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CONNECTED WITH THE

LATE INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA,

AND THE

VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

ARISING OUT OF IT.

Published by especial Request.

LONDON :

HOLDSWORTH AND BALL, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD ; AND WIGHTMAN,
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—
1832.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Publication owes its appearance to the suggestions of many esteemed friends, who are desirous that the British Public at large should be more fully acquainted with the nature and origin of the recent disturbances in Jamaica, especially in their aspect on the religious instruction of the negroes. The various documents are printed, as much as possible, in their original form, and without the least attempt to weave them into a continuous narrative. It would have been easy greatly to increase their number, especially under Sections II. and III.; but these, it is presumed, will be sufficient, taken in connexion with Mr. Abbott's letter to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, already published, to demonstrate how formidable are the obstacles which impede the progress of the Gospel in Jamaica, and to combine all the friends of humanity, freedom, and religion, in a vigorous effort to remove them.

Fen Court, 3rd July, 1832.

SECTION I.

*Memorial and Statement of the Baptist Missionaries
in Jamaica, dated 19th April, 1832;*

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY EARL BELMORE,
The Governor of Jamaica.

The Humble Memorial of the undersigned Baptist Missionaries,
Sheweth,

THAT on the 13th February last, a Memorial, signed by certain of your present Memorialists, was presented to your Excellency, stating, among other things, that their Property had been plundered, "several of their Chapels totally demolished, their persons threatened with violence, under the countenance and with the aid of Magistrates and Officers of Militia," and praying, in the apprehension of the continuance of similar acts of wanton outrage against their property and lives, for the interposition of your Excellency's authority and power to protect them.

That, in answer to that Memorial, your then Memorialists received a Letter from your Excellency's Secretary, apprizing them that its prayer had been anticipated in the issuing and promulgation throughout the Island, of a Proclamation on the subject, of which a Copy was enclosed.

That your Memorialists felt grateful to your Excellency for the strong terms of condemnation in which that Proclamation spoke of the wanton and illegal "destruction of their Chapels and Places of Worship,—proceedings, as your Excellency not more strongly than justly characterized them, disgraceful to the

Colony, subversive of order, and of dangerous example." And your Memorialists did vainly hope that the protection which they were seeking at your Excellency's hands, would be actually afforded them in the obedience which would be paid by the "Custodes of Parishes and all Magistrates" to the injunctions laid upon them in that Proclamation "to seek out and discover the authors of these outrages, that they might be punished according to law;" and "to employ the whole force which the Constitution has entrusted to them in protecting Property of every description, whether belonging to private persons or religious societies; in quelling all disorderly meetings, and in bringing to exemplary punishment every disturber of the public peace." But whatever confidence your Memorialists may have had in a ready attention, on the part of those persons, to your Excellency's orders, and to the due execution of their duties as the legally constituted and sworn preservers of the public peace: the result has proved it to have been in most cases totally unfounded.

That, from many of the circumstances detailed in the accompanying Statement of various outrages and indignities to which they have been subjected—of reiterated attacks upon their lives and property (which your Memorialists conceive must be known to your Excellency, since they are of public notoriety,) it is evident that the Civil and Local Military Authorities in many parishes of the Island, with but few exceptions, have treated and do still treat your Excellency's Proclamation and Authority with contempt. It is equally evident that, so far from the first of these affording your Memorialists the protection they required, and as British Subjects are entitled to, the impunity with which it has been disregarded, indeed trampled on, by the very persons to whom it was addressed, is a strong encouragement to them and others to proceed to further acts of wanton aggression and threatened violence. Your Memorialists therefore are again obliged to approach your Excellency with the expression of their fears, (which surely cannot now be deemed ill-founded) that, unless a more effectual exertion of your Authority is interposed, as heretofore, so in future their

property and persons will lie entirely, as far at least as the laws which should protect them are concerned, at the mercy of a deeply prejudiced, an unprincipled and lawless party which is intent upon their destruction. And your Memorialists submit to your Excellency that it is a case calling for your serious attention, and for the exercise of your High Powers, when, in a British Colony, and under a British Governor and British Laws, British Subjects against whom not a single charge can be substantiated, dare not return to their homes and their functions, but with the certain expectation of suffering personal violence under the wilful connivance, if not immediate sanction of the very persons to whom as Magistrates the preservation of the public peace is committed. Though they trust there are some honorable exceptions, your Memorialists speak advisedly in bringing this charge against the Magistracy generally, of the parishes in which the outrages detailed in the accompanying Statement have occurred, and for their full justification in bringing it they humbly beg to refer your Excellency to the particulars of those outrages, and to the fact that not a single attempt of any one Custos or Magistrate to seek out and discover their authors, that they might be punished according to law, in compliance with the proclamation, has yet come to their knowledge.

That your Memorialists now approach your Excellency, humbly but earnestly to seek that effectual protection to which, in common with their fellow subjects, they feel themselves entitled, and which under the circumstances, none but your Excellency can afford. They detail specific grounds of complaint. They look to your Excellency for the redress of their grievances, by the exercise of the power with which their gracious Sovereign has invested you for the protection of all his faithful subjects in this Colony, and for the punishment of every contemner of the laws. They desire to do so respectfully; but they must at the same time solemnly tell your Excellency, that having now adopted every means in their power to place themselves under the protection of the laws by which they are governed, they are about to resume their

duties at some of the stations which injustice and cruelty compelled them to leave, in the exercise of an indefeasible right belonging to every Briton, and in the consciousness that whatever consequences may ensue to themselves or others in the execution of any of the threats of violence so publicly held out, the blame and the guilt cannot lie upon them.

That your Memorialists in furnishing the accompanying Statement are actuated by the hope that your Excellency will see the necessity for now adopting such measures as will effectually redress the past injuries inflicted on the religious body of which they are members, in the destruction of their chapels and other property, and as will ensure them against future acts of oppression and outrage.

Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray your Excellency to extend to them such relief as to your Excellency shall seem meet.

And your Memorialists shall ever pray, &c.

JOSHUA TINSON,	FRANCIS GARDNER,
WILLIAM KNIBB,	WM. WHITEHORNE,
EDWARD BAYLIS,	THOS. F. ABBOTT,
JOSEPH BURTON,	JOSIAH BARLOW,
HENRY C. TAYLOR,	WALTER DENDY,
SAMUEL NICHOLLS,	JOHN KINGDGN.
JOHN CLARKE,	

Statement referred to in the Memorial.

DURING Martial Law, the following Property, in which the Baptist Missionaries were interested, was destroyed by the Militia.

A New Chapel called *Salter's Hill*, in St. James's, just completed, was set fire to by a party of the St. James's Militia, under the command of F. B. Gibbs, Esq. and Captain George Gordon.

A Private House in St. James's, called *Putney*, rented as a place of worship; and a residence called *Hillington*, in Hanover; the property of Mr. Burchell, were severally burnt by the Militia; and a house in Hanover, called *Shepherd's Hall*, hired as a place of worship, was entered by the Militia, and the Pews, Furniture, and Pulpit therein, belonging to Mr. Burchell, were taken out and burnt.

On the 8th February last, the Baptist Chapel at Montego Bay, was pulled down at mid-day, by a large mob, among whom were the following Magistrates, and Officers of Militia, most of whom were very actively engaged.—

Lieut.-Col.	Wm. Charles Morris,	}	<i>Magistrates.</i>
Major	John Coates,		
Captain	George Gordon,		
„	Wm. Mitchell Kerr,		
„	John Cleghorn,		
„	John Bowen,		
„	Benjamin Haughton Tharpe,	}	<i>A Magistrate.</i>
„	Wm. Nettleton Balme.		
„	John Tharpe,		<i>Coroner.</i>
„	Edward Evans,		<i>A Magistrate.</i>
Lieut.	James Gordon,		
„	Joseph Fray.		
„	William Plummer.		
„	Thomas Watson.		
„	Charles Wallace Ogle.		
„	John Henry Morris.		
„	George M'Farquhar Lawson, jun. (Adjutant.)		

Lieut.	Henry Hunter.	
Ensign	William Fowle Holt.	
„	James Coates.	
„	William Gordon.	
„	Joseph Gill Jump.	
	Alexander Campbell, Esq. (Copse)	} <i>Magistrates.</i>
	Charles O'Conner, Esq.	
	William Heath, Esq.	
	William B. Popkin, the Head Constable.	

This outrage occurred within two hours after the Custos, and Dr. G. M. Lawson, Colonel of the St. James's Regiment, and a Magistrate also, had been informed that it was about to take place, yet the parties met with no interruption in their proceedings.

The perpetrators of this act are well known at Montego Bay, and no difficulties whatever exist in the way of "discovering the authors of the outrage."

The Proclamation of the 13th February was posted about the Town of Montego Bay, but within an hour after it was torn down.

