of making an English settlement in Africa, we can see that what Bray had outlined were the steps he thought should be taken by the agents of an expanding British Empire in order to mold new British subjects. The movement to reform manners had transformed from a program aimed at controlling English vices to a program aimed at conquering colonial peoples.

But what about the conversion of the Africans? Bray finally addressed this subject in the final pages of his Instructions. Now that the Africans were settled and civilized, their manners and habits reformed—perhaps even beginning to resemble the English—Bray imagined they might be receptive to more complicated rational arguments. The principles of true Christianity, according to Bray, could only be held by the most advanced peoples on earth. Thus, Africans could not be converted before they had been civilized, “it being Impossible to conceive how any Religious Impressions and Instructions should be given them to any Purpose, or remain upon them in their wandering State. Nor was it ever known in Fact, that Christianity did thrive among

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40 Ibid., 23-24; 36.
41 Ibid., 23. Another hope for the Africans was that they would be receptive to English imperial ambitions within their lands, and that they might one day become profitable commercial partners with the English.
a Rude and Barbarous People, continuing in an unsettled and savage Way of living, as in the Nature of the Thing, it is impossible it should.”42 Once these heathens had obtained good manners, they were ready for knowledge—Christian knowledge.

At this final stage, then, the missionary could establish a school and persuade the youth to submit to religious instruction. Not surprisingly, Bray advised that the missionary appeal first to those notions of God that were known through natural religion, since every heathen should understand those ideas intuitively.43 The first point to get across was God’s existence and his role as creator of the heavens and earth, which the missionary should explain “by the excellent Order and Contrivance of both the Heavens and Earth, and of every Part of the Creation, being in its Make and Contrivance so admirably Wise as does demonstrate them to be the Effects of some Case of Infinite Wisdom, Power and Goodness.” This approach to understanding God through reason and universal concepts was standard within latitudinarian discourse. Bray thought that ancient heathens, who had no knowledge of Christianity, had, nevertheless some dim notion of the existence of God.44 To know God, was to be rational, and to be rational was to be human.

Thus, ignorance of natural religion was a sign of true barbarism. Bray warned the missionary that if he should find the inhabitants of Delagoa to have no notion of God, “you will find them Live the Life of Brutes, wandering and seeking their Prey in the Woods, like Beasts.” The missionary’s task was to take these brutes and form them into men: “labour to make them Sensible,” Bray instructed, “that though in Shape they seem like other Men, they will, while they continue thus Ignorant and Savage, deserve no more to be esteem’d Rational Creatures than

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42 Bray, *Missionalia* (1727), 24. Bray further wrote, “no Religion whatsoever, at least bordering upon Truth in any Degree, can be planted in any Soil not cultivated with Humanity,” 43.

43 Bray explained that there were some “Notions which the Heathen Nations universally, Asian, African, and American have,” Ibid., 53.

44 Bray, *Missionalia* (1727), 25. Bray told the teacher: “further prove this Fundamental Point of Doctrine to them, from the universal Consent and Acknowledgment of Mankind, there having been no Nation found yet in the World, except perhaps some few, who having abandon’d first their Reason, have sunk into mere Brutality, but who have some Notions of a Supreme Being,” 26.
Apes and Monkeys are. But when they shall become Believers in God, then, and not till then, they will be reckon’d by all knowing Persons to be Men, and Reasonable Creatures.”

Conversion thus was the last step in a civilizing process—the final indicator that savages had become men. Indeed, Bray had intentionally arranged his instructions so that their progression mimicked the way, he thought, societies naturally developed over long periods of time. He strongly recommended “the observing a due Order and Method,” in all endeavors “to Rescue men from a Savage to a Civil and Human Life.”

Despite Bray’s best efforts “to introduce [Christianity] and as also Humanity and Civility of Manners among the whole Nation of the Delagoans,” he reported that his plan had ultimately proven ineffective—“But alas! the Success answered not in the least our Expectation,” he admitted. On the journey back to Africa, Bray continued his story, one of the African youths hanged himself. The other arrived in Delagoa, whereupon, Bray explained, “his Instructor went with him to his Mother’s Hutt, where the Rascal having entered, shut himself up, the poor Tutor standing at the Door six Hours before he would come forth to him; and when at length he came out, with great Reluctancy, he gave him such Frowns, and look’d so Surly upon him, that the Man thought it concern’d him speedily to return on Ship-board, if he would save his Life.” The instructor quickly abandoned his mission, and returned to Maryland.

Bray thought he had learned a valuable lesson from all this: it was of no use to educate one man, while his community remained uncivilized—men would conform to whatever customs and habits were standard in their own society. It seemed, as Bray put it, that, “the ungrateful

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45 Ibid., 26. Bray wrote that “In both the African and American Nations indeed, almost all Notions of God, as a Good Being, seem in a Manner quite Extinct, so that both one and the other are suck vastly below the Eastern Heathen, even to be as it were mere Animals, or, as Ignorant as the Brutes,” 56.
46 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 37. See also pages 41. He said that this method was “the only Way to introduce Humanity and Civility of Manners among the whole Nation of the Delagoans,” 45.
47 Ibid., 45-46.
Brute, who had been treated from his first Arrival here to his Return, as it befitted a Person of Quality and Distinction (and all to soften him the better to receive the Impressions of Humanity and Religion) [appeared], so soon as got among his Fraternity, to be as Savage as the worst among them.” Bray was convinced that whole societies had to be civilized, not merely a few individuals, if this work was to be successful.

