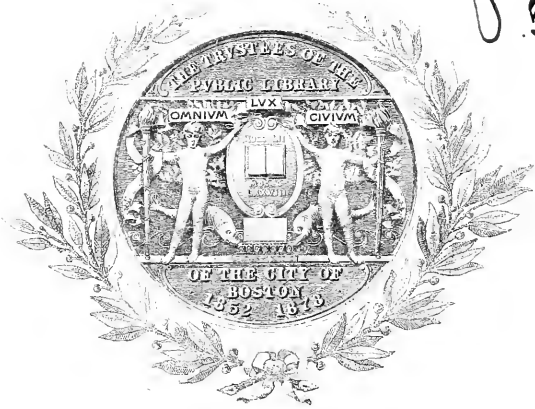
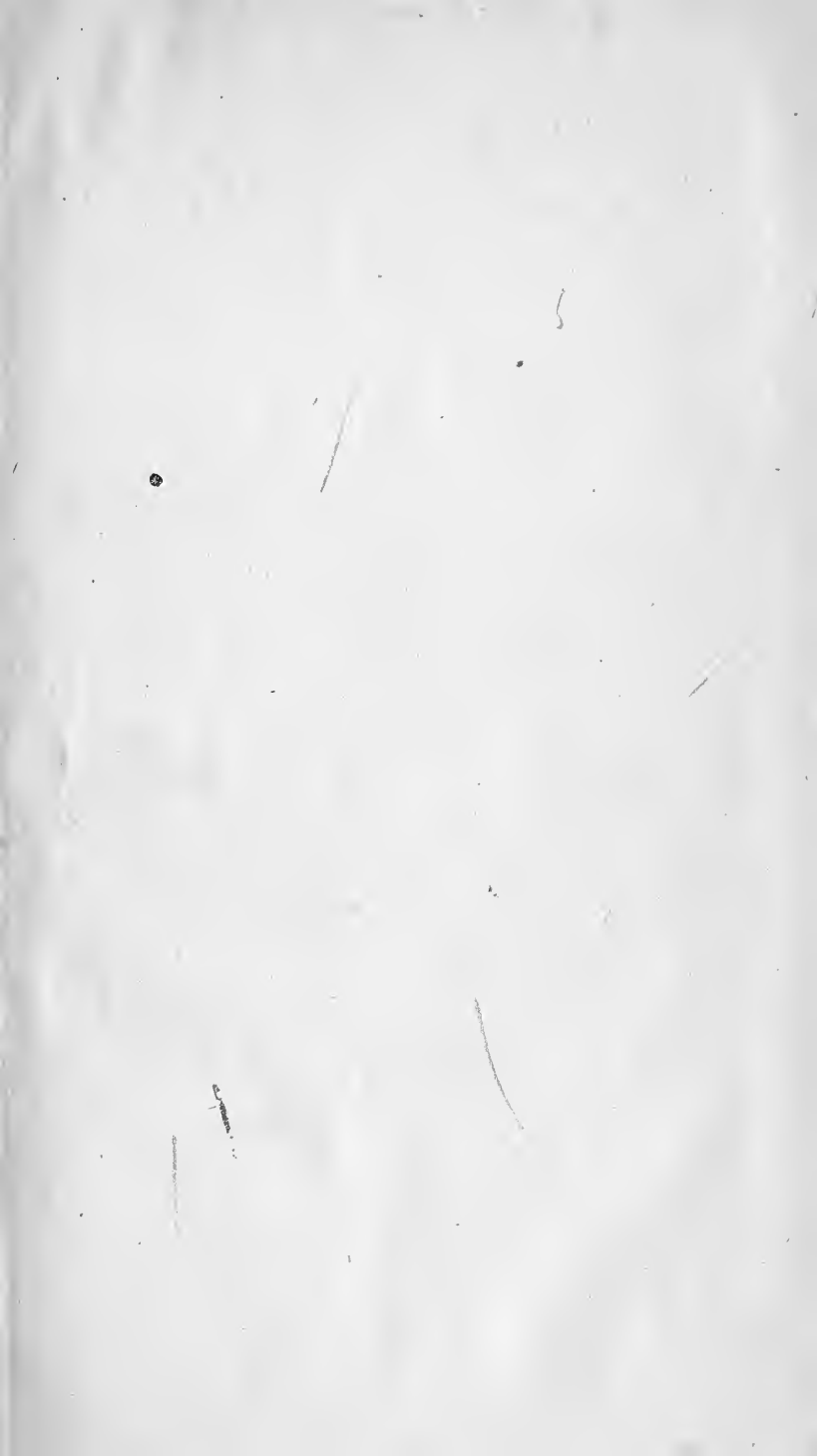


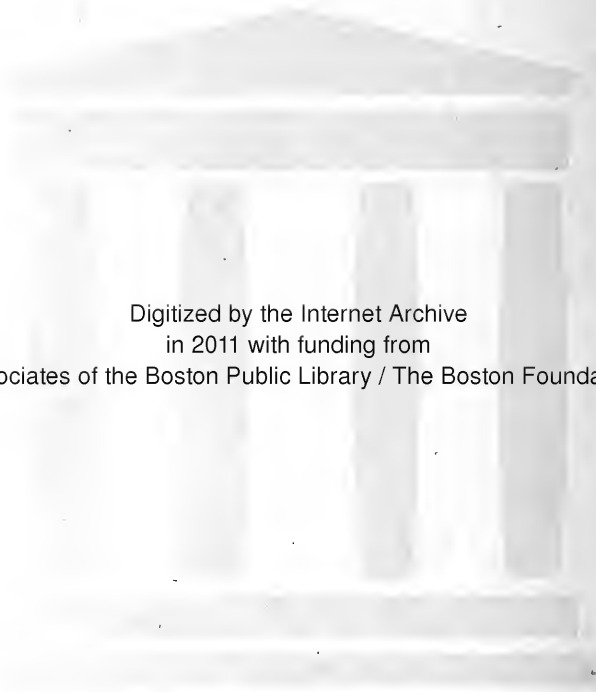
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COLONIAL SLAVERY.

DEFENCE OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES

FROM

THE CHARGE OF INCITING

THE

LATE REBELLION IN JAMAICA ;

IN A

DISCUSSION

BETWEEN THE

REV. WILLIAM KNIBB AND MR. P. BORTHWICK,

AT THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS, BATH,

On Saturday, December 15, 1832.

Taken in Short-hand by Mr. T. Oxford, of Clifford's Inn.

SECOND EDITION.

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DISCUSSION

BETWEEN

THE REV. W. KNIBB AND MR. P. BORTHWICK,

AT THE

ASSEMBLY ROOMS, BATH,

On Saturday, December 15, 1832.

On the proposition of Mr. Borthwick, W. T. BLAIR, Esq. was requested to take the chair.

The chairman then addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

With the knowledge that Mr. Borthwick has of my sentiments upon the subject which has brought us together this morning, I cannot but regard his having made the proposition which has just been submitted to you—I am bound, indeed, to consider it as an evidence of the good feeling with which that gentleman comes to this discussion; and, whatever my individual feelings and opinions may be, I shall endeavour to justify the confidence which you have placed in me, in having called me to preside at this meeting, by expressing the most perfect impartiality in discharge of the duties which may devolve upon me.

As I am not here as an advocate, but merely as an umpire, or referee, as to any points of order which may arise, so long as I maintain that character, I rely upon receiving from this large and respectable assembly every assistance in securing for both parties the most patient and quiet hearing, which is absolutely necessary to the just appreciation of the merits of one of the gravest and most important questions that can be brought before you. To the speakers on both sides, if they will allow me, I take the liberty of saying, Whatever be the temptation, avoid all personalities, and repress, as far as possible, all angry and vindictive feelings. Let the discussion be conducted (and I know the subject is an exciting one) with the feelings and spirit of Englishmen; but, in doing so, let us seek to preserve the courtesies of gentlemen, and the temper and integrity of Christians. Then, whatever your difference of opinion may be, though your conclusions be the very antipodes of each other, the interests of truth must be promoted by fair and public discussion, and there will be no occasion for regret afterwards on either side.

One word, with your permission, before I sit down, respecting myself. To guard against any of those imputations of self-interest, or party-feeling, which I know are sometimes cast on such as take a more prominent part than others in the great questions which agitate mankind, I deem it not altogether superfluous to observe that I have no personal interest whatever in the question—none that can, in the slightest degree, be promoted by it, however it may be decided. I am not, and never was, the paid or unpaid agent of any society; I have no party purpose to serve, political or commercial; I feel the duty, and the interests of humanity alone impel me to perform it—of lending my aid towards the extinction of an evil which the gentlemen, both on my right and left, agree (I am bound to believe) as constituting one of the foulest blots on human nature, and a deep stain on our national character. And, as to the time, to use the language of the late House of Commons, in the instructions to Mr. Buxton's committee—"as early as may be with safety to all parties concerned." With these few observations, I now call on Mr. Knibb to address the meeting.