On the 14th March, the lodgings of Mr. Burchell, a Baptist Missionary, (the indictment against whom had been that day ignored) was approached by a mob, composed chiefly of white persons, for the purpose, as they said, of doing him some bodily injury, and but for the voluntary opposition offered by private persons, all their purposes would have been effected before a Magistrate came to the spot, and during the time occupied by some of the authorities in procuring affidavits of Mr. Burchell's danger, which they required though they saw him surrounded by the mob, before they would call in a military guard. Mr. Burchell was obliged to quit the Island, for the preservation of his life.

On the night of the 12th February, the Baptist Chapel at Rio Bueno was attacked and partially destroyed by the Grenadier Company of the Trelawney Regiment, (dressed in their regimentals,) which was stationed at Bryan Castle Estate, near that place, and on the evening of the 18th it was burnt down.

On the — February the Chapel at Stewart Town, in Trelawney,

was partially pulled down by some persons also connected with the militia.

The Baptist Chapel at Falmouth had been occupied during Martial Law as Barracks by the St. Ann's Regiment. On the 7th February, when that Corps was about to quit the Town, Mr. John W. Gayner, a Magistrate, and Ensign; and Adjutant Samuel Tucker, commanded the men to break down the Chapel, and themselves set the example, saying, "these were the orders they had received."—It was completely demolished.

While the work of destruction was proceeding, information was given to Lieut. Thomas Tennison, of the Trelawney Regiment, the officer on guard in the Town. His reply was, that "it was no matter whether they broke it or not, he supposed they would set it on fire too!"

Mr. Knibb, one of the Missionaries, paid a visit to Falmouth, early in March. For three successive nights his lodging was stoned, and he was cautioned by two respectable gentlemen, against venturing out in the evening, as a party had clubbed together to tar and feather him.

After Martial Law was discontinued, the horses of Mr. Knibb were taken from Falmouth, by Major General Hilton, who has, until very recently, retained possession of them.

At Lucea, on the 6th January, Lieut.-Colonel John Edward Payne, and Major Richard Chambers (Magistrates,) and Mr. Heath, (the Rector) went to Mr. Abbott, (the Baptist Missionary's Residence) and stated that he had run away. Mr. Payne asked if he had any letters from Burchell, and said, "The Baptists had tried to ruin them, but instead of that the Baptists would be ruined themselves."

Mr. Chambers opened Mrs. Abbott's desk with a false key, though he was told it was hers, and searched her letters. They locked, nailed, and sealed up the doors, and windows of the house, and used a great deal of abusive language to Miss Dickson, who had charge of his house. Mr. Heath took away Mr. Abbott's church books, which have never been returned.

On Thursday, February 9th, in the morning, the Baptist Chapel at Lucea, was destroyed; the following parties were among the perpetrators of the outrage:—

Mr. B. Heath (the Rector.)
 Doctor Binns,
 Charles Younger, (Constable.)

Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Lucea, (a Magistrate) was present, and did not attempt to prevent it.

Mr. Heath, (Rector) asked a gentleman to go with him, and assist him in destroying "the d——d Baptist Chapel."

Mr. Richard Chambers, on the evening of the same day, refused to exercise his authority as a Magistrate, when Mr. Abbott's dwelling-house was violently entered by Dr. Binns and others, armed with hatchets, &c. for the purpose of destroying his furniture. On this occasion a respectable female, attempting to protect Mr. Abbott's property, was struck with a horsewhip, by Dr. Binns, who threatened to push her down the steps if she did not go.

Several dozens of wine were destroyed, and some of Mr. Abbott's books and clothes stolen.

On Friday night, February 10th, at about 10 o'clock, a number of men rushed into the Chapel at *St. Ann's Bay*, and violently destroyed the windows, with part of the pews and benches, causing great alarm to the Missionary and his wife, who were residing under the same roof. The next day that Missionary brought this outrage before two of the Magistrates:—Messrs. Thomas Raffington, and William S. Harker, who examined several witnesses, but afforded no adequate protection. In consequence of being left without protection by those who had the Military force under their command, the Missionary, with his wife and infant child, were compelled to flee from their home for safety, and on the following Tuesday, in the forenoon, the whole building, comprising the chapel and residence, was pulled down, and the materials stolen. Among the parties engaged in this act were Dr. George R. Stennett, and Lieut. Henry Cox, jun. (Magistrates) and Capt. Samuel Drake, (Head Constable.)

We are informed that on the last-mentioned day, some Magistrates sent for the boxes of the Missionary to the Court House, searched them, and took out sundry papers, and other of their contents.

On the 24th February, *Ebony Chapel*, at Hayes Savanna, in

Vere, was wilfully destroyed by fire. A day or two before, Mr. Hector McLean Wood, a Magistrate, with another person, went and broke some of the windows of the Chapel, and took away the key.

On Friday, 6th April, about 10 o'clock at night, a mob of *white* men armed with swords, pistols, muskets, and bayonets, went to *Mount Charles Chapel* in St. Andrews. In the way from the gate of the premises to the house, they met with a poor old man (a free negro) unarmed, and fell upon him with their swords, cutting him severely in several places on his head and body, and one of them with a bayonet stabbed him in his side.

When they got to the house they broke open the door, and fired in at it; some of them broke the windows of the bed room, forcing in the glass, frames, and shutters, with such violence, that the bed in which Mrs. Baylis (the Missionary's wife) and her infant were lying, was nearly covered with pieces of glass. They then fired in at each of the windows, and one of the ruffians applied a candle to one side of the room for the purpose of setting it on fire; but the candle was put out. They proceeded to break the hall window, swearing the house should be down that night. Seeing the candle was out, one of them broke open the door of an Out-House, saying he wanted fire, and that he would burn down the house; but the alarm being given, they made off.

The chapels and places of worship at the following stations have also been destroyed, viz:—

Savanna-la-Mar,	} Westmoreland,
Ridgeland, or Fullers Field,	
Green Island, (a hired house)	
Browns Town,	
Ocho Rios, (a hired house).	

On the 10th January, nine dozens of Madeira Wine, which were being sent from Mr. Burchell's residence in Montego Bay, to him on board the ship *Garland Grove*, were taken possession of by Lieut. John Henry Morris, and have never since been restored. On the 12th, the same person returned, accompanied by Mr. James Gordon, (a Magistrate) who said, that by "order

of Sir Willoughby Cotton, he came to see what quantity of wine was remaining." They went into the store, counted the wine, locked up the store, and took the key away. The key was not returned so late as the 5th of April.

Besides the particular instances mentioned, much more of the private property of the Missionaries has been destroyed or injured, during and since Martial Law.

The loss of property sustained by the Mission, amounts to upwards of £20,000 currency.

The Jamaica Courant (understood to be the newspaper most extensively circulated in this island,) has endeavored, and still endeavors, with impunity, to excite the inhabitants to the commission of every species of outrage on the Missionaries, recommending destruction of property, and even threatening life if they remain on the island. This paper is generally (and from the almost universal support it receives, is properly) considered as the organ of the Colony. Coinciding in opinion with the Jamaica Courant and other newspapers, many of the inhabitants of this island have connected themselves in an Association, under the designation of "The Colonial Church Union;" the predominant object whereof is to procure the expulsion of all the Missionaries from the island—an endeavor, in fact, to deprive "Englishmen of the right to abide in their own country so long as they please, and not to be driven from it unless by the sentence of the law;" and they submit, that an Association for such a purpose, is illegal, and at variance with the whole spirit of the British Constitution.

The first place at which this "Union" was set on foot, was St. Ann's Bay, where, on the 15th of February, *after* the demolition of several chapels, and *the promulgation of the Proclamation*, the following, among other resolutions, was passed.—

"Sixth. That it is expected from every Member of the Union, that he will lend his influence and *support on all occasions*, to those patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of Society, have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation, from the murderous machinations of our enemies."

The Presidents of this meeting publicly announced, are the Hon. Henry Cox, *Custos* of St Ann's, Major General in the

Militia, and Member of the House of Assembly; and James Lawrence Hilton, Esq., a Magistrate of that parish, and also a Major General, two of the Authorities who are required by the Proclamation to *prosecute* the offenders, and *prevent further outrages* in that parish.

In Spanish Town, the “Colonial Church Union” for the County of Middlesex, was held on the 21st March—and the resolutions of all the Parochial Meetings seem to have been there recognized and amalgamated.

The Hon. John Lunan, a *Judge* of the Supreme Court of the island, *Custos* of the Precinct of St. Catherine, and Member of Assembly, was appointed President of this Meeting.