Bray explained that part of the failure could be attributed to the kind of education the African youths had received. In Maryland, the Africans had been given “a Gentleman and Scholar-like Education.” Bray described their treatment: “they were boarded out at great Expense, were well Cloath’d and Rigg’d, and were ty’d to Swords; nay, to finish the Parade, had a Tutor provided to attend them at Home, an Hour or two in a Day, to Teach them to Read, Write, and Cast Accounts.” But, Bray now considered, they had not been taught good manners; they were heathens in civilized clothes: “in this Equipage I found them, when they came to the Captain’s house in my Parish, and it was not without Indignation, that I perceiv’d so much Cost bestow’d, shall I say, to very little Purpose? Nay, I’ll venture to affirm, to very bad Purpose.”

He thought that they had received the wrong kind of education. Rather than having been taught complex principles of religion and philosophy, the Africans “should have been Apprentice’d in the Country to some honest Carpenter, or like Artificer, who was withal a Farmer.” They needed to learn skills before they learned ideas. From the “artificer,” Bray said, the Africans should have learned to build a barn; then, when they rejoined their brother in Africa, they could have built similar barns, “which would be Comfortable Habitations to their Brother’s Subjects, comparatively to what they now Enjoy.” The Africans, Bray imagined, impressed by English technology, might have been more receptive to the English way of life. The Africans

48 Ibid., 46.
49 Ibid., 47-48.
could have also learned from the artificer how to plough the land and plant corn, how to raise cattle and kill livestock, and how to treat the skins of animals. From the artificer’s wife, the Africans could have learned to milk the cows, make butter and cheeses, spin wool and linen, and make shoes and clothes. Most importantly, Bray thought, the Africans should not have been able to “Eat or Drink, or Wear any Thing but what their own Hands were put to, and in the Operation of which they had…their Share." For Bray, these practical skills were far more valuable to savages than the lofty ideas conveyed through a classical education.

The larger lesson Bray took from the Delagoa incident was that it was useless to try to convert individuals before their entire society became civilized. As he put it, he had come to realize “the Impracticableness of Converting any Savage and Barbarous People, Africans or Americans, in their own Country (where they Roam about in the Woods, hunting after Prey, as the Wild Beasts do).” He could not even see how these wild humans, without first being tamed, “should be at all Instructed, or even be brought to Attend Instruction, much less to Retain it so as to be the better for it.” He now applied this lesson to the Indians in America. He was convinced that before the Indians could be converted, they had to be formed—through a practical education—into new people: “It is not to be apprehended by us, how they should become Christians before they are made Men, or so long as they remain in a State of Brutality.”

50 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 48-49. Berkeley had also thought it important to treat his Indian pupils modestly: “A small expense would suffice to subsist and educate the American missionaries in a plain simple manner, such as might make it easy for them to return to the coarse and poor methods of life in use among their countrymen,” Proposal (1724), 8.
51 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 58.
52 Bray thought that the six points he had proscribed for the missionary to Africa was relevant to missionaries working with Indians, since “both the American and African Indians being much upon the same Level, as to Matters of Religion (neither of them, as yet, possesst with Religious Sentiments, scarcely of any Kind) the whole foregoing Scheme of Doctrine may be as proper to be pursu’d in the Instruction of the one, as well as of the other,” 56-57. And again, he thought “the like Method is to be taken with the American Indians, as was attempted with the African Heathen,” 57. And once more: “Considering [the Indian] live in an unsettled State on the Continent of America, much in the same Manner as the Delagoans do in Africa, we cannot see but that the like Methods must be taken with the former, as was above directed with respect to the Latter,” 58.
had to acquire British culture, they had to be “perswaded to build Houses, to cultivate their Lands, to raise Provision for their Families out of the same, and to have distinct Properties, and thereby be indu’d to abide in the same Places, where they may be always found Summer and Winter.” 53 And he emphasized again, “to prepare this unhappy Part of our Species, little better than Brutes, though in Human Shape, and indu’d with intellectual Faculties, they must be in some Measure Civiliz’d.” 54

Civilizing the American Indians “by Daily and Familiar Intercourse”

Finally Bray was ready to offer his method for the conversion of American Indians. In opposition to Berkley’s plan to take Indians from their communities and educate them in isolation, Bray recommended that English missionaries go live among the Indians. His plan required that the colonial clergymen send “Seventeen Subaltern Instructors,” or “artificers” to settle within the Indian communities. These artificers, “principally Carpenters, Tillers of Land and Taylors,” and their wives, would have the task of “Humanizing” the adult Indians—first by encouraging the Indians to divide up their land, giving each family a proportional share of the property. Since the artificers would be living within the Indian community, Bray explained, they would be “coming in also for a Share” of the property. In this way, the English would completely integrate themselves among the Indians. 55 At this point the artificers would teach the Indians practical skills—they would “help them to Build their Houses, to till their Land, to Breed up Cattle, such as would supply them with wholesome Diet, and to Cloath them and their

