



Is Slavery Christian?

A Pamphlet Debate in Boston, 1700-1706

- 1700: Judge Samuel Sewell condemns slavery in *The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial*.
- 1701: Judge John Saffin refutes Sewell's arguments in *A Brief and Candid Answer to a late Printed Sheet, Entitled, The Selling of Joseph*.
- 1705: Samuel Sewell, in opposition to an anti-miscegenation bill under consideration in the colonial assembly, orders the reprint of an anti-slavery article in a London newspaper, *The Athenian Oracle*.
- 1706: Rev. Cotton Mather publishes *The Negro Christianized* that, while not condemning slavery itself, criticizes those who do not instruct their slaves in Christianity and have them baptized.

SAMUEL SEWELL

*The Selling of Joseph. A Memorial*¹

_____ Boston: 1700 [excerpts] _____

*FORASMUCH as Liberty is in real value next unto Life: None ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature Consideration.*³

The Numerousness of Slaves at this day in the Province [Massachusetts Bay], and the Uneasiness of them under their Slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether *“all Men . . . have equal Right unto Liberty”* the Foundation of it be firmly and well laid; so as to sustain the Vast Weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all Men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life. *GOD hath given the Earth* (with all its Commodities) *unto the Sons of Adam, Psal 115:16.*⁴ *And hath made of One Blood, all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the face of the Earth; and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: That they should seek the Lord. Forasmuch then as we are the Offspring of GOD &c. [etc.] Act 17: 26-29. . . .*

JOHN SAFFIN

*A Brief and Candid Answer to a late Printed Sheet, Entitled, The Selling of Joseph*²

_____ Boston: 1701 [excerpts] _____

To speak a little to the Gentleman's first Assertion: *That none ought to part with their Liberty themselves, or deprive others of it but upon mature consideration;* a prudent exception, in which he grants, that upon some consideration a man may be deprived of his Liberty. And then presently in his next Position or Assertion he denies it, *viz. It is most certain, that all men as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs, and have equal Right to Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life, which he would prove out of Psal. 115:16. The Earth hath he given to the Children of Men.* True, but what is all this to the purpose, to prove that all men have equal right to Liberty, and all outward comforts of this life; which Position seems to invert the Order that God hath set in the World, who hath Ordained *“some to be different degrees and orders of Monarchs . . . men, some to be High and others to be Honourable, some to be Low and Subjects”* Despicable; some to be Monarchs, Kings, Princes and Governours, Masters, and

National Humanities Center, 2008: nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds. For clarity, some pagination has been added and some spelling and punctuation modernized, including the punctuation of biblical citations. Bracketed phrases and sidebars added by NHC.

¹ In the biblical book of Genesis (chapters 37-50), Joseph is sold for twenty pieces of silver by his jealous brothers to traveling merchants (Ishmaelites) and later sold in Egypt to Potiphar as a household slave.

² The 1701 Saffin pamphlet, of which only one extant copy is known, was printed in 1866 as an appendix in George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (Appleton & Co., 1866). The Sewell excerpts (left column) are presented in the published order, while the Saffin excerpts (right column) are aligned with the Sewell statements to which Saffin is responding.

³ From William Ames (English Puritan theologian), *De Conscientia, et eius iure vel casibus* [*Of Conscience, with the Power and Cases Thereof*], 1623.

⁴ The cited books of the Bible cited are (1) Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Psalms, and Jeremiah; (2) New Testament: Matthew, John, Acts of the Apostles, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Collosians. Biblical verses (King James version) are placed in sidebars unless sufficiently quoted or explained in the text.