It would be an endless undertaking to mention all the Law-preservers and Justices of the Peace, who are members of this illegal and peace-disturbing Society; but the Missionaries cannot omit to notice, that the Custodes of the several parishes of Trelawney, Manchester, and Vere, have accepted the office of President in their respective parishes. In the parish of Trelawney, one Magistrate, Mr. William Dyer, publishes a newspaper, called “the Cornwall Courier,” in which he has repeatedly urged that the Missionaries should be tarred and feathered. An attempt was made on the 7th April, to practise this on the Wesleyan Missionary at Falmouth—and in the next number of that paper, this act was spoken of with approbation. Our eyes cannot be shut to the fact, that William Dyer, Editor, and William Dyer, Magistrate, are one and the same person; and it seems a little too much to expect from human nature, that what the Editor recommends and applauds, the Magistrate will very rigidly judge, or severely punish.

Another Magistrate, Joseph Hodgson, who resided within a few doors of the place where this disturbance occurred, was applied to for assistance. His reply to the applicant was, that “she had better go home, they would not *hurt* the Minister.” These instances of the degree of sanction which some Magistrates give to the acts of violence committed on the Missionaries, were adverted to in a letter addressed to His Excellency’s Secretary on the 14th instant.

The following Estimate has been forwarded to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, as the Amount required in order to rebuild, at the lowest possible rate, the Places of Worship destroyed. The Sums are in Jamaica currency.

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Salter's Hill</i> .—Burnt by order of the Captain of Militia, stationed at Latium	4000	0	0
<i>Falmouth</i> .—Pulled down by the Saint Ann's Militia, while occupied as Barracks	3000	0	0
<i>Montego Bay</i> .—Pulled down at Mid-day by the Inhabitants, headed by several of the Magistrates ...	6000	0	0
<i>Savannah-la-Mar</i> .—Pulled down by the Parishioners, value	700	0	0
<i>Ridgeland</i> , alias <i>Fuller's-field</i> .—Burnt by two Overseers. A valuable House.....	1000	0	0
<i>Rio Bueno</i> .—Burnt	1000	0	0
<i>Stewart's Town</i> .—Injured to the amount of.....	250	0	0
<i>Brown's Town</i> .—Pulled down by the Inhabitants..	800	0	0
<i>St. Ann's Bay</i> .—Pulled down by the Inhabitants of the Parish	3500	0	0
<i>Ebony Chapel</i> .—Burnt	500	0	0
Total Amount of Chapels destroyed.....	20750	0	0
Loss in the destruction of Mission Property, in Houses rented :			
<i>Gurney's Mount</i> .—Pulpit, benches, &c.	300	0	0
<i>Putney</i> .—Benches burnt	50	0	0
<i>Lucea</i> .—Benches and lamps	50	0	0
<i>Ocho Rios</i> .—Pulpit, pews, and benches.....	100	0	0
	21250	0	0
The Chapel at Lucea, belonging to the General Baptists, but occupied by our Society, pulled down. Offered for Sale by the General Baptist Society for	900	0	0
Losses in horses, furniture, clothes, books, &c. &c. partly belonging to individual Missionaries, and partly to the Society	500	0	0
Extra Expenses incurred by travelling, expresses, and Mr. Knibb's passage home.....	600	0	0
	£23,250	0	0

In the above Statement we have not enumerated the Expense of the Trials, not being certain what the Amount will be.

SECTION II.

Causes of the Insurrection.

IN the months of August and September, 1831, Public Meetings were held in many, if not all the parishes throughout the island, the avowed object of which may be learnt from the following Resolutions, unanimously adopted at two of them. At these meetings, slaves as well as others were present, and the proceedings, being inserted in the newspapers, were matters of general notoriety :

“At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Ann, convened by his honor the Custos, this 6th day of August, 1831, and held at the Court House, St. Ann’s Bay, his honor the Custos having been called to the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :—

“Resolved—That we, the inhabitants of the parish of St. Ann, have repeatedly expressed our warmest indignation at, and abhorrence of the oppressive measures pursued by the British Government towards the West India Colonies.

“Resolved—That while there was a hope of conciliating our implacable foes, we acquiesced cheerfully in the conduct of our legislature ; but it is now evident that the concessions yielded by that body, have been successively obtained under pledges and promises on the part of Ministers, ‘to abstain from all future interference in our local concerns ;’ which pledges have been violated in every instance ; giving us thereby convincing proof that perfidy and determined oppression, as far as regards the colonies, are the ruling principles of the British Cabinet.

“Resolved—That hitherto, under the most marked infractions of our rights and privileges, we have been loyal ; the attachment to the mother

country has indeed long, very long, outlived her justice; and it would now be with grief that we should divest ourselves of a feeling, 'which has grown with our growth, and has strengthened with our strength;' but when we see ourselves scorned, betrayed, devoted to ruin and slaughter, delivered over to the enemies of our country, we consider that we are bound by every principle, human and divine, TO RESIST.'

The following are some of the Resolutions of Trelawney:—

"Resolved, that the means devised by a faction in the House of Commons to deprive us of our property, if carried into effect, cannot fail to create a servile war of too horrible a nature to contemplate, and that any person who attempts to produce or promote such war is an enemy to his country."

"Resolved, that the conduct of the British Government in taxing us higher than other subjects; in fostering our enemies and listening to their falsehoods against us; in rejecting statements from impartial persons in our favor; in allowing designing men, under the saintly cloak of religion, not only to pilfer our peasantry of their savings, but also to sow discontent and rebellion amongst them; in threatening to withdraw troops, for whose protection we have doubly paid, and which we might claim as our right, at a time a servile war may be apprehended; is most heartless, and in violation of justice, humanity, and sound policy."

The resolutions proceed to state, that "thrown" as they are about to be, "as a prey before misguided savages, we have no other alternative than to resist;" and to pray the King "that we may be absolved from our allegiance, and allowed to seek that protection from another nation which is so unjustly and cruelly withheld from us by our own."

Subsequently to the honourable acquittal of Mr. Knibb, he was requested by the Hon. the Chief Justice, and W. Miller, Esq. late Custos of Trelawney, to use his exertions to discover the mode in which the insurrection was planned. To facilitate the enquiry, a promise was made to two of the principal prisoners, styled Colonel Gardner and Captain Dove, that their lives should be spared if they made a full confession.

The following is the confession of these men, as taken down in the gaol by Mr. Knibb:—

They both stated, that they first heard about freedom from the negroes about Belvidere and Retrieve, but that they did not put any belief in it, and Gardner said, that he used his efforts to make the people think that it was not so.

Though they had heard much talk about it, they both solemnly denied having any connexion with the plot until Christmas-day. When, after morning prayers at the Baptist Chapel at Montego Bay, they went down the street, and met Guthrie, Sharp, George Taylor, and others, members of the Church, who were talking about the freedom of the slaves? George Taylor was strongly advising Sharp not to refuse to go to work after Christmas, as it would bring a disgrace upon the gospel. Sharp said, what is then to become of the oath we have taken in the country? We then went to the Chapel, and saw Thomas Williams, a Deacon in the Church. Gardner says, he strongly advised us to go to our work after Christmas, saying, if freedom is come, we shall get it quietly, but if they did what was wrong it would bring a disgrace upon Religion. Sharp said, I know we are *free*, I have read it in the English papers—I have taken an *oath* not to work after Christmas, without some satisfaction, and I will *not*. He then left us.

Gardner stated, that he then went in the street to buy grass for his horse, and on his way he met Guthrie, who asked him to take second breakfast with him after Chapel, which he promised to do. Went to Chapel, and heard Mr. Gardner preach,—his preaching make him stagger, and think freedom *not* come. So he make up his mind to go to work whatever others did. After Chapel went up to Cunningham's Hill, and on the way up met Dove. Guthrie said, Well, Dove, I hope you will not be hurt at my not asking you to the Hill, I intended to do it, but will you come? Dove said, yes, I am not offended, I will go with you.

At this meeting James Gardner, Thomas Gooden, William James, Charles Campbell, ourselves, and Guthrie, were present. When we entered the house, Guthrie said, Well, gentlemen, I am glad to see you, I have spirits and wine, what will you take to drink? We all chose wine. Guthrie poured it out, and taking his glass, said, Well, friends, I hope the time will soon come when we shall have our privilege, and when we shall drink our wine free. I hope we shall soon have Little Breeches under our feet. They all drank. Gardner says, I asked what this Little Breeches heard—Guthrie say he is my master. Mr. Grignon and I hear him say, that the king is going to give us free, but he hoped all his friends will be of his mind, and spill their blood first. But I'll be the first to do the job, though I am his slave. I'll give him a pill, snapping his fingers, as I follow him. Before we left, Guthrie introduced a young woman to us, and said, This is to be Mrs. Guthrie, after all is over.

