

Hard Work

Work and labor in this new and wild land are very hard and manifold, and many a one who came there in his old age must work very hard to his end for his bread. I will not speak of young people. Work mostly consists in cutting wood, felling oak-trees, rooting out, or as they say there, clearing large tracts of forest. Such forests, being cleared, are then laid out for fields and meadows. From the best hewn wood, fences are made around the new fields; for there all meadows, orchards and fruit-fields are surrounded and fenced in with planks made of thickly-split wood, laid one above the other, as in zigzag lines, and within such enclosures, horses, cattle, and sheep are permitted to graze. Our Europeans, who are purchased, must always work hard, for new fields are constantly laid out; and so they learn that stumps of oak-trees are in America certainly as hard as in Germany. In this hot land they fully experience in their own persons what God has imposed on man for his sin and disobedience: for in Genesis we read the words: In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread. Who therefore wishes to earn his bread in a Christian and honest way, and cannot earn it in his fatherland otherwise than by the work of his hands, let him do so in his own country and not in America; for he will not fare better in America. However hard he may be compelled to work in his fatherland, he will surely find it quite as hard, if not harder, in the new country. Besides, there is not only the long and arduous journey lasting half a year, during which he has to suffer, more than with the hardest work; he has also spent about 200 florins which no one will refund to him. If he has so much money, it will slip out of his hands; if he has it not, he must work his debt off as a slave and poor serf. Therefore let every one stay in his own country and support himself and his family honestly. Besides I say that those who suffer themselves to be persuaded and enticed away by the man-thieves, are very foolish if they believe that roasted pigeons will fly into their mouths in America or Pennsylvania without their working for them.

For Further Reading

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- David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.
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VIEWPOINT 9A

Bacon's Rebellion Is a Justified Revolution (1676)

Nathaniel Bacon (1647–1676)

Nathaniel Bacon was the leader of Bacon's Rebellion. The 1676 Virginia uprising was the earliest major popular rebellion against British colonial rule in America, and the events and issues surrounding it tell much of divisions between Virginia's upper and lower classes, Indian-white relations, and the eventual entrenchment of slavery in Virginia and other American colonies.

The son of a nobleman and graduate of Cambridge University in England, Bacon emigrated to Virginia in 1674, and established a plantation on the western frontier of the colony. He found the colony deeply divided. The colonists in the western region consisted largely of former indentured servants with little land struggling to make a living. The Virginians of the eastern (Tidewater) region were the established tobacco planters and merchants who had evolved into an aristocratic class that dominated the ownership of productive land, the tobacco trade, and the colonial government. Elections were seldom held, and in 1670 the vote was restricted to landowners.

A particular bone of contention between the two regions was Indian policy. In 1675 a combination of western colonists' desire for Indian land and revenge for some Indian attacks led many of them to call for open warfare against Indians in their midst. Colonial governor William Berkeley and his allies in government, who had established friendly relations (and a profitable fur trade) with some of the frontier Indians, opposed war, and suggested instead an expensive system of frontier forts, to be paid for by increased taxation. Defying Berkeley's orders against retaliatory action, several hundred western settlers in 1676 elected Bacon to lead them on a punitive expedition against the Indians. Berkeley responded to the unauthorized campaign by calling for new elections to the House of Burgesses (Virginia's legislative assembly), and by declaring Bacon a rebel. In July, Bacon and his followers turned from attacking Indians to attacking the Virginia capital of Jamestown. Bacon's forces forced Berkeley to flee, plundered the estates of Berkeley and his followers, and burned Jamestown in September. The rebellion collapsed shortly after Bacon's sudden death from natural causes in October.

The following viewpoint is taken from Bacon's "Manifesto concerning the Present Troubles in Vir-

From "Manifesto Concerning the Troubles in Virginia" by Nathaniel Bacon, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 1 (1894).

ginia," which he proclaimed on July 30, 1676. Bacon lists grievances held against the leadership of Governor Berkeley and defends his own actions. Historians have debated how much Bacon actually represented "the people," and whether he was a leader of a political rebellion that was a true precursor to the American Revolution, or simply a political opportunist whose followers were mainly interested in looting plantations and killing Indians for their land.

