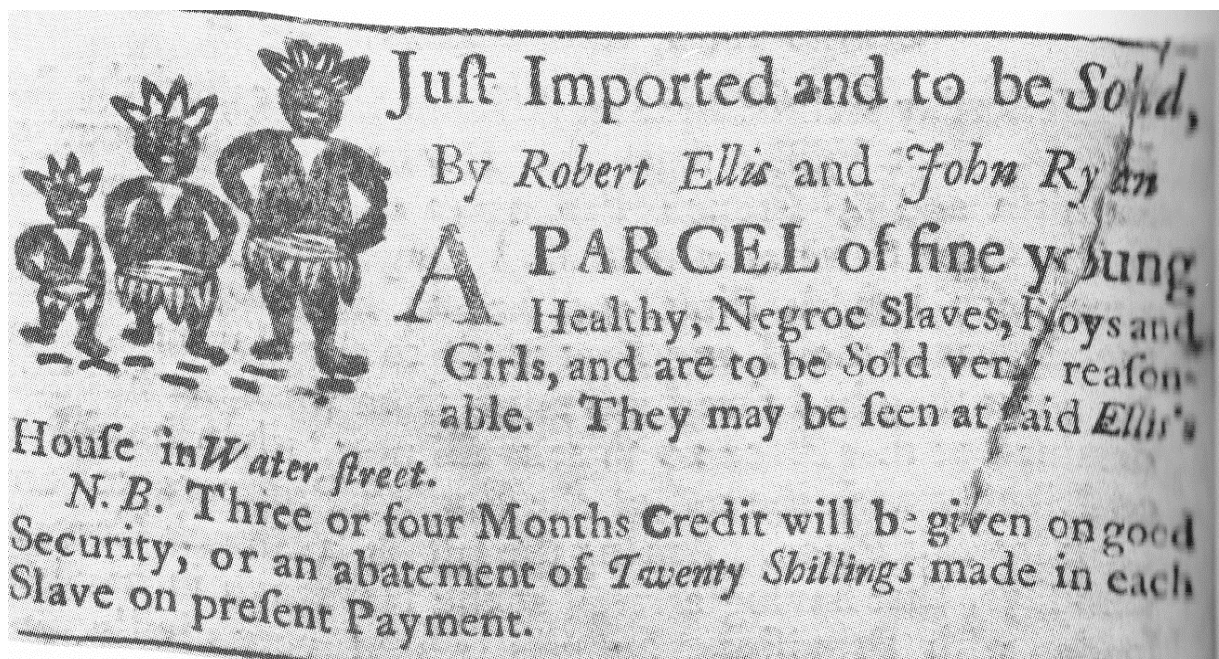


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Mémoire de Master 2 « Sciences humaines et sociales »

Mention : Histoire et Histoire de l'Art

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VASSA Gustavus, <i>The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa</i> , Vol. II, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp.212 , (source : <a href="http://antislavery.eserver.org">http://antislavery.eserver.org</a> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 9.79	

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace.* (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 56, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°1.**

We read in sacred writ that Adam was the first man, and Eve the first woman, created by God, in his own likeness, perfect, and placed in the garden of Eden, from whom descended all human beings, then where is the distinction? Being so placed, they were irresistably drawn by the involuntary volition of their own wills to partake of the forbidden fruit, for it was God's will, and that was irresistible. They could have no foretaste, or desire, but their maker's, therefore it was involuntary; it was by the lure of the serpent and design of their creator; yet they being perfectly free it must be the volition of their own wills, that they did thus partake of the forbidden fruit, which produced the knowledge of good and evil; corrupted the whole human race, and damned all mankind without any possible redemption, save only through the mercy of god himself. Adam, Eve, and their descendants, we have a regular history of, in the four first books of the holy bible, down to the Israelitish nation. Moses,

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace.* (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 58, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 2.**

*Now, as that part of the globe called Africa, is productive of much gold, I am led to form this idea, that the river Pison is emblematical of that quarter which is figuratively set forth as the land of Havillah, and being ranked as first in scripture, where do we find a reason to believe the inhabitants are an inferior race of beings? Some of the divine advocates for slavery, presume to say, that the negroes descended from Cain, who was cursed, and had a mark put upon him; that all his descendant are natural born slaves.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace.* (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 71, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 3.**

*When we ascended the bank, to our astonishment we discovered six or seven animals fastening a boat, and immediately made towards us. Consternation sat fixed upon every brow, and fear shook every frame; each member refused its office. However, home invited so urgently, that nature began to do her duty, we flew to the wood with precipitation. But Lo! when we had passed the borders and entered the body thereof, to our utter astonishment and dismay, instead of pursuers we found ourselves walleyed by thirty or forty more of the same pale race of white Vultures, whom to pass was impossible, we attempted without deliberation to force their ranks. But alas! we were unsuccessful, eleven out of fourteen were made captives, bound instantly, and notwithstanding our unintelligible intreaties, cries & lamentations, were hurried to their boat, and within five minutes were on board, gagged, and carried down the stream like a sluice; fastened down in the boat with cramped jaws, added to a horrid stench occasioned by filth and stinking fish; while all were groaning, crying and praying, but poor creatures to no effect.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace.* (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 74, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 4.**

*But in a short time I was forced into the hole, where I found my comrades, with about thirty more poor African wretches whom the ships crew had stolen from a neighboring tribe. These poor creatures were screaming, crying and wringing their hands, with prayers and ejaculations to the great Father for their deliverance. This group was composed of men, women and children, some little girls and boys, not more than six or seven years of age were shut up in a pen or sty, crying for food and water and their fathers and mothers.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 90-91, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 5.**

*Poor Blay was taken to the gunwale, and received 80 lashes, and was then put in chains, with a double weight of iron. At this treatment well may we cry out with Ezekiel--"Behold their abomination in the sight of the Lord," After a voyage of about five months, the vessel arrived at Barbadoes, in the West-Indies, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine, or one thousand seven hundred and sixty, with the slaves, who had not either died with disease, mourned themselves to death or starved; many of the children actually died with hunger, pent up in the same ship where midnight and beastly intoxication, bloated the miserable owner. The cries of the innocent African boy, destitute of the protection of a parent, if they reached the ears, could not penetrate the heart of a christian, so as to cause him to bestow a morcel of bread upon his infant captive, even enough to save his life. The slaves, consisting of about three hundred in number, including women and children, were carefully taken out of the ship and put into a large prison, or rather house of subjection. In this house we were all, above twelve years of age, chained together, and sat in large circles round the room, and put to picking oakum. A slave by the name of Syneyo, from the town of Yellow-Bonga, taken in the manner formerly described, and who was one of the Judges in that place, refused to work.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 129, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 6.**

*I listened to the foregoing account with delight, and notwithstanding my situation, I was overjoyed, to see a distant relative, and one that came from my native place; but even that joy gave me pain. I lay musing for some time, burst into tears and cried myself to sleep. When I awoke, it was almost sun-down. The black woman was gone. I felt worse than ever, as I had no one to speak to, and thirst suffocated me almost to death, and I was so sore, I could not rise up alone.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 136, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 7.**

*But during this battle, I can observe, that I felt no other sensation than that if they killed me, I should go to my great father the sun; therefore I courted death.*

*I stood upon the upper deck, exposed to all the enemies shot for about seven minutes, contemplating a meeting with my grand-father, who had gone before me. I was disappointed, for I received five wounds, and was conveyed to the surgeons apartment; on examination of which three were upon my head very slight, one on my ankle, where a musket ball passed through; the fifth was caused by a musket ball entering by the side of my back bone and lodging in my right hip. The surgeon tried to extricate the ball, but I not understanding the object shouted like a Loon, and would not permit him to probe the wound.*

*In consequence of my firing without orders, instead of punishment with death, as would have been the fate of one doing the same, understandingly, the captain gave me the honorable nick-name of Jeffrey. I say honorable, as I was named after Sir Jeffrey Amherst, General and commander in chief of the expedition for the reduction of Canada, the year before.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nicknamed Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 143, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 8 :**

*Here I bid adieu to the British fleet forever, as I was sold to a man belonging to Old Milford, west side of Oyster river. His name was John Burrell, a proffessed puritan. The snow was about two inches deep, and I had on a thin linen jacket and one pair of trowsers or sailor's kilts and no shoes. I was the first night put upon the naked hearth to sleep, but could not enjoy the sweets of repose, for a British man of war was a palace in comparison to my present situation, in which I had been upwards of two years. The next night I met the same fare, which was continued for about two weeks. My wounds, which I received from the Spaniards, broke out newly and I almost perished with cold and hunger, and as this puritan christain could not condescend to give me any thing to eat but old crusts and bones, such as people generally throw to their dogs, and nothing to sleep upon but a cold stove, not even a blanket or old quilt could be allowed. He would read the bible and pray both night and morning, for all mankind, recommend all to the sovereign mercy of the father of the universe; sit down to a good breakfast and when he had glutted himself he would throw down a bone upon the hearth before the block where I was allowed to sit, and sometimes it would be accompanied by a crust of bread, which would all perhaps make six ounces of coarse food.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 146-147, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 9.**

*My puritan master gave me two or three strokes with his whip. When they handed me my bones to pick I could not eat, and they thought I was sulkey. me the bone, took his horse-whip, and lashed me until I knawed it like a dog. When this was over, I was ordered to go about a quarter of a mile barefoot to get some turnips, as I could not move fast, it seemed as if it would freeze my feet, The keenness of the pain caused me to make use of every exertion to keep the frost from nipping my toes. In the mean-time some one of the family had drawn some beer or cider, I went to drink some of it, my mistress saw me and knocked me down with the distiff and ordered me to go to chopping wood. I not being used to chopping, cut my foot, it bled much and I bound it up with some husks, then laid down between two logs. While I lay in this situation, one Mr. Samuel Eals came and took me up, and very charitably led me into the house, told Burrell that such abuse was inhuman and unchristian; he also threatened to complain of him to the authority.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 153, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 10.**

*Sometimes I got a flogging for freezing my feet while I was foddering and cutting the ice out of the watering place. And one day, while I was getting corn up stairs, I designedly pushed his boy down stairs, for while I had the basket upon my shoulder he began whipping me, & chirping to me, as would a driver to his horse. For this I was knocked down stairs, basket, corn and all shared the same fate; and to complete my punishment, the next morning I received fifty lashes with a horse-whip. Next I was sold to Phineas Baldwin, of the town of Old Milford. I continued with him until summer, or rather spring, when I went to live with his son Phineas, who had two small children to tend. In his nursery I was engaged until the last of May, when I was sold to Jones Green, of the same place. Green did not whip me but about twice in a week, except now and then a kicking. From Green I was transferred to one Murrier, a tanner, where I remained until September, at which time the widow Mary Stiles, of Woodbury, Connecticut, bought me.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 154, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 11.**

*This was a glorious era in my life, as widow Stiles was one of the finest women in the world; she possessed every christian virtue. This same woman was the mother of Benjamin Stiles, Esq. whose illustrious character is rewarded in the heart of every person living who knew him. Here the prospects of the negro boy began to wear a more pleasing appearance. To mention all the incidents of my life during my residence in this family, for sixteen years, would make a volume; therefore I will only mention a few. This good lady learned me to read.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 157, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 12.**

*Worcester commanded the British under the command of general How, who attacked us. We beat them back; the fight was continued all day, and the victory was sometime doubtful.*

*From thence we marched to White-Plains, I devoted myself to study, making some philosophical observations on vegetation & c.*

*From White-plains, we marched to Fort Montgomery, at which place we remained until June. From thence we proceeded to Mud-Fort, where we encamped until August.*