53 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 58-59. And he further mused: “the Christian Faith, and Morality, is a Plant of too delicate a Texture to grow upon an unprepar’d Soil,” 59.
54 Ibid., 59. Bray acknowledged the rather controversial nature of his views, namely that conversion was not the first goal of the missionary enterprise, but rather civilization. He toned down his idea by giving this qualification: “I do not indeed mean, that nothing is to be done towards enlightening their Minds with the great Truths of the Gospel, ‘till they shall be quite civiliz’d, and brought to live in full as regular Manner as we Europeans do; but what I mean is this, that both Parts should be begun and carry’d on together, attempting to reduce them to Humanity, as well as to sow the Seeds of Christianity among the Clans of Indians next adjoining to the Habitations of the English,” 60-61.
55 Ibid., 90; 61
Finally, the artificers would teach the Indians “Occupations most necessary, whereby to live with any Comfort in the World, and to Inure them to some Degree of Industry.” All these skills would be learned gradually through everyday practices. The artificers’ wives were given the task of teaching the children to spell and read in “little Charity-Schools,”—Bray added, “as in our Country Villages [in England].” He was convinced that this was the only realistic way to “reduce all of them from Bestial to a Civil Life.”

After these practices had become routine, the artificers would gradually introduce Christian ideas to the Indians. As Bray put it, the artificers would “sow some Seeds of Religion and Virtue in their Minds, by their daily Conversation with them, and by Degrees to Instill into them a System of Christian Doctrine.” Bray criticized Berkeley’s scheme in which, he said, the college professor—just one individual person—would have neither the will nor the ability “to mix with them in Civil Life.” And thus, there could be no “Measures taken to Civilize the Indians, but purely to Instruct them in Religion.”

Bray had long thought about the question of how men, who spoke different languages, could communicate with one another. He was convinced that there was a certain degree of incommensurability between different cultures. He pointed out that “Till the Instructor and Instructed can understand one another, there can be no Communication of Sentiments on either

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56 Ibid., 61. Bray explained: “...The Carpenter shou’d together with his own, offer to Build them little Houses, calling for their Assistance to fell Timber, to saw it, and afterwards to help them in Building their own Houses. The Tiller of Land shou’d instruct and assist them in raising Corn, and Breeding up Cattle. And the Tailor in making up Clothes. And the Wives of each of these Artificers shou’d teach the Indian Squaws with their Daughters, to Milk their Cows, to make Butter and Cheese, and to spin Linen and sow their Garments. So far as to the Civil Life,” 61.

57 Ibid., 97; 80; 62.

58 Ibid., 97. Bray added: “Methinks by some such Method it might not be Impracticable to bring over a whole Nation together, both to the Civil and Religious Life, such as wou’d become Christians. And Methinks no great Matter of Charge in Gratuities to the Artificers, and Materials to work withal, and in Coarse Linen and Woolen wherewith to make them Garments might suffice,” 62.

59 Ibid., 92; 95. In fact, Berkeley supports the marriage of Europeans and natives in his sermon to the SPG in 1731.
Side; and ‘till then, as the Indians are Barbarous to us, so are we to them.” For Bray, one of the advantages of having English families live among the Indians, was that the two nations might teach each other their respective languages. Bray thought that the Indians would most easily learn English by working with the artificers on everyday tasks. It was in repeated habits of life, and not in the classroom, that people picked up language. This was as true for the English as it was for the Indians. Bray explained, “It seems as by this daily and familiar Intercourse with them, the English will soon learn the Indian Languages,…so the Indians, by such daily, and perpetual, and mixt Conversation with the English, will on their Parts also, soon attain our Language, which will be a great Happiness both to them and us, and together with our Language, will gradually promote Sentiments of Religion.” Ultimately, what Bray was arguing for was the creation of a shared culture in which English culture—including language, manners, and religious beliefs—was impressed upon the Indians.

Bray left the responsibility for the actual conversion of the Indians in the hands of the clergymen in the American parishes. But he was aware that it was unrealistic for the missionaries in the colonies to venture very often into Indian lands in addition to tending to their own parishes. Bray made sure to emphasize that his plan did not intend “to lay any Burden upon you the American Clergy. We…are not utterly Ignorant of yourselves, nor of the Circumstances of your Cures.”

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60 Ibid., 91. Bray quoted Corinthians, “I shall be into him that speaketh a Barbarian, and he that speaketh a Barbarian to me,” 44. This quote indicated a recognition that the English customs and manners, at first at least, appeared as barbaric to the heathens as heathen customs did to the English.

61 It would not be hard to imagine, Bray thought, how the Indians would learn English “in our way of sending with our Capital Artificers, who must mix with the Indians, in most Occupations of common Life, in Felling Timber, Building their Houses, in Cultivating their Ground: in short, doing every Thing with them tending to Clothing, as also in Housewifery and Schooling,” Missionalia (1727), 92.