What are Bacon's complaints against Governor Berkeley? How important were Berkeley's policies on Indians in causing the rebellion, according to Bacon? Does the Manifesto provide evidence for or against the proposition that Bacon was a democratic revolutionary?

If vertue be a sin, if Piety be giult, all the Principles of morality goodness and Justice be perverted, Wee must confesse That those who are now called Rebels may be in danger of those high imputations, Those loud and severall Bulls would affright Innocents and render the defence of our Brethren and the enquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions, Treason. But if there bee as sure there is, a just God to appeal too, if Religion and Justice be a sanctuary here, If to plead ye cause of the oppressed, If sincerely to aime at his Majesties Honour and the Publick good without any reservation or by Interest, If to stand in the Gap after soe much blood of our dear Brethren bought and sold, If after the losse of a great part of his Majesties Colony deserted and dispeopled, freely with our lives and estates to indeavor to save the remaynders bee Treason God Almighty Judge and lett guilty dye, But since wee cannot in our hearts find one single spott of Rebellion or Treason or that wee have in any manner aimed at the subverting ye settled Government or attempting of the Person of any either magistrate or private man not with standing the severall Reproaches and Threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us and censured our ino[cent] and honest designes, and since all people in all places where wee have yet bin can attest our civill quiet peaseable behaviour farre different from that of Rebellion and tumultuous persons let Trueth be bold and all the world know the real Foundations of pretended giult, Wee appeale to the Country itselfe what and of what nature their Oppressions have bin or by what Caball and mistery the designes of many of those whom wee call great men have bin transacted and caryed on, but let us trace these men in Authority and Favour to whose hands the dispensation of the Countries wealth has been committed; let us observe the sudden Rise of their Estates composed with the Quality in which they first entered this Country Or the Reputation

they have held here amongst wise and discerning men, And lett us see wither their extractions and Education have not bin vile, And by what pretence of learning and vertue they could soe soon [come] into Employments of so great Trust and consequence, let us consider their sudden advancement and let us also consider wither any Publick work for our safety and defence or for the Advancement and propagation of Trade, liberall Arts or sciences is here Extant in any [way] adquate to our vast chardg, now let us compare these things togit[her] and see what sponges have suckt up the Publique Treasure and wither it hath not bin privately contrived away by unworthy Favourites and juggling Parasites whose tottering Fortunes have bin repaired and supported at the Publique chardg, now if it be so Judge what greater giult can bee then to offer to pry into these and to unriddle the misterious wiles of a powerful Cabal let all people Judge what can be of more dangerous Import then to suspect the soe long Safe proceedings of Some of our Grandees and wither People may with safety open their Eyes in soe nice a Concerne.

Concerns About Indians

Another main article of our Giult is our open and manifest aversion of all, not onely the Foreign but the protected and Darling Indians, this wee are informed is Rebellion of a deep dye For that both the Governour and Councell are by Colonell Coales Assertion bound to defend the [Indian] Queen and the Appamatocks with their blood. Now whereas we doe declare and can prove that they have bin for these Many years enemies to the King and Country, Robbers and Theeves and Invaders of his Majesties Right and our Interest and Estates, but yet have by persons in Authority bin defended and protected even against His Majesties loyall Subjects and that in soe high a Nature that even the Complaints and oaths of his Majesties Most loyall Subjects in a lawfull Manner proffered by them against those barbarous Outlaws have bin by ye right honourable Governour rejected and ye Delinquents from his presence dismissed not only with pardon and indemnity but with all incouragement and favour, Their Fire Arms soe destructfull to us and by our lawes prohibited, Commanded to be restored them, and open Declaration before Witness made That they must have Ammunition although directly contrary to our law, Now what greater giult can be then to oppose and indeavour the destruction of these Honest quiet neighbours of ours. . . .