*In the latter part of the month of August the Fort was attacked, and after every exertion we could possibly make, we were obliged to surrender to superior force; and we retreated to Kingsbridge. Soon after our arrival at Kingbridge, New York was evacuated, and we entered the city under the command of Col. Owin, from Rhode Island.*

*However previous to the evacuation of New York, I was one of a hundred, selected for the purpose of plundering a certain British Store, which was completed without the loss of a single man [...].*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 163, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 13.**

*While I stood there anxiously waiting for their return, I suddenly discovered a man riding up to me not more than eight rods distant on full speed with a pistol in his hand, and ordered me to lay down my arms. But not being so instructed by my officers you may well suppose that I did not. At first I thought he was a Jerseyman and was attempting to fool me, as they had played some such pranks before, upon some of the soldiers belonging to our line--therefore in return I demanded to whom I was to surrender and by what authority he demanded it.--he said I must surrender to him who demanded me in the name of the King his majesty of Great Britain. I then plainly told him that neither him or his King's majesty would get my arms unless he took them by force. He immediately cocked his pistol and fired; I fell flat upon the ground in order to dodge his ball, and did so effectually do it, that he missed me. I rose, he drew his sword and rode up to me so quick that I had no time to take aim before he struck my gun barrel with his cutlass, and cut it almost one third off--also cut off the bone of my middle finger on my hand, as he struck the horse jumped before he could wheal upon me, again altho' my gun barrel was cut, I fired and killed him, as he fell I caught his horse and sword. He was a British light horseman in disguise.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, p. 169, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 14.**

*Finally I was in the battle at Cambridge, White plains, Monmouth, Princeton, Newark, Froggs-point, Horseneck where I had a ball pass through my knapsack. All which battels the reader can obtain a more perfect account of in history, than I can give. At last we returned to West point and were discharged; as the war was over.--Thus was I, a slave for five years fighting for liberty.--After we were disbanded, I returned to my old master at Woodbury, with whom I lived one year; my services in the American war, having emancipated me from further slavery, and from being bartered or sold.--My master consented that I might go where I pleased and seek my fortune. Hearing flattering accounts of the new state of Vermont; I left Woodbury, and travelled as far as the town of Lenox, in Massachusetts, where for the first time I made a bargain as a freeman for labor; I let myself to a Mr. Elisha Orsborn for one month, at the price of five dollars.*

**BRACE Jeffrey, *The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nick-named Jeffrey Brace*, (Electronic Edition), St Albans, Printed by Harry Whitney, 1810, pp. 200-201, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 15.**

*And now after having passed through so many varying scenes of life, and having lost my beloved companion, as before mentioned, and being left as it were, alone in this world. I have concluded it my duty to myself, to all Africans, who can read, to the Church, in short to all mankind, to thus publish these my Memoirs, that all may see how poor Africans have been, and perhaps now are abused by a christian and enlightened people. Being old and blind, almost destitute of property, it may bring me something to make me comfortable in my declining days, but above all, it is my anxious wish, that this simple narrative, may be the means of opening the hearts of those who hold slaves and move them to consent to give them that freedom which they themselves enjoy, and which all mankind have an equal right to possess.*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 4-5, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°1.**

*I say for the Truth, and Friends sake, these things are exposed, and I my self likewise , although not without some fear and trembling, for fear I should hurt Truth's cause, which is God's cause, I being and seeing myself so very unfit almost everyway, as a Man, yet I can truly say as a Christian, I believ'd it my Duty, but made not haste, for the lord my good God, the Truth knows, that I have prayed unto him earnestly, many Days and Nights, with great concern of mind, that he would be pleased to raise up and concern some worthy Friend or other, of more repute and Esteem amongst Men; for I know my self to be so very mean and contemptible in the sight of Men, almost in every respect, so that I might and do much question the Event, but shall leave that to the Lord, to whom faithfulness and obedience is required; and no true peace without it. For I have found long ago, the saying of Truth verified, He that loves anything more than me, is not worthy of me: I have often thought of Moses's Prayer, and Gideon's request, when the Lord was about to send them to deliver his People from Captivity, and many other worthy Men, a , and Women too, which are mentioned in Holy writ, and many Thousands more no doubt, which we have no Account of there, for it is believ'd, we have but a very small part of what have been written, and yet full enough, if we will but be faithful; my dear, tender and well beloved Friends, I beg, I pray, and beseech us, let us be more faithful I intreat, in bowels of Love, let us be faithful, let us be faithful to God in all things; and then I know blessed be his pure Name, which is the Truth, that when the Scourge shall come, he will secure us in Life or in Death; and that will be enough for us, so be it, saith my soul, and is in humble request.*

BENJAMIN LAY.

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 11-12, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°2.**

*My dear Friends, I beg, I would interact, in all Humility, with all earnestness of mind, on the bended Knees of my Body and Soul; willingly and with all readiness, sincerely, if that would do, that you would turn to the Lord, the Blessed Truth, in your Hearts, for Direction, for Counsel and Advice; that you may quit your selves like Men, honorably, of this so Hellish a Practice. Especially, you that have the Word of Reconciliation to preach to the*

*Children of Men; and if you have any true tenderness of the Love of God in you, as I right well know, blessed be the Name of the Lord, all true Ministers have, you my dear Friends, consider waighly of these important concerns, and quit yourselves of yourselves and Slaves; for a good example in you might do a great deal of good, as a bad one will do, and has done a very great deal of mischief to the Truth; for the eyes of the People are upon you, some for good, and some for Evil. And my Friends, you that have Slaves, and do minister to others in our Meetings, consider I intreat and beseech you concerning this thing in particular.*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), p. 25, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°3.***

*If the Case be thus, dear Brethren, as to be sure it is, how shall we stand our Ground? our Ground, I say. It is true we may keep our Meeting Houses for a time, and we may join Forces with them that are in the Negro Practice; in strict Unity among our selves, and with any other dear Friends of our own Mind, Relations, Customers, Chapmen, Workmen, or others that we can have any Influence over, Quakers or no Quakers, if they will but come to Meetings and do as we do, if not, say as we say, and plead for said sad Hell-Practice; or atleast, Gentleman-like, connive, palliate and dissemble to extenuate the Crime; and we will with all our Might, Interest and Strength, put forth, keep out, and hinder or prevent coming into our Synagogues, any that will oppose, or condemn our Practice, or us for continuing in it.*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), p. 37, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°4.**

*These Wretches being in Town in this miserable Condition, with not a Crum of good or bad to put into their Mouths, ready to drop as they walked or crawled along the Streets, they many of them hearing of us, for we were very much known amongst them, they would come to our Door, if they came before we were gone to Meeting, and there they would stand as thick as Bees, but much more like Pharaoh's lean Kine, and I may say their Appearance was dismal enough to move a very hard Heart; so we used to give them a little of something at Times, as we found some Freedom, considering our Circumstances; But if we gave to some, and did not to all, as to be sure we could not, oh how the poor Creatures would look. I say many Hundreds would come and flock about us; and them that receiv'd, O how thankful, with bended Knees; but them that did not, what Words can set forth the dejected sinking Looks that appeared in their Countenances. Shall I ever forget them?*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), p. 38, , (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°5.**

*Here Friends you may see and understand the powerful Influence long Custom, Conveniency, Intimacy and Profit has to insinuate itself into our Affections; for I have often heard my dear Wife say in her Life-time, and express the Danger she was in when living in Barbadoes, of being leavened into the very Nature of the Inhabitants, Pride and Oppression: So that dear Creature, she seeing the Evil and the Danger, she was willing and desirous to leave the Island, and indeed so was I.*

*But, my Friends, here I must come to that that is not very agreeable to Flesh and Blood, which is Confession of Sins: For although I never was Owner of a Slave myself, and all Friends in Barbadoes could never persuade me to purchase one, I humbly bless the Lord my good God for that, and this is now my Comfort and dear Joy and sweet Experience: Yet I must confess, and I have not full Peace without it [...].*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 56-57, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°6.**

*Isa. 61. 1. Is this preaching glad tideings to the meek, as many of them are, and hind up the broken hearted; to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and opening of the Prison, to them that are bound; and yet keep them in double Bondage, Body and Soul, them and theirs forever more. If there be greater contradiction under the Sun; many dear and tender Friends are mistaken, as well as myself.*

*Ver. 2. But how does Slave Merchants, proclaim the acceptable Year of the Lord? To their Slaves the day of Vengeance they may, and a long Day it is; but I believe the Lord will repay it, tho' he suffers it long: But I pray and beseech you; you hard-hearted Ministers, of all persuasions in Church and State, that are Christians; how do you comfort all that mourn, and are in Misery, as great for aught I can learn as any are that be under the very worst of Turks, Jews or Infidels, in the known World.*

*But my dear and tender Friends, how does this cruelty and partiality agree with our Principles as a People, which have been preaching up Perfections in holiness of Life, for near a Hundred Years, and the universal Love of God to all People, of all colors and Countries, without respect of persons: Have we forgot this blessed Testimony for which our dear Friends suffered in Old and New England?*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), p. 58,*(source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°7.**

*How did William Penn and William Mead, at their Tryal, in the Old-Baily, London, like such arbitrary Proceedings, as well as many, yea very many more of our Dear and Worthy Friends and Elders, in the beginning, before and by wicked unjust Judges, in Old-England and New-England too, in particular, as the Book of Sufferings largely sets forth, writ by George Bishop. But these things are forgotten by many, that are doing the same thing themselves, according to their power and ability: Let any Friend read G. Whitehead's Account of Friends Sufferings, which is written in his Works. How many profuse, profligate Creatures, have come in Servants to this Country, which have been stated not only as Members, but Ministers in full Unity, in less time then I have been here; it is not intolerable then, that three or four Men that has the Mark of the Beast, and the Number of his Name, Slave-Keepers, upon them in their Foreheads should have the whole Rule of Discipline, and Govern contrary to all Justice and Equity. Time for such old rusty Candlesticks to be moved out of their Places, who have disowned many less Nocents then themselves; if it is not so now, who will make me a Liar, and my Speech nothing worth. Job. 24. 2, 3, 4, 25.*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 61-62, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°8.**

*I suppose the pure holy eternal Being, which made of one Blood all Nations of Men to dwell upon the face of the Earth, did not make others to be Slaves to us, any more then we to be so to them; if God has appointed the Bounds of their Habitations, What Man fearing God, dare to remove or receive them when they are removed?*

*How did many Dear Friends like to be banished from their Native Countries, from Wives, Children and Friends, although but for a few Years, both from Old and New England especially? are all these Things forgotten by us, and a thousand times more; are the Progeny in this Age, doing the same Things themselves, which their Progenitors so greatly complained of, and justly too; but this Progeny have been and are acting a Thousand times worse, and more cruelly; for our dear and worthy Friends and Progenitors were Banished from England but for a few Years, and where they might and did Preach and help forward the Gospel of Christ; but the poor Slaves and their Progeny, have been Stolen, Banished, Tortured and Tormented, for ever more; to the great unutterable hinderance of the Blessed Gospel of Peace and Salvation, for which our dear Progenitors, suffered so deeply by their Persecutors.*

*And this now is carried on, encouraged and done by them, that profess to be lead by the same pure Holy Spirit, as their Progenitors were.*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 81-82, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°9.**

*And now my dear Friends and others, you that came in Servants to this Country, and Slaves, although for a short time by your own Consent too, for you to plead for Negroe-Keeping, is almost intolerable.*