62 Bray, Missionalia (1727), 92. Bray had been very impressed with Jesuit missionary methods. See page 43.

63 Ibid., 63. Bray was keen to defend the clergy against the criticisms of Berkeley: “Of yourselves we have receiv’d a quite different Account from what a late Author, in his great Zeal for the Converting the American Indians, has been pleas’d to give of the main Aims you had in your Mission to those Parts, and of your Pastoral Care therein,” 63.
greatly inconvenience clergymen who were already traveling far distances to care for their flock. The cures nearest to the Indian nations were often “in Length and Breadth Forty, Fifty, or Sixty Miles over”—“I can testify from my own Knowledge,” he said. This was why he insisted that the missionaries should only instruct the Indians intermittently. The real burden then rather fell to the artificers, who, living among the Indians, would daily work on improving Indian manners and habits. Bray’s ideas, thus, betrayed his real concern: he was more interested in the civilizing process than he was in conversion.

**Berkeley’s College in “the Montpelier of America”**

By contrast, Berkeley’s plan for the conversion of Indians emphasized the importance of giving them an education in religious and philosophical ideas rather than in manners. In his *Proposal*, Berkeley outlined his design for a seminary that would provide Indians with a liberal arts education. Only boys under ten years of age would be admitted, “before evil habits have taken a deep root; and yet not so early as to prevent retaining their mother tongue, which should be preserved by intercourse among themselves.” Berkeley’s method of getting Indians to attend his college particularly outraged Bray, and not without good reason. Indian youths would be brought to the college “either by peaceable methods from those savage nations, which border on

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64 Bray, *Missionalia* (1727), 64. Bray described the ministers’ job: “tho’ you cannot wholly leave your Cures which call for such constant Attendance, to go afterwards, it may be an Hundred Miles off, to spend a Week or more among the Indian Nations, especially finding it to little or no purpose; yet we doubt not but you wou’d as often as you can, without prejudice to your proper Flocks, take a Ride to Visit the Artificers we have propos’d as above, to Encourage them, and Direct them too in the Prosecution of the Good they are set upon. You would willingly too doubtless, render yourselves useful to them by a Supply of Necessary Books; And by being Internuntio’s as it were between them, and those who may assist the good Design here; you may render yourselves also Assistant therein to great Purpose, especially by Acquainting your most Excellent and Vigilant Diocesan with the Growth or Progress of the Design; with what Difficulties it may Labour under, and with what will be farther wanting to forward, and from time to time to Spirit it up. And thus, as we conceive, it wou’d not be Impracticable for you to be Instrumental in Converting the Indian Nations, so we wou’d take a great Pleasure in discharging our several Parts.” 65.
our colonies, and are in friendship with us,” Berkley explained, “or by taking captive the children of our enemies.”65

The curriculum at Berkeley’s school would be a well-rounded liberal arts education, aiming to “ground these young Americans thoroughly in religion and morality, and to give them a good tincture of other learning; particularly of eloquence, history, and practical mathematicks: to which it may not be improper to add some skill in physick.” According to Berkeley, not only would knowledge of those subjects enlighten the students’ minds, but it would spark “a zeal for religion, and love of their country” in their hearts, especially if these sentiments were “early and constantly instilled into their minds, by repeated lectures and admonitions.” Berkeley hoped that his American pupils would “not only be incited by the common topics of religion and nature, but farther animated and enflamed by the great examples, in past ages, of publick spirit and virtue.” So educated, the Indians would be returned to their respective communities, bearing a degree of masters of arts, and poised “to rescue their countrymen from their savage manners, to a life of civility and religion.”66 In this way, the savage Indians would soon become Christianized by the missionary work of their own people. Berkeley’s end goal was in fact in harmony with Bray’s—both men wanted to impose civilization and Christianity on these savage Americans. The question, however, was what method would best accomplish this end.

To Berkeley’s contemporaries, the most famous aspect of the dean’s plan for a college was that it was to be located on the Bermuda Islands. Berkeley had long imagined the marvelous characteristics of these islands to have justified “a judicious choice of the situation, where the seminary is to stand.” The seminary needed to be located “in a good air; in a place where

65 Berkeley, A Proposal (1724), 6. This one point has been commented upon by many scholars; see Berman, Berkeley (1994).
66 Ibid., 6-7. Bray also thought that the lives of exemplary men would inspire virtue in those who studied them. That is why he included his Life of Bernard Gilpin in his Missionalia. See Bray’s statement on pages 14-15. But he deemed this kind of study more appropriate for the instructors than the instructed.
provisions are cheap and plenty; where an intercourse might easily be kept up with all parts of America and the islands; in a place of security, not exposed by the insults of pyrates, savages, or other enemies.” It also needed to be located where there was little trade that might distract the students from their studies, and “where the inhabitants…are noted for innocence and simplicity of manners.”