We both left together, and went home. When I, Gardner, got to Greenwich, the people asked me what they were to do after the holidays. I said, I shall go to work, for I do not believe that the free paper has come. They said, No, we will not go to work, we believe the king has made us free. I then said, Well, if you will not believe me, I cannot tell. Get your

breakfast, and go and sit down in the king's road; hurt no one, and ask Buckra whether free come or not, when he passes. While I was sitting in my house, on Tuesday night, some one knocked at the door. When I open the door, I saw Campbell from Retrieve, who said, Won't you come with us? I said for what? He said, to *fight for freedom*. I said, No, it is a bad thing. On looking out I saw a number of men, armed with guns and swords. They appointed to meet at Haslymph next evening, and I went with Dove; a great many were there, but cannot tell how many, as it was very dark. After much talk, they could not agree what to do, when one set fire to Haslymph's trash-house; when it burn, they all fire their guns, and blow their conks. I went home, as I did not like to see the places fired.—Both of us were present at the attack made upon Mr. Grignon, and the soldiers at the Montpelliers. Dove had a pistol, it was loaded, but he did not fire it; he was frightened at the bullets, and went under the wall. Charles Campbell was commander, and told those who had not any guns to keep back. Campbell led his company along the king's road, and Johnstone led his company by the negro houses as ambush. Johnstone was killed on the spot, and so near the white people that they could not carry him away. Campbell was shot through the body. They took him to Gardner's house, at Greenwich, and sent for Gardner, who had gone into a grass piece. We both went to see him, but he could not speak. He died in the morning—we made a rough coffin, and buried him. Gardner read the burial service over him. Dove declares that he never left the property to fight after this battle.

In answer to my questions, as to what made them believe that the free paper had come, they stated that they all put much confidence in Sharp, who told them he had seen it in the papers, and who sent Edward Ramsey round to all the properties to tell the people it was so.

Gardner stated, that John Morris, from Duckett's came to Greenwich, and said, that he had one pistol, and that he had given three guns to his people; that he had taken three more guns, and four pistols from Mr. G. Hale's mountain, and when I told him that I did not think it true that the king had made us free, he said, that he was sure that it was true, for when the women with pickaniny at Duckett's, go to master Grignon at Christmas for allowance, master say, that they must *now* look to their friends in England for allowance, for he had no more to give them. John Morris argued long on this, and say, If we not free, what make master Grignon say so? This make all the people get stout upon it, and they throw down their hoe, and say, *they are free*.

Parties of the rebels with guns often came to me at Greenwich, but not liking the burnings I hid from them. One night John Morris, and Thomas

Horton, from Shuttlewood Cave, met more than 100 men armed. I went to the top of a hill, that they might not know where I was. Thinking that they were gone, I came down in the morning, when I found them drawn up like soldiers, and they make me go with them to Argyle. We went through Chester Castle. When we came there Ricketts from Chester Castle began to chop Agnus M'Can with his sword, over the shoulder. I would not allow him, and prevented him from killing him. This man is yet alive, and can prove what I say. I then stopped them from beating M'Can's mother. Do not know who it was that burnt the property. John Morris and Thomas Horton were in command. Went home and felt vexed that the people burn the properties; never thought that they would do so, but that all would sit still and see whether the free paper come or not.

Dove stated that James Heulier, from Belvidera, was a chief man among the rebels—he had been a runaway for five years.

Edward Ramsey told us and the people, that he had often heard his master say, that negro was to be free after Christmas. This was at Cow Park. He was captain of a company.

Bailey, a yellow skin negro belonging to Miss Williams, read the paper about freedom to the people in the country, and told them that it came from England. He was a captain,—saw him and heard him tell the people to fight.

John Thorp Lawrence, *alias* Daddy Tharp, he is not praying at all—was a great horseman, pulled down Little Bridge, he attacked the white people at Long Hill, told me (Gardner) that white man at Lethe gave him his gun and pistol, and told him how to make cartridges, and that he did right to fight for freedom. After they had answered a number of other questions, which I do not think it necessary to record, I asked them the following questions: Whether they had ever heard any minister tell them that they were free, or whether the negroes said, that Mr. Burchell had gone home to fetch free paper for them? They both said, Minister, we feel for you and Mr. Burchell, and the other ministers; you left your mother to teach we, and now when negro do wrong, they put it on you. We have often been asked the question, but if we are to die for it, you never did tell us. Black men ruin us. Gardner said, I know you, minister. I have been a member of the Church for eight years, and never been reprov'd for a fault either by minister or overseer. Mr. Burchell baptize me the first, in the river, but my character is now gone, I am a ruined man, and I would tell of any, even if it my mother, if they had deceived me; but if I die for it I will not tell a lie upon Mr. Burchell. *Poor man, I feel for him, had I followed his advice I should not have been in this trouble.* Wicked men and a wicked heart led me into it. I urged them to say if they had ever heard a minister say a word about freedom. They said *No*, they never did. They both said that they

had never heard the leaders in the rebellion say, it was Mr. B. or that he had gone home to fetch free paper. It was the unguarded expressions of the overseers, and the (news) papers.

Edward Hilton, another prisoner, stated that he was at Retrieve Estate, about two months before Christmas, where he met Samuel Sharp and others :—

Hilton asked, Let me know what we came for. Sharp said that he understood by the newspapers that the king had made them free, and that the white people, and Grignon especially, make assembly at Mr. Watt and the Court House, making a studyation to destroy all the black men, and leave all the women. That they would put them before the muzzles of their guns and shoot them like pigeons. He, Hilton, said, that if they came to take life for nothing he would run for it, but negro is not to be trusted. If one negro swear false he might hang a thousand, and get himself free for it. But if he Sharp swear it, then he would believe him. Sharp said, in the 15th chapter of Matthew, it says, "Swear not at all, neither by heaven, for 'tis God's throne, nor by the earth, for 'tis God's footstool, nor by Jerusalem, for 'tis the city of the Great King, nor by your head, because you cannot make one hair white or black," so must take word of mouth, or else you make him a liar. The king is going to send 5000 black soldiers to guard the country. After more discourse had a prayer, then went home. Next Sunday not preaching day at Montego Bay, [so went to Lamb's house and saw Thomas Reid, and asked him if he knew about this meeting kept by Sharp at Retrieve. He said yes, but he had never been there. Said that Sharp had sent for him to hear it. But Reid must not have any thing to do with it. Tell him not to trust a negro, for one could get a thousand hanged. Thomas Reid is yet alive, and can prove the discourse.

Four weeks before Christmas went to Duckett's Spring, and stopped at John Morris's house. Morris was asleep; William White came in and shook him, so that he might get awake. When he awoke he told him that he wanted him to go to the meeting. They went out, and he (Hilton) went with them. Saw John Sharp, of Catadupa, Alexander from Richmond Hill, and Sam Sharp's father-in-law, present. John Sharp asked Morris if he knew what he was come about. Morris said no; I want to see every body on the property. Morris said it is too late, they have taken prayers and gone home. John Sharp then said that he had come to put every person to his oath that they were not to go to work after Christmas. They took a Bible, and swore to that effect. After that they eat supper, and went away. Has heard that the meetings at Retrieve were held very often, but did not go back because he was afraid to meet the negroes.

Heard no more about it till Christmas morning, when he came down to the Chapel at Montego Bay. After 7 o'clock, morning prayer, Sam Sharp came to me and said, Minister is going to take all the members together, and if he ask you any thing about freedom, or whether you intend to work after Christmas, tell him No,—that you know very well that you are free, and that you won't work again for any body unless you get paid for it. Minister did not call us, but Samuel Vaughan speak to a few of us, and told us to behave ourselves during the Christmas; that we must not get drunk lest we fall into temptation, and that prayer was the way to heaven. After meeting had closed, went to Richard Bailey, at the Long Stores; saw James Gardner and William James from Duckett's Spring there. We took second breakfast. When we had sat down, Bailey looked for an old newspaper, and said, This is not the right one; this is four months old, and this tells us that eight years back, women were not to get any flogging. I then left the house about some business, and soon came back again; when Richard Bailey said he had found the other paper under his bed; recollects that he said that the paper said, that the English people will not submit under the *British custom any longer*. A paper was produced, which Hilton said was the same, he knew it by the ship on the top.* Thomas Reid told me that Edward Ramsey came to Lamb's River to put oath to all the people, but that he objected to it.

Went to Mountain after the Tuesday; was down at the Bay; saw the fire on Tuesday night, and heard the shells blow at Haslymph. Saw Gardner at Cow Park, in the road. He had no crew; did not see him give any orders. Edward Barrett was there with a gun, and they called him captain; has always heard from Cuffee, who is in jail, that Sharp swear all the people at Haslymph. Asked Thomas Williams, a leader on the Bay, whether it be true what was saying about freedom. He told me No; that foolish people put it in their heads. He is sure he never heard Mr. Burchell say a word about it; never heard negro say that Mr. Burchell had gone to bring their freedom. But they make it all up at Retrieve.