*I say, you that came here poor, vile, miserable wretches, destitute and folorn, and here you were kept to hard Labour, which was good for you, and brought you to a sense of your filthy, abominable, undone, and woful cursed condition which you, many of ye had been in, then O then many of you came to consider of your ways, and were wise in turning to the Lord, into your own Hearts by the moving and rising of his own blessed Light, Life, Grace and pure Love there in your own Souls, which was as a Light shining in a Dark Place, your Hearts dark indeed, by reason of Sin, and that filthy Life which you had lived; you came to be burthened with it, and seek relief in turning to the Lord in your Hearts, where he was and is to be found, blessed be his pure Name which is his Essence or Divine Nature, manifest within Men; so when you came to this good experience, you came to love the Society and follow the good example of our worthy Elders, very commendable in you to do, which first settled in this Country; you came to live sober lives, and by your industry, the Almighty favouring, some attained to very large possessions here, being a large Country and few People, but now more numerous, so no occasion for Negro-Slaves [...].*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 203-204, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°10.***

*How horrible is the Uncleaness, Mortality, if not Murder, that the Ships are guilty of that bring great Crouds of these miserable Men and Women. Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous Usage of our Friends and Kinsfolk in Africa, it might not be unseasonable to enquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the Africans to become Slaves amongst ourselves. And it may be a question whether all the Benefit received by Negro Slaves, will balance the Acompt of Cash laid out upon them; and for the Redemption of our own enslaved Friends out of Africa. Besides all the Persons and Estates that have perished there.*

*Obj. I. These Blackamores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery. Gen. 9. 25, 26, 27.*

*Ans. Of all Offices, one would not beg this; viz. Uncall'd for, to be an Executioner of the Vindictive Wrath of God; the extent and duration of which is to us uncertain. If this ever was a Commission; How do we know but that it is long since out of Date? Many have found it to their Cost, that a Prophetical Denunciation of Judgment against a Person or People, would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, Hazael might justify himself in all he did against his Master, and the Israelites, from 2 Kings 8. 10, 12.*

*But it is possible that by cursory reading, this Text may have been mistaken. For Canaan is the Person Cursed three times over, without the mentioning of Cham. Good Expositors suppose the Curse entailed on him, and that this Prophetie was accomplished in the Extirpation of the Canaanites. Vide Pareum. Whereas the Blackmores are not descended of Canaan, but of Cusb. 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 their Promised Conversion ought to be prayed for. Jer. 13. 23. Can the Ethiopian change his Skin? This shews that Black Men are the Posterity of Cush: Who time out of mind have been distinguished by their Colour. And for want of the true, Ovid assigns a fabulous cause of it.*

**LAY Benjamin, *All Slave-keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates*, Arizona State University, Antislavery literature project, (1ère ed. 1737), pp. 205, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n°11.**

*Obj. 2. The Nigers are brought out of a Pagan 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.*

*Answ. For aught is known, their Wars are much such as were between Jacob's Sons and their Brother Jacob's. 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 come Gentlemen should go down to the Brewsters to take the Air, and Fish: And a stronger Party from Hall 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.*

**MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 3, (source papier) Annexe n°1.**

Franklin, were unable to ascend the ladder. For all these reasons, Moraley's report provides a quite unusual perspective on life in America during the early decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Moraley's travels in North America form the central event in his autobiography. Then, after spending nearly five years in the New World between 1729 and 1734, Moraley returned to England, where he wrote and published his *Voyage and Adventures* in 1743. As the title suggests, he designed his story both to inform and to entertain. After sketching a few incidents from his early life, he describes the persuasive agent who convinced him to sign an indenture as a bound servant and then the ocean voyage, his sale in Philadelphia, and his subsequent service as a "Voluntary Slave" (64).<sup>5</sup> Moraley's account brims over with observations on the middle colonies a half-century after their settlement by the English. He describes the geography and climate, the flora and fauna, and the customs, religions, superstitions, material conditions, and daily life of the inhabitants. Of particular interest are his comments about servants, slaves, and Native Americans—groups often ignored by early travelers. To enhance the entertainment value of his narrative, Moraley includes three short stories, examples of tales he might have told to pass the time on board ship or to regale his customers. Moraley's

4. Two accounts left by poorer eighteenth-century Americans are Israel R. Potter, *The Life and Remarkable Adventures of Israel R. Potter*, ed. Leonard Kriegel (1824; reprint, New York: Corinth Books, 1962); and Frank D. Prager, ed., *The Autobiography of John Fitch* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976). Autobiographies of indentured servants are especially rare, but see Daniel B. Shea, ed., "Some Account of the Fore Part of the Life of Elizabeth Ashbridge," in *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives*, ed. William L. Andrews et al. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 117–80; James Annesley, *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman, Returned from Thirteen Years' Slavery in America: A Story Founded on Truth and Addressed Equally to the Head and Heart* (London: Freeman, 1763); and Peter Williamson, *The Life and Curious Adventures of Peter Williamson, Who Was Carried Off from Aberdeen and Sold for a Slave* (Aberdeen: n.p., 1804). A few bound servants left letters and journals; see John Harrower, *The Journal of John Harrower, an Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia, 1773–1776*, ed. Edward Miles Riley (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963); Daniel Kent, *Letters and Other Papers of Daniel Kent, Emigrant and Redemptioner*, ed. Ella K. Bernard (Baltimore: n.p., 1904); Elizabeth Sprigs, "Elizabeth Sprigs to John Sprigs (1756)," in Isabel Calder, ed., *Colonial Captivities, Marches, and Journeys* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 151–52. The only account that antedates William Moraley's is that of David Evans, who arrived as an indentured servant in Pennsylvania in 1704. Portions of his autobiography are printed in Boyd Stanley Schlenther, "'The English Is Swallowing Up Their Language': Welsh Ethnic Ambivalence in Colonial Pennsylvania and the Experience of David Evans," *PMHB* 114 (1990): 201–28; and in John Van Der Zee, *Bound Over: Indentured Servitude and American Conscience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985), 135–45.

5. Page 64 of Moraley's autobiography as reproduced below. The page numbers of subsequent quotations from the autobiography are given in parentheses in the text.

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 48, (source papier) Annexe n°2.

About this time, the World run mad after the *South Sea Bubble*.<sup>13</sup> My Father was bit to the Tune of £800, which somewhat impair'd his Fortune; and being advanc'd in Years, proposed to my Mother to settle at *Newcastle*, where he had many Friends. She declin'd this Proposal for soome Years, but at last agreed to it, by my giving her a good Account off the Place, where I had been some Years before.

We arriv'd at *Newcastle* after two Days Sail, and settled for about two Years, meeting with Encouragement in our Business from the generous Imhabitants. In the meantime, my Father having Notice of the Death of his Brother, left us, in order to secure his Effects, but unfortunately diied at *Harwich*, in his Passage home from *London*, in the Year 1725, from which Time I date all my Misfortunes. He had made a Will, which not answering my Expectations, occasioned frequent Quarrels and Contests between my Mother and myself; and her marrying again,<sup>14</sup> widen'd the Breach, and oblig'd me to leave *Newcastle* for *London*, where I arrived with 12 s[hillings] only, given me by my Mother, to *seek my Fortune*, she assuring me she could not raise any more, by reason of her Marriage.<sup>15</sup>

The Money being soon spent, and not readily falling into Business, I was reduc'd to Poverty. A Gentleman<sup>16</sup> let her know my Circumstances. She answer'd, she had given all out of her Power, and could do no more for me. He writ to her again, threatening her, if she did not restore the

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G.Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 49, (source papier) Annexe n°2 bis.



Figure 6. The Second Royal Exchange. Moraley went here to find information about a passage to America.

third Part of the Personal Effects to me, he would do me Justice; and withal let her know, he had applied to the Chamber of *London* on my Account. She answer'd him, if he or I gave her Trouble, she would leave all she had a Right to, from me: So the Affair dropp'd. I had now my Ingenuity to trust to; and it was in vain to expect any Subsistence from her.

The said Gentleman writ another Letter to her, and told her, it was needless to contend with me, for I was resolv'd to have my Right, notwithstanding my Father's Will, and any Release I could give her, unless she could prove I receiv'd my whole Fortune from her, a Release only standing good for so much as I had receiv'd, which was but £20 for the Acquittance of about £300 (for the Lord Mayor's Court being a Court of Equity, Remedy would be had against such an Imposition) and advised her to restore me the remainder.

But not hearing from her, I being resolute, as not caring what be-

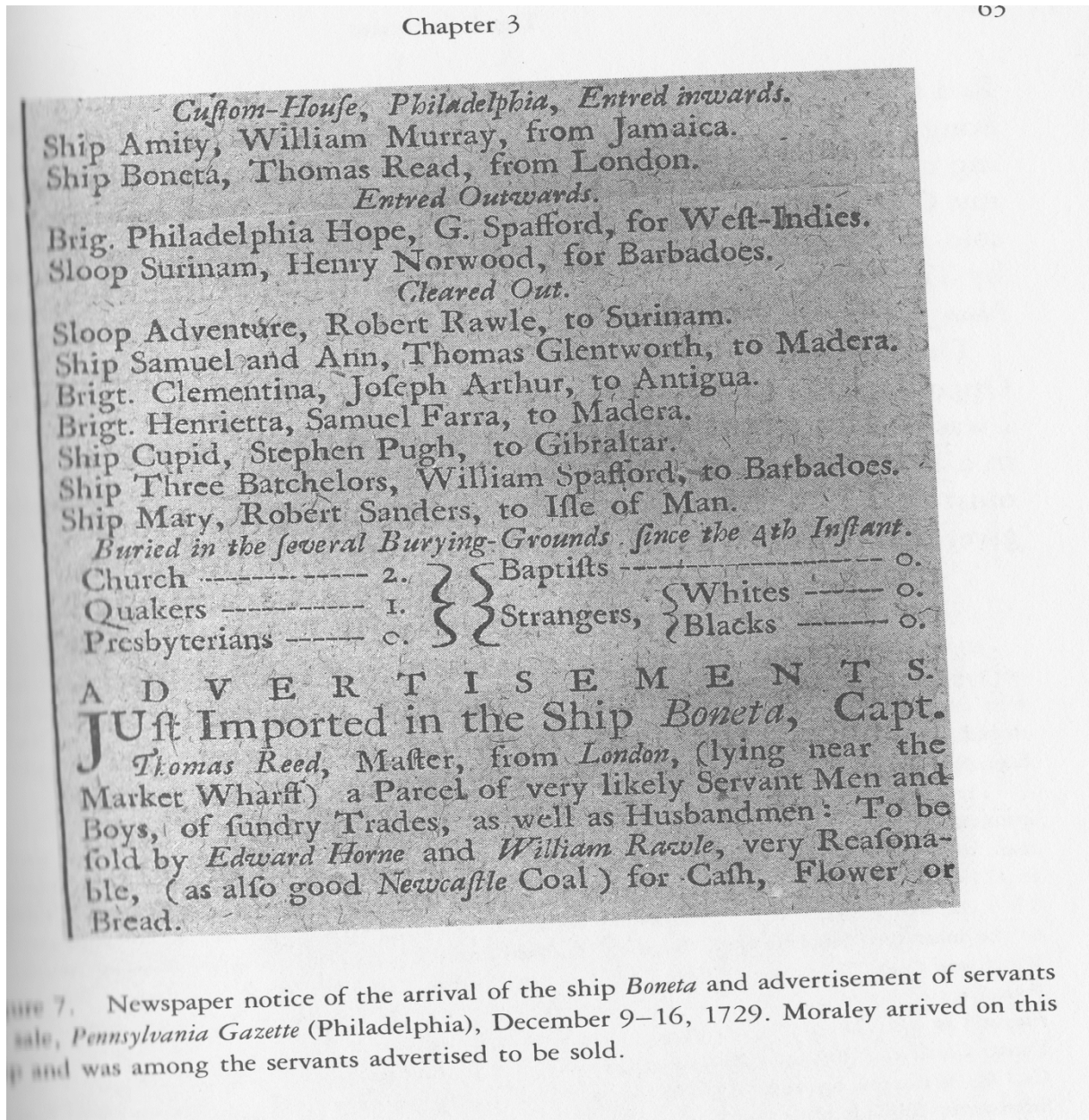
MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 50, (source papier) Annexe n°3.

came of me, it enter'd into my Head to leave *England*, and sell myself for a Term of Years into the *American* Plantations. Accordingly I repair'd to the *Royal Exchange*, to inform myself, by the printed Advertisements fix'd against the Walls, of the Ships bound to *America*; where musing by myself, a Man<sup>17</sup> accosted me in the following Manner. Sir, said he, I have for some time observ'd you, and fancy your Condition of Life is alter'd for the worse, and guess you have been in better Circumstances; but if you will take my Advice, I'll make it my Business to find out some way which may be of Service to you. Perhaps you may imagine I have a Design to inveigle you, but I assure you I have none; and if you will accept of a Mug of Beer, I will impart what I have to propose to you. The Man appearing sincere, I gave Ear to him.