Rev. W. KNIBB then addressed the audience as follows:—

Mr. Chairman,—My fellow-countrymen,—I appear before you, on the present occasion, to answer those charges which have been publicly made against me by the accredited agent of the West Indian party, within the walls of this room. I wish, before I commence, to remove an impression which I expect has been created—that I have frequently been challenged to a public discussion, and that I have refused to meet my opponents. When I was in Scotland, charges were then made against me; and, through the public prints, I challenged any man, or set of men, on earth, to come forward like men, and prove the same. When I was at Cheltenham, I as publicly challenged the advocates of slavery

there. But it is not to be expected that I can run up and down the earth to meet challenges of which I never hear except through the public prints. Mr. Borthwick would fain have you believe that he has been traversing the earth in search of me, and that I, appalled at the sound of his approach, have fled before him. Had he wished, really wished to meet me, why did he not cross the Tweed?—he knew I was in Scotland. One of the most serious charges he brings forward is said to have occurred in Edinburgh; but he knows too well what awaits him there, ever to trust himself near Dalkeith. There is nothing more delightful to me than to appear before a British audience to clear my character from the charges that have been brought against me, and to advocate the cause of the oppressed, the injured, the despised, the persecuted African. All I ask is justice for Africa; all I ask is for justice founded upon principle. Well am I aware of the scorn that will be cast upon my character: and well am I aware of the obloquy that will attach to my name; but I fear it not; I have counted the cost: and, as long as blood flows in these veins, as long as this heart beats, it shall beat for liberty and for the injured slave. Scorn, contumely, and reproach, have been cast upon me by a corrupt press; but I am confident no one in this assembly will expect that I should step out of the path of duty to notice every anonymous slander which inveterate malice may choose to cast at me. Let my enemies come forward, let them disprove and contradict one of my statements, and then let them brand me, but not till then.

I will now proceed to answer the charges preferred against me by my opponent:—The first is, *that I stated at Reading that I had seen more than one hundred slaves hanging on one gallows.* I NEVER SAID IT. I did not see the Reading speech till yesterday, nor did I know that it was in the form of a pamphlet; but I sent to Reading for it, and you shall hear what those who print it say:—“For eight long years my heart was bleeding continually. I have witnessed scenes of cruelty enough to make angels weep and devils tremble. In the small village where I lived, *there has been more than a hundred hung on one gallows, and five hundred flogged indecently beneath it.*” There is no statement here that I saw the whole of it done. (I did not say there were *five* hundred flogged, I said *three* hundred, and those who have drawn up the report made the mistake.) Now then, from the Jamaica Courant of the 8th of February—a paper notoriously opposed to me, and a paper in which it has been asserted that I ought to diversify the hanging woods of Trelawney—in that paper it is said that the executions at Montego Bay, up to Saturday, were ninety-four (after that time many more were executed), and that the floggings were from fifteen to twenty a day. Now, if we allow seven days to elapse after the formation of the court-martial (for eight men were hung on the 3d of January) and allow thirty days, it will make the number five hundred and ten.

A placard, it appears, has been issued at Cheltenham, taken from the New Baptist Miscellany, in which I addressed British Christians on the subject of slavery. With respect to that placard, I know not who printed it, but I have no doubt it is a correct copy of what I asserted. In it I state, in the town in which I and my brother missionary were prisoners, more than one hundred were hung on one gallows, many were shot, and above three hundred flogged underneath the gallows, till the ground was covered with their blood. I do not say that I saw the whole of it—it is not asserted that I did. Then why is it stated that I said one thing before the Committee of the House of Commons, and in public another thing, when I never asserted any thing of the kind? I will show, from my evidence before the House of Commons, what I there said. “How many were there at whose execution you were personally present? I did not go to see many; I walked by when numbers were hanging; several of the soldiers who were there and staid under the gallows, as their duty compelled them to do, told me what I am stating.

“When you are speaking of the exhibition of great courage by those unhappy persons at the time of their execution, you do not speak of what you yourself saw, but of that which was told you by others? I was requested to state what I had seen and heard; no man of feeling would go down to see his fellow-creatures hung every day.”

Let the public judge if there is any discrepance in these statements. I have asserted that there were more than one hundred hung at Montego Bay; the newspapers assert that ninety-four were hung before the 7th of February, and after that many more were hung. But think not, fellow-countrymen, that Montego Bay was the only place where slaves were hung; many were hung at Lucea, and at Savanna-la-mar; and a person who shot eleven himself told me that nearly three hundred were put to death at Latimu Estate. At Falmouth, I can state (for I have a copy of the proceedings of the court-martial), fifteen were shot, six hung, thirty-six flogged, and a few reprieved; and, lest it should be said that I have stated more than is the truth, I will read the number of lashes:—William Young, three hundred lashes; John Barnet, five hundred; John Shaw, five hundred; Thomas Reid, five hundred; John Baillie, five hundred; Robert Lamont, three hundred;—Providence, two hundred lashes;” and so, more or less, to the whole, except those who were hanged or shot.

My opponent next states, *that I should have been executed but for the leniency of the planters, and the inadmissibility of slave evidence.* Now, fellow-countrymen, let me tell you, slave evidence was admitted against me; on slave evidence a bill was found by the grand jury; but when they brought me to trial they had no evidence against me. The names of the slaves were Venture, Paris, Adams, and J. Erskine, from Lima estate. After the *nolli prosequi* was entered against me, I went to see a prisoner who was condemned to death; when Venture and Paris came to me with tears, and stated that they never had said a word against me, and that when they would not say something, they were kicked out of the jury room, and called "*d——d Baptist liars.*"

The next charge brought against me is, that I have been guilty of misprision of treason, because I said to the negro, "Did you ever hear the *buckra* tell you any thing that was good?" I said, "Did you ever hear your *busha* tell you any thing that was good?" *Buckra* means a white man; *busha* means a man who superintends the flogging of men and women. I solemnly aver that when those two or three negroes came to me, three months before the insurrection, and asked me whether it was true what their *busha* was always saying, that negro was to be free after Christmas, I told them it was not true. I never had the least idea that they were going to rebel; and—hear me Britons—they did not rebel. The men who came forward were Pompey, Gardiner, Daniel Black, Richard Wood, George Mathew, Guy, Ben, James Chrystian, Larchin Armstrong, and John Gailand; and they have all been rewarded for saving their master's property in the midst of the rebellion.

Here allow me to read, from the evidence collected for my trial, the statement procured by my attorney from Joy, alias William Leigon, against whose fidelity no charge has ever been brought. "Remembers asking Adam Gordon—Is it true what we hear that free paper is come? Mr. Knibb was very angry and said, 'When did you ever hear any such thing from ministers?' He answered, 'No; the reason, Jack, is when Busha and Book-keeper flog us, they say we are going to be free, and before it comes they will get it out of us.' Mr. Knibb said, 'No, never let me hear such arguments again, it is not true; Busha tell you make you fool, there is no free coming, go home and mind your master's work.'"

The next charge my opponent brings forward is, *that the whole of the insurrection was planned in a Baptist chapel, and by a Baptist leader.* This is a FALSEHOOD. After the rebellion had taken place I was appointed, by the Honourable William Miller, to examine some of the prisoners, and among them I examined Samuel Sharp, Guthrie, Edward Hiiton, Dove, and Gardiner. The insurrection was planned at a place called Retrieve, and you shall presently hear how it was done. But, to nullify this charge, I state publicly that there was not a single Baptist leader engaged in it. It will be said that Dove was a black leader; he was not a black man at all, nor was he a leader at all. It will be said that Gardiner was a black leader: he was not, nor had had he ever been constituted one by any missionary in connexion with our denomination.

The next charge is, that the most horrible cruelties were perpetrated by the black Baptists, *especially by a young lady.* If they have been guilty of this, let them suffer; but this I can state, that during the whole time I was in Jamaica I never heard that any young lady was thus treated.* I know a man was inhumanly murdered; and—hear it—a Baptist man of the name of James Hair saved the life of the widow and her three children, and has been rewarded for it.

The next charge is, *that I stated at a meeting in Edinburgh that the man who planned the rebellion was a fine negro, and that he deserved an imperishable monument for his conduct.* I will state what I did say to the best of my recollection, for I am not ashamed to say before Mr. Borthwick, and all his friends, what I say behind them. Frequently during my tour, especially in Birmingham, in London, and in Manchester, I have been called to order by the audience for daring, before a British public, to call that man a rebel who only fought for his freedom. But I merely stated this at Edinburgh, when asked to state before the audience the cause of the late rebellion—that when I was examining Samuel Sharp he stated to me, in the presence of William Miller, Esq., that they had heard the king had given them their freedom—that they had worked long enough for nothing, that they would not work after Christmas till paid for it. He stated that they had not the least intention of rebelling; and then I asked him, "Now, Sharp, did ever any minister, of any denomination whatever, ever tell you a word about freedom?" Then I said to Mr. Miller, "If you will allow me, while he answers that question, I will withdraw." "No," said Mr. Miller; "I have the utmost confidence in you, Mr. Knibb." The answer of Sharp was this: "Minister, you did not know it; we kept it from you, knowing you would not

* I have since discovered that this charge rests solely upon an anonymous letter published in one of the pro-slavery papers. I dare the foul calumniator to prove the truth of his assertions; name the Baptist who was thus guilty, the man, the place, the time, or for ever rest under the most loathsome of all epithets.

approve of it." And when Samuel Sharp was hanged at Montego Bay, on the very gallows he said this: "I have sinned against the laws of my country, and by those laws I ought to die; but I cannot see that I have sinned against my God. All I wished was to be free; all I wished was to enjoy that liberty which I find in the Bible is the birthright of every man. I have a humble hope, through Christ, of eternal life; but I cannot say exactly that I am going to heaven. Follow the white minister who came out to teach you; he will teach you nothing but good." I believe I stated at Edinburgh that if Samuel Sharp had been a Polish nobleman, and had taken the same measures to free the Poles from the grasp of the Russians, as he took to free his countrymen from the unjust grasp of the slave-owner, many in England would have said, that, instead of being considered a rebel he deserved an imperishable monument.