Commanders, others to be Subjects, and to be Commanded; Servants of sundry sorts and degrees, bound to obey; yea, some to be born Slaves, and so to remain during their lives, as hath been proved. Otherwise there would be a mere parity among men, contrary to that of the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 12 *from the 13 to the 26* verse, where he sets forth (by way of comparison) the different sorts and offices of the Members of the Body, indigitating that they are all of use, but not equal, and of like dignity. So God hath set different Orders and Degrees of Men in the World

. . . *Joseph* was rightfully no more a Slave to his Brethren than they were to him: and they had no more Authority to *Sell* him, than they had to *Slay* him. And if *they* had nothing to do to *Sell* him; the *Ishmaelites* bargaining with them, and paying down Twenty pieces of Silver, could not make a Title. Neither could *Potiphar* have any better Interest in him than the *Ishmaelites* had. *Gen.* 37: 20, 27, 28. For he that shall in this case plead *Alteration of Property*, seems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to Humanity. There is no proportion between Twenty Pieces of Silver and LIBERTY. . . 'Tis pity there should be more Caution used in buying a Horse, or a little lifeless dust, than there is in purchasing Men and Women: Whereas they are the Offspring of GOD, and their Liberty is,

— *Auro pretiosior Omni*.⁴

And seeing GOD hath said, *He that Stealeth a Man and Selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to Death.*

“Man Stealing is ranked amongst the most atrocious of Capital Crimes” Exod. 21:16. This Law being of Everlasting Equity, wherein Man Stealing is ranked amongst the most atrocious of Capital Crimes:

What louder Cry can there be made of the Celebrated Warning,

Caveat Emptor!⁵

And all things considered, it would conduce more

That Honourable and Learned Gentleman . . . draw[s] this conclusion, that because the Sons of *Jacob* did very ill in selling their Brother *Joseph* to the *Ishmaelites*, who were Heathens, therefore it is utterly unlawful to Buy and Sell Negroes, though among Christians; which Conclusion I presume is not well drawn from the Premises [i.e., Sewall’s arguments], nor is the case parallel; for it was unlawful for the *Israelites* to Sell their Brethren upon any account or pretense whatsoever during life. But it was not unlawful for the *Seed* [descendants] of *Abraham* to have Bond men, and Bond women [slaves], either born in their House, or bought with their Money, as it is written of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14:14. & 21:10 & *Exod.* 21:16 & *Levit.* 25:44-46. . . .

Leviticus 25: 44, 46
 “Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. . . .
 And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour.”

And to illustrate his Assertion our Author brings in by way of Comparison the Law of God against man Stealing, on pain of Death: Intimating thereby, that Buying and Selling of Negroes is a breach of that Law, and so deserves Death: A

“Though the Israelites were forbidden (ordinarily) to make Bond men and Women of their Own Nation, but of Strangers they might”

severe Sentence: But herein he begs the Question with a *Caveat Emptor*. . . Though the *Israelites* [Jews] were forbidden (ordinarily) to make Bond

⁴ “. . . and their Liberty is, — *Auro pretiosior Omni*” [Latin], i.e., Liberty is more precious than all the gold in the world.

⁵ *Caveat Emptor* [Latin]: “Let the buyer beware.”

to the Welfare of the Province, to have White Servants for a Term of Years than to have Slaves for Life. Few can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden Liberty renders them Unwilling Servants. And there is such a disparity in their Conditions, Color & Hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up into orderly Families, to the Peopling of the Land: but still remain in our Body Politick as a kind of extravasat Blood.⁶ . . . Moreover it is too well known what Temptations Masters are under, to connive at the Fornication of their Slaves; lest they should be obliged to find them Wives, or pay their Fines. . . It is likewise most lamentable to think, how in taking Negroes out of *Africa* and Selling of them here, That which GOD has joined together men do boldly rend asunder; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their Children. How horrible is the Uncleaness, Mortality, if not Murder, that the Ships are guilty of that bring great Crowds of these miserable Men and Women. . . . And it may be a question whether all the Benefit received by *Negro Slaves*, will balance the Account of Cash laid out upon them

Obj. 1.⁷ *These Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham [i.e., Ham], and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery. Gen. 9:25-27.*

Ans. . . . the Blackmores are not descended of *Canaan*, but of *Cush*. Psal. 68:31. *Princes shall come out of Egypt (Mizraim) Ethiopia (Cush) shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.* Under which Names, all *Africa* may be comprehended; and the Promised Conversion ought to be prayed for. *Jer. 13:23. Can the Ethiopian change his skin?* This shows that Black Men are the Posterity of *Cush*: Who time out of mind have been distinguished by their Colour. . . .