Berkeley ruled out Barbados as a site for the seminary on account of its wealth, and mainland America on account of the many vices of the inhabitants there. He thought that while it was difficult to travel through mainland America, Bermuda was easily accessible by sea from other islands, from the coastal cities in America, and even from Britain. Berkeley wanted his seminary to be positioned toward America (rather than Britain), so that the missionaries—and the Christian knowledge they exported—could easily expand over the continent through the channels of commerce. As Berkeley explained it, “the general course of trade and correspondence lies from all those colonies [on the American mainland] to Great Britain alone:

Whereas, for our purpose, it would be necessary to pitch upon a place, if such could be found,

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68 Berkeley wrote about mainland America: “And if we consider the accounts given of their avarice and licentiousness, their coldness in the practice of religion, and their aversion from propagating it, (which appears in the withholding their slaves from baptism) it is to be feared, that the inhabitants in the populous parts of our plantations on the continent are not much fitter, than those on the islands, above-mentioned, to influence or assist such a design,” *A Proposal* (1724), 9. He continued, interestingly citing from a sermon given to the SPG: “I remember to have seen in an abstract of the proceedings, &c. annexed to the Dean of Canterbury’s sermon, before the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts; that the savage Indians, who live on the continent, will not suffer their children to learn English or Dutch, lest they should be debauched by conversing with their European neighbours: which is a melancholy, but strong confirmation of the truth of what hath been now advanced,” Ibid.

69 Explaining that many places on mainland America were cut off from networks of commercial and intellectual exchange, Berkeley wrote, “It is therefore plain, there can be no convenient communication between [the English settlements], otherwise than by sea; no advantage therefore, in this point, can be gained by settling on the continent,” *A Proposal* (1724), 10.

70 For Berkeley, Bermuda provided the perfect location for his school because it was positioned at the center of commercial networks within the Atlantic: “as the commerce of Bermuda renders it a very fit place, wherein to erect a seminary, so likewise doth its situation, it being placed between our plantations on the continent, and those in the isles, so as equally to respect both. To which may be added, that it lies in the way of vessels passing from America to Great Britain…[and] if we were to look out a spot the nearest approaching to an equal distance from all the rest, I believe it would be found to be Bermuda,” *A Proposal* (1724), 11.
which maintains a constant intercourse with all the other colonies, and whose commerce lies chiefly or altogether (not in Europe, but) in America.” Such a place, for Berkeley, was Bermuda. He described it as the “one spot that I can find, to which this circumstance agrees.”

Bermuda was also, in Berkeley’s view, temperate in climate, abundant in natural resources and safe from outside threats. The dean wrote, as if having discovered utopia, that since Bermuda was “situated near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, no part of the world enjoys a purer air, or a more temperate climate, the great ocean which environs them, at once moderating the heat of the south winds, and the severity of the north-west.” He had read travel literature affirming that “the air in Bermuda is perpetually fanned and kept cool by sea breezes, which render the weather the most healthy and delightful that could be wished, being, (as is affirmed by persons who have long lived there) of one equal tenour almost throughout the whole year, like the latter-end of a fine May; insomuch that it is resorted to as the Montpelier of America.”

Not least of Berkeley’s concerns was that Bermuda be a place suited to the retirement of elite professors, such as himself. He imagined that here he would find “a retirement, so sweet, and so secure, and every way so well fitted for a place of education, and study.” He was sure that the benefits of Bermuda would entice the best scholars to his seminary—“men of prudence, spirit, and zeal, as well as competent learning, who should be led to it by other motives than the necessity of picking up a maintenance.” Of his potential fellow professors, he wrote, “the governing part would be easier, and better contented with a small stipend, and a retired

71 Berkeley, A Proposal (1724), 10. For more on Berkeley’s views of Bermuda, its environment, geography and inhabitants, see pages 10-14.
72 Ibid., 13. Among many other virtues, the Islands were “remarkable for plenty...there being, besides beef, mutton, and fowl, great abundance of fruits, and garden-stuff of all kinds in perfection: To this, if we add the great plenty and variety of fish, which is every day taken on their coasts, it would seem, that a seminary could no where be supplied with better provisions, or cheaper than here.” And finally, Bermuda was protected from pirates and enemies by a wall of rocks, so that it would be “impossible to find any where, a more secure retreat for students;” 14.
73 Ibid., 16.
academical life, in a corner from whence avarice and luxury are excluded.” Berkeley thus contrasted two visions of America—one of a peaceful and plentiful Bermuda, another of a loose and disorderly mainland. Finally, he thought that the isolation of Bermuda would ensure that “young Americans [Indians], educated in an island at some distance from their own country, will more easily be kept under discipline till they have attained a complete education, than on the continent.” If they were near their families, he thought, they might be tempted to run back to their homes, “returning to their brutal customs, before they were thoroughly imbued with good principles and habits.”