It is asserted by my opponent that language like this is treason; then try me for treason. It is asserted that language like this is sedition; then try me for sedition, and a jury of my countrymen will award me that justice which is my due. Am I to speak to Britons in the same language that I use to obsequious slaves? Am I to stand before a British audience, and speak in the same manner that I would to a slave congregation in Jamaica? Would Mr. Borthwick do so? Dare Mr. Borthwick go to my congregation and tell them that hanging was too good for me? If he did, my free members and the slaves would say to him, "Haman made a gallows for Mordecai, and he was hanged on it himself."

I have now I believe answered every charge my opponent has brought against me, and shown their fallacy. My character he has attacked in the most violent manner. Did I wish to retaliate, nothing were more easy. I have been at Dalkeith, I know the tergiversations of Mr. B., and if he has any regard to himself, I would warn him to let the characters of others alone. I congratulate the West Indians on their champion. Their cause I have no doubt will prosper in his hands; but when I think of the petty frauds they indulge to support their death-struck cause, I cannot forbear exclaiming, "Poor West Indians, poor West Indians, by the straitness of the siege wherewith thine enemies have besieged thee, an ass's head is sold for four-score pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver."

I will now proceed to state to you the causes of the late insurrection, as far as they have come under my observation, and endeavour to clear the Baptist missionaries, and the other missionaries, from the charges brought against them. I am aware that it is now asserted that the Wesleyan missionaries are clear in this matter. The advocates for colonial slavery have found the Christian world too strong for them; they wish to divide us; but I have the authority of the Wesleyan minister of this city to say that he wishes none of their praise. If the Wesleyan missionaries were innocent, why were they tarred and feathered? If the Wesleyan missionaries were innocent, why were their chapels pulled to the ground? If the Wesleyan missionaries were innocent, why is Mr. Murray now forbidden to preach at Montego Bay? If the Wesleyan missionaries were innocent, why did the House of Assembly declare that they were guilty? I know it may be said, perhaps (for every thing can be denied that is wished to be denied), that Mr. Bleby was not tarred; you shall see, then. Here is the handkerchief with the tar upon it (Mr. Knibb produced the handkerchief before the meeting). This was a Methodist missionary of the name of Bleby. I have a right to bring documents—I have a right to prove my assertions. I know full well what means will be taken when I leave this room to contradict this statement; but you can say you saw the handkerchief and saw the tar.

It has been asserted that missionaries talk of persecution if their feet get wetted. For the negro, for the slave, for the African female, I could suffer any thing; but I am a Briton; I have a Briton's rights, and I will surrender those rights with nothing but my death. Is it nothing to be taken from your house, your wife, and children, without any charge being brought against you, and forbidden to see them? Is it nothing to be taken twenty-two miles, under a burning sun, guarded by bayonets? Is it nothing, when you fall through fatigue, to be told by a wretch in the shape of a man, "If you don't stand up I will stab you?" Is it nothing for a person to enter into your house and tar and feather you? Is it nothing for an armed banditti to go to a missionary's dwelling, at ten o'clock at night, as they did at Mr. Bleby's and there break his doors and windows, and deliberately fire across the bed on which his wife, and an infant not a month old, were lying? Is this nothing? Is it nothing that, when a poor negro sounds the alarm with his conghell, that negro should be stabbed in six different places? I have seen him, and I know it was done.

When I first heard of the intended insurrection it was through the medium of the Rev. Geo. Blyth, who came to the house in which I was residing, and told me that the negroes in the neighbouring parishes were in a state of great excitement, and requested my influence to endeavour to undeceive them. I sent Louis Williams immediately. I sent Andrew Dixon, Richard Brown, and every person connected with the church I could find, and begged them to go to different estates and assure the negroes they were mistaken. I

rode myself the same day two and twenty miles, and the next morning before breakfast I rode ten. I took with me Samuel Vaughan, a person of colour. I went from place to place, and from negro to negro, and assured them they were wrong. A congregation of one thousand was collected at the opening of Salter's Hill chapel, and, from a brief that was drawn out when I was a prisoner, I will read the instructions I gave them:—

“My dear hearers, and especially those of you who attend constantly at the chapel, and are members of Crooked Spring, or other Baptist churches, pay great attention to what I have to say. It is now seven years since I left England to preach the gospel in Jamaica, but never did I enter a pulpit with such painful feelings as at present. Till yesterday I had hoped that God had blessed my labours, and the labours of those who have preached to you, especially those of Mr. Cantlow, who is now in England, who loves you, and who prays for you, and who writes and tells me that he hopes again to come among you. But I am pained, pained to the soul, to hear that many of you have agreed not to go to your work after Christmas, and I fear that it is too true. I have learned that some wicked persons have told you that you were free, that the king of England has sent it out. Hear me: I love your souls, I would not tell you what is false for the world. It is not true; it is false—false as hell can make it. I entreat you not to believe it, but go to your work as formerly. If you have any love to Jesus Christ, to religion, to your minister, or to those kind friends in England who have given you a thousand pounds to help you to build this chapel, and who are now sending a minister for you, do not be led away by wicked men. God commands you to be obedient to your owners; if you do as he commands you, you may expect his blessing; if you do not he will call you to an account for it at the judgment day. If you refuse to go to work and are punished you will suffer justly; and every friend you have must and will turn his back upon you.”

After I had delivered this address I went among the negroes and took Samuel Vaughan with me; and if it is denied, my brother, Samuel Vaughan, shall come home and tell you. We went from one place to another among the negroes, and begged and entreated them by every means in our power not to be deceived. I then rode back; and as soon as I had communicated to Mr. Manderson (who is a magistrate and has honour enough to tell the truth) what I had done, I rode home to my dwelling. I sent then through various persons to other estates; and, though Mr. Knibb has been charged with being the author of the rebellion, every estate where Mr. Knibb had a member still stands. Yes: not a single estate has been burnt where I had a member of my church, though I had members on more than seventy plantations. And not only this, but the members of my church brought down the first rebels that were taken, and have been rewarded for it: you shall have their names. Their names were Joseph Henry, James Virgo, and Cameron from Green Park estate in Trelawney. They came and asked me if they would do right by protecting their master's property. I said, “Yes, defend your master's property to the last.” Let this be denied, and give me the opportunity, and these men shall come and clear the character of the repudiated and calumniated missionary.

It has been asserted—not here, but in Jamaica—that all the persons convicted as rebels, or nearly so, were Baptists. I had a church of nine hundred and eighty-three members, and only three of these members were tried by the court martial at Falmouth. Their names I will mention: I love names; let us have names, and then contradict me on fair ground if you can. Edward Grant, head driver on Georgia estate, to be confined in St. Ann's workhouse for life: that is, to be worked in chains for life; that is the English of it. Edward Grant is a poor old man, seventy years of age: not a single thing on the estate on which he lived was burnt. “John Kelly, a slave to Georgia estate,” he was a member of my church; he received two hundred lashes, and is to be confined and worked in chains for life. On the estate on which John Kelly lived not a single thing was touched. “John Lawrence, a slave to Tilston estate;” he received four hundred lashes, and is to be worked in chains for three years. The negroes from that estate sent down to me and said, through Louis Williams, “John Lawrence tried all he could to keep us in order; but they took him because he was a Baptist.” You see that not one of the members of my church, when brought even before a court-martial, could be found guilty of a crime for which they could hang him; though I assure you that very little guilt was sufficient to hang a Baptist under the iron hand of martial law. (Here some person in the room hissed.) Hiss as much as you please; I could hiss too. Hissing will not bring back murdered Baptists into life. I tell you plainly that John Headley, Esq. from New York, told me that he was present at the trial of some of the poor negroes in Montego Bay, that they proved nothing against them, except that they were Baptists, and that they died Stephen-like.

I shall now notice the evidence that has been brought against us for the purpose of criminating the Baptists. The Report of the Committee of the House of Assembly of Jamaica does not place the whole blame of the rebellion on the Baptists; they set the Baptists in most honourable company. They first state that “the primary and most

powerful cause arose from an evil excitement created in the minds of the slaves generally by the unceasing and unconstitutional interference of His Majesty's ministers with our local legislature:" and yet you will be told the planters have done every thing to ameliorate the state of the slaves. Then, after this, the Anti-Slavery Society comes; then comes some evil disposed persons; and then Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Moravians. Now for the evidence.