Another Article of our Giult is To Assert all those neighbour Indians as well as others to be outlawed, wholly unqualified for the benefitt and Protection of the law, For that the law does reciprocally protect and punish, and that all people offending must either

in person or Estate make equivalent satisfaction or Restitution according to the manner and merit of ye Offences Debts or Trespasses; Now since the Indians cannot according to the tenure and forme of any law to us known be prosecuted, Seised or Complaind against, Their Persons being difficulty distinguished or known, Their many nations languages, and their subterfuges such as makes them incapable to make us Restitution or satisfaction would it not be very giulty to say They have bin unjustly defended and protected these many years.

If it should be said that the very foundation of all these disasters the Grant of the Beaver trade to the Right Honourable Governour was illegall and not granteable by any power here present as being a monopoly, were not this to deserve the name of Rebell and Traytor.

Judge therefore all wise and unprejudiced men who may or can faithfully or truly with an honest heart attempt ye country's good, their vindication and libertie without the aspersion of Traitor and Rebell, since as soe doing they must of necessity gall such tender and dear concernes, But to manifest Sincerity and loyalty to the World, and how much wee abhorre those bitter names, may all the world know that we doe unanimously desire to represent our sad and heavy grievances to his most sacred Majestie as our Refuge and Sanctuary, where wee doe well know that all our Causes will be impartially heard and Equall Justice administered to all men.

The Declaration of the People

For having upon specious pretences of Publick works raised unjust Taxes upon the Commonalty for the advancement of private Favourits and other sinister ends but noe visible effects in any measure adequate.

For not having durement the long time of his Government in any measure advanced this hopefull Colony either by Fortification, Townes or Trade.

For having abused and rendered Contemptible the Majesty of Justice, of advancing to places of judicature scandalous and Ignorant favourits.

For having wronged his Majesties Prerogative and Interest by assuming the monopoly of the Beaver Trade.

By having in that unjust gaine Bartered and sould his Majesties Country and the lives of his Loyal Subjects to the Barbarous Heathen.

For haveing protected favoured and Imboldened the Indians against his Majesties most Loyall subjects never contriveing requireing or appointing any due or proper meanes of satisfaction for their many Invasions Murthers and Robberies Committed upon us.

For having, when the Army of the English was Just upon the Track of the Indians, which now in all

places Burne Spoyle and Murder, and when wee might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open Hostility for having expressly Countermanded and sent back our Army by passing his word for the peaceable demeanour of the said Indians, who immediately prosecuted their evill Intentions Committing horrid Murders and Robberies in all places being protected by the said Engagement and word pass'd of him the said S'r William Berkley, having ruined and made desolate a great part of his Majesties Country, have now drawne themselves into such obscure and remote places and are by their successes soe imboldened and confirmed and by their Confederacy soe strengthened that the cries of Blood are in all places and the Terroure and consternation of the People soe great, that they are now become not only a difficult, but a very formidable Enemy who might with Ease have been destroyed &c. When upon the Loud Outcries of Blood the Assembly had with all care raised and framed an Army for the prevention of future Mischiefs and safeguard of his Majesties Colony.

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*"All people in all places where wee
have yet bin can attest our civill
quiet peaseable behaviour farre
different from that of Rebellion."*

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For having with only the privacy of some few favourits without acquainting the People, only by the Alteration of a Figure forged a Commission by wee know not what hand, not only without but against the Consent of the People, for raising and effecting of Civill Warrs and distractions, which being happily and without Bloodshedd prevented.

For haveing the second tyme attempted the same thereby, calling downe our Forces from the defence of the Frontiers, and most weake Exposed Places, for the prevention of civill Mischief and Ruine amongst ourselves, whilst the barbarous Enemy in all places did Invade murder and spoyle us his Majesties most faithfull subjects.

Of these the aforesaid Articles wee accuse S'r William Berkely, as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one, who hath Traiterously attempted, violated and Injured his Majesties Interest here, by the losse of a great Part of his Colony, and many of his Faithfull and Loyall subjects by him betrayed, and in a barbarous and shamefull manner exposed to the Incursions and murthers of the Heathen.