Bray contra Berkeley: “the most Unchristian, or rather the most Anti-Christian Method to propagate the Gospel”

Berkeley raised thousands of pounds to build and maintain his seminary in Bermuda. Not surprisingly, Bray, having devoted years to collecting funds for his various projects oversees, marveled at the great sums Berkeley had raised in a very short time. Bray could not help but think that Berkeley’s money would yield much greater results if it were used to fund more practical schemes than the one in Bermuda. He wrote, “methinks either a part at least of that vast Grant of Charity already given, for the Conversion of Indians, might be apply’d this

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74 Ibid., 15; 14. He claimed that there were “at this time several gentlemen, in all respects very well qualified, and in possession of good preferments, and fair prospects at home, who having seriously considered the great benefit that may arise to the church and to mankind from such an undertaking, are ready to engage in it, and to dedicate the remainder of their lives to the instructing the youth of America, and prosecuting their own studies upon a very moderate subsistence in a retirement, so sweet, and so secure, and every way so well fitted for a place of education, and study, as Bermuda,” 16.

75 On the mainland, professors and students, Berkley said, would be in “the midst of a full trade and great riches, attended with all that high living and parade which our planters affect, and which, as well as all fashionable vices, should be far removed from the eyes of the young American missionaries,” Ibid., 14.


77 See Gaustad, George Berkeley in America (New Haven, 1979), 33-41.
Way,” namely, according to his own scheme.\textsuperscript{78}

However, as Bray bitterly acknowledged, few dared to criticize the dean’s famous proposal—“it being a Design so Noble in itself, and propos’d with such an Air of Christian Zeal, and sincere Intentions, that it has so Captivated good People throughout the Nation.” Berkeley had convinced people “of both Sexes, and of all Ranks and Degrees, from the highest to the lowest,” to make voluntary contributions to his scheme. “It is really become too Invidious a Thing, and perhaps too dangerous to one’s Peace and Quiet to dissent from it, and not most readily to give into it,” Bray wrote rather disingenuously, for he went on to voice his dissent to Berkeley’s plan, explaining why it was vastly inferior to his own. In doing so, Bray hoped “not only to prevent, if possible, the Disappointment in, but what is worse, the very many bad Consequences which may follow from Prosecuting, even this one of the most noble Designs in the World, on this Plan.” Bray asked his readers (the Maryland clergy) to give their opinion—“I appeal to the great Searcher of Hearts”—which plan “you take to be most Practicable” and would have “some greater likelihood of reducing those Barbarians to Civil Life, and to Embrace our most holy Faith and Religion” when the two were compared to each other.\textsuperscript{79}

While Berkeley imagined Bermuda to be healthy, bountiful, and well located, Bray knew it to be quite the reverse. In fact, it was “very Barren, the Soil being so wash’d away by Hurricanes” so that the inhabitants of the islands were forced to import many provisions from the Bahamas and Carolinas. Bray wrote, “their Beef and Pork being brought from the Continent above Two Hundred Leagues Distance, thro’ the contrary Winds, and Losses at Sea, the Inhabitants themselves are not seldom reduc’d to great Distress.” Furthermore, there was not much available land on the Bermudas, making property there particularly expensive to obtain.

\textsuperscript{78} Bray, \textit{Missionalia} (1727), 62.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 68.
This was to say nothing of the fact that the islands were “fill’d with none but the roughest and rudest Sort of People, Sailors,” so that it seemed to Bray that of all the regions in America, Bermuda was “the least fitted for Retirement, Contemplation or Study.”

Most damaging to Berkeley’s scheme, according to Bray, was Bermuda’s remote location. What was one of Bermuda’s greatest assets in Berkeley’s mind, could also be its greatest drawback. Bray explained, “it being so vastly Distant, even upwards of Two Hundred Leagues, and in Sailing ordinarily seven or eight Hundred Miles from the Places where the Conversions are Propos’d to be wrought, it even Astonishes those who know those Parts, or closely consider the Incongruity, why this of all Places shou’d be pitch’d upon as most conveniently Situated.” On the other hand, Bray’s own plan to carry out missionary work on the American mainland—“in the midst of the Indians”—had none of these difficulties. There, “the Climate and Country itself, when become a little Cultivated, is neither unhealthy, nor disagreeable.” There, food and other necessities were plentiful. Bray thought life within the Indian communities would be peaceful and conducive to study, for “the Indians, the most silent and sedate People in the World, will not Interrupt or Dissipate with Clamour or Noise the Thoughts of the Studious.” Finally, it would be far less expensive to make settlements within the Indian lands than transport students back and forth between their homes and a college on Bermuda.

Perhaps the most distressing element of Berkeley’s design was the method recommended for obtaining students for the school. Bray thought that it was unrealistic to expect that Indian parents would agree to send their children so far away from home, and “over the Seas, the