I say, without fear of contradiction, that the evidence sent home is false; that it is garbled; that it does not convict a single Baptist missionary; that it is evidence that would not be received in any court of justice in the world. It is garbled. The only man who regularly attended any Baptist chapel who was examined was Richard Brown: his evidence does not appear. Why was it left out? Let the public judge. Here is the evidence of Captain Hugh Ritchie Wallace, a captain on half-pay, of His Majesty's Seventh Fusiliers. He says, "I attribute the cause to the unconstitutional interference of the British Parliament with regard to the melioration, and the unfortunate concessions of the Island legislature, which have led the slave to believe a great boon was about to be conferred upon him, and which he has been informed by the sectarians was his uncompensated freedom. I ground the latter part of my answer to the question on the following fact. A slave, who gave himself up to the attacking party at Vaughan's Field, which slave was delivered over to the detachment which I was serving in, stated, that Parson Burchell, a Baptist preacher, had, in the presence of a great number of slaves, told them he was about to sail to England to bring back their freedom from the king. Some persons may make a distinction between sectarians; for my part, I regard them all," Wesleyans of course included, "as emissaries from those who seek to ruin the colony. The precepts of the Baptists, I am told are more bloody; but all, with heaven in their eyes, but hell in their hearts, seek our destruction," and so he goes on. He is then asked, "Can you inform the Committee of the name of the slave who made such statement, and the property to which he is or was attached?" "I cannot tell his name,"—mark why he cannot do it—"because I forget it; but he belongs as was stated by him to Vaughan's Field, in the parish of St. James, in the possession of — Hamilton, Esq. Hugh Hutchinson, Esq., of the parish of St. Elizabeth, has a copy of the evidence in his possession." Why was he not called to give it? I think when they were so anxious they ought to have sent for it: I am sure it would have been sent for in England.

Another witness states that the Moravians were the cause of the rebellion by their "helpers." One man, Robert Watt, Esq., (in Jamaica they call him "weak rum-and-water,") states, that wherever the Baptists had a footing, there the places were burnt. His evidence is as follows: "Can you state any matter or thing touching or concerning the cause of the recent rebellion among the slaves in this island which can elucidate the same, or forward the inquiry now proceeding before this committee for that purpose?—if yea, state the same fully and at length." "The Baptist missionaries have been the sole cause of it, from every thing that I have learned on the subject, wherever they had a footing, or were in the habit of visiting, were the places that were burnt, and all the head people were their class-leaders, as I think they call them."

Now then for the truth. I was the only minister who preached on that part of the island on estates. I preached on Oxford estate, on Cambridge estate, and on Arcadia estate, and those estates were saved; they remain to this day monuments of the affection and fidelity of the Christian slaves. I received only yesterday the following letter from the proprietor, and his evidence, I am sure, in this assembly will be deemed conclusive:

"Sidmouth, Dec. 10, 1832. Sir, I only received your letter late yesterday afternoon, and readily comply at my earliest opportunity with your desires to communicate the information I have received of the conduct of the negroes on Oxford and Cambridge estates during the late lamentable insurrection in the island of Jamaica; both my brother and my agent describe it as extremely exemplary, and they state that notwithstanding the necessary absence of the white servants during the period of their service in the militia, and the estates being consequently left in the possession of the slaves, they not only protected the properties, but, I believe, carried on in some measure the business of the estates. I should have wished to have availed myself of this opportunity of writing to you more fully on this subject; but, to be candid, not knowing in what way my letter may be used, and being very reluctant to be brought before the public, as my disposition is to pass through the world discharging my own duties unheeded, I must forbear. I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant, E. M. BARRETT."

I have a letter, too, from that gentleman's brother, sent me when I was in Jamaica. "Cornwall, Feb. 23, 1832. 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 has been put upon you and your brother missionaries. I assure you that never from the beginning, nor do I at this time, attribute to you, or 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 strong against you, and when it was scarcely politic for a negro to say any thing in your favour, I have, upon every occasion, when I have inquired 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."

Here is another letter I received from three gentlemen at Falmouth.

January 4, 1832. My dear Sir,—It was only when we returned from Cinnamon Hill last night, that we heard of your accusation and arrest. We deeply sympathize with you and your brethren in your present trouble. We have heard this morning of apprehensions being entertained for your safety, and use the utmost haste to assure you we are convinced you have not been either intentionally, or directly, guilty of creating the present insurrection. We are prepared to repair to Montego Bay, and witness to this effect, and as far as our knowledge goes, to your peaceable character as a Christian and a minister. We are, dear Sir, with most sincere feelings for your afflictions, H. M. Waddell, J. M. Barrett, and George Blyth."

Mr. Waddell and Mr. Blyth are Presbyterian ministers, and Mr. Barrett is a large proprietor.

The next communication, I shall read, is from my own church; surely they ought to know what is done. It is a curious document, was penned by the descendant of a slave, and entirely drawn up by himself. Perhaps it will not by some be deemed sufficient; it is sufficient for all sensible men. The negroes who attended my church ought to know best what I taught them. It is addressed "To their Reverences, the Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society. The humble petition of the Baptist church, at Falmouth." I shall only read part of it: "That your petitioners, with the deepest heartfelt grief, lament the circumstance of an unnatural rebellion having recently existed in the island among the slave population, principally in a neighbouring parish, and partly in this, whereby evil and great suspicions have fallen on their worthy pastor, and other ministers of religion, which have sprung from no other source than the corrupt and depraved hearts of those enemies to all righteousness, who, being led captive by the devil at his will, demolished the sanctuaries of the Lord, heaped calumny and reproach upon the preachers of the gospel; and, by the basest 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 over-ruled, and their innocence made appear clear as the unclouded noonday sun, by juries, before which their slandered characters have been fairly tried." This document is signed by numbers of slaves, and free persons, who belonged to the church under my care, and who ought to know better than persons in England what were the instructions I communicated. Here is a letter from the daughter of a Scotch nobleman, a member of my church, and she shall speak too.

"Immorality is now stalking forth through the land, the Sabbath is disregarded and profaned; we continue to meet for prayers, but cannot tell how long we may be permitted, as the members of the lawless mob are determined to take down the house if we continue to hold our meetings. Our situation is very distressing; separated from you, deprived of the means of grace. May the Lord give us his Spirit to endure all things patiently! Blessed be God we have not a High Priest who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, but one who was in all points tempted like as we are. I often feel that God will again bless us with the public means of grace, often feel assured of having you with us again, but it is not always so; at times faith wavers on account of the many oppositions, but God has said, though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished. You desire our prayers; such as they are, you have them to our life's end. The separation we are called to endure, we trust, will turn out for the furtherance of the Redeemer's kingdom."

Miss Mackenzie has been in the island of Jamaica from her birth, and has attended the chapel constantly; she has one or two slaves of her own, left her by her father, who is a nobleman now residing in Scotland. Would she send this letter, do you think, did not the same affection reign among them now as did when their minister was present with them?

The next document I produce is from the free-coloured and black inhabitants, who, I hesitate not to say, saved our lives from blood-thirsty white men. I have been given to understand that the free-coloured and black persons are against us: let them speak for themselves.

"Resolved, at a public meeting in Kingston, August 11, 1832, That a most iniquitous spirit of persecution, slander, and malicious accusation has marked the conduct of a great majority of the white colonists for many years past, against those missionaries and other Christian ministers, who have been found willing and peculiarly capable to impart religious instruction to the slave population.

“Resolved, That it has been with the most unqualified disgust that we and other natives of the soil have witnessed the virulence with which, unsupported by even one solitary iota of proof or shadow of reason, these white colonists have attributed the late rebellion to the unoffending missionaries.

“Resolved, That the free coloured and black population are, from long experience, convinced of the many advantages, moral and religious, obtained by the slaves in this island, from the labours of these maligned missionaries; they are firmly of opinion that, but for their inculcation of the peaceful precepts of Christianity, the late rebellion would have been more general, and that, in place of vituperation, they merit the thanks of the colonists.

“Resolved, That this meeting, far from attributing the late rebellion to the labours of the missionaries, is satisfied that that disastrous occurrence was mainly owing to the violent and intemperate resolutions adopted, at different times, at various parochial meetings, by the white inhabitants.”—*Jamaica Watchman*, Aug. 11, 1832.

The next evidence I have is that of the Hon. William Miller, major-general of the district, Custos of the parish of Trelawney, and one of the largest attorneys of estates in the whole island of Jamaica. He writes thus: “I had several interviews and conversations with Mr. Knibb, soon after my arrival here, and he was perfectly correct in stating, that I had taken pains to inquire among the slaves on several of the properties under my charge, whether the missionaries had ever held out hopes of freedom to them, but they one and all exonerated them. I remain, Gentlemen, your very obedient servant, William Miller.”