men and Women of their own Nation, but of Strangers they might: the words run thus, verse 44 [Leviticus 25]. *Both thy Bond men, and thy Bond maids which thou shalt have shall be of the Heathen, that are round about you: of them shall you Buy Bond men and Bond maids, &c. . . .*

In the next place, this worthy Gentleman makes a large Discourse concerning the Utility and Conveniency to keep the one, and inconveniency of the other, respecting white and black Servants . . . doth it therefore follow that it is altogether unlawful for Christians to buy and keep Negro Servants (for this is the Thesis) but that those that have them ought in Conscience to set them free, and so lose all the money they cost (for we must not live in any known sin) this seems to be his opinion; but it is a Question whether it ever was the Gentleman's practice? But if he could persuade the General Assembly to make an Act, That all that have Negroes, and do set them free, shall be Reimbursed out of the Publick Treasury, and that there shall be no more Negroes brought into the Country; 'tis probable there would be more of his opinion; yet he would find it a hard task to bring the Country to consent thereto; for then the Negroes must be all sent out of the Country, or else the remedy would be worse than the Disease. . . .

Our Author doth further proceed to answer some Objections of his own framing, which he supposes some might raise.

Object. 1. *That these Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery. Gen. 9:25-27.* The which the Gentleman seems to deny, saying, *they were the Seed of Canaan that were Cursed, &c.*

Ans. Whether they were so or not, we shall not dispute: this may suffice, that not only the seed of *Cham* or *Canaan*, but any lawful Captives of other Heathen Nations may be made Bond men as hath been proved.

⁶ Extravasat blood, i.e., blood from a ruptured artery or vein filling the body cavity [archaic medical term].

⁷ Sewall presents and rebuts four possible scriptural objections to his anti-slavery position. Objection/Answer #1 deals with the "Curse of Ham," the now-rejected interpretation that the descendents of Canaan (a son of Ham), who had been cursed by Noah for the sin of drunkenness, would suffer enslavement as punishment. (Genesis 9:25: *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.*) Because dark skin was considered part of the curse, black Africans were deemed to be under the "Curse of Ham," thus justifying their enslavement. Sewall argues that black Africans are not descended from Canaan but from Cush (another son of Ham) whose dark-skinned — and uncursed — descendants, he continues, had populated all Africa.

Country, into places where the Gospel is Preached.

Ans. Evil must not be done, that good may come of it. The extraordinary and comprehensive Benefit accruing to the Church of God, and to *Joseph* personally, did not rectify his brethrens' Sale of him.

Obj. 3. *The Africans have Wars one with another: our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.*

Ans. For ought is known, their Wars are much such as were between *Jacob's* Sons and their Brother *Joseph*. If they be between Town and Town, Provincial or National: Every War is upon one side Unjust. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the *Brewsters* to take the Air and Fish: And a stronger party from *Hull* should Surprise them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship outward bound: they would think themselves unjustly dealt with, both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our *Nigers*. *Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.* Matt. 7:12.

Obj. 4. *Abraham had servants bought with his Money, and born in his House.*

Ans. Until the Circumstances of *Abraham's* purchase be recorded, no Argument can be drawn from it. In the meantime, Charity obliges us to conclude, that He knew it was lawful and good.

Obj. 2. *That the Negroes are brought out of Pagan Countries into places where the Gospel is Preached.* To which he Replies, *that we must not do Evil that Good may come of it.*

Ans. To which we answer, That it is no Evil thing to bring them out of their own Heathenish Country, where they may have the Knowledge of the True God, be Converted and Eternally saved.

Obj. 3. *The Africans have Wars one with another; our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.*

[**Ans.**] . . . He also compares the Negroes' Wars, one Nation with another, with the Wars between *Joseph* and his Brethren. But where doth he read of any such War? We read indeed of a Domestick Quarrel they had with him, they envied and hated *Joseph*; but by what is Recorded, he was merely passive and meek as a Lamb. This Gentleman farther adds, *That there is not any War but is unjust on side, &c.* Be it so, what doth that signify: We read of lawful Captives taken in the Wars, and lawful to be Bought and Sold without contracting the guilt of the *Aggressors*; for which we have the example of *Abraham* before quoted; but if we must stay while both parties Warring are in the right, there would be no lawful Captives at all to be Bought; which seems to be ridiculous to imagine, and contrary to the tenour of Scripture, and all Humane Histories on that subject.