And we further declare these the Ensueing Persons in this List, to have been his wicked, and pemi-

tious Councillors, Aiders and Assisters against the Commonality in these our Cruell Commotions

SIR HENRY CHICHERLY, KNT.,	JOS. BRIDGER,
COL. CHARLES WORMLEY,	WM. CLABOURNE,
PHIL. DALOWELL,	THOS. HAWKINS, JUNI'R,
ROBERT BEVERLY,	WILLIAM SHERWOOD,
ROBERT LEE,	JOS. PAGE, CLERK,
THOS. BALLARD,	JO. CLIFFE, "
WILLIAM COLE,	HUBBERD FARRELL,
RICHARD WHITACRE,	JOHN WEST,
NICHOLAS SPENCER,	THOS. READE.
MATHEW KEMP,	

And wee doe further demand, That the said S^r William Berkeley, with all the Persons in this List, be forthwith delivered upp, or surrender themselves, within foure dayes, after the notice hereof, or otherwise wee declare, as followeth, That in whatsoever house, place, or shipp, any of the said Persons shall reside, be hide, or protected, Wee doe declare, that the Owners, masters, or Inhabitants of the said places, to be Confederates, and Traitors to the People, and the Estates of them, as alsoe of all the afore-said Persons to be Confiscated, This wee the Commons of Virginia doe declare desiring a prime Union among ourselves, that wee may Joyntly, and with one Accord defend ourselves against the Common Enemy. And Let not the Faults of the guilty, be the Reproach of the Innocent, or the Faults or Crimes of ye Oppressors divide and separate us, who have suffered by theire oppressions.

These are therefore in his Majesties name, to Command you forthwith to seize, the Persons above mentioned, as Traytors to ye King and Countrey, and them to bring to Middle Plantation, and there to secure them, till further Order, and in Case of opposition, if you want any other Assistance, you are forthwith to demand it in the Name of the People of all the Counties of Virginia

[signed] NATH BACON, Gen^l.
By the Consent of ye People.

VIEWPOINT 9B

Bacon's Rebellion Is a Treasonous Insurrection (1676)

William Berkeley (1606–1677)

William Berkeley was appointed colonial governor of Virginia by King Charles I in 1641, and governed the colony from 1642 to 1652. Reappointed by King

Charles II in 1660, he served again as governor until 1676. He gained popularity among the colonists in the early years of his governorship by leading them to victory against Indians in the Second Powhatan War of 1644–1646, and by promoting economic development in Virginia's interior. But by the 1670s many people, especially from the poorer western districts of the colony, were accusing Berkeley of corruption and favoritism in granting political favors, offices, and land grants to his friends. Efforts to redress their grievances peacefully were thwarted in part because Berkeley chose not to hold elections to the House of Burgesses, Virginia's representative assembly, between 1661 and 1676.

The rumblings of discontent erupted in 1675 over the issue of Indians in the frontier. Several hundred of Virginia's poorer residents formed an impromptu army and placed Nathaniel Bacon, a young, newly arrived English aristocrat, in command of an unauthorized April 1676 mission to attack Indians. Berkeley responded in May by declaring Bacon and his followers traitors, and also calling on new elections for the House of Burgesses. At the end of May he wrote a "Declaration and Remonstrance," from which this viewpoint is taken, in which he defends his record as governor, including his refusal to grant military commissions to Bacon.

Bacon later drove Berkeley out of Jamestown, Virginia's capital, and seemed to be on the verge of taking political control of the colony when he died suddenly in October 1676. Berkeley was able to regain power and execute 23 of the rebels, but shortly afterwards was recalled to England. Bacon's Rebellion had two major effects on American colonial history. One was that no future colonial governor would ever hold as much power as Berkeley. The other was the swift development of a labor replacement for indentured servants (who had participated heavily in Bacon's Rebellion). The new source of labor was slaves imported from Africa.

What are Berkeley's main points in the defense of his governing record? Why is Nathaniel Bacon a traitor, according to Berkeley? What policy toward Indians does Berkeley propose?

The declaration and Remonstrance of Sir William Berkeley his most sacred Majesties Governor and Captain Generall of Virginia.