The last evidence I shall produce, in confirmation of the innocence of the missionaries, is this, that the Colonial Secretary has declared that every subsequent document that has arrived from Jamaica has clearly proved the entire innocence of the missionaries of every denomination.

The House of Commons' Committee called before them Mr. Hankey, the proprietor of the estate on which I preached, called Arcadia. He was asked,

“Do you feel a confidence in Mr. Knibb's integrity, and his determination to discharge his spiritual duties?—I do.

“You would be desirous of employing him to instruct your own people?—Certainly, my confidence in Mr. Knibb is unshaken.

“Is it your opinion, generally, that either, if we retain slavery, we must renounce the teaching of Christianity; or, if we determine on the teaching of Christianity, we must abandon slavery?” (Hear the answer of a slave owner.)—“If you determine to evangelize the negro, by a fair and open inculcation of Christianity, in all its precepts and doctrines, slavery must fall.”

The next head that I shall come to (and on this I shall be brief), is the means which were employed to criminate missionaries. They searched our houses, took away every letter we possessed—those which had passed between husband and wife, parents and children. (It was well they did so: they cannot now say they did not try every means.) The next means they took was stealing our Bibles. When George Gordon burnt down Salter's Hill Chapel, then they stole the Bible. They turned down the leaf at the 8th of Joshua, sent it down to Montego Bay, and said that we had told the slaves that Ai meant Montego Bay, and that, if they lay in ambush, the Lord would deliver it into their hands. Now, that chapter must be read somewhere, and it so happened that it came in the regular order of the Church of England, and was read at this very time in the parish church in Montego Bay. The next means they took was to designate us astrologers; this, I believe, belongs to a man of the name of Coates. Thus he says that, when they saw a star get into the moon, the king would sign the slave-paper. The next means they took to criminate missionaries was imprisoning our poor members. I saw them in their dungeons; I saw them in their chains; I saw them there weeping on account of their missionaries, and my brother Burchell, when lying on the prison floor, heard three of these devoted Christians singing in the dead of night,—

“Oh, Thou, from whom all goodness flows,
I lift my heart to Thee;
In all my sorrows, conflicts, woes,
Dear Lord, remember me.”

I have the evidence of one poor man taken down while his back was bleeding. His name was — Riley. Mr. Burchell saw the blood streaming from his back.

“One evening, while I was in bed, I was taken up, and conveyed to the court house, when one of the magistrates asked me, what brought me there? I said, they bring me here through spite. Several said this is a great preacher; I was then asked if I knew the people on Cowpark; I said, yes. The man then shook his head, and said, *I have been looking for you these four years to shoot you; I'll send you to hell presently.* Another gentleman then came and said, I know you are a good servant; what brought you here? I said, they say I is a preacher. He said, A preacher, well, then, *I wish they would cut your liver out.*

" I was then handcuffed, and sent to jail, where I was kept handcuffed for eighteen days, when I was taken out, and put in a room with four gentlemen. One of them said, I need not hide any thing from you, *in four days you will be hung*, and there is only one way of escaping it, to tell of any one who tell you to do wrong. I said, Yes, sir, I will tell the truth. I am a member of the Baptist church, in Montego Bay, and Mr. Burchell used to send me to Lanchs River and Cowpark, to see if the members of the church acted right or wrong, and if they do any thing that is bad, to come back and tell him ; those that do bad are turned out of the church. One of them said, *We don't want that*. What did Burchell tell you before he go away, did he not tell you you were to be free after Christmas? I said, *no*, he never told me any thing of the kind. He then said, Burchell did tell them so, and now this fellow pretends he never heard it, and we have the house full, leaders all own it.* I said, Mr. Burchell is not my God, he is my minister, and if he had said so, I would tell you ; *but he never did, and I cannot, and I will not, tell a lie upon him*. He then said, They make Parson Burchell Jesus Christ. One of them said, I told you Burchell would bring you to the gallows. I was then handcuffed for three days longer.

" On the 14th of March, I was examined again, when one of the gentlemen said, I have proof enough to hang you, but I will give you a punishment and send you home ; but, if I ever find that you are *teaching or preaching religion again, you shall be hung*. They flogged me the same day."

Is not this, ladies and gentlemen, a convincing proof of the leniency of those planters, to whom the voracious Mr. Borthwick would persuade you, I, and my brother Burchell, are indebted for our lives? Take the statement also, of a free man, of the name of Thompson, copied by myself.

" On Saturday, the 7th of January, I was taken up ; a few minutes after my arms were tied behind me, and I was railed on as a preacher, saying a jackass will make a better preacher ; they then asked if I was a member of the Baptist church. I said, Yes. I was then taken and tied to a negro, and was much abused ; after walking some miles, my feet and arms were tied, and the end of the rope carried up aloft, so that * * * * The next morning I was carried to Falmouth, and asked if I had not heard my minister preach to the negroes, and tell them the king had given them their freedom ; and that, if their masters did not give it them, they were to set fire to the estates. I told them, No, I had heard the contrary, that they were to be obedient to their masters.

" He then said, Sir Willoughby Cotton has advertised for you or your head, for two hundred and fifty dollars,† and I would advise you to speak the truth, and you will be beloved by all respectable people. Sir W. Cotton will forgive you and make you a present. I said, I know the value of the soul, and I am not going to tell lies to betray any innocent person, to cause my soul to dwell in everlasting damnation. I was kept in prison several days, and treated in a very harsh manner."

Were not these merciful planters exceedingly anxious that these missionaries should escape? I could bring evidence to numbers of other cases like this if time would allow me.‡

It has been asserted next by my opponent, that I have told the slaves that they do not owe any allegiance. *I never said so* ; I dare Mr. Borthwick to prove such an assertion ; but the Jamaica Courant has said so, and I will prove it.

In the Jamaica Courant—a paper that certainly has not much love for sectaries—published March 1, there is this article: "On an attentive reperusal 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."

The next evidence that has been sent home is from Commodore Farquar. He says it was raised, in a great measure, by the Baptists. We challenged him to prove it ; and, unworthy of a British officer, he slunk from the task, saying he was not accountable for what appeared in the public prints. When nothing else would do, dark, corrupt, hellish bribery was resorted to. A man was brought forward, of the name of Samuel Stennett, who deposed that he heard Mr. Burchell and Gardiner say, that if the slaves did not obtain their freedom by Christmas, we were to fight and pray for it. On that testimony they were committed to prison. We went to prayer ; and, however men may scorn prayer, there is a God who judgeth in the earth. A few days before the trial, Samuel Stennett

* This was a pure unadulterated falsehood. *W. Knibb*.

† Another falsehood.

‡ See the examination of Captain Williams, in the Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons, No. 4318 to 4322.

came forward to J. Manderson, Esq., and J. Rebourn, Esq., and said, "Gentlemen, I have told a lie, and have been bribed by so and so, and so and so, to do it. George D——, J—— M——, and J—— B—— told me, that they would give me ten pounds a year for life, and fifty pounds down, if I would do it, and I make this confession to relieve a burdened conscience." There were many other instances of this kind which I will pass over.

In order to show that rebellious and blasphemous language is used in Jamaica, I will read one paragraph from the Jamaica Courant, of the 20th of January:—"The preachers will soon find themselves wrong; for although we admit, that the supineness with which their conduct has been viewed, may have led them to draw such a conclusion, they may, however, shortly find themselves mistaken, as *impunity* in crime has made them treasonable! And for the proof of this assertion, we look to the confessions of the miserable wretches who have been sacrificed to *please Jesus Christ and Parson Burchell!*" I could tell you other things respecting this.

I now come to defend the slave, and I will defend him: as long as breath is in this body, the African shall find in me a firm and unflinching friend. Obloquy may come upon me, scorn may pour forth its venom, talent may be employed to blacken my character; I court their scorn. The man who sells the infant and the child—(and I have seen them sold together)—the man who fastens the chain upon the simple and unoffending African—the man who degrades and brutalizes his fellow men—and the man who would, for one moment, continue the accursed system, write him my foe; write him my enemy; but never let him curse me with his friendship.

But it is said they are not fit for freedom. If the tender emotions of the soul make them fit—if an unconquerable love to Jesus Christ make them fit—if an exemplification of those virtues which adorn the Christian character make them fit—if an invincible affection of parent to child, and child to parent make them fit—if an undeviating attachment to the ministers of Christ make them fit—then they are fit for freedom. But if they were to assemble in open day, as the magistrates in Jamaica have done, and pull down Baptist and Methodist chapels—if they were to tar and feather missionaries, and attempt to set them on fire—if they were to imprison, on perjured testimony, the servants of God—if they were to combine, in an unholy phalanx, for the purpose of exterminating every one not of their own creed—if they were to employ an agent to say, there was any justice in making white men slaves in Algiers, then I would say they are unfit for freedom.