Obj. 4. *Abraham had Servants bought with his Money, and born in his House.* Gen. 14:14. To which our worthy Author answers, *until the Circumstances of Abraham's purchase be recorded, no Argument can be drawn from it.*

Ans. To which we Reply, this is also Dogmatical, and proves nothing. He farther adds, *In the meantime Charity Obliges us to conclude, that He knew it was lawful and good.* Here the gentleman yields the case; for if we are in Charity bound to believe *Abraham's* practice, in buying and keeping *Slaves* in his house to be lawful and good: then it follows that our Imitation of him in this, his Moral Action, is as warrantable as that of his Faith; *who is the Father of all them that believe.* Rom. 4:16.

⁸ *Nigers*, i.e., black Africans; term related to the west African region of Niger.

Jeremiah 34: 8-10

“This is the word that came unto Jeremiah from the LORD . . . That every man should let his manservant, and every man his maidservant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free; that none should serve himself of them, to wit, of a Jew his brother.

Now when all the princes, and all the people, which had entered into the covenant, heard that every one should let his manservant, and every one his maidservant, go free, that none should serve themselves of them any more, then they obeyed, and let them go.”

“These Ethiopians, as black as they are . . . ought to be treated with a respect agreeable.”

forbidden the buying, or selling one another for Slaves. *Levit. 25:39, 46. Jer. 34: 8-22 . . .* And since the partition Wall is broken down, inordinate Self love should likewise be demolished.⁹ GOD expects that Christians should be of a more Ingenuous and benign frame of spirit. . . And for men obstinately to persist in holding their Neighbours and Brethren under the Rigor of perpetual Bondage seems to be no proper way of gaining Assurance that God has given them Spiritual Freedom. Our Blessed Saviour has altered the Measures of the ancient Love-Song, and set it to a most Excellent New Tune, which all ought to be ambitious of Learning. *Matt. 5:43-44. John 13:34.* These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are; feeling they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the Last *ADAM* [i.e., Christ], and the Offspring of *GOD*; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable. . . .

In the close of all, Our Author Quotes two more places of Scripture . . . To Prove that the people of Israel were strictly forbidden the Buying and Selling one another for *Slaves*: who questions that? and what is that to the case in hand? What a strange piece of Logick is this? [to say that because] 'Tis unlawful for Christians to Buy and Sell one another for slaves. Ergo [therefore], It is unlawful to Buy and Sell Negroes that are lawful Captiv'd Heathens. . . .

. . . We grant it for a certain and undeniable verity, That all Mankind are the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, and the Creatures of God: But it doth not therefore follow that we are bound to love and respect all men alike; this under favour we must take leave to deny; we ought in charity, if we see our Neighbour in want, to relieve them in a regular way, but we are not bound to give them so much of our Estates, as to make them equal with ourselves . . . I may love my Servant well, but my Son better; Charity begins at home, it would be a violation of common prudence, and a breach of good manners, to treat a Prince like a Peasant. . . .

“. . . it doth not therefore follow that we are bound to love and respect all men alike . . . we are not bound to give them so much of our Estates [wealth], as to make them equal with ourselves”

Sewall did not respond in print until four years later. When the colonial assembly was debating an anti-miscegenation law (banning marriages of whites with Indians and blacks) which it later passed, he paid a Boston publisher to reprint an anti-slavery article from a London newspaper. While much of the article's argument is similar to Sewall's *The Selling of Joseph*, several new issues are raised.

Quest. **W***Hether Trading for Negroes, i.e., carrying them out of their own Country into perpetual Slavery, be in itself Unlawful, and especially contrary to the great Law of CHRISTIANITY?*

The Athenian Oracle, London, 1704; reprinted Boston, 1705 (excerpts)

Ans. Sir, After a mature and serious consideration of the Question proposed, I am for the Affirmative, and cannot see how such a Trade (tho' much [illegible] by Christians) can be any way justified and fairly reconciled to the Christian Law. And here let me first propose my Reasons, and then Answer such weak Pleas as use to be made for it.