I was dress'd at that Time in a very odd Manner. I had on a Red Rug Coat, with Black Lining, Black Buttons and Button Holes, and Black Lace upon the Pockets and Facing; an old worn out Tye Wig, which had not been comb'd out for above a Fortnight; an unshaven Beard; a torn Shirt, that had not been wash'd for above a Month; bad Shoes; and Stockings all full of Holes.

After he had shav'd me, he proposed to me an *American* Voyage, and said there was a Ship at *Limehouse* Dock, that would sail for *Pensilvania* in three or four Days. Sir, said I, a Person like me, oppress'd by Dame Fortune, need not care where he goes. All Places are alike to me; and I am very willing to accept of your Offer, if I could have some View of bettering my Condition of Life, though I might have expected a better Fate than to be forc'd to leave my Native Country: But adverse Fortune

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant, Philadelphia*, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 63, (source papier) Annexe n°4.



MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant, Philadelphia*, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 66, (source papier) Annexe n°5.

Goddess of Numbers, who art wont to rove  
O'er the gay Landskip, and the smiling Grove:  
Assist the soaring Muse, with Judgment to repeat,  
The various Beauties of Thy Fav'rite Seat;  
Thy Streets and Lanes, how regular and fair,  
With thee no earthly City may compare.  
While *Europe* groans, distress'd by hostile War,  
No fears disturb the industrious Planters Care:  
No unjust Sentence we have cause to fear;  
No arbitrary Monarch rules us here.  
Our Laws, our Liberties, and all are ours,  
Our happy Constitution here secures,  
The Seers, how cautious! and how gravely wise!  
The hopeful Youth in Emulation rise;  
Who, if the aspiring Muse does rightly sing,  
Shall liberal Arts to such Perfection bring,  
That *Europe* shall mourn, her antient Fame declin'd,  
And *Philadelphia* shall be the *Athens* of Mankind.  
What Praise, O Pen!<sup>14</sup> what Thanks are due to thee!  
For this first perfect Scheme of Liberty!  
What Praise! what Thanks! to thee, O Pen! are given,  
Beloved of Men! and Candidate for Heaven.

This famous City . . .

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 77, (source papier) Annexe n°6.

5 BURLINGTON—CHURCHES AND  
MISSIONARIES—QUAKER MEETINGS—THE MAYOR  
OF PHILADELPHIA—RESCUING A  
LADY—AN EXCHANGE OF WIT—A NEGRO'S  
GHOST—THE DELAWARE RIVER—PERRIWIG  
ISLAND—AN ENORMOUS  
SKELETON—ANTEDILUVIAN REMAINS.

I left *Philadelphia*, to go to *Burlington* to my Master; I went in a boat, where I got my self Drunk for the first time after my Arrival, and first experienced the Strength of Rum. About Twelve we landed here, and I was conveyed to my Master, where I dined upon Dumpings, boil'd Beef, and Udder; when I became enamour'd with Mrs Sarah, the Daughter. I was stripp'd of my Rags, and received in lieu of them a torn Shirt, and an old Coat. They tell me, it was only for the present, for I might expect better.

I went to bed that Night, being the first Time I had seen one since I left *London*, which was fifteen Weeks. The next day I had leave, upon

**MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G.Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 80, (source papier) Annexe n°7.**

On the other Side of the River lies Bristol, in Bucks County, in Pennsylvania, larger than Burglington ; but has little remarkable in it, but is the Post Road to Philadelphia. I had almost forgot to speak something of the Quakers yearly Meetings, which I should have dome in my Description of Philadelphia, or Burlington. They meet yearly at one of these Places alternately, by Agreement, when all sorts of the best Provisions are provided for the receptions of great Numbers of the Brethren assembled fromall Quarters, who are sometimes so numerous, that there is not room for them; which obliges them to disperse into the adjacent villages for Quarter, but return in the Day of the Town.

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant, Philadelphia*, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 82, (source papier) Annexe n°8.

Poor, which is given at their Discretion. These Meetings are for rebuking of Schisms, that sometimes arise among them; and to improve into the external Behaviour of the Professors, and to preserve Unity. In a word, they shew to Mankind, that they are strict Observers of good Nature and Hospitality, and keep up to the due Observance of the Evangelical Precepts, and the Moral Law.

My Master employed me in his Business: I continued satisfied with him for sometime; but being desirous to settle at *Philadelphia*, during the rest of my Servitude, I declared to him, I would stay no longer, and desired him to dispose of me to some other Master, and insisted upon it, agreeably to the Tenour of my Indenture. This Demand made him cross to me, and I attempted an Escape, but was taken, and put in Prison; but was soon released, with a promise to satisfy my Demand. About a Fortnight after, we went to the Mayor of *Philadelphia*, whose Name was *Griffith*,<sup>4</sup> a Man of exact Justice, tho' an *Irishman*, who reconciled us; so I returned back to *Burlington*, and continued with him three Years, he forgiving me the other Two: I was ever after perfectly pleased with my Master's Behaviour to me, which was generous.

There lived in the Family a Relation of his, named *Hannah Lambert*, a Gentlewoman of Beauty, good Parts, and a good Fortune, Daughter to Mr *Thomas Lambert*, a Native of *Yorkshire*.<sup>5</sup> One Day as this Lady and myself was crossing [the] *Delaware*, in a Canoe, it overset; so being in Danger, I forgot my own for her Safety, and taking her round the back of the Waist, with one Arm, swam by the help of the other to the other Side of the River. She so sensibly remembered this Service, that all the Time of my stay in this Family, I never wanted Money. Her Father gave me five Pounds, and when ever I went into the Country, I generally made his House my resting Place, where I was very civilly treated.

Our Family consisted of a Wife and two Daughters, with a Nephew, a Negro Slave, a bought Servant,<sup>6</sup> and myself, with the aforesaid Ge-

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 94, (source papier) Annexe n°9.

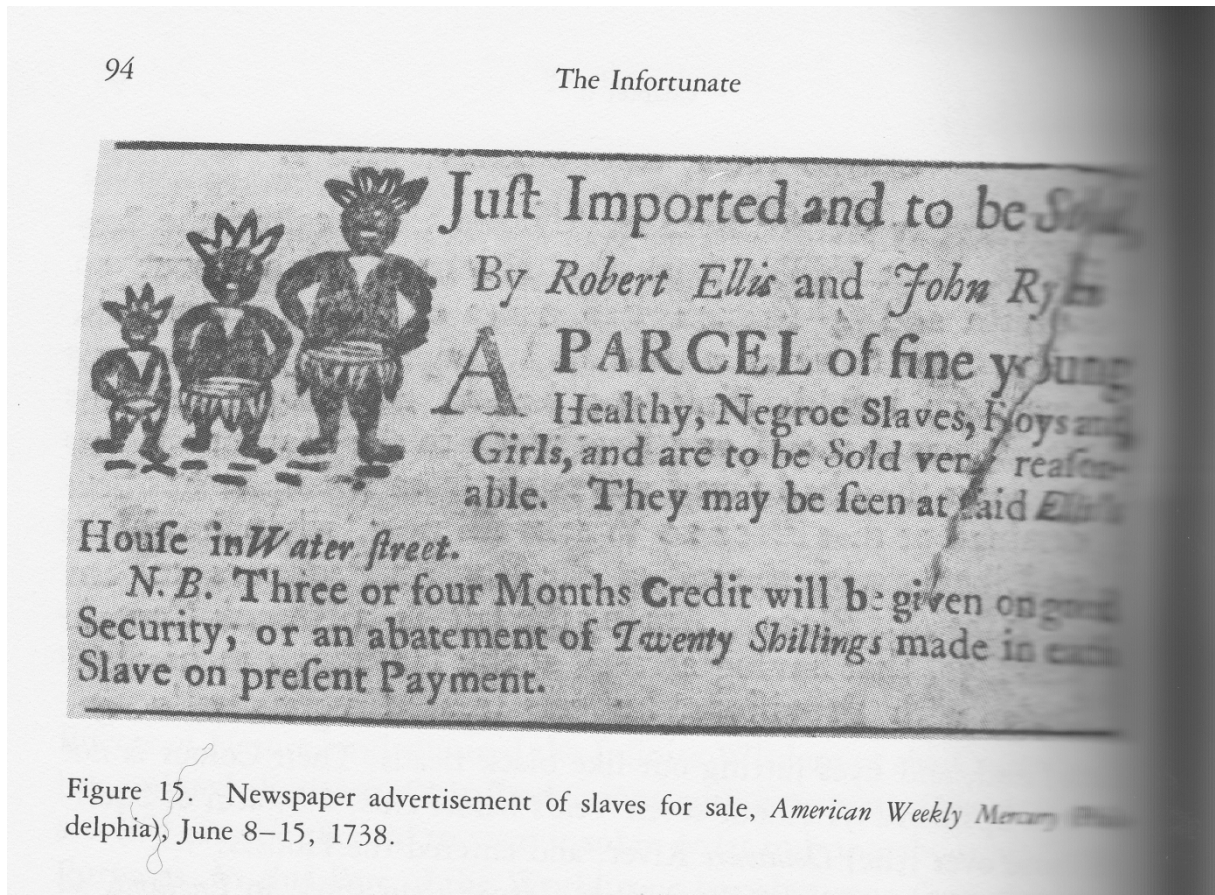
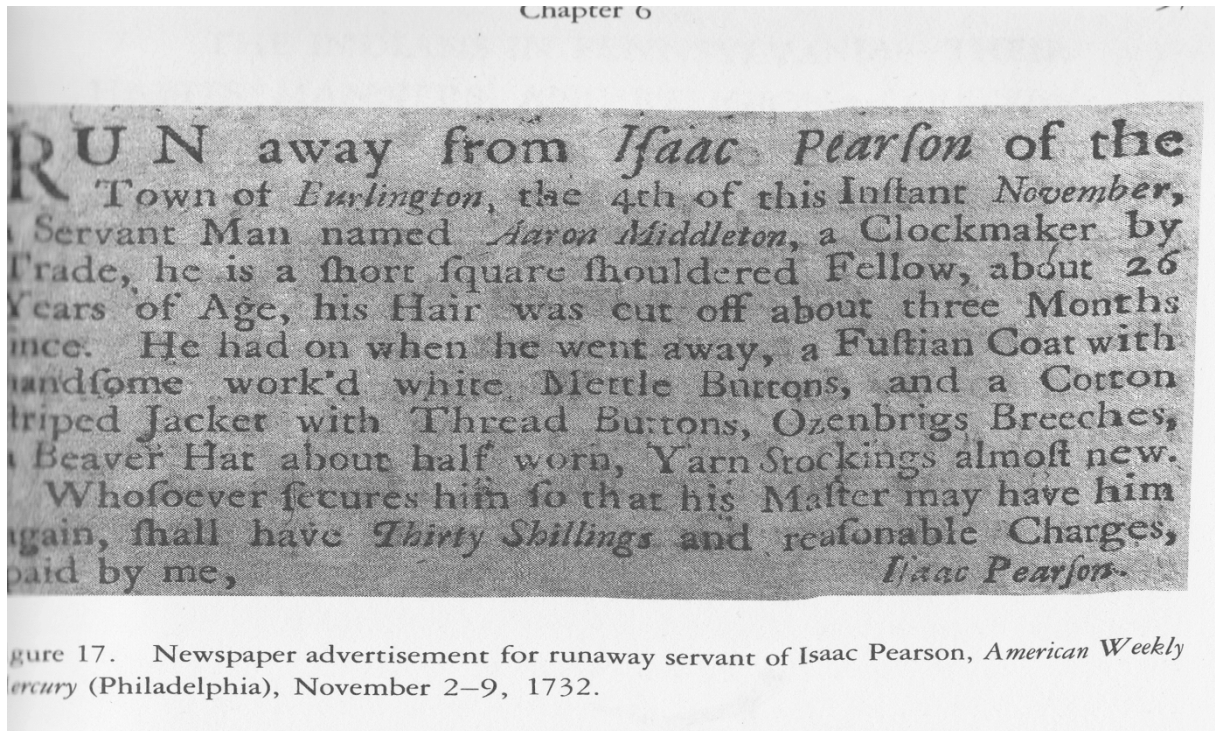


Figure 15. Newspaper advertisement of slaves for sale, *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), June 8–15, 1738.

MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, p. 96, (source papier) Annexe n°10.



**MORALEY William, *The Infortunate : the voyage and adventures of William Moraley, an indentured servant*, Philadelphia, edited by Susan Klepp & Billy G. Smith (1ère éd. 1743), 1992, pp. 163-164, (source papier) Annexe n°11.**

Isaac Pearson, Moraley's master, advertised for three runaway servants in the newspapers between 1727 and 1737. The advertisement for the first escapee appeared in the March 30—April 6, 1727, edition of the *American Weekly Mercury*:

Run away on the 3rd of this Instant April, from Isaac Pearson of Burlington, a Servant Man, he is a short well set Fellow, and Purblind, named ——— about 30 Years of Age, round Visage, his Hair cut off; he has on an old Hat, a redish strip'd Cap, a dark Drugget Pea Jacket, and a striped Flannel Jacket with blue stripes under the same, a pair of Ozenbrig Drawers, and round Toed Shoes. Whoever secures the said Servant so that his Master may have him again, shall have 40 Shillings Reward and reasonable Charges.

Figure 17 reproduces the notice for Aaron Middleton, and Pearson advertised for a third servant in the August 25—September 1, 1737, issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

Run away from Isaac Pearson, of Burlington, in West-New-Jersey, a Servant Man named John Williams, aged about 37 Years, a West-Country

Man, speaks by Clusters, hard to understand, very short, square set, by Trade a Clockmaker: He had on a full-trimm'd brown colour'd cloth Coat with flat Pearl Buttons set in Brass, a flannel strip'd Jacket with blue Flaps, a fine Shirt, and an Ozenbrigs one, ozenbrigs Trousers, blue worsted Stockings, peaked toe'd Shoes, with Hobnails drove in the Heels, a narrow brim'd castor Hat.

Whoever secures the said Servant so that he may be had again, shall have Thirty Shillings Reward, paid by Isaac Pearson.

**SMITH Venture, A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa, but Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America. Related by Himself. New Reprinted A. D. 1835, and Published by a Descendant of Venture. Revised and Republished with Traditions by H. M. Selden, Haddam, Conn., (Edition électronique), (1ère ed. 1798. 2nde ed. 1835) 1896, pp. 9-10, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 1.**

*The same night which was fixed upon to retreat, my father and his family set off about the break of day. The king and his two younger wives went in one company, and my mother and her children in another. We left our dwellings in succession, and my father's company went on first. We directed our course for a large shrub plain, some distance off, where we intended to conceal ourselves from the approaching enemy, until we could refresh ourselves a little. But we presently found that our retreat was not secure. For having struck up a little fire for the purpose of cooking victuals, the enemy, who happened to be encamped a little distance off, had sent out a scouting party who discovered us by the smoke of the fire, just as we were extinguishing it and about to eat. As soon as we had finished eating, my father discovered the party and immediately began to discharge arrows at them. This was what I first saw, and it alarmed both me and the women, who, being unable to make any resistance, immediately betook ourselves to the tall, thick reeds not far off, and left the old king to fight alone. For some time I beheld him from the reeds defending himself with great courage and firmness, till at last he was obliged to surrender himself into their hands.*

*They then came to us in the reeds, and the very first salute I had from them was a violent blow on the head with the fore part of a gun, and at the same time a grasp round the neck. I then had a rope put about my neck, as had all the women in the thicket with me, and were immediately led to my father, who was likewise pinioned and haltered for leading. In this condition we were all led to the camp. The women and myself, being submissive, had tolerable treatment from the enemy, while my father was closely interrogated respecting his money, which they knew he must have. But as he gave them no account of it, he was instantly cut and pounded on his body with great inhumanity, that he might be induced by the torture he suffered to make the discovery. All this availed not in the least to make him give up his money, but he despised all the tortures which they inflicted, until the continued exercise and increase of torment obliged him to sink and expire. He thus died without informing his enemies where his money lay. I saw him while he was thus tortured to death. The shocking scene is to this day fresh in my memory, and I have often been overcome*

*while thinking on it. He was a man of remarkable stature. I should judge as much as six feet and six or seven inches high, two feet across the shoulders, and every way well proportioned. He was a man of remarkable strength and resolution, affable, kind and gentle, ruling with equity and moderation.*

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*CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE FROM THE TIME OF HIS LEAVING AFRICA TO THAT OF HIS BECOMING FREE :*

*ATER all the business was ended on the coast of Africa, the ship sailed from thence to Barbadoes. After an ordinary passage, except great mortality by the small pox, which broke out on board, we arrived at the island of Barbadoes; but when we reached it, there were found, out of the two hundred and sixty that sailed from Africa, not more than two hundred alive. These were all sold, except myself and three more, to the planters there.*

*The vessel then sailed for Rhode Island, and arrived there after a comfortable passage. Here my master sent me to live with one of his sisters until he could carry me to Fisher's Island, the place of his residence. I had then completed my eighth year. After staying with his sister some time, I was taken to my master's place to live.*

*When we arrived at Narraganset, my master went ashore in order to return a part of the way by land, and gave me the charge of the keys of his trunks on board of the vessel, and charged me not to deliver them up to anybody, not even to his father, without his orders. To his directions I promised faithfully to conform. When I arrived with my master's articles at his house, my master's father asked me for his son's keys, as he wanted to see what his trunks contained. I told him that my master intrusted me with the care of them until he should return, and that I had given him my word to be faithful to the trust, and could not, therefore, give him, or any other man, the keys without my master's directions. He insisted that I should deliver to him the keys on pain of punishment. But I let him know that he should not have them, let him say what he would. He then laid aside trying to get them.*

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*The first of the time of living at my master's own place, I was pretty much employed in the house, carding wool and other household business. In this situation I continued for some years, after which my master put me to work out of doors. After, many proofs of my faithfulness and honesty, my master began to put great confidence in me. My behavior had as yet been submissive and obedient. I then began to have hard tasks imposed on me. Some of these were to pound four bushels of ears of corn every night in a barrel for the poultry, or be rigorously punished. At other seasons of the year, I had to card wool until a very late hour. These tasks I had to perform when only about nine years old. Some time after, I had another difficulty and oppression which was greater than any I had ever experienced since I came into this country. This was to serve two masters. James Mumford, my master's son, when his father had gone from home in the morning and given me a stint to perform that day, would order me to do this and that business different from what my master had directed me.*

**SMITH Venture, A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa, but Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America. Related by Himself. New Reprinted A. D. 1835, and Published by a Descendant of Venture. Revised and Republished with Traditions by H. M. Selden, Haddam, Conn., (Edition électronique), (1ère ed. 1798. 2nde ed. 1835) 1896, pp. 15-16, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 4.**

*After I had lived with my master thirteen years, being then about twenty-two years old, I married Meg, a slave of his who was about my own age. My master owned a certain Irishman, named Heddy, who about that time formed a plan of secretly leaving his master. After he had long had this plan in meditation, he suggested it to me. At first I cast a deaf-ear to it, and rebuked Heddy for harboring in his mind such a rash undertaking. But after he had persuaded and much enchanted me with the prospect of gaining my freedom by such a method, I at length agreed to accompany him. Heddy next inveigled two of his fellow-servants to accompany us. The place to which we designed to go was the Mississippi. Our next business was to lay in a sufficient store of provisions for our voyage. We privately collected out of our master's store, six great old cheeses, two firkins of butter, and one batch of new bread. When we had gathered all our own clothes and some more, we took them all about midnight and went to the water side. We stole our master's boat, embarked, and then directed our course for the Mississippi River.*

*We mutually confederated not to betray or desert one another on pain of death. We first steered our course for Montauk Point, the east end of Long Island. After our arrival there, we landed, and Heddy and I made an incursion into the island after fresh water, while our two comrades were left a little distance from the boat, employed in cooking. When Heddy and I had sought some time for water, he returned to our companions and I continued on looking for my object. When Heddy had performed his business with our companions who were engaged in cooking, he went directly to the boat, stole all the clothes in it, and then travelled away for East Hampton, as I was informed. I returned to my fellows not long after. They informed me that our clothes were stolen, but could not determine who was the thief, yet they suspected Heddy, as he was missing. After reproving my comrades for not taking care of our things which were in the boat, I advertised Heddy and sent two men in search of him. They pursued and overtook him at Southampton and returned him to the boat. I then thought it might afford some chance for my freedom, or at least be a palliation for my running away, to return Heddy immediately to his master, and inform him that I was induced to go away by Heddy's address. Accordingly, I set off with him and the rest of*

*my companions for my master's, and arrived there without any difficulty. I informed my master that Heddy was the ringleader of our revolt, and that he had used us ill. He immediately put Heddy into custody, and myself and companions were well received and went to work as usual.*

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*As I never had an opportunity of redeeming myself whilst I was owned by Miner, though he promised to give me a chance, I was then very ambitious of obtaining it. I asked my master one time if he would consent to have me purchase my freedom. He replied that he would. I was then very happy, knowing that I was at that time able to pay part of the purchase money by means of the money which I some time buried. This I took out of the earth and tendered to my master, having previously engaged a free negro man to take his security for it, as I was the property of my master, and therefore could not safely take his obligation myself. What was wanting in redeeming myself, my master agreed to wait on me for, until I could procure it for him. I still continued to work for Colonel Smith. There was continually some interest accruing on my master's note to my friend, the free negro man above named, which I received, and with some besides, which I got by fishing, I laid out in land adjoining my old master Stanton's. By cultivating this land with the greatest diligence and economy, at times when my master did not require my labor, in two years I laid up ten pounds. This my friend tendered my master for myself, and received his note for it.*

*Being encouraged by the success which I had met in redeeming myself, I again solicited my master for a further chance of completing it. The chance for which I solicited him was that of going out to work the ensuing winter. He agreed to this on condition that I would give him one-quarter of my earnings. On these terms I worked the following winter, and earned four pounds and sixteen shillings, one quarter of which went to my master for the privilege, and the rest was paid him on my account. I was then about thirty-five years old.*