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80 Ibid., 69.
81 Ibid., 69-71.
Element they so much dread, and this at so great a Distance, to this College.”\footnote{Ibid., 71. Bray explained that there already had been little success of getting the Indians to attend the colleges in America like William and Mary: “The Reverend Dean, besides that before he had cast his Reproaches so plentifully against the Clergy in \textit{America}, for being so much wanting in their Endeavours to Convert the Indians, ought to have better inform’d himself about several Steps some Time since taken. He might, with the greatest Ease in the World have Known, that besides the College of \textit{New-Cambridge}, in \textit{New-England}, and another lately raised in \textit{Connecticut}, there has been founded by those most Excellent Princes, King \textit{William} and Queen \textit{Mary}, a Noble one at \textit{Williamsburg in Virginia}; and which would have been greatly to his Purpose to know; he might have been inform’d, how the unparallel’d Mr. \textit{Boyle} added, of himself, and Endowment of Six Scholarships, as I remember, for the Education of Indian Youth in this College, to be sent thence, after a sufficient Instruction, among their own Nation respectively, to Convert Them,” 71-72. He continued: “But alas! it is not without Expensive Gifts to the Parents, that the President and Governors of the said \textit{William} and \textit{Mary’s} College can induce them to send their Youth to the College, where some of those Indians Parents, not distant above Forty or Fifty Miles, may come and see their Children, and be satisfy’d by their own Eyes how kindly they are us’d. It is found so Difficult however to get any of these Youths, that sometimes the College has been in a manner without any, notwithstanding earnest Entreaties: And can it then be thought they will Voluntarily send them Six Hundred Miles, nay from some Places a Thousand over Sea, thence scarcely ever to hope for a Return! The most candid Construction which can be put upon this Error in Judgment, is through want of Experience, and unacquaintedness with the Temper of the Indian Parents, their Fondness of their Children above most People in the World. (But alas! besides so crude a Scheme, more Things than this ought to have been previously Consider’d, before the D. had spread throughout the Nation such a Libel, against a very worthy Clergy, as he has done.)” 72-73.} Yet Berkeley’s other method—that Indians “may be forc’d, or Bought as Captives of the Conquering Indian Nations, in order to be Instructed”—was, in Bray’s view, far more troubling. He called it “the most \textit{Unchristian}, or rather the most \textit{Anti-Christian} Method to propagate the Gospel.”\footnote{Ibid., 73.}

Bray was sure that taking Indian children as captives would provoke a never-ending war between the Indian nations and the English. Rather than promoting civilization, these actions would instigate violence and disorder. “How would the Deist Triumph over us,” Bray exclaimed, “if we should be found encouragers of such Methods?” The missionary’s goal was to spread Christian moral law; such brutal means of converting the Indians by force ignored the moral law altogether, and was better suited to a Hobbesian state of nature, than a civilized empire. Indeed, Bray pointed out, “those who are concern’d in the \textit{Slaving Trade in Africa}, do put the Negroe Nations together by the Ears, the better to get Slaves,” but this was surely criminal behavior, he thought, and a very bad way to propagate Christianity. The point was not to directly exploit the Indians, but “to cultivate, by the kindest Offices, a perpetual Peace and
Friendship with the Indian Nations.” To be sure, when Englishmen had the opportunity to instruct the Indians peacefully, Bray thought they should take it. But missionaries could “have no Hand in such Means of bringing [the Indians], nor any others, into Servitude, be the End never so Good.” Bray’s own method of converting the Indians required not direct force, but rather, a form of cultural annihilation—the gradual transformation of their culture through the everyday inculcation of English manners and habits within the Indian communities.

Bray had other problems with Berkeley’s plan. He compared that plan with his own. On the question of financing, the differences were striking, Bray said. Under Berkeley’s scheme, all the money raised would go to creating one magnificent building where professors and the few select students would lodge. Under Bray’s scheme, that same money would go to building “many Hundreds of Houses…for many Hundred Indian Families.” Bray was convinced that the goal of civilizing the Indians would be advanced much further if the English resolved “to build many Houses, or Habitations among the Indians themselves, than one College six or seven hundred Miles distant from them.”

The real problem for Bray was that Indians were not yet fit for higher education. He wrote, “It need not be repeated the absolute Necessity of Civilizing, nay, Humanizing those Savages, in order to, or rather concurrently with the Christianizing of them.” And he continued: “For tho’ Colleges no doubt are of admirable Use, and on many Accounts necessary to advance Learning, and the Liberal Arts, and Sciences in Countries already cultivated, and in some Measure Polished; yet among Savages, I cannot conceive, but even a Charity School, or Schools, taught tho’ by old Women, would answer the Ends better than by Professors of Sciences. And

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84 Ibid., 73-74
85 Ibid., 74; 70.
86 Ibid., 71. Bray continued: “And how that [conversion] shou’d be done without bringing them off from their wild Rambles on Hunting and Warring, far and wide over so vast a Continent, and without inducing them to betake themselves to a settled Way of Life; nor yet this without having Houses to live in, is beyond our Comprehensions.”
the Mechanicks would be more usefully taught among such than the Liberal Arts.”

Finally, Bray objected to the idea that sending educated Indians back to their communities would prove effective. These Indians would want to express to their families the lofty ideas they attained at school, but these ideas could have no meaning for those who were still savages. He wrote, “their then State of Life will be so vastly different from the squalid wretched way of living they must return to…that it may be much question’d whether they will return to live among their Clans, without as much Force as was suppos’d must be first us’d to bring them to be Humaniz’d and Instructed by those Gentlemen.” These civilized Indians would no longer belong to their original communities. These two groups of people—with different cultures—would not be able to understand each other. Those who did return would inevitably also return to their “Wild and Savage Ways.” As Bray put it, “We have suppos’d it…Inconceivable how Persons, for some Time inur’d to the Sweets and Comforts of Civil Life, should forsake that, and Chuse to live in a Squalid Miserable Manner, as the Indians do: But yet too often it has been found, they do return to their former way of Living.” For Bray, people were shaped by their society, thus society itself had to change if the manners and habits of the individuals were to change. Bray did not however explain why he thought the English artificers would have more success progressively molding Indian culture than the educated Indians would have. The English men and women living with the Indians might instead of civilizing the Indian community, become themselves more heathen, as Berkeley claimed was in fact often the case. But Bray saw a key distinction: the artificers would be instilling new manners and skills gradually through practical methods, while the educated Indians only had ideas to impart.