But then, it is said, the slaves must be religiously instructed first: and who is to do it? Missionaries of all denominations, if Dissenters, are to be expelled the island, even at the will of those who are so wishful to afford moral and religious instruction; but they, with paternal care, will educate the negro; now, we will find out what this instruction is. You are told of the number of churches in Jamaica; suppose churches were as numerous as the stars, if the negroes could not go to them, what good would they do? In the parish of Trelawney there are twenty-five thousand and some odd slaves, and about four thousand free persons. There are two churches; one of them is in Falmouth, (containing about four thousand inhabitants,) and it will seat perhaps six hundred; the other is at Stewart Town, a small house holding about three hundred—not more I am sure—I have been in both. There is not at present in the church of England, accommodation for more than nine hundred persons out of seven or eight-and-twenty thousand: there is a church that is being built at Rio Bean, which, when it is finished, will hold three hundred more. You have been told of the numerous kirks in Jamaica; there is only one finished, and that is in Kingston; and it is in evidence before the House of Commons, that a slave was scarcely ever found in it. There are Presbyterian places of worship, but they are not Scotch kirks; they are supported by the voluntary contributions of the people in Scotland, and not by the Jamaica legislature. I know if I say anything against the religious instruction of the slaves, it will be said, I do so because I am a dissenter. I will just read what Mr. Wildman, a proprietor, in his evidence before the House of Commons,* says:—

"Has any marked or great increase of exertion taken place in supplying religious instruction in the island of Jamaica, since the passing of those resolutions?—No.

"Has there been a marked increase of exertion in any quarter?—Yes; the Church Missionary Society have been exceedingly active since that time.

"When you say the Church Missionary Society, do you confine it to that body?—Oh, no.

"To whom do you extend it?—I shall extend it also to the sectarians.

"Great exertions have been made by sectarians to instruct the people?—Certainly.

"On the part of the established church, has there been any great increase of exertion in the island of Jamaica?—If I were to give a candid opinion, I think the appointment of the bishop has very materially impeded the progress of instruction in Jamaica.

"Are you a dissenter or a member of the established church?—A very zealous member of the established church, and very much opposed in some respects to the dissenters.

* See the Report of the Committee before the House of Commons, No. 8162 to 8172.

" Yet, being yourself a zealous member of the established church, having knowledge of the island of Jamaica since the passing of those resolutions, and since the appointment of the bishop, is the conclusion at which you arrive, that religious instruction on the part of the Church of England has advanced or retrograded in the island of Jamaica?—It has not advanced in any degree at all adequate to the expense of the new establishment.

" You state that the appointment of the bishop has upon the whole formed an impediment; will you assign your reason?—The bishop has thought it dangerous to interfere with the vices of the people; he has not proceeded at once to endeavour to do away with the gross immoralities he witnessed, but he has rather thought it necessary to temporize, and to leave them in their present state."

In speaking of the exertions of the Church Missionary Society, he says, they have been very considerable and very successful; and in going forward he declares that the sectarians he much approved of, for the purpose of affording religious instruction. He is then asked, " Not adverting to particular instances, but speaking generally of the life and conduct of the ministers of the establishment, and the sectarian teachers in Jamaica, during your stay, consistently with your own knowledge, you being a member of the establishment, with all your prejudices in favour of the established church, which should you say were the most efficient teachers of the black population—the ministers of the establishment or the sectarians? The sectarians decidedly; they give themselves up very devotedly to the work, and, in many instances, have been eminently successful."

The audience will bear in mind that this is stated by a person in connexion with the established church.

Now, then, for the catechist, of which you have heard so much. This is from Mr. Wildman's evidence again, * given before the Committee of the House of Commons :

" Encouragement is not given, is it? (That is, to religious instruction.)—I consider not by any means universally.

" Do you believe it is thwarted?—Very much.

" In what manner?—In the first place, there is a decided hostility to the instruction in letters; many of the proprietors give nothing but oral instruction, which I consider quite a farce and a deception; they take an hour for visiting the estate to give oral instruction; the negroes perhaps have a mile or a mile and a half to come home; during that hour the man gets them together slowly enough, for the purpose of catechising them, and before they have an opportunity of entering into the business for which they have met, the hour is expended, and away they go again; so that I consider that quite a deception.

" The result of your experience among the negroes in Jamaica is, that oral instruction is quite insufficient for the communication of knowledge?—Perfectly so: it is carried on by agents, who must necessarily debar every attempt at instruction; it is only given by book-keepers, who are themselves living in the grossest state of immorality: it is impossible that instruction can ever be derived from such sources.

" The promulgation of scriptural doctrines from such sources—not practising what they teach, you think must bring religion into contempt?—Into utter contempt."

And thus he goes on, " The lives of the whites," he says, " are perfectly scandalous in themselves; therefore, for them to inculcate morality in the slave cannot be otherwise than a gross absurdity."

It is asserted that the planters only want to get rid of the sectarians: they shall speak for themselves. " One of our 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 were 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.*"—*Jamaica Courant, March 3rd, 1832.*"

But we are told the slaves are not fit for freedom. Aye, but they are. At one moment you are told that a slave can go and pick up a land-crab, which will make a greater delicacy than is ever seen on a nobleman's table; and at the next you are told that if he is made free he will starve. Let those who are so fond of reconciling every thing reconcile these two. You are told that the negroes will not work if they are made free. Who knows that? How can you tell what a man will do till you try him? The reasoning is merely hypothetical at the best. It is contrary to sound reason, it is contrary to common sense, and it is contrary to fact. Hayti is brought forward. There is evidence before the House

* See the Report of the Select Committee before the House of Commons, No. 7773 to 7777.

of Commons, given by Admiral Fleming,* showing that the Haytians do work; and, to give you an idea of the comparative state with Jamaica, beef is two-pence a pound in Hayti, and twelve-pence in Jamaica. They will not work! But they have worked. How do the free people support themselves? I assure you they don't go and pick up crabs. How do they support themselves? By working for wages. Is any one going to tell me that though a man will work if flogged, he will not if he is paid for it? These persons know they will not work themselves, and therefore they say the negroes will not. Not work! But they have worked; and every official document that comes home proves the value of the free labourer where he is made free. I have had the happiness to free one myself. There was, a little time ago, a female (and one of this audience might have been in the same situation), the daughter of an Englishman or a Scotchman, taken, and sold, and placed in jail; and what for, think you? Because her owner died in debt. There were no pigs to sell, there was no furniture to sell, but there was a woman to sell. She was a member of my church, and with her I had sat at the table of the Lord. I went to the jail, and saw her there, not for any crime of her own, for she had been a faithful slave. She was brought out along the street in which I lived, and put up for sale in the very street in which I dwelt. Having no money myself (though the advocates of the system say I have £12,000: I wish they had to make up the deficiency), I borrowed some money, and I bought her. Ah, then, you say, I am a slave-owner! I am not; I would rather be a slave myself than either advocate the continuance of slavery, or fatten the chain around a fellow-creature. The moment she came to my house, I said, "Amelia Sutherland, you are free—your shackles are off; I would not hold you an instant." Did she become idle? Of course she did!—so idle that she immediately set hard to work. She said, "I am thankful: I will pay you all back if I can;" and she paid me four shillings a week as long as I continued in the island. Let this be denied, and Amelia Sutherland shall come over and confront her enemies. Let it be denied that I liberated her; go to the records in Spanish-town, and there read, "The Rev. William Knibb bought a young Mulatto woman for so much;" and coupled with that you will see, "I, William Knibb, set free for ever, from all manner of servitude, a certain Mulatto woman." She is free, British females—as free as you are; and, if she is married, she can call her children her own, and no white wretch can go and take them from her. Richard Brown purchased himself by a long course of exertion. Did he become idle? Of course he did!—such idle vagabonds never do any thing, if we are to believe the slave-owner, when they are free, except pick up land-crabs, which afford them a greater delicacy than you find on a nobleman's table. He set hard to work, like a good husband bought his wife, and paid £80 for her. He then became so idle that he bought a piece of ground, and built a house, for he was a carpenter; and then, such was his tender affection, that he took into his house his aged mother, supported her, closed her eyes in death, and I buried her.

Oh, but they are not fit for freedom!—they will murder all the whites if you give them their liberty! Why don't they do it now? You are told that there are 800,000 human beings in slavery. They are not quite so close together as we are: the ocean separates them, and plantations divide them. In Jamaica there are 300,000 slaves; half of these are women: the "conquerors, returned from the seat of war," are not to fear them; a great number are children: the conquerors "*returned from the seat of war will not fear them;*" a great number are old slaves, and who fears them?—Surely, not the conquerors returned from the seat of war; a large quantity of them are Christian slaves, and

* "Can you give the Committee any information as to the industry of the inhabitants of Hayti?—During the year 1827, I understood there was considerable difficulty in getting labourers, but afterwards I heard of none; both white and black people assured me, that there was no difficulty in getting people to labour, and they appeared to me to be industrious.

"Did they work for wages?—Yes.

"Do you recollect what was the amount of wages?—I do not know, it was paid in kind; there was sometimes ground given for it, and sometimes victuals, and sometimes clothes.

"You are aware that the system was, that the agricultural labourer should receive a certain proportion of the produce of the land?—Yes, that was the law.

"Did they work by compulsion?—No, I never saw any people working by compulsion; I have been told that deserted soldiers, and people who were about the country, without any fixed residence, or any fixed employment, what would be called vagabonds or vagrants in this country.