⁹ Referring to Ephesians 2:14: “For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us.” Sewall argues that the Old Testament differentiation between Jews and non-Jews had been “demolished” by Christ's sacrifice. Therefore, any law that had applied to Jews before Christ's coming now applies to all people. Because Jews had been forbidden to enslave fellow Jews (but could enslave non-Jews), and because the “partition wall” between Jews and non-Jews no longer existed, therefore no person could enslave any other person. Saffin rejects this reasoning as a “strange Piece of Logick.” [See Lawrence W. Towner, “The Sewall-Saffin Dialogue on Slavery,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d. series, 21:1 (January 1964), pp. 44-45.]

. . . I take it to be contrary to the great Law of Nature, of doing unto all Men as we would they should do unto us; and which as our Saviour tells us (Mat. 7:12) *Is the sum of the Law and the Prophets*. For let us put the Case to ourselves, and consider what it would be for a Man to be stolen away from his Native Country, and hurried into perpetual Bondage; Or to have a Child snatched from his Embraces, and so used; and then see if this Trade and practice can be any way reconciled to this Rule [i.e., the “Golden Rule.”] And surely, they that have the *Gospel* and yet sin against the very Laws of *Nature*, shall have a severer punishment at the Day of Judgment than those poor silly Wretches that have only that dim Light to guide them. And perhaps those poor Wretches in Chains, when Death shall make them free, may rise up in Judgment and condemn those more cruel and unnatural Men that so unjustly deprive them of that Liberty which God and Nature had given them. . . .

Plea 1. We [slaveholders] deny the Charge; we do not Steal them, but make a lawful Purchase of them.

A[answer]. Purchase them (for Toys and Baubles) perhaps you may, but lawfully I am sure you cannot. For they which Sell them do Steal them, or take them away by violence. And you know the Proverb, *The Healer is as bad as the Stealer*. We are they that call ourselves Christians, that Encourage them in such Evil Practices. . . .

Plea 2. But most of them are taken Prisoners of War, by one petty Prince from another, and sold by the Conquerer.

A[answer]. But who are commonly the cause of this War, or what do they commonly fight about, but to gain the Booty of the Field: Slaves to be Sold? And I am credibly informed, 'tis usual for the Traders in this unlawful Commodity to send Presents to some petty Prince among them, to make War with his Neighboring Prince, to take such Prisoners and finish their Cargo: And who then must answer for all this Blood and Injustice?

Plea 3. Those men are more Heathens than Pagans?¹⁰

A[answer]. Pray, What then? What have we to do with them? Have they not a common Right to those Temporal Blessings, which an indulgent Creator has given them, as well as we? Is Dominion founded in Grace? May a man that is pleased to call himself a Christian, under that Notion, wrong or molest such as [people who] had not the happiness to be born in a Christian Country? . . . Tho' we ought to be kinder to our Brother Christian, yet surely we ought to do good or, at least, to do no wrong to mere Pagans and Infidels.

“Have they not a common Right to those Temporal Blessings, which an indulgent Creator has given them, as well as we?”

Plea 4. Did not the Jews buy Slaves? How often do we read of the Bond-Servant [slave] bought with their Money in the Jewish Law? And may we not do what God's own People did?

A[answer]. . . . Let us deal with those poor Negros, as the Jews were commanded to do with the Heathen. (1) When they had bought them, they were obliged to bring them up in the true Religion. See *Gen. 17: 12-13*. God commands *Abraham*, He that is born in thy House, or bought with Money of any Stranger which is not thy seed [i.e., not your children or people], such a one must needs be Circumcised and brought into Covenant with God. (2) Whilst they were in the House, they were to be kind and loving towards them; and 'tis often repeated, be kind unto Strangers, for you yourselves were Strangers in the land of Egypt.

Plea 5. The Law of our Land allows it.