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87 Ibid., 96-97.
88 Ibid., 75-77.
The appropriate role for someone of Berkeley’s stature, according to Bray, was not as some professor living in retirement on Bermuda, but as “curator and inspector” of the clergy and artificers in America. Bray wrote, “There would be Business, and indeed Business enough proper for the Dean to employ himself in for some Time.” First, he would be responsible for selecting (as Bray had done for many years) artificers to go into the Indian communities. Then, he would make enquiries into which Indian communities it would be profitable to send the artificers. He continued: “To him may be Committed, and to none so properly as himself, the whole Cargo, not only of the necessary Utensils, to be Distributed among the several Artificers, but the Allotment of their Salaries, and the Premiums, and Gifts of Present to the Indians, who shall be found most Teachable and Tractable, in Cloaths, Utensils, &c.”

As inspector of missionary affairs (rather than professor in Bermuda), Bray envisaged Berkeley would settle next to the Indian nations, taking up “his Place of Abode, not in Bermudas, 1000 Miles off an Indian Nation, but in some noted Place, or Town, if it may be, within the British Settlements upon the Borders of the Indians where Conversions shall be Attempted.” From that location, Berkeley could easily enter the Indian lands. Bray explained: “He and his Associates may make Progresses into several Nations, First, to Inspect the Proceedings of Artificers set on Work by them, next to Direct and Conduct them by fresh Advices, as Occasion shall require.” Finally, Bray imagined Berkeley in the role of professor: “when the Artificers shall have brought the Indians to some Measure of Knowledge, not only of our Language, but of the Principles of Religion, It will be requisite, He should be near at hand to go himself among them, in order to Perfect the Instruction of the Indians to greater Degrees of

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89 Ibid., 98-90. As Bray put it, “When Arrived to the Indian Nations proposed to be Instructed, it may be the Part of the Dean (And who so Proper and Capable as the Dean?) To settle such Sort of Artificers in their several Stations, and to Conduct them in the same Design afterwards,” 99. Bray indicated the that “Religious Societies” were “ready and Capable to Assist him [Berkeley]” in this endeavor, 98.
Knowledge, than perhaps their Mechanick Instructors could give them; and then at length to Baptize them."

Berkeley never responded to Bray’s missionaria, and Bray died only a few years later.

By comparing these two plans for the conversion of American Indians, we can begin to see some of the ways members of the Church of England began to fashion a role for themselves in aiding the progress of civilization and the spread of Empire. Bray always had imperial goals in mind: “If all the Contiguous Nations of Indians should at length be induced, from reaping the inestimable Advantages of a Civiliz’d Life, and of the most Excellent Religion, which, the better it is understood, the more it promotes even Mens Temporal Happiness,” he was sure the Indians would “surrender themselves willingly, without War or Bloodshed, to the British Governments.”

Berkeley’s view that America needed an elite school that would provide a sophisticated education to American settlers and Indians is in sharp contrast to Bray’s view that manners and rudimentary habits of civilization had to be present in any population before it was ready to embrace more complex religious and philosophical ideas. Bray was part of a larger intellectual movement, one that emphasized manners, habits and customs as the necessary foundation of social life. For Bray and many of his contemporaries, civilizations had to pass through stages of development. Men might, at bottom, share a universal nature, but their manners and habits had

90 Ibid., 100-101.
91 Ibid., 94. Bray further wrote on the benefits of his plan for the British Empire: “Or it might be worth while, for the several Governments upon the Borders on which these Nations of Indians do lie, to be at some Charge in order to have these Nations of Indians brought under the Protection of the British Provinces wou’d become thereby farther extended, and these Converted Indians wou’d be a good Barrier to the English against the Incursions of the Wild and Savage Indians, and against the French of Canada, who halloo them to fall upon us in the Out-skirts of our Colonies. And if thus, one after another, the Neighbouring Nations of Indians, and after them by Degrees the Remoter and more Barbarous shou’d be Civiliz’d and Instructed in that Blessed Gospel, which by the Testimony of a Heathen, nil nisi lene suadet; Good God! How Glorious wou’d this be to the British Nation in General, and what Security to its foreign Plantations in particular, lying as now they do, too much expos’d to the Inroads and Ravages of the Indians, and their Instigators the French!” 62-63.
everything to do with their particular circumstances. Thus, men like Bray thought that by shaping the manners and habits of peoples—in both savage and civilized countries—they could ultimately form them into united subjects of a British Empire.