"Were they kept to work under the lash?—I never heard of that.

"Are you aware that there is a prohibition against all corporal punishment in that country?—Yes, I know there is.

"Did they appear to you to be living comfortably?—Yes; the happiest, the richest, the best fed, and the most comfortable negroes that I saw in the West Indies were in Hayti, even better than in the Caraccas.

"Were they decidedly better than the slaves in Jamaica?—No comparison."

they will not do what is bad if they could. I advocate immediate emancipation. Let justice prevail, though the earth be destroyed. I advocate immediate emancipation, because it is just. The advocacy of gradual emancipation, in my opinion, involves in itself a sin. If slavery be a sin, we have no right to tolerate it for a moment; if it be not a sin, we have no right to touch it. I say that slavery is a sin—a foul blot upon our nature; it is a sin that hangs heavily upon our national character; and let us sing as long as we will, “Britons never will be slaves,” if at the same time we bind, in adamant chains, the docile African, I say it is cowardice to fetter those who have no defence; I say it is dastardly to make a man a slave because he has not the power to defend himself; and I believe not the professions of those men who keep their own children in slavery. There are now in Jamaica *some thousand* slaves the children of Britons. The whole truth shall come out, if I perish in proclaiming it. Here no assassin waits to stab me to the heart; here no one dare come to tar and feather me, and set me on fire; here no one can take me from my peaceful home, and insult and maltreat me; here, in a free country, I can speak what I please; to its laws I am amenable; and his Majesty’s government will know how to silence me if they find me uttering sedition. But not all the contempt of the proud, not all the scorn of the rich aristocrat, shall for one moment silence me, in advocating the justice, the necessity, the mercy of the immediate emancipation of every son and daughter of Africa.

Now, then, before I enter on the treatment of the slaves, I will read for your instruction, and for the edification of my opponents, what a slave-owner* says upon the subject. I read from the evidence annexed to the Report of the House of Commons’ Committee, August 10th, 1832.

“What are the punishments in use in the island of Jamaica now?—They are very cruel ones.

“Will you state what they are?—The general system of flogging is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts a dreadful contusion; and then they follow that up by a very severe flogging with ebony switches, the ebony being a very strong, wiry plant, with small leaves like a myrtle-leaf, and under every leaf a very sharp, tough thorn; and then, after that, they rub them with brine.

“In what part have you known that practised?—I can speak of it as having been practised on every part of the island.

“To your own knowledge?—I never saw it done; I could not have borne it; but I have seen the slaves who have complained of its having been done, and shown me their persons; and my own people have complained most woefully of it; they strike them a number of times with one, and then throw that away and take another; also, they punish them in the bilboes in the most unmerciful manner. (It is a proprietor of slaves, a churchman, and not a Methodist parson, who says this.)

“That is a species of stocks?—Yes; there is an iron clamp goes round the foot, and it is put into a bar, so that they may have ten or a dozen on the same bar; they let them out for their work, and put them in again when that is over, and keep them for three weeks together.

“Can they recline at night?—Yes, they do recline; the bench is an inclined plane, and the iron bar is along the bottom of it, when the foot is clamped on upon the iron bar, and the negro lies back; the punishments in the workhouses, also, are dreadful.

“The workhouses, as far as you know them, would not be sufficient in point of accommodation for the reasonable treatment of the slaves in case there should be any great insurrection there, would they?—Oh, dear, no.

“Are there not gaols in addition to the workhouses?—Yes.

“Is the state of the gaols good in general?—I have never been in any but one, and that was extremely filthy; that was at Halfway Tree, near my own house; I had occasion to commit a negro there, and she was reported to me to be in so bad a state that I made a point of inspecting the gaol in consequence, and found it in a most filthy state, and the punishments were very little short of the inquisition; they were actually tortured there; the mode of flogging was to put a rope round each wrist, and a rope round each ankle, and then they were what the sailors call bowled out with a tackle and pulleys.

“Did this fall under your own observation?—I never saw it performed, but I know it from having been applied to by my own negroes when they have been sent there.

“Did you ever make any complaint of this state of the workhouse in St. Ann’s?—I did to the custos, and to the parish generally.

“What was the result of that complaint?—The result was, that the system of the block and tackle was defended as being a humane practice, that it prevented their turning and getting a blow in a tender part; but when I went to examine the gaol, a negro was called to come and lie down, that I might see how it was done; a skin was put down upon the gravel; he was laid upon the skin, and then this tackle was applied to him; and though I

* James Beckford Wildman, No. 8239 to 8251.

was looking on, and several others at the time, a negro took hold of the rope to draw it up, the man gave a yell that quite made me start."

I hold in my hand a document, in confirmation of this, from Charles Johnston, of the city of Edinburgh, who is just returned from Jamaica. He cannot come here; but I pledge myself to bring him before Mr. Borthwick, if he will meet me in that Modern Athens. Now for the splendid habitation of the negroes, which Mr. Borthwick describes as having four rooms and a saloon, being furnished with silver candlesticks, and four-post mahogany bedsteads. This man has been on the plantations; he has been a book-keeper there. Mr. Borthwick, I believe, has never seen a negro in Jamaica, or a sugar-cane.

"The watchmen's huts," says Mr. Johnston, "are in general miserable abodes of wretchedness. They are built of bamboos, and thatched with the branches of the cocconut and underwood. Within is generally a bench of boards, covered with matting, where reposes the aged African, to seek, in slumber, some alleviation of his woes. There is no chimney whatever in the hut; a fire of burning embers is collected on the floor, around which may be seen lying his terrier dogs, his assistants in destroying the rats which infest the cane-pieces; suspended from the roof, or arranged on the shelf of his humble abode, are the calabashes, which serve him for culinary utensils; a piece of a herring, *far gone in decay*, in one corner; a little sugar, or *decayed, maggoty rice*, in another. Happy, indeed! Can happiness be connected with such assured wretchedness? NO! Their food is utterly insufficient to support their toil-worn frames. The herrings they receive are actually putrified, of the *consistence of soap*, and these, along with cocoes, a very indigestible esculent root—are their richest fare—so rich, that a *beggar in Scotland* would consider himself insulted by the proffer of them." (Now then, we have a dish that "would grace a nobleman's table.") "They vary this sort of meal, occasionally, by the dainty morsel of a grilled rat; nay, even *cats* are by them esteemed delicacies. I can't speak as to *cats*; but many a time and oft, while 'grieving' (Scottice) the gang, during operations in the mountains, have I seen a spiteful of rats roasting on the same fire that my own dinner was cooking upon. I recollect one of these poor creatures (who, were he to appear before a British public with the detail of his woes, would strike compassion into all hearts, saving that of a slaveholder), coming to me one day, with a very piteous expression of countenance:—'Ah, massa!' says he, 'me caught tree rats, and cat nyam (eat) all but one head.' Thus, this poor fellow might perhaps be starving for days to come after this incident; perhaps had been so days previous. The head of a rat is but a poor mouthful, I should think, to a hungry man. They never taste butcher's meat, unless in circumstances such as I now proceed to narrate. I having had the superintendence of some hundred cattle, one of them, by accident, had its leg broke, and, upon informing the overseer, I was desired to see it killed, but to take care that no negro should have a single morsel of its flesh. Such were my orders, and of course I was obliged to act up to the letter, or turn 'walking buckra,' which would have broke my heart, I dare say, and been productive of no good to the slaves. Well; the animal was skinned and cut in quarters, and buried three or four feet deep in a dunghill. The overseer and book-keeper never dreamed of its being disturbed. Judge what must have been the surprise of the former, when, the next morning, as he was taking his ride, on passing the watchman's hut, he observed a large piece of the animal hung up as a prize—a great prize—by its occupant. The poor fellow was, of course, severely flogged, and the piece again buried.

"The children are made to work at the early age of five years; they are either sent to gather sour oranges for the hogs, or hoes are put into their hands, and they assist in clearing and weeding the canes, or in putting the overseer's garden in order. An old dame, armed with a whip and switches of bamboo, is their stern conductress. Frequently have I pitied the poor things; to see their little bodies in one universal tremor of fear, casting their glances askance to assure themselves that the 'schoolmistress' was at a respectful distance. The happy hours of childhood in free countries, alas! are never enjoyed by them. Their little hearts are saddened and grieved: night may bring temporary relief, but they are awakened in the morning, by the thundering of the driver's whip, to the stern realities of their bitter lot. In tears and distress they resume their labours. Some, not so fortunate as their fellows, may have indulged in a longer sleep; but woe to them when they arrive at the scene of operations!—their treatment is cruel. The old dame begins the drama by abusing them roundly with her screeching tongue, that, shrilly as the peacock's, forebodes the storm. She orders the trembling little culprit to be seized by its companions, and instantly belabours it with blows till its flesh quivers with pain. No wonder, then, that the negroes should sometimes be cruel (although this is very rare), when their best feelings are seared from their infancy; and, therefore, what goodness of heart and feeling they do possess, in spite of obstacles, they have not to thank their task-masters for it. But it is well known that it is the interest of the whites thus to degrade their minds. *Let but the schoolmaster be abroad in Jamaica, and slavery is no more—a thing of other days.* But I have not done with

punishments. One little girl there was on our estate who was flogged and abused in a cruel manner, almost daily. Her life was, indeed, a routine of wretchedness and misery. She was actually quite lame from the effects of the lash, and frequently have I seen her rolling on the road, feigning sickness, to escape the daily punishment in store for her, well knowing that I would pass that way. But what could I do? Little, indeed, however willing, and lenient I endeavoured at all times to be. Those who know any thing of the life of a book-keeper know full well that he must obey, or decamp from the estate.