John Sharp, (the individual who planned the whole)—

After much trouble, and an evident desire not to say more than he could help, he stated that several weeks before Christmas, they met at a house at Retrieve, and confirmed what Hilton had said. It was at this place that they first planned that they would not work after Christmas. It was thus done. A Bible was brought and put on the table. He then got up and said, If ever I witness any thing against my brother and sister, concerning

* A number of the Falmouth Packet.

this matter, may hell be my portion! Nobody was present from Montego Bay: Dove and Gardner were not there.

Met two weeks before Christmas, it was *not a religious meeting*. But the drivers on different properties met to consult what to do. Some said, in answer to the question, What is to be done when we go to take order after Christmas? We will go and take it, and fire the whip, but none are to come out to work—this we will explain to the people. When all had done, Johnstone of Retrieve get up and say, This will not do, for the women are chicken hearted, and if they see the driver in the field, some will get frightened and go, and spoil all. I say, when the Busha send for me I will give the order, but I will not go out. When Busha hear this, and send for me, I will say, the people know well that they are free, and will not work any more without some satisfaction. Now by the time I say this, Busha will be ordering his horse to go to the Bay, to say that we rebel. Then we won't let him go, but will take away his horse and his gun, and will say to him, Busha, we don't rebel, but we won't work without some satisfaction. We work long enough for nothing.

Never heard of any agreement to burn any properties; all we swear was, that as we know that we are free, we will not work for Buckra unless he pay us for it.

In trying to discover what made them think that they were free, they said the papers, and Busha common-talk. Sharp said that Edward Ramsey told him, that his master told him that freedom was come from England, but that he would shoot every d——d black rascal before they should get it.

Such is the earnest desire of the negroes to know what is going on in England, that it is a common practice for the pedlars, who go about from one estate to another with trinkets, &c. for sale, to take newspapers with them, by reading which they soon collect a number of customers around them.

SECTION III.

*Conduct and Sentiments of the Colonists towards the
British Government and the Sectarians.*

It seems requisite, under this head, to shew, by a few examples, the character of the public Press in Jamaica.

The *Jamaica Courant*, Feb. 10, contains the following:—

Extract of a Letter from an Officer of the St. Ann's Western Regiment, to the Editor, dated 7th Feb, 1832.

“ Our primary ardour has been unabated. We have never allowed these deluded wretches time to rest; night and day have we been at them, and have made terrible slaughter among them. And now, at the end of a six weeks' campaign, we are neglected—not thought of, because the Governor must have a little fun with Tom Hill and his yacht. The few wretches who are now out, are hiding in the cane-pieces, and we occasionally get a bullet or two at them. On Sunday morning, five were shot, who were fallen in with and attempted to escape. I shall not consider that we are safe, although all this havoc has been made among the rebels; although they may have now found the inutility of opposing the strong force which can be opposed to them, until we can fall upon some plan of getting rid of the infernal race of Baptists, which we have so long fostered in our bosoms, and of demolishing their bloody pandemoniums.”

Extract of a letter, dated Falmouth, Feb. 7, 9 o'clock, p. m. :—

“ I cannot allow the post to start, without saying that I have remained long enough at Falmouth to see the Baptist and Methodist Chapels pulled down. This good work was accomplished this day, by the troops after their return—conquerors from the seat of war. Lots of groans as you may imagine, from

the Saints and their followers. It is impossible for me to give you a description of the appearance of our brave Militia men on their arrival in this town. The poor fellows cut a miserable appearance; you could not actually tell whether they were black, white, yellow, or any other color."

Extract of another letter of the same date:—

"Let Bruce know that the great and glorious work has commenced. It is now 10 o'clock, and all hands at work, demolishing the Baptist and Wesleyan Chapels. The Methodist Chapel is down, and the men are hard at work at the Baptists'. The roof of the latter is not yet off, but so much injured, as to make it as well off as on. It is standing, true, but supported by a few posts only. The men have gone for fire hooks to complete the work they have undertaken. There is the devil to pay here to-day (as you may suppose) among the Saints and their followers.—Weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth—wringing of hands, and groans, interrupted at times, with curses and imprecations on the soldiers."

Half-past 11, Tuesday night, Feb. 7.

"I write in the hopes of this reaching you through the way-bag, as the Post Office has long since been shut. Some true-hearted Jamaicans have truly ennobled themselves this night, by razing to the earth that pestilential hole, Knibbs's Preaching Shop. Verily, friend, they have not spared Box's also. He no more will be able to beat the roll-call to prayers, nor the tattoo upon the consciences of the subscribers of maccs—our poor deluded slaves. In plain English, not one stone has been left standing—nay, not even the corner one; and I hope that this goodly example will be followed from Negril to Morant."

Extract of a letter to the Editor, dated Falmouth, 10 o'clock, p. m. 7 Feb. 1832:—

"I trust there will be no occasion for apology in a stranger addressing you, as no doubt you will feel the same pleasure in perusing this as I did in witnessing the act which forms the subject of my communication.

"There is no longer a hive for the drones; the bees have beat them away, and destroyed their hives; no longer have they a shelter to collect maccaronies in, and away they must go.—With what pleasure did I witness the conduct of the brave and intrepid men of the St. Ann's Regiment, while performing that which ought to have been done by the Trelawney Regiment—demolishing the Baptist and Methodist Chapels. This work commenced at eight o'clock, and is still going on; by morning there will not be a stone left standing.

I trust the example thus set in Trelawney, will be followed throughout the island; with this difference, that the inhabitants of every parish will do their own duty, and not require others to perform it. It was highly amusing to see the “*Cobblers*,” flocks in the streets, groaning and wondering where their *preachers* would now get money to build other Chapels.”

Again, Feb. 18, the Editor states that he had been present at the Methodist Chapel on the Parade, Kingston, and heard one of the ministers, whom he styles “a stout consecrated cobbler,” lecture thirteen men because they had not performed their duty fearlessly, during the late rebellion. On this he proceeds to remark as follows:—

“Is it come to this, that when the danger is supposed to be over, that the preachers of all denominations, who found it *prudent* to quit the country, should assemble in Kingston, and pretend to be instructors of each other, and point out how they are *in future to conduct themselves*? Their treason to the country has been discovered, and by a show of about thirty vagabond preachers, who dare not show their *noses* out of Kingston, they are endeavoring to excite a sympathy for their sufferings! The time has passed, and their conduct is now understood, and none but those who encourage rebellion would, for one moment, countenance the conduct they are pursuing. If they are really the servants of the Lord Jesus, what have they to be afraid of? Their master performed many miracles, but alas! he was crucified—a consummation which we devoutly pray his pretended servants may experience; and as we intend shortly to publish an almanack, we shall be very happy to canonize these gentry, by placing their names as Saints, in *black letter*. Now for the oration. The *Rev.* bawler addressed his thirteen culprits, and asked them if *their* mission was not one of peace? The poor d—ls, of course, nodded assent. He then remarked, with a degree of energy which we are sorry was not exerted in a good cause—*Are you not ambassadors from God*? Another nod! Then said the preacher, *persevere*—here he made a pause of a few seconds, and then told the *criminals again* to persevere in maintaining peace and good order!!!! These men are very kind, and no doubt *preach peace* on earth, and good will towards all men! The dear *babes*, how we love them! Merely because we know they love *us*!! We are however not bigots, either in politics or religion, and if they could point out the same number of *good* men among them which would have saved Sodom and Gomorrah, we would like Lot “*beg for them*,” but as we know that such a number could not be found, we hope they may be *ordered* to “march” at a moment’s warning, without sustaining a loss equal to that which poor Lot experienced.”

Cornwall Courier, Feb. 15.—

“ Since our last we have received accounts of the destruction of every one of those pandemoniums of insurrection and rebellion, the Baptist preaching shops, from Savanna-la-Mar to Brown’s Town, in St. Ann’s. They have been destroyed partly by the Militia and partly by some of their own followers, who have had their eyes opened by recent events, which have taught them that the Baptist Parsons were not the Sovereigns of Jamaica. Several of the Wesleyan Chapels have also been either totally or partially destroyed; a fit but trifling retribution for the loss these men have caused to the proprietors of those estates that have been burnt by the incendiaries, who were instigated to commit the crimes, for which so many of them have suffered, by these preachers.—We can only say in the words of the Reformer, John Knox—“ To get rid of the Rooks effectually, you must destroy their nests.”—As to the rooks—the preachers—we would recommend the advice of our staunch friend, James M’Queen, to be observed towards them:—“ Tar and feather them wherever you meet them,” and drive them off the island, excepting always those who may merit a greater elevation—a more exalted distinction.