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*Accordingly I hired myself out at Fisher's Island, earning twenty pounds; thirteen pounds six shillings of which my master drew for the privilege and the remainder I paid for my freedom. This made fifty-one pounds two shillings which I paid him. In October following I went and wrought six months at Long Island. In that six month's time I cut and corded four hundred cords of wood, besides threshing out seventy-five bushels of grain, and received of my wages down only twenty pounds, which left remaining a larger sum. Whilst I was out that time, I took up on my wages only one pair of shoes. At night I lay on the hearth, with one coverlet over and another under me. I returned to my master and gave him what I received of my six months' labor. This left only thirteen pounds eighteen shillings-to-make up the full sum of my redemption. My master liberated me, saying that I might pay what was behind if I could ever make it convenient, otherwise it would be well. The amount of the money which I had paid my master towards redeeming my time, was seventy-one pounds two shillings. The reason of my master for asking such an unreasonable price, was, he said, to secure himself in case I should ever come to want. Being thirty-six years old, I left Colonel Smith once more for all. I had already been sold three different times, made considerable money with seemingly nothing to derive it from, had been cheated out of a large sum of money, lost much by misfortunes, and paid an enormous sum for my freedom.*

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### **CHAPTER III.**

*CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE FROM THE TIME OF PURCHASING HIS FREEDOM TO THE PRESENT DAY.*

*MY wife and children were yet in bondage to Mr. Thomas Stanton. About this time I lost a chest containing, besides clothing, about thirty eight pounds in paper money. It was burnt by accident. A short time after I sold all my possessions at Stonington, consisting of a pretty piece of land and one dwelling house thereon, and went to reside at Long Island. For the first four years of my residence there, I spent my time in working for various people on that and at the neighboring islands. In the space of six months I cut and corded upwards of four hundred cords of wood. Many other singular and wonderful labors I performed in cutting wood there, which would not be inferior to the one just recited, but for brevity's sake I must omit them. In the aforementioned four years, what wood I cut at Long Island amounted to several thousand cords, and the money, which I earned thereby amounted to two hundred and seven pounds ten shillings. This money I laid up carefully by me. Perhaps some may inquire what maintained me all the time I was laying up my money. I would inform them that I bought nothing which I did not absolutely want. All fine clothes I despised in comparison with my interest, and never kept but just what clothes were comfortable for common days, and perhaps I would have a garment or two which I did not have on at all times, but as for superfluous finery. I never thought it to be compared with a decent homespun dress, a good supply of money and prudence. Expensive gatherings of my mates I commonly shunned, and all kinds of luxuries. I was perfectly a stranger to; and during the time I was employed in cutting the aforementioned quantity of wood [...].*

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*I never was at the expense of six pence worth of spirits. Being after this labor forty years of age, I worked at various places, and in particular on Ram Island, where I purchased Solomon and Cuff, two sons of mine, for two hundred dollars each.*

*It will here be remembered how much money I earned by cutting wood in four years. Besides this, I had considerable money, amounting to all to near three hundred pounds. After this I purchased a negro man, for no other reason than to oblige him, and gave for him sixty pounds. But in a short time after he ran away from me, and I thereby lost all that I gave for him, except twenty pounds which he paid me previous to his absconding. The rest of my money I laid out in land, in addition to a farm which I owned before, and a dwelling house thereon. Forty-four years had then completed their revolution since my entrance into this existence of servitude and misfortune.*

*Solomon, my eldest son, being then in his seventeenth year, and all my hope and dependence for help, I hired him out to one Charles Church, of Rhode Island, for one year, on consideration of his giving him twelve pounds and an opportunity of acquiring some learning. In the course of the year, Church fitted out a vessel for a whaling voyage, and being in want of hands to man her, he induced my son to go, with the promise of giving him on his return, a pair of silver buckles, besides his wages, As soon as I heard of his going to sea, I immediately set out to go and prevent it if possible. But on my arrival at Church's, to my great grief, I could only see the vessel my son was in, almost out of sight, going to sea. My son died of the scurvy in this voyage, and Church has never yet paid me the least of his wages. In my son, besides the loss of his life, I lost, equal to seventy-five pounds.*

*My other son being but a youth, still lived with me. About this time I chartered a sloop of about thirty tons burthen, and hired men to assist me in navigating her. I employed her mostly in the wood trade to Rhode Island, and made clear of all expenses above one hundred dollars with her in better than one year. I had then become something forehanded*

*and being in my forth-fourth year, I purchased my wife Meg, and thereby prevented having another child to buy, as she was then pregnant. I gave forty pounds for her.*

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*During my residence at Long Island, I raised one year with another, ten cart loads of watermelons, and lost a great many besides by the thievishness of the sailors. What I made by the watermelons I sold there, amounted to nearly five hundred dollars. Various other methods. I pursued in order to enable me to redeem my family. In the night time I fished with set-nets and pots for eels and lobsters, and shortly after went a whaling voyage in the service of Col. Smith. After being out seven months, the vessel returned laden with four hundred barrels of oil. About this time I became possessed of another dwelling house, and my temporal affairs were in a pretty prosperous condition. This and my industry was what alone saved me from being expelled that part of the island in which I resided, as an act was passed by the selectmen of the place, that all negroes residing there should be expelled.*

*Next after my wife. I purchased a negro man for four hundred dollars. But he having an inclination to return to his old master, I therefore let him go. Shortly after, I purchased another negro man for twenty-five pounds, whom I parted with shortly after.*

*Being about forty-six years old, I bought my oldest child, Hannah, of Ray Mumford, for forty-four pounds, and she still resided with him. I had already redeemed from slavery, myself, my wife and three children, besides three negro men.*

*About the forty-seventh year of my life I disposed of all my property at Long Island, and came from thence into East Haddam, Conn. I hired myself out first to Timothy Chapman for five weeks, the earnings of which time I put up carefully by me.*

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*I am now sixty-nine years old. Though once straight and tall, measuring without shoes six feet, one inch and an half, and every way well proportioned, I am now bowed down with age and hardship. My strength, which was once equal if not superior to any man whom I have ever seen, is now enfeebled so that life is a burden, and it is with fatigue that I can walk a couple of miles, stooping over my staff. Other griefs are still behind, on account of which some aged people, at least, will pity me. My eye-sight has gradually failed, till I am almost blind, and whenever I go abroad one of my grandchildren must direct my way; besides for many years I have been much pained and troubled with an ulcer on one of my legs. But amidst all my griefs and pains, I have many consolations; Meg, the wife of my youth, whom I married for love and bought with my money, is still alive. My freedom is a privilege which nothing else can equal. Notwithstanding all the losses I have suffered by fire, by the injustice of knaves, by the cruelty and oppression of false-hearted friends, and the perfidy of my own countrymen whom I have assisted and redeemed from bondage, I am now possessed of more than one hundred acres of land, and three habitable dwelling houses. It gives me joy to think that I have and that I deserve so good a character, especially for truth and integrity.*

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***CERTIFICATE.***

*STONINGTON, CONN., November 3, 1798.*

*THESE may certify, that VENTURE is a free negro man, aged about 69 years, and was, as we have ever understood, a native of Africa, and formerly a slave to Mr. James Mumford, of Fisher's Island, in the State of New York, who sold him to Mr. Thomas Stanton, 2d, of Stonington, in the State of Connecticut, and said Stanton sold said VENTURE to Col. Oliver Smith, of the aforesaid place. That said VENTURE hath sustained the character of a faithful servant, and that of a temperate, honest and industrious man, and being ever intent of obtaining his freedom, he was indulged by his masters after the ordinary labor on the days of his servitude, to improve the nights in fishing and other employments to his own emolument, in which time he procured so much money as to purchase his freedom from his late master, Colonel Smith; after which he took upon himself the name of VENTURE SMITH, and has since his freedom purchased a negro woman, called Meg, to whom he was previously married, and also his children who were slaves, and said VENTURE has since removed himself and family to the town of East Haddam, in this State, where he hath purchased lands on which he hath built a house, and there taken up his abode.*

*NATHANIEL MINOR, ESQ.*

*ELIJAH PALMER, ESQ.*

*CAPT. AMOS PALMER.*

*ACORS SHEFFIELD.*

*EDWARD SMITH.*

Elizabeth Sprigs, "Letter to Mr. John Sprigs in White Cross Street near Cripple Gate, London, September 22, 1756," in Isabel Calder, ed., *Colonial Captivities, Marches, and Journeys* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1935), 151–52. Reprinted by permission of the Connecticut Chapter of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Annexe n°1.

*Maryland, Sept'r 22'd 1756*

*Honored Father*

*My being for ever banished from your sight, will I hope pardon the Boldness I now take of troubling you with these, my long silence has been purely owing to my undutifullness to you, and well knowing I had offended in the highest Degree, put a tie to my tongue and pen, for fear I should be extinct from your good Graces and add a further Trouble to you, but too well knowing your care and tenderness for me so long as I retain'd my Duty to you, induced me once again to endeavor if possible, to kindle up that flame again. O Dear Father, believe what I am going to relate the words of truth and sincerity, and Balance my former bad Conduct my sufferings here, and then I am sure you'll pity your Destress Daughter, What we unfortunate English People suffer here is beyond the probability of you in England to Conceive, let it suffice that I one of the unhappy Number, am toiling almost Day and Night, and very often in the Horses drudgery, with only this comfort that you Bitch you do not halfe enough, and then tied up and whipp'd to that Degree that you'd not serve an Animal, scarce any thing but Indian Corn and Salt to eat and that even begrudged nay many Negroes are better used, almost naked no shoes nor stockings to wear, and the comfort after slaving during Masters pleasure, what rest we can get is to rap ourselves up in a Blanket and ly upon the Ground, this is the deplorable Condition your poor Betty endures, and now I beg if you have any Bowels of Compassion left show it by sending me some Relief, Clothing is the principal thing wanting, which if you should consent to, may easily send them to me by any of the ships bound to Baltimore Town Patapsco River Maryland, and give me leave to conclude in Duty to you and Uncles and Aunts, and Respect to all Friends.*

*Honored Father*

*Your undutifull and Disobedient Child*

*Elizabeth Sprigs*

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman*, The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 1, (source <http://www.strecorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 1.**

I HAVE often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God, and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720. Before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of Divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and as I went from school one day, I remember that while my companions were playing by the way, I went forward out of sight, and, sitting down, I read the twenty-second chapter of Revelation: “He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, &c.” In reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation which I then believed God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory. This, and the like gracious visitations, had such an effect upon me that when boys used ill language it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from that evil.

The pious instructions of my parents were often fresh in my mind, when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me. Having a large family of children, they used frequently, on first-days, after meeting, to set us one after another to read the Holy Scriptures, or some religious books, the rest sitting by without much conversation; I have since often thought it was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of now living; and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in the present age often troubled me while I was a child.

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 5, (source <http://www.streccorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 2.**

In the management of my outward affairs, I may say with thankfulness, I found truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotchmen servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mount Holly to sell, one of whom was taken sick and died. In the latter part of his sickness, being delirious, he used to curse and swear most sorrowfully; and the next night after his burial I was left to sleep alone in the chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness; I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity. I was not free to ask any one on that occasion to sleep with me. Nature was feeble; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further than as truth opened my way.

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 6, (source <http://www.streccorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 3 :**

My employer, having a negro woman, [1](#)sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, 24  
the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though I felt uneasy  
at the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures, yet I  
remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do  
it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her; so through  
weakness I gave way, and wrote it; but at the executing of it I was so afflicted in my  
mind, that I said before my master and the Friend that I believed slave-keeping to be a  
practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This, in some degree, abated my  
uneasiness; yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it I thought I should have been  
clearer if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such  
it was. Some time after this a young man of our Society spoke to me to write a  
conveyance of a slave to him, he having lately taken a negro into his house. I told him I  
was not easy to write it; for, though many of our meeting and in other places kept  
slaves, I still believed the practice was not right, and desired to be excused from the  
writing. I spoke to him in goodwill; and he told me that keeping slaves was not  
altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife he had  
accepted her.