Sheweth That about the yeare 1660 Coll. [Samuel] Mathews the then Governor dyed and then in consideration of the service I had don the Country, in defending them from, and destroying great numbers of the Indians, without the loss of three men, in all the time that warr lasted, and in contemplation of the equall and uncorrupt Justice I had distributed to all

From "Declaration and Remonstrance" by William Berkeley, 26 May 1676 (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, series 4). Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

men, Not onely the Assembly but the unanimous votes of all the Country, concurred to make me Governor in a time, when if the [Puritan] Rebels in England had prevailed, I had certainly dyed for accepting itt, 'twas Gentlemen an unfortunate Love, shewed to me, for to shew myselfe gratefull for this, I was willing to accept of this Governement againe, when by my gracious Kings favour I might have had other places much more proffitable, and lesse toyle-some then this hath beene. Since that time that I returned into the Country, I call the great God, Judge of all things in heaven and earth to wittness, that I doe not know of any thing relateive to this Country, wherein I have acted unjustly, corruptly, or negligently, in distributeing equall Justice to all men, and takeing all possible care to preserve their proprietyes, and defend them from their barbarous enimies.

But for all this, perhaps I have erred in things I know not of, if I have I am soe conscious of humane frailty, and my owne defects, that I will not onely acknowledge them, but repent of, and amend them, and not like the Rebell Bacon persist in an error, onely because I have comitted itt, and tells me in diverse of his Letters that itt is not for his honnor to confess a fault, but I am of opinion that itt is onely for divells to be incorrigible, and men of principles like the worst of divells, and these he hath, if truth be reported to me, of diverse of his expressions of Atheisme, tending to take away all Religion and Laws.

Nathaniel Bacon's Treason

And now I will state the Question betwixt me as a Governor and Mr. Bacon, and say that if any enimies should invade England, any Councillor Justice of peace, or other inferiour officer, might raise what forces they could to protect his Majesties subjects, But I say againe, if after the Kings knowledge of this invasion, any the greatest peere of England, should raise forces against the kings prohibition this would be now, and ever was in all ages and Nations accompted treason. Nay I will goe further, that though this peere was truly zealous for the preservation of his King, and subjects, and had better and greater abillityes then all the rest of his fellow subjects, to doe his King and Country service, yett if the King (though by false information) should suspect the contrary, itt were treason in this Noble peere to proceed after the King's prohibition, and for the truth of this I appeale to all the laws of England, and the Laws and constitutions of all other Nations in the world, And yett further itt is declared by this Parliament that the taking up Armes for the King and Parliament is treason, for the event shewed that what ever the pretence was to seduce ignorant and well affected people, yett the end was ruinous both to King and people, as this will be if not prevented, I doe therefore againe declair

that Bacon proceedeing against all Laws of all Nations modern and ancient, is Rebell to his sacred Majesty and this Country, nor will I insist upon the swearing of men to live and dye togeather, which is treason by the very words of the Law.

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*"I doe therefore againe declair that
Bacon . . . is Rebell to his sacred
Majesty and this Country."*

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Now my friends I have lived 34 yeares amongst you, as uncorrupt and dilligent as ever Governor was, Bacon is a man of two yeares amongst you, his person and qualities unknowne to most of you, and to all men else, by any vertuous action that ever I heard of, And that very action which he boasts of, was sickly and fooleshy, and as I am informed treacherously carried to the dishonour of the English Nation, yett in itt, he lost more men then I did in three yeares Warr, and by the grace of God will putt myselfe to the same daingers and troubles againe when I have brought Bacon to acknowledge the Laws are above him, and I doubt not but by God's assistance to have better success then Bacon hath had, the reason of my hopes are, that I will take Councill of wiser men then my selfe, but Mr. Bacon hath none about him, but the lowest of the people.

Yett I must further enlarge, that I cannot without your helpe, doe any thinge in this but dye in defence of my King, his laws, and subjects, which I will cheerefully doe, though alone I doe itt, and considering my poore fortunes, I can not leave my poore Wife and friends a better legacy then by dyeing for my King and you: for his sacred Majesty will easeily distinguish betweene Mr. Bacons actions and myne, and Kinges have long Armes, either to reward or punish.