Cornwall Courier, Feb. 22.—

“ The war may now be considered at an end; the deluded victims of Sectarian treachery have tried their strength, and are satisfied of their utter incapacity for warlike operations. The ease and celerity with which they have been subdued, and appalling examples, have struck a terror which will not be got the better of; and we might anticipate a long series of peace, were it not for the portentous events with which the political horizon of the parent state is overcharged. There, we are to expect nothing but what the most rancorous animosity, backed by power, may inflict; but we are happy to observe that a feeling and spirit is aroused throughout the island, which will enable the injured and insulted inhabitants to withstand and repel the assaults of their enemies.—This has been manifested in the destruction of those dens of sedition and hypocrisy—the Sectarian Chapels. It is a measure of just retribution for that devastation which was inflicted on unoffending individuals, by the base and cowardly arts of those *authorised** traitors; the indignation of the community had been sufficiently inflamed, by the dissension which their doctrines had sown between the master and the slave. It wanted but this to fill up the measure of their iniquity, for bringing upon them deserved vengeance. It has fallen—and fallen, justly, on those who are ‘ the head and front of the offending.’—If any man doubts this, let him look at the confessions of those victims who have expiated their

* Authorised by Government.

crimes on the scaffold; let him look to the examinations on the pending trials of Burchell, Knibb, and Gardner. These would be sufficient to convict the Sectarians, even before their own corrupt tribunals: but we are too well aware of the weakness of our courts of law, to suppose that they will meet the fate they so justly merit, nor have we any thing to expect from an application to the Legislature; for although the popular part might willingly pass an act to root them out from the soil, yet we know, but too well, that it is an injunction imperatively laid by Ministers on the Governor, to encourage and support these incendiaries by every means in his power.

Some there are who aver that it might have been better to await such an application to the House of Assembly; we beg leave to answer—that with this conviction before us, no benefit whatever could have followed.—We say, that no redress awaits our deeply seated injuries from Law, Legislation, or Government. Retribution has been inflicted in the most speedy manner, and it has been inflicted by those who had a full right to do so. Society has its rights—as well as Legislature. The prerogative of Society is undeniable; it is at all times greater than that of legislature, which is dependent on it.—Here is one of those instances where the representatives were powerless, and the people have taken it in their own hands. When we say the people, we do not mean a mob—a gang of thieves and pickpockets, such as the happy politics of England now acknowledge as their liege Lords—but we mean the Magistrates, Vestrymen, and Freeholders of the island, who have been in arms to preserve their property, and who have, *in open day, done this thing in self-defence!*

The COLONIAL CHURCH UNION, established in St. Ann's, works well, and gives an assurance that the leading men of the country are zealously performing their duty; and, as an advanced guard, are diligently protecting our interests,—counteracting and exposing the machinations of our enemies. We trust that every man in the island will enrol his name in this Society; there is an absolute necessity for a combination of this kind, throughout every parish. We refer, for this purpose, to the repeated admonitions of those able journalists who have advocated our cause in the Mother-Country; they tell us, that nothing but a firm, decided, and general Union, can shield us from the frantic schemes of our enemies, or the tyrannical measures of their obsequious SLAVES—the Ministers of the Crown!

The result of the rebellion has been, to open the eyes of the community to the utter incapacity of our laboring class as combatants, and has completely dispelled that idle panic which pervaded the island, on account of their vast apparent numerical strength. This bubble has burst, but we must prepare for other contests.—The very defence of our lives and properties will be construed by the Anti-Colonists, into a crime of the deepest dye. They will rave for the unexpected failure of their insurrectionary plans, and

a crusade will be preached up against us, and permitted by Government. The *revolutionary Parliament of England*, will emulate the *revolutionary Parliament of Robespierre*; and we call on every man throughout the island to say,—whether he would not rather die with arms in his hand, than submit to such an unjust, unprincipled, act of tyranny?

This is what Jamaica has to expect.—This is what your Agent, Mr. Burge, has warned you will come to pass. The present Administration has told you, you have nothing to hope from them.—The reformed Administration will complete your ruin, unless the Colonists preserve that tone and spirit of resistance, which can alone bear them through the portending storm.

Jamaica Courant, Feb, 29.—Extract of a Letter by “Conservator,” to the House of Assembly:—

The orders in council lately proclaimed in the unfortunate Crown colonies, will no doubt be laid before you. Gentlemen, you cannot have already forgotten the threat of that presumptuous impotent half-fledged stripling, Lord Howick, made in Parliament, that he would compel you to adopt them without the alteration of a word, or even a letter!!

If for one moment you entertain that document, coupled with such a threat—in the next, resign the trust which your constituents have reposed in you.

No, hang or burn, if you will, the puppet’s effigy with the orders crammed in the throat, under the gallows, if there is such a thing in the good town of Saint Jago de la Vega; but pray do not let them disgrace your mace, by laying on the same table with it.

Jamaica Courant, March 1.—

On an attentive re-perusal of the Governor’s opening speech to the Legislature, we are sorry to remark that his Excellency persists, in his allusions to “the machinations which have been employed to seduce the slaves into rebellion,” to talk of their “*allegiance!!* and the *duty* they owe to their masters. The Earl of Belmore has been long enough in Jamaica to know that the slaves owe no *allegiance*, and that the contract between their owners and the Government of the Mother Country provides only for their *obedience* to their masters; and we deprecate the idea of inculcating upon the negro mind the bare supposition that the King has any control whatever over him: and we have no doubt that to the frequency with which such doctrines have been held out by the Sectarians, is mainly to be attributed the cause of the late rebellion.

We had intended to add several Extracts illustrative of the

formation and objects of the "Colonial Church Union," formed for the avowed purpose of expelling Sectarianism from the island, but must confine ourselves to the following, taken from the *Courant* of March 3, which clearly shews what is meant by "Sectarianism," since it complains that it has flourished even among the members of our own (the Established) Church!

THE COLONIAL CHURCH UNION.

This auspicious measure flourishes—eleven parishes are already organized within its combining influence—and an active principle of life and energy is already infused into our hitherto lifeless body, which will soon circulate through every vein of the Colony, and give an impulse to its struggles, which nothing can withstand—nothing, at least, which can be brought against it in the present dislocated state of affairs in the parent isle—for in such a cruel situation are we placed, that all we have to guard against is the unnatural conduct of our own misguided parent! In less than four months have we to dread the infuriated exertions of our enemies,—the whole battery of the Colonial Office will then be opened against us, aided by the small arms, the rifles, of those assassin brigands, the Sectarians, who are so expert in picking off our best men, the victims of treachery and revenge. For this we must be prepared by our UNIONS, as well as against the harassing prosecutions which will be instituted, but which need not be feared, so long as the Jury Box be within its range. The plan is understood to be this, and it is time it should be widely promulgated:—The Parochial Unions are to become sub-committees to one *Grand Island UNION*, which will be directed by an acting committee of two or more members of each of the parochial committees, headed by a President, to be elected by the *general voice of the members*, with Secretaries and an Island Treasurer, to meet where, and as often as occasion may require. The first general meeting will shortly be convened, when such provisions, and rules, and *orders*, will be promulgated, as will anticipate the dreaded blow, and organize the Country against the future interference of those who have rendered such strong measures necessary. Above all things, care must be taken to exclude, and narrowly to watch the conduct of *suspected persons, of which many are amongst us*, whom it is now necessary to hold up to public shame and reproach. The existence of the Union, as an effective body, requires *their* exposure, and its members will bear harmless the man who dares to bring such forward. They will also protect all those who, for the *general good*, are active in expelling from our veins the poison of Sectarianism, and preventing its further infusion; and one of their first and strongest efforts should be to destroy those organs of sedition and blasphemy, which have assisted in disseminating that

poison:—to support, or countenance, in short, *no press or person that shall advocate the hateful cause of the Dissenters!* and to petition the Assembly to place *our own Clergy* under the control of *our own people*, and their representatives *in Vestry*, even to the expulsion of those missionaries and curates, who are still here, paid by, and under the influence of our enemies; and who have already been detected in their vile vocation. The old Church government and discipline was better than the present—*let then the old laws revive.* The Episcopal Government has here been an experiment, which has failed; for under it, sectarianism has increased ten-fold, and flourished even amongst the ministers of our own church. In fact, sectarianism came in with that system;—*let them expire together.* We have lately seen the danger of trusting our people to the instruction of those who are not under our own control; let us, therefore, henceforward hold the purse and power in our own hands, and let every member of the Colonial Church Union think, that, as in battle, the field may be won by his own arm, so in the present.

The means taken to procure evidence condemning the Missionaries have already been partially made known to the public.

The following confession of Samuel Stennett, the witness against Mr. Burchell, was made before John Manderson and T. Raeburn, Esqrs. of Montego Bay:—

Jamaica—Personally appeared before me Samuel Stennett, of the Parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, That the affidavit made by him against the Baptist Missionaries, T. Burchell, and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in gaol, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such facts as he, the deponent, hath sworn against them. That he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George McFarquhar Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. This deponent further saith, that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said Missionaries, and that he never joined the Baptist Society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country. So help me God.