**Note 1.** The number of slaves in New Jersey at this time must have been considerable, for  
even as late as 1800 there were over 12,000 of them. The newly imported Africans were  
deposited at Perth Amboy. In 1734 there were enough of them to make a formidable though  
unsuccessful insurrection. [[back](#)]

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 9, (source <http://www.strecorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 4 :**

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: first, in regard to my entertainment. When I ate, drank, and lodged free-cost with people who lived in ease on the hard labor of their slaves I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burden, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labor moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burdens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them in private concerning it. Secondly, this trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally living without much labor, was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts. I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequence will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not once, nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 20, (source <http://www.strecorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 5.**

Ninth of fifth month.—A Friend at whose house we breakfasted setting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves, in which my heart was tender; I used much plainness of speech with him, and he appeared to take it kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, thus: “O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me.” On the 11th, we crossed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal. On the way we had the company of a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man. I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labor moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labor of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life. He concurred in the remark, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes, adding that one of our laborers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied, that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, laboring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

**After some further conversation I said, that men having power too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally. This he did not deny, but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country that many of them lived better here than there.**

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., pp. 21-22, (source <http://www.streccorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 6.**

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the 12th; and the next day rode, in company with several of them, a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the need of Divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me, and in uncommon distress of mind I cried in secret to the Most High, "O Lord be merciful, I beseech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature!" After some time, I felt inward relief, and, soon after, a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark which God set upon him after he murdered Abel his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which I replied in substance as follows: that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families, being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations, and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose that they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth." (Gen. vii. 21.) I further reminded them how the prophets repeatedly declare "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations, and in some pressure of spirit said, "The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth. I believe liberty is their right, and as I see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He who is a refuge for the oppressed will, in his own time, plead their cause, and

happy will it be for such as walk in uprightness before him.” And thus our conversation ended.

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 23, (source <http://www.strecorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 7.**

Men and women have many times scarcely clothes sufficient to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls ten and twelve years old are often quite naked amongst their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the society called Newlights, use some endeavors to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labor the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life. These are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of. These are the souls for whom Christ died, and for our conduct towards them we must answer before Him who is no respecter of persons. They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty, and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people will find cause for mourning.

**WOOLMAN John, *Journal of John Woolman* The Harvard Classics. 1909–14., p. 44, (source <http://www.streccorsoc.org/jwoolman/title.html>) Annexe n° 8.**

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived in my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favor of Friends being held excused who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now, on moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members, and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confuse and darken the understanding, and that pleading for it in our meetings, which were set apart for the Lord's work, was not right. In the heat of zeal, I made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. After this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made, a copy of which was to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labor to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

**MITTELBERGER** Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 13, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 1.



## JOURNEY TO PENNSYLVANIA IN AMERICA.

**I**n the month of May, 1750, I departed from Enzweihingen, Vaihingen County, my native place, for Heilbronn, where an organ stood ready to be shipped and sent to Pennsylvania. With this organ, I sailed the usual way, down the Neckar and Rhine to Rotterdam in Holland. From Rotterdam I sailed with a transport of about 400 souls, Würtembergers, Durlachers, Palatines and Swiss, etc., across the North Sea to Kaupp [Cowes] in England, and after a sojourn of 9 days there, across the great ocean, until I landed in Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, Oct. 10, 1750.\* From home to Rotterdam, including my sojourn there, I spent 7 weeks, caused by the many stoppages down the Rhine and in Holland, whereas this journey could otherwise

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\* In the list of names of Foreigners arriving in the ship "Osgood," William Wilkie, Captain, from Rotterdam, and taking the oath of allegiance Sept. 29th, 1750 [O. S.], is that of Gottlieb Mittelberger.—Penna. Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. XVII., p. 324.

**MITTELBERGER** Gottlieb, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754*. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 14, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 1 bis.

be made swifter; but from Rotterdam to Philadelphia the voyage lasted 15 weeks. I was nearly 4 years in that country, engaged, as my testimonials show, as organist and schoolmaster with the German St. Augustine's Church in Providence, having besides given private instruction in music and in the German language, as the following certificate will show, at the house of Captain Diemer.

Whereas the Bearer, Mr. Mittelberger, Music Master, has resolved to return from this Province, to his native Land, which is in the Dukedom of Würtemberg in High Germany; I have at his Request granted these Lines to certify that ye above nam'd Mr. Mittelberger has behaved himself honestly, diligently, and faithfully in ye Offices of Schoolmaster and Organist, during ye Space of three Years; in ye Township of New-Providence, County of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania, etc. So that I and all his Employers were entirely satisfied, and would willingly have him to remain with us. But as his Call obliges him to proceed on his long Journey; we would recommend ye s'd Mr. Mittelberger to all Persons of Dignity and Character; and beg their Assistance, so that he may pass and repass untill he arrives at his Respective Abode; which may God grant,  
and

**MITTELBERGER** Gottlieb, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754*. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 16, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 2.

ened the first impulse in me not to keep concealed what I knew. But the most important occasion for publishing this little book was the wretched and grievous condition of those who travel from Germany to this new land, and the outrageous and merciless proceeding of the Dutch man-dealers and their man-stealing emissaries; I mean the so-called newlanders, for they steal, as it were, German people under all manner of false pretenses, and deliver them into the hands of the great Dutch traffickers in human souls. These derive a large, and the newlanders a smaller profit from this traffic. This, I say, is the main cause why I publish this book. I had to bind myself even by a vow to do so. For before I left Pennsylvania, when it became known that I was about to return to Würtemberg, many Würtembergers, Durlachers and Palatines, of whom there are a great number there who repent and regret it while they live that they left their native country, implored me with tears and uplifted hands, and even in the name of God, to make this misery and sorrow known in Germany, so that not only the common people, but even princes and lords, might learn how they had fared, to prevent other innocent souls from leaving their fatherland, persuaded thereto by the newlanders, and from being sold into a like slavery.

And

**MITTELBERGER** Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 19, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 3.

to board the ship near Rotterdam, lost two children at once by drowning.

Both in Rotterdam and in Amsterdam the people are packed densely, like herrings so to say, in the large sea-vessels. One person receives a place of scarcely 2 feet width and 6 feet length in the bedstead, while many a ship carries four to six hundred souls; not to mention the innumerable implements, tools, provisions, water-barrels and other things which likewise occupy much space.

On account of contrary winds it takes the ships sometimes 2, 3 and 4 weeks to make the trip from Holland to Kaupp [Coves] in England. But when the wind is good, they get there in 8 days or even sooner. Everything is examined there and the custom-duties paid, whence it comes that the ships ride there 8, 10 to 14 days and even longer at anchor, till they have taken in their full cargoes. During that time every one is compelled to spend his last remaining money and to consume his little stock of provisions which had been reserved for the sea; so that most passengers, finding themselves on the ocean where they would be in greater need of them, must greatly suffer from hunger and want. Many suffer want already on the water between Holland and Old England.

When

**MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 20, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 4.**

When the ships have for the last time weighed their anchors near the city of Kaupp [Cowes] in Old England, the real misery begins with the long voyage. For from there the ships, unless they have good wind, must often sail 8, 9, 10 to 12 weeks before they reach Philadelphia. But even with the best wind the voyage lasts 7 weeks.

But during the voyage there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of sea-sickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and the like, all of which come from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably.

Add to this want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as *c. v.* the lice abound so frightfully, especially on sick people, that they can be scraped off the body. The misery reaches the climax when a gale rages for 2 or 3 nights and days, so that every one believes that the ship will go to the bottom with all human beings on board. In such a visitation the people cry and pray most piteously.

When in such a gale the sea rages and surges, so that the waves rise often like high mountains

**MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 22, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 5.**

and malice join each other, so that they cheat and rob one another. One always reproaches the other with having persuaded him to undertake the journey. Frequently children cry out against their parents, husbands against their wives and wives against their husbands, brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances against each other. But most against the soul-traffickers.

Many sigh and cry: "Oh, that I were at home again, and if I had to lie in my pig-sty!" Or they say: "O God, if I only had a piece of good bread, or a good fresh drop of water." Many people whimper, sigh and cry piteously for their homes; most of them get home-sick. Many hundred people necessarily die and perish in such misery, and must be cast into the sea, which drives their relatives, or those who persuaded them to undertake the journey, to such despair that it is almost impossible to pacify and console them. In a word, the sighing and crying and lamenting on board the ship continues night and day, so as to cause the hearts even of the most hardened to bleed when they hear it.

No one can have an idea of the sufferings which women in confinement have to bear with their innocent children on board these ships. Few of this class escape with their lives; many a mother is cast into the water with her child as

soon

**MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 23, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 6.**

soon as she is dead. One day, just as we had a heavy gale, a woman in our ship, who was to give birth and could not give birth under the circumstances, was pushed through a loop-hole [port-hole] in the ship and dropped into the sea, because she was far in the rear of the ship and could not be brought forward.

Children from 1 to 7 years rarely survive the voyage; and many a time parents are compelled to see their children miserably suffer and die from hunger, thirst and sickness, and then to see them cast into the water. I witnessed such misery in no less than 32 children in our ship, all of whom were thrown into the sea. The parents grieve all the more since their children find no resting-place in the earth, but are devoured by the monsters of the sea. It is a notable fact that children, who have not yet had the measles or small-pocks, generally get them on board the ship, and mostly die of them.

Often a father is separated by death from his wife and children, or mothers from their little children, or even both parents from their children; and sometimes whole families die in quick succession; so that often many dead persons lie in the berths beside the living ones, especially when contagious diseases have broken out on board the ship.

Many other accidents happen on board these ships,

**MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 25, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 7.**

voyage, the ships come in sight of land, so that the promontories can be seen, which the people were so eager and anxious to see, all creep from below on deck to see the land from afar, and they weep for joy, and pray and sing, thanking and praising God. The sight of the land makes the people on board the ship, especially the sick and the half dead, alive again, so that their hearts leap within them; they shout and rejoice, and are content to bear their misery in patience, in the hope that they may soon reach the land in safety. But alas!

When the ships have landed at Philadelphia after their long voyage, no one is permitted to leave them except those who pay for their passage or can give good security; the others, who cannot pay, must remain on board the ships till they are purchased, and are released from the ships by their purchasers. The sick always fare the worst, for the healthy are naturally preferred and purchased first; and so the sick and wretched must often remain on board in front of the city for 2 or 3 weeks, and frequently die, whereas many a one, if he could pay his debt and were permitted to leave the ship immediately, might recover and remain alive.

Before I describe how this traffic in human flesh is conducted, I must mention how much  
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**MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 26, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 8.**

the journey to Philadelphia or Pennsylvania costs.

A person over 10 years pays for the passage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia 10 pounds, or 60 florins. Children from 5 to 10 years pay half price, 5 pounds or 30 florins. All children under 5 years are free. For these prices the passengers are conveyed to Philadelphia, and, as long as they are at sea, provided with food, though with very poor, as has been shown above.

But this is only the sea-passage; the other costs on land, from home to Rotterdam, including the passage on the Rhine, are at least 40 florins, no matter how economically one may live. No account is here taken of extraordinary contingencies. I may safely assert that, with the greatest economy, many passengers have spent 200 florins from home to Philadelphia.