A[answer]. The Law of our Land is so far from allowing it; that if an Infidel be brought into this Kingdom [Great Britain], as soon as he can give an Account of the Christian Faith and desires to be Baptized, any Charitable lawful Minister may do it, and then he is under the same Law with other Christians. . . .

¹⁰ NonChristians. *Heathen* and *infidel*: referring to beliefs outside the Judeo-Christian tradition, or to atheism; *pagans*: referring to animistic and/or polytheistic beliefs (such as Native American beliefs).

Lastly, They say, They thereby make them, those useless Creatures, to become greatly advantageous to Mankind, bring them into a happier Condition, and many of them become good Christians, &c.

A[nswer]. How dare we pretend to order things better than an All-Wise Lawgiver has plainly commanded us? Or think to put those poor Wretches to better Uses than an all-wise Providence seems as yet to have designed them for? If they came freely, what need a Cargo [ship] be carried to purchase 'em? What need of Chains and Bolts and Fetters? And why do many of those poor Wretches endeavour to starve, or destroy themselves, or leap overboard: If so mighty glad of being carried into perpetual Slavery? Or if they find themselves happier under their Bondage than in their own Country: What is the reason that when one of their Fellow-Slaves dies, all the rest sing and rejoice and dance about him, as foolishly concluding he is happily returned to his own Country? And tho' some of them may be admitted to become Christians [baptized], 'tis more than the Seller knows or any way obliges the Purchaser to: Neither can that atone for the rest. And surely, me-thinks, what [h]as been said should be enough to convince all such as are not resolved, before-hand, that they will not be convinced; or at least to render the Case extraordinary dubious; and then the safer part is to be chosen especially in this Case, where (if we are afterward convinced we have done those poor Wretches any wrong) We can never make them Restitution.

"We can never make them Restitution."

Rev. Cotton Mather, *The Negro Christianized: An Essay to Excite and Assist that Good Work, the Instruction of Negro-Servants in Christianity, 1706.*

Although Mather condemned the slave trade as it existed, he did not condemn slavery as an institution. For him the moral obligation of slaveholders was not to free their slaves, but to provide religious instruction leading to Christian baptism. Here he refutes a common fear of slaveholders — that baptized slaves would have to be freed.

[Query] Well, but if the *Negroes* are *Christianized*, they will be *Baptised*, and their *Baptism* will presently entitle them to the *Freedom*; so our *Money* is thrown away.

[Answer] . . . And suppose it were so, that *Baptism* gave a legal Title to *Freedom*. Is there no guarding against this Inconvenience? You may by sufficient *Indentures* [legal contracts] keep off the things which you reckon so Inconvenient. But it is all a Mistake. There is no such thing. What *Law* is it, that Sets the *Baptised Slave* at *Liberty*? Not the *Law of Christianity*; that allows of *Slavery*; . . . *Christianity* directs a *Slave*, upon his embracing the *Law of the Redeemer*, to satisfy himself *That he is the Lord's Free-man*, tho' he continues a *Slave*. It supposes (Col. 3:11)¹¹ That there are *Bond* [slaves] as well as *Free* among those that have been *Renewed in the Knowledge and Image of Jesus Christ* [i.e., baptized]. . . But is not *Freedom* to be claim'd for a *Baptised Slave* by the *English Constitution*? The *English Laws* about *Villains* or *Slaves* will not say so; for by those *Laws*, they may not be granted *for Life*, like a *Lease*, and passed over with a *Manor* [bequeathed with an estate] like other *Goods* or *Chattels*. . . These *English Laws* were made when the *Lords* [noblemen] & the *Slaves*, were both of them *Christians*; and they stand still unrepealed. If there are not now such *Slaves* in *England* as formerly, it is from the *Lords*, more than from the *Laws*.

The *Baptised* then are not thereby entitled unto their *Liberty*. Howbeit, it they have arrived unto such a measure of *Christianity* that *none can forbid Water for the Baptising of them*, it is fit that they should enjoy those *comfortable circumstances* with us, which are due to them, not only as the *Children of Adam* but also as our *Brethren*, on the same level with us in the expectations of a blessed *Immortality*, thro' the *Second Adam* [Jesus Christ].

¹¹ Colossians 3:11: "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all." [King James version]