Lewis Williams, a free black man of Falmouth,

Saw an old man from Windsor Lodge hanged—when they tie him and bring him down, he said, “Well, I am going to be hanged. Mr. Buchanan, you force Dempshire to tell a lie upon me. Never mind, Sir, God bless you, I

hope you may live long. I never told the people any thing about free paper, or to burn the property." Several of the members told me that the old man never told them any thing about freedom. Really believe him a very good old man, have known him four years. Heard Captain Stainby ask a man from Windsor Lodge, when he was going to be hung, Whether the Baptist Parson did not tell you go to free? *No*. Join no Church—Never go to any. Have seen nine hung, do not know names; but all were asked whether the Baptist Parson did not tell them they *were* free; all said, *No*, the Parson never tell me any thing of the kind.

Richard Brown, of the same town, who by his industry had been enabled to purchase his own freedom and that of his wife, states that he—

Was present when Robert Hall was led out to be shot at Falmouth; was sentinel. Saw Mr. Jobson and Mr. Russell present. Heard Robert Hall say, that he did not belong to any Church, was christened in the Church of England. Heard Mr. Russell ask him what parson told him he was going to be free? Heard Robert Hall say he never heard parson say so. Heard Mr. Russell say, What, no parson? Answered *No*. Heard Mr. Russell say,—Say Parson Knibb, you Sir. Heard prisoner say, Master, I cannot go tell a lie, I never hear it. Saw the prisoner tied to be shot. Heard Mr. Russell say, Move away that man, (meaning me.) Heard the prisoner say, Me never hear it from minister myself; but the people da go pray, say we going to be free. Does not know what question was put to the prisoner as he was removed.

Was present as sentinel when —— Bell, from Dromilly, was led out to be shot. Mr. Russell and Mr. Jobson were with him. Heard Mr. Jobson ask him, the prisoner, what he had to say. Prisoner said he had nothing to say, only that he tried to save his master's property, and that the negroes tell a lie upon him. Heard Mr. Russell say to the prisoner, What Church do you go to? Prisoner said, Sometimes go to Chapel. Heard Russell ask prisoner what minister told him he was to be free? Heard prisoner say, No minister tell me so; it was lie his master's negroes tell upon him. Heard Russell and Jobson say, This man won't tell the truth, being he saw me there, I being one of the brothers in the Church. Saw them take the man away to be shot. Does not know what he or they said, but when Mr. Smith came back, he shook his sword in my face.

Notes of an interview with Venture and Paris, two of the evidences for the crown against Mr. Knibb, made at their earnest request—

Venture, the Baptist leader came to me one day, when I went to the jail, and with tears in his eyes, begged me to speak with him as he had something to tell me ; I told him that I could not, that he was a witness against me, and that I wished him to say all against me that he knew. After the trial I saw him and Paris, when he stated as follows: That Joseph Erskine, the chief witness against me was never at Crooked Spring Chapel but once in his life ; that he was in no manner connected with the Church, and that he did not even know me ; that he was among the rebels, and was taken in the woods by the Maroons, when he said, that if they would spare his life, he would tell them all about the parson.

He then told Busha that I and Paris were the leaders on Lima, and we were then taken and put in confine in the stocks at Latimer. Mr. Gunn came and wished to take me out and shoot me, but Busha would not let him. They then said that I kill the sheep at Dumfries, which was not true.

When I was brought down to the Bay, I was taken into a private room in the Court House, by young Dr. Lawson. He ask me, What was the oath Mr. Knibb gave the people? When it was that Mr. Knibb told them to burn their masters' properties? What time Mr. Knibb tell them Parson Burchell would be back from England? Whether Mr. Knibb did not tell them that Parson Burchell had gone home to fetch the free paper? Paris said, that the same questions were put to him. They both said No ; he never tell us any thing of the kind ; he tell us to be obedient to our masters, and to be sure to go to work after Christmas. Venture said, he (Mr. K.) took me aside at Salter's Hill, and speak to him privately to be sure to tell the people to go to their work after Christmas, and not to believe any thing about freedom. We were both then tied and sent to jail.

Had oath given us at the Court House the other day, and were sent to the Grand Jury. They asked me (Venture) about Mr. Knibb, and I told them the same as I said to young Dr. Lawson. They then feel my head and say, Knibb has sworn you not to speak the truth. I say No. I never take oath before to-day, and is now on my oath on the Bible, and is speaking the truth. I cannot tell a lie, minister never did tell me any thing about freedom. They then tell me I is a damn Baptist liar, and will not speak the truth. No other witness present.

Paris said the same, and informed me that Adam would not tell a lie upon me.

SECTION IV.

*Conduct of the Missionaries and Religious Slaves
during the Insurrection.*

UNDER this head we insert a Letter from Samuel M. Barrett, Esq. to Mr. Knibb, dated Cornwall, Feb. 23, and a condensed Statement of Facts, as furnished by Mr. Knibb himself.

Mr. Barrett's Letter is as follows :

Dear Sir—I avail myself of the return of your Messenger to Montego Bay, to express to you the sincere pleasure I feel in hearing of your release from the restraint which had been imposed upon you and your brethren. I can assure you, that I never from the beginning, nor do I at this time, attribute to yourself or to Mr. Burchell, any blame as directly producing or promoting the late melancholy disturbance. Having this feeling, I deeply regret that the feelings of the country should so strongly mark yourself and the other Baptist Ministers out as objects of persecution. My opinion, an opinion resulting from my own frequent and confidential intercourse, not only with my own negroes, but with the negroes of various other estates, is, that religion had nothing to do with the late disturbances; but, on the contrary, its absence was a chief cause of them. No people could have conducted themselves better than all the negroes upon Cambridge and Oxford Estates, and in like manner, the people upon Retreat Pen. Even at the period when the prejudice ran strongest against you, and when it was scarcely politic for a negro to say any thing in your favor, I have, upon every occasion, when I have enquired from any of the members of your congregation upon any of my properties, whether you had ever *taught them to expect freedom*, the answer has invariably been such as to convince me the charges against you were ill-founded. In the absence of all proof

to criminate any one in particular, or any class of persons, professional or otherwise, I would not in charity suspect any one, or venture to assign any cause for so great an evil as it has pleased Providence to afflict us with. I should have deeply deplored, for the sake of religion, had any of its Ministers so far perverted the truths of the Gospel, as to create this shedding of blood. I do, therefore, most sincerely rejoice that you stand innocent of all guilt as connected with the late disturbances, so far as any proof has, as yet, been adduced.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SAM^L. M. BARRETT.

Mr. Knibb's Account is:—

Robert Gentle, a leader in Mr. Cantlow's Church, took up Dehany and two other of the rebels.

Huie Barnett, an enquirer, belonging to Falmouth Church, took up Robert Whitter, one of the chief rebels on Pantrepant Estate.

Green Park negroes were celebrated in the papers of the Colony for their good conduct. On that property I had thirty-seven members; the enquirers are double the number. Some of my members on that property took up two rebels who came to set fire to the estate. They came to me to ask me if they had done right, and I assured them they had. A sum of money has been voted to them by the House of Assembly.

They thus conclude a letter written to their mistress, and sent open for my perusal.

“ We have been faithful servants of yours, these several years, and hope to continue so, by being enlightened by the gospel. During the rebellion the attorney left the property, the overseer and book-keepers were on guard in the town and country, and we remained steadily, and protected the property to the last, knowing the estate was in danger of being consumed with fire. We therefore trust, mistress, that you will, as a pious soul, unite with us, your slaves, to let our minister remain with us, and aid and assist in defending the gospel of Christ in Jamaica.

JOSEPH HENRY. X

LEWIS WINWRIGHT. X

LEWIS ATHERTON. X

JAMES CAMERON. X”

Charles Campbell, belonging to Weston Favel Estate, a deacon at Falmouth, saved the property, and has received his freedom in consequence.

Edward Barrett, belonging to Oxford, guarded, with the people, the property for a month. We have eighty-six members on this property. He is a deacon of the church at Falmouth.

George Prince of Wales, a member of the church at Falmouth, had the whole charge of the property, the keys of the store, &c. &c. put into his hands, for a month. We have thirty-six members on this estate.

The members of the church at Carlton Estate saved the property, as the following note, from Mrs. Waddell, the wife of a Presbyterian Missionary, will testify. "I am happy to say that some of your people, in this quarter, have adorned the gospel by their becoming conduct, particularly Reeves, Hall, and Gordon." Mr. Cron (the attorney) says "they have saved *Carlton*, and have completely exonerated Mr. Knibb from having EVER said any thing to excite the rebellion."

On several estates in Trelawney, to the number of forty, or more, the members of my church mounted guard, and saved the property. Only three of the members were tried by Court Martial, and they, I verily believe, were innocent.