Now after all this, if Mr. Bacon can shew one precedent or example where such actings in any Nation what ever, was approved of, I will mediate with the King and you for a pardon, and excuse for him, but I can shew him an hundred examples where brave and great men have beene putt to death for gaineing Victorys against the Comand of their Superiors.

Berkeley's Indian Policy

Lastly my most assured friends I would have preserved those Indians that I knew were howlerly att our mercy, to have beene our spyas and intelligence, to finde out our bloody enimies, but as soone as I had the least intelligence that they alsoe were trecherous enimies, I gave out Commissions to distroy them all

as the Commissions themselves will speake itt.

To conclude, I have don what was possible both to friend and enemy, have granted Mr. Bacon three pardons, which he hath scornfully rejected, suppoasing himselfe stronger to subvert then I and you to maineteyne the Laws, by which onely and Gods assisting grace and mercy, all men must hope for peace and safety. I will add noe more though much more is still remaineing to Justifie me and condemne Mr. Bacon, but to desier that this declaration may be read in every County Court in the Country, and that a Court be presently called to doe itt, before the Assembly meet, That your approbation or dissatisfaction of this declaration may be knowne to all the Country, and the Kings Councell to whose most revered Judgments itt is submitted, Given the xxixth day of May, a happy day in the xxviiiith yeare of his most sacred Majesties Reigne, Charles the second, who God grant long and prosperously to Reigne, and lett all his good subjects say Amen.

For Further Reading

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VIEWPOINT 10A

Slavery Is Immoral (1700)

Samuel Sewall (1652–1730)

The key to profitability in the early American colonies was the raising and selling of cash crops, especially tobacco in Virginia and Maryland and rice in South Carolina. However, successful cultivation of these crops required intensive labor—something in short supply in the thinly populated colonies. Some colonists enslaved Indians captured in wars, but this solution proved unworkable, in part because many Indians quickly succumbed to diseases brought over by the colonists. Another attempted solution was indentured servitude (see viewpoints 8A and 8B), but this method of importing bound workers formed in its wake an impoverished white underclass of former servants—a development that often caused political

instability as seen in such upheavals as Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 (see viewpoints 9A and 9B).

A lasting solution to the colonies' labor shortage problem was finally found by importing black Africans as slaves. Since the early 1500s, Africans had been captured and transported to Spanish, Portuguese, and (later) British colonies in South America and the Caribbean. Although blacks were present in Virginia in 1619, it was not until the 1680s that they were imported in large numbers sufficient to begin to replace the white indentured servants as the main source of labor in Virginia, South Carolina, and other colonies. Unlike indentured servants, slaves were bound for life, lacked all legal and political rights, and their different skin color made escape much more difficult. By 1700 slavery was legal in all the English colonies in America, and Africans (mostly slaves) accounted for 15 percent of the population in southern colonies. Although legal in New England colonies, it was not as established or widespread as in colonies farther south.

Even though slavery did seem to many a lasting and workable solution to the colonies' labor shortage, the morality of slavery did not go unquestioned in colonial times. The following viewpoint is taken from one of the earliest antislavery pamphlets written in America. The author, Samuel Sewall, was a Puritan judge then serving on the Massachusetts Superior Court. He was one of the judges who condemned several people to death in the 1692 Salem witch trials, actions about which he later confessed error and remorse. In 1700 he became involved in a legal dispute with another judge, John Saffin, over the fate of a black slave Saffin refused to set free despite a contract calling for the slave's release. In defense of his position, Sewall wrote and circulated a pamphlet attacking slavery, *The Selling of Joseph a Memorial*, that was published in Boston in 1700.

What objections does Sewall have to slavery? How does he support his arguments? Is Sewall racially prejudiced against blacks, judging from this viewpoint? Explain your answer.

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.

The Numerousness of Slaves at this Day in the Province, and the Uneasiness of them under their Slavery hath put many upon thinking whether 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 Co-heirs, and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life. God hath given the