The sale of human beings in the market on board the ship is carried on thus: Every day Englishmen, Dutchmen and High-German people come from the city of Philadelphia and other places, in part from a great distance, say 20, 30, or 40 hours away, and go on board the newly arrived ship that has brought and offers for sale passengers from Europe, and select among the healthy persons such as they deem suitable for their business, and bargain with them how long they will serve for their passage money, which  
most

**MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 39, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 9.**

themselves of this good and sure opportunity to take their friends, brothers or sisters, or even their parents with them; and it has often happened that such old people followed them, trusting to the persuasion of these newlanders that they would be better provided for.


Such old people they seek to get away with them in order to entice other people to follow them. Thus they have seduced many away who said that if such and such relatives of theirs went to America, they would risk it too. These men-thieves resort to various tricks, never forgetting to display their money before the poor people, but which is nothing else but a bait from Holland and accursed blood-money.

When these men-thieves persuade persons of rank, such as nobles, learned or skilled people, who cannot pay their passage and cannot give security, these are treated just like ordinary poor people, and must remain on board the ship till some one comes and buys them from the captain. And when they are released at last from the ship, they must serve their lords and masters, by whom they have been bought, like common day-laborers. Their rank, skill and learning avails them nothing, for here none but laborers and mechanics are wanted. But the worst is that such people, who are not accustomed to work, are treated to blows and cuffs,

MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 47, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 10.



DESCRIPTION OF THE LAND  
PENNSYLVANIA.

 **PENNSYLVANIA** is one of the English settlements or colonies in North America. It borders on the sea, and is just in the centre between the other English plantation lands. Far above it, in the north, are Nova Scotia, New England, New York, and New Jersey; below it, in the south, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia. From the city of London to the point where we lose Old England out of sight we count 325 English miles; then, from land to land, that is from the last land in Old England to the first land in Pennsylvania 3600 such miles, from there to Philadelphia 125 miles, which makes together 4050 English miles, or 1350 German or rather Swabian hours. 3 English miles make a Swabian hour, but 25 such hours make a degree, just as the French land miles. When the ships come near this land, they sail from the ocean into the great river. This is a large bay formed by the Delaware River, or rather, it is

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**MITTELBERGER** Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 75, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 11.

not croak or quack, but yelp. And this yelping begins as early as March.

In America there are quite different kinds of birds to be seen from those in Europe. Of birds which are precisely like our European ones, no others are found but ravens, swallows, and the little hedge-sparrows. The American birds are most beautiful; their splendid colors and lovely song are above all praise. In the first place there are birds which are yellow and have black wings; secondly, red ones with black wings; thirdly, altogether yellow ones; fourthly, starlings which are larger than ours, look quite blue and have red wings; fifthly, brilliant red ones with plumes on their head; sixthly, entirely blue ones; seventhly, white ones with black wings; eighthly, many-colored ones; ninthly, grass-green ones with red heads; tenthly, there is a species which is black, white and pied. These birds can imitate the singing and whistling of all birds; in half an hour such a bird can imitate more than 30 birds successfully. There is a species of birds that call in summer all day long quite plainly: "Get you gone! Get you gone!" Another, which is heard mostly by night, calls: "Wipperwill! Wipperwill!" [Whip-poor-Will]; it is called by that name. We find in Pennsylvania no storks, no magpie, no cuckoo, no lark, no yellow-hammer, no nightingale, no quail,

**MITTELBERGER** Gottlieb, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754*. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, p. 79, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 11 bis.

will not say for how much money this little bird is sometimes bought by great people. But they do not live long, as it is impossible to furnish them with their proper food.

In Pennsylvania multitudes of fish can be caught every spring in the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, and lots of wild pigeons can be shot twice a year, viz., in spring when they migrate to the north, and in fall when they come back and migrate to the south. The fish ascend at their season from the sea, and what are not caught go about the end of May back into the sea. These fish are an ell long and almost half an ell broad; so many are often caught that many a one salts a whole barrel or tub full of them, enough for a year; when one wants to eat some, they are laid in fresh water over night, then washed and fried. In the same manner the pigeons, too, are salted and eaten in winter.\*

There is not so much game and wild-fowl around Philadelphia as there formerly was, because that region is thickly inhabited, and because every one may shoot what he will. But the farther one gets into the country the less it is inhabited, and the more one finds of all kinds of game, especially much feathered game, and

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\* With respect to these pigeons, see above quoted book, p. 306.

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MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, *Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754*. Philadelphia, John. Jos. McVEY 1898, pp. 80-81, (source archives.org) Annexe n° 12.

many a one supports himself in this country by hunting.

In Pennsylvania one finds in summer time many species of snakes and other vermin, especially in the Blue Mountains. Many a snake, 10, 12, 15, and even 18 feet long has been seen there, and many persons and animals have been mortally bitten by these terrible and dangerous creatures. There are black and white, green and gray snakes, also black ones with yellow stripes. Among these the rattlesnakes are the largest and worst; but in some respects the black snakes, which are 12 to 15 feet long, and as thick as an arm, are even more dangerous, inasmuch as they have a marvelous power to charm, and that only by their steady glance; so that every creature, be it a hare, a bird or a squirrel, must come down from the trees and close up to them, when they pounce upon it and devour it.\* They can climb the tallest oaks and other trees, and they are also able to charm little children, so that they must stand still before them. The children cry pite-

ously, and it has often happened that they were saved, and that large snakes were found lying before them. The rattle-snakes are in part even larger than the above-mentioned species; many of them are more than 18 feet long and as thick as a hay pole. These snakes have at their rear end rattle-tails with which they can rattle so that it can be heard from afar. They rattle whenever they are angry or see anybody. They add every year a new ring to their rattle-tails. These snakes have scales like the fish; the scales are black, blue and green, and look like mother-of-pearl. Snakes have frequently crept into the houses and even into the beds of people who live in the woods, so that the people lay on them in the night till the snakes grow restless beneath the weight, whereupon they are driven out and killed.

VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp. 61-62, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 1.

*When these people knew we were brother and sister they indulged us together; and the man, to whom I supposed we belonged, lay with us, he in the middle, while she and I held one another by the hands across his breast all night; and thus for a while we forgot our misfortunes in the joy of being together: but even this small comfort was soon to have an end; for scarcely had the fatal morning appeared, when she was again torn from me for ever! I was now more miserable, if possible, than before. The small relief which her presence gave me from pain was gone, and the wretchedness of my situation was redoubled by my anxiety after her fate, and my apprehensions lest her sufferings should be greater than mine, when I could not be with her to alleviate them. Yes, thou dear partner of all my childish sports! thou sharer of my joys and sorrows! happy should I have ever esteemed myself to encounter every misery for you, and to procure your freedom by the sacrifice of my own. Though you were early forced from my arms, your image has been always rivetted in my heart, from which neither time nor fortune have been able to remove it; so that, while the thoughts of your sufferings have damped my prosperity, they have mingled with adversity and increased its bitterness. [...]. I did not long remain after my sister. I was again sold, and carried through a number of places, till, after travelling a considerable time, I came to a town called Tinmah, in the most beautiful country I had yet seen in Africa. It was extremely rich, and there were many rivulets which flowed through it, and supplied a large pond in the centre of the town, where the people washed.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp. 70-71, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 2.**

*The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were sound by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country. When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp. 73-74, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 3.**

*Soon after this the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to despair. I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly; and I even wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to cat, nor had I the least desire to taste any thing. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced any thing of this kind before; and although, not being used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and, besides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water: and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., p.79, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 4.**

*[...] confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp.133-134, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 5.**

*While I was attending these ladies their servants told me I could not go to Heaven unless I was baptized. This made me very uneasy; for I had now some faint idea of a future state: accordingly I communicated my anxiety to the eldest Miss Guerin, with whom I was become a favourite, and pressed her to have me baptized; when to my great joy, she told me I should. She had formerly asked my master to let me be baptized, but he had refused; however she now insisted on it; and he being under some obligation to her brother complied with her request; so I was baptized in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, in February 1759, by my present name. The clergyman, at the same time, gave me a book, called a Guide to the Indians, written by the Bishop of Sodor and Man. On this occasion Miss Guerin did me the honour to stand as godmother, and afterwards gave me a treat. I used to attend these ladies about the town, in which service I was extremely happy; as I had thus many opportunities of seeing London, which I desired of all things.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp.191-192, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 6.**

*About the middle of May, when the ship was got ready to sail for England, I all the time believing that Fate's blackest clouds were gathering over my head, and expecting their bursting would mix me with the dead, Captain Doran sent for me ashore one morning, and I was told by the messenger that my fate was then determined. With fluttering steps and trembling heart I came to the captain, and found with him one Mr. Robert King, a quaker, and the first merchant in the place. The captain then told me my former master had sent me there to be sold; but that he had desired him to get me the best master he could, as he told him I was a very deserving boy, which Captain Doran said he found to be true; and if he were to stay in the West Indies he would be glad to keep me himself; but he could not venture to take me to London, for he was very sure that when I came there I would leave him. I at that instant burst out a crying, and begged much of him to take me to England with him, but all to no purpose. He told me he had got me the very best master in the whole island, with whom I should be as happy as if I were in England, and for that reason he chose to let him have me, though he could sell me to his own brother-in-law for a great deal, more money than what he got from this gentleman.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. I, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., p. 260, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 7.**

*This speech of the captain was like life to the dead to me, and instantly my soul glorified God; and still more so on hearing my master immediately say that I was a sensible fellow, and he never did intend to use me as a common slave; and that but for the entreaties of the captain, and his character of me, he would not have let me go from the stores about as I had done; that also, in so doing, he thought by carrying one little thing or other to different places to sell I might make money. That he also intended to encourage me in this by crediting me with half a puncheon of rum and half a hogshead of sugar at a time; so that, from being careful, I might have money enough, in some time, to purchase my freedom; and, when that was the case, I might depend upon it he would let me have it for forty pounds sterling money, which was only the same price he gave for me.*

**VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. II, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp.17-19, (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 8.**

*Montserrat.--To all men unto whom these presents shall come: I Robert King, of the parish of St. Anthony in the said island, merchant, send greeting: Know ye, that I the aforesaid Robert King, for and in consideration of the sum of seventy pounds current money of the said island, to me in hand paid, and to the intent that a negro man-slave, named Gustavus Vassa, shall and may become free, have manumitted, emancipated, enfranchised, and set free, and by these presents do manumit, emancipate, enfranchise, and set free, the aforesaid negro man-slave, named Gustavus Vassa, for ever, hereby giving, granting, and releasing unto him, the said Gustavus Vassa, all right, title, dominion, sovereignty, and property, which, as lord and master over the aforesaid Gustavus Vassa, I had, or now I have, or by any means whatsoever I may or can hereafter possibly have over him the aforesaid negro, for ever. In witness whereof I the above-said Robert King have unto these presents set my hand and seal, this tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.*

**ROBERT KING.**

*Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of Terrylegay, Montserrat. Registered the within manumission at full length, this eleventh day of July, 1766, in liber D.*

**TERRYLEGAY, Register.**

VASSA Gustavus, *The Interesting life of Oldaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa*, Vol. II, Londres, publié par l'auteur, 1789., pp.212 , (source : <http://antislavery.eserver.org> university of North Carolina) Annexe n° 9.

*On the 14th of October the Indian Queen arrived at Kingston in Jamaica. When we were unloaded I demanded my wages, which amounted to eight pounds and five shillings sterling; but Captain Baker refused to give me one farthing, although it was the hardest-earned money I ever worked for in my life. I sound out Doctor Irving upon this, and acquainted him of the captain's knavery. He did all he could to help me to get my money; and we went to every magistrate in Kingston (and there were nine), but they all refused to do any thing for me, and said my oath could not be admitted against a white man.*