Not a single estate or pen was burnt where we had a member connected with Falmouth church, though the whole number was eighty-six.

On almost every estate that was saved from the rebels there were Baptists, and they were the cause of its being spared.

Several of the members have been rewarded by the House of Assembly for their good conduct.

Mr. Cantlow's church was in the heart of the rebellion; fifteen out of eighteen of his leaders were faithful to their owners. Of the other three we have no sufficient proof of guilt. A gentleman from America, who saw one of them tried and hung, said to me, I hope to meet him in heaven, he died for being a Baptist.

Many were actively engaged in saving property. Escrow Freeze, on Leyden Estate, has received his freedom for his good behaviour. His wife was shot, in her own house, by the troops. He was ordered to kill a negro, without trial, and refused, when the white man immediately chopped the negro to death.

William Ricketer, one of Mr. Burchell's deacons, saved the property from the rebels, when the troops ran away. I believe he has obtained his freedom.

After every exertion for the purpose, I could not find that one of Mr. Burchell's leaders or deacons was convicted of rebellion.

Not a single estate on which Mr. Abbott had members stopped work at all.

I could mention several other instances, but these will for the present suffice.

Two of the slaves mentioned above, as so honorably distinguished for their good behaviour, sent home, by Mr. Knibb, a

letter to their owner in England. A perusal of this document, which we give *verbatim* and *literatim*, will shew of what such men, under religious training, are capable, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they labor:—

Oxford Estate 17th April 1832.

DEAR MASTER,

WE address you with these lines; with much feelings, stating the destructive ruins of our Baptist Church in Falmouth: perpetrated by wicked mens; on the 18th of February 1832—our chapel was wantonly, maliciously, and spitefully torn down, by the children of the devil.—our minister Mr. Knibb and other Minesters of the Gospel, were distainfully Treated,—calumny and reproach were heaped upon them and by the Basist means, by bribing instruction and Subornation to perjury, endeavoured to destroy not only their reputation but also their lives, but which, through divine Providence were overruled, and their innocence made appear, clear as the unclouded noon-day sun; by juries before which their slandered character had been *fairly tried*. We will reason here with Master, (or rather enquire how did we become such faithful Servants of yours for these *several years*? was it by the Cruelty of the overseers; that lived on your properties whoes hearts is entirely set against god! No.) It is the word of God, and through the Instrumentality of our Ministers Mr. Mann and Mr. Knibb—he has taught us publickly as well as in private conversation, to obey our Master and discharge that duty which devolve upon us with faithfulness,—and should we dissobey our Masters, we would also dissobey our God.—Sinse the Sanctuaries of the Lord is demolished, there are several of the people on the properties are turning from the paths of duty, and will walk with Jesus no more.

The Gospel has done a great deal of good for us—the word of God has taught us to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this evil world. (Therefore we hope Master will feel with us, and have such compassion as will lead him to pittty our present state, and try to assist us in doing something toward the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for it is all our *consolation* and it is our wish that our Minister should remain with us in Jamaica, and preach the glad tiding of Salvation, our Minister Mr. Knibb has given us very wholesome advices always, he has told us to count our Master's Case our own, and should we offend him by being dissobedient, we will offend the most high God,—our prayers shall be for you, that God may bless and preserve you and Family—we will look to Master for assistance by next Packet, that the works of the Lord may go on with us, for had we not

tasted the sweets of religion we would have remained in our dark and ignorant state of mind, and be void of the things that belongs to our spiritual and eternal peace;—hoping when this reaches you may find Master and family well.

We remain dear Master

Your obedient Servants,

EDWARD BARRETT, and
GEORGE PRINCE WALES.

To Edward M. Barrett Esq.

SECTION V.

*Apprehended Illegality of the summary Proceedings
against the Slaves during Martial Law.*

The 80th Clause of the Consolidated Slave Law, passed 19th Feb. 1831, provides—

That if any slave or slaves shall, after the commencement of this act, enter into, or be concerned in, any rebellion or rebellious conspiracy, or commit any murder, felony, burglary, robbery, or set fire to any houses, out-houses, negro-houses, cane-pieces, grass or corn-pieces, or break into such houses, out-houses, or negro-houses, in the day time, no person being therein, and stealing thereout, or commit any other crime which would subject free persons to be indicted for felony, such slave or slaves shall, for every such offence or offences, upon trial and conviction thereof in manner hereinafter mentioned, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct, according to the nature and extent of the offence.

The 95th Clause enacts that—

Slaves are to be tried, &c. for crimes before courts of quarter sessions, or special slave courts, and by indictment before grand and petit juries. Sentence of death not to be carried into effect, but under governor's warrant, except in cases of rebellion.

Clause 108, provides—

That in all cases, where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish, and with due solemnity, or at such place in the parish as the Governor, or person executing the functions of governor, shall direct or appoint, and it shall be the duty of the

rector or curate to prepare the criminal while under sentence, and to attend the place of execution; and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marshal that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of twenty pounds; and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other, and the body shall be afterwards disposed of as the court shall direct.

And Clause 136, enacts—

That the operation of this act, or any part thereof, shall not be suspended by Martial Law, any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

It is a matter of notoriety that great numbers of negroes were executed by *sentence of Court Martial*, that many more were cruelly flogged, and that others were condemned to confinement in workhouses, and to be worked in chains for life, by the same tribunal.

Can we wonder that certain members of the House of Assembly were so eager to introduce a bill of indemnity for the militia?

It may be enquired, further, by whose authority the savage Maroons were commissioned to shoot whom they pleased, bringing in *the ears* of their victims as an evidence of their prowess?

We close this article by an extract of a letter relating to this subject from Mr. Whitehorne, dated 29th March, 1832.—

It may not be amiss to call your attention to the subject of the punishment of slaves during Martial Law. Perhaps you will see fit to direct the attention of the authorities to it. In the new Slave Law there are particular regulations for the trial by Jury of slaves for *rebellion, arson*; and there is also a clause to the effect, that the slave law shall not be suspended during Martial Law. Notwithstanding this, during the late business they were tried by *Military Courts*, shot, hanged, flogged, in the most summary manner. On the declaration of Martial Law, certain rules and articles of war came into operation—these are expressly for the government of the Militia, superseding during Martial Law the ordinary laws by which that body is regulated. Because, of the general word “whoever” in the 3rd and 4th Articles relating to rebellion, the Military thought proper to apply those clauses to *all classes*, though the preamble of the Act limits its contents to the Military only, and though the same expression “whoever” is used in other Articles (8. 15. 42. 6.)

which relate to mere Military offences, and in others (2. and latter part of the 4th.) which apply to offences when committed by soldiers only, by the very terms used. The opinion of an intelligent legal friend coincides with mine, that none but the Military could be legally tried under these articles. Yet were the Missionaries laid hold of under them, and one (a Moravian) was actually tried—and *slaves were executed by hundreds*. Supposing, however, our opinions to be erroneous so far, they can scarcely be so on the following point. One of the Articles of War (38th) states, that “No corporal punishment shall be awarded under this act, or any other act, respecting the Militia, but imprisonment, or death.” Yet, while professing to try people, both slaves and free, under this act, they did not hesitate to flog them to the extent of 300, many had 500 lashes, which is in breach of this clause. The general idea was, that all law was suspended, the Military took upon themselves the trial of whatever they considered offences, and punished them according to their arbitrary notions of their offensiveness. It made no difference that the Act charged was committed before Martial Law. A free man at Rio Bueno, (Mr. William Thompson) was taken up, his arms pinioned behind him. He was tried and threatened with the gibbet, for having been seen about a year before in the negro houses on an adjoining estate under circumstances that induced the suspicion that he had been *preaching!* Houses were pulled down in every direction, because (before Martial Law) they were used to *pray* in. Missionaries were threatened with imprisonment if they attempted to preach, and they were seized and treated as military offenders, on the charge that (before Martial Law) they had preached sedition. The hardship of trial by Court Martial is indescribable—the defence is so hindered that it is almost useless to make the attempt—the assistance of Counsel is denied, and altogether it is well described as an “apology for a trial.” The friends of peace, order, and justice, ought to interfere to prevent a repetition of the gross outrages that have taken place, in case it should seem fit to Divine Wisdom to permit a recurrence of the late calamitous rebellion. It is a cry on every side that hundreds of innocent negroes were murdered, in the thirst for vengeance which pervaded the hearts of the whites. I think, for the protection of missionaries too, some stir should be made to prevent the abuses to which they have been subjected. The right to make us turn out, as soldiers, is very galling. Our horses, houses, and property were *selected* for the use of the soldiery, grossly injured, and remuneration in the ordinary way denied us, and our papers of the most delicate nature exposed to the inspection of every person who chose to order them to be seized.



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