"The slaves are given to understand that they may have redress from the attorney, at his periodical visits to the estate, provided they can prove they have been ill-used. But how is the boon (if such it may be called) rendered nugatory! A mulatto slave, who had received some unkind treatment from the overseer, on threatening to complain to the attorney, was laid down by that 'dignitary,' with her face to the earth, and received the usual panacea of thirty-nine stripes.

"I have seen the old man of seventy flogged; the infant of five years flogged; the slender youth; and he in pride of manhood; the young woman, just budding into life; and she who had reared a large family—nay, I have seen her who was with child flogged, cruelly flogged, because the overseer, forsooth, did not believe that she was in that state, which, of all others, demands the kindest treatment.

"The flogging and striking is not always confined to the fleshy parts of the back, although that is generally the part; and, indeed, is so always when the full quantum of punishment is given. I have seen the drivers striking with bamboos on the nose and neck, or even on the breasts of female slaves. I should not have dwelt on this last, but I have occasionally seen girls so used. The fleshy parts of the back are generally quite ploughed in furrows by the whip; it produces almost the same effects as if one was to take a knife and cut the part in scores—so well is the whip used. It is a tremendous length, and the driver makes it whirl round his head; every crack went like steel to my heart. I was actually astonished and alarmed when I first saw its infliction, how a single white could actually use such power in the teeth of hundreds of slaves. After the flesh is so cut and torn, rum and salt pickle are rubbed upon the wounds.

"The negroes are uniformly engaged in the forenoon of Sunday potting sugar—I never saw any exception, during crop, which is the only time they are so employed. The mill, too, is generally put about at sun-set on the Sabbath—for the slave it is no holiday.

"I should be considered a madman were I to pronounce the slaves happy, after having entered thus far into the details of their condition. They are not happy—generally and specifically, I say they are not. It would be an easy matter to prove the assertion, were I enabled to do so at this time. They say themselves they are not happy, and one would think that they should be best qualified to judge on that point. 'Better me dead!' is a common exclamation of theirs."

At the conclusion, he says he is "sure they would work for wages." He declares, he is willing to meet any man, or set of men, who dare to deny his statements; and he says, that "the negroes may rely on my voice being ever raised in their defence, and no less my humble, but willing pen, in spite of obloquy and scorn. So help me, God!"

(Signed) "CHARLES JOHNSTON."

I know very well that Charles Johnston cannot come here. He is the son of a dissenting clergyman in Edinburgh. Though it cannot be expected that I should follow Mr. Borthwick wherever he chooses to go, yet, if he will cross the Tweed, if he will go to Edinburgh, or to Dalkeith, I will meet him; I will bring before him Charles Johnston, a young man who has been in Jamaica, and knows the working of the system; he shall declare whether I forged this, or whether he wrote it.

But it will be said that these punishments are not continued. I hold in my hand an account of a slave who has been flogged even to death, for refusing to lend a horse that belonged to his wife, because it had a sore back.

I read from the Jamaica Watchman, Sept. 5th, 1832.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE WATCHMAN,—Sir, Seeing in your paper of the 11th instant, a letter, signed 'Q. IN A CORNER,' relating some particulars of the death of a slave, named Alexander Kelly, at Wey Hill, in St. Mary's, after a flogging, I beg to furnish you with a full statement of that affair.

"Alexander Kelly, the slave of a poor blind man of colour, in St. Thomas in the Vale, had, with the permission of Mr. Alexander Gilzean, his manager, and also attorney for Wey Hill, married a woman on the last mentioned place, named Elizabeth. Elizabeth possessed a horse, which was kept on the property with the attorney's permission.—On a Friday afternoon, about a month ago, Alexander Kelly rode the horse from Highgate, where he was employed, to Wey Hill. An application was immediately made to him for the horse by the muleman, under the overseer's order, to carry coffee down to Kingston. He declined giving it, but led it up to the overseer, Mr. JOHN WEST, and showed the sore back of the animal as

the reason for his refusal. The overseer, however, tried to force the rope out of his hand, and insisted on his giving up the animal. Alexander still refusing, the overseer called for some persons to put him into the stocks, at the same time striking him! On the persuasion of one of the slaves (William King), he went quietly to the stocks, into which both his feet were put. The next night his hands were tied, and on Sunday night handcuffs were put on. At 12 o'clock on Monday he was laid down on the *barbique*, in a *roasting sun*, the handcuffs being still on. He was flogged with the driver's long whip, and then a bundle of *guava switches* was flogged out, by one or two at a time, on the same place—viz., his posteriors! On the flogging being discontinued, Alexander cried out for water to be thrown over his head; he *could not rise*, and the driver and another were obliged to lift him, and support him back again to the stocks, into which he was again put with the handcuffs still on! The overseer superintended the whole. In a short time, about half an hour, the man died in the stocks in handcuffs! An inquest was held on the Tuesday afternoon, Mr. John Blake acting as Coroner, and several overseers and book-keepers in the neighbourhood, the friends and associates of Mr. West, composing the jury. A Doctor (Roberts) opened the head and body, and declared there was no violence nor disease. Whether the verdict was as stated by 'Q. in a Corner' I know not; but if a *flogging under a burning sun*, and *confinement in stocks and handcuffs*, be the 'visitation of God,' then all will concur in the verdict; but if these things cannot come forward under that expression, the *Attorney General ought to inquire into the matter*. I have only to add that, if there be need, I can furnish the names of all the witnesses to the whole affair, and the names of the jury. It is said that Mr. West had the permission of Mr. Gilzean for flogging the man, but the latter had not seen Alexander, nor been at Wey Hill during the period in question.

"I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"PHILANTHROPOS."

I have seen the female slave flogged myself; and, though I have not beheld many cases, it is not because there were not many to be seen, but, because no man of common feeling would go to see them. Look at Catharine James, a most interesting female, a member of my church; she stated to me that, for endeavouring to preserve her daughter in the paths of virtue, and to teach her fellow slaves to pray, she was put into a dungeon (and every estate has its dungeon), and there she was kept for more than eight months. One day, the door was open, and she ran out (and who would not have run out? I think Mr. Borthwick would—I know I would; you may call it sedition if you like; you may call it treason if you like; but I would have run out). She was caught; she was brought down to the town of Falmouth, and was sentenced to be worked in chains for her life. She is working in chains to-day; she will be working in chains to-morrow; she will be worked in chains till, at the uplifted voice of a free people, slavery is abolished from the earth. British females, it is in your power to abolish this system: when at the altar of your household joys, vow one by one, vow altogether, and vow with heart and voice, eternal enmity against oppression by your brother's hand, till man nor woman, under British laws, nor son nor daughter, born within her empire, shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be, a slave.

There is David Black: he was flogged, most cruelly flogged. At the end of a month, he came down to me handcuffed; his back was then so sore he could not put on his clothes, and his wife for decency's sake had pinned her's round him. He had walked thirteen miles under a burning sun, handcuffed. I never saw such an emaciated being. The crime he had been accused of was, as he and his fellow slaves stated to me, that he had been praying with his fellow slaves, after their work was over;—for this he was flogged, and handcuffed for a month. What would have been your feelings on such an occasion? Mr. Borthwick would have flung himself into one of his theatrical attitudes, and said, "What, see a man flogged, and not speak at the time!" I do not wish to speak against any man's character, though mine has been attacked behind my back. Why have I been called a traitor? Why has it been said that the gallows is too good for me? I have used no personalities—I could if I would; I say nothing now about Mr. Borthwick's character, though I will when he is in Edinburgh. He did it behind my back, but I care not for that; his cause needs it—mine does not. But to return to the case of David Black, and, if it be denied, we will have David Black home. There is such a place as England, and there is here such a thing as free speaking.

I said to him, "David, what have you done?" "Don't ask me," says he, "ask those who sent me here." I asked a man who was with him what he had. "Pray, minister, that is all." I said no more; away went my poor fellow Christian to the workhouse. When I arrived the chain was about his neck, and he was working on the common way, with his wife's petticoats around his lacerated body. I went the next morning to see him, and the governor said, "I have orders to flog that negro privately, as soon as his back is well." Yes, I have been an eye-witness of these things, and a heart-witness too; and, now, I challenge the whole world to prove that I ever in Jamaica said a single word that

could induce any slave to suppose that freedom was his due. Before I left Jamaica, I published a document in the *Jamaica Watchman*, (and to that document I placed my name,) in which I assured them that I was coming home for the purpose of exposing their cruelties. I dared them, three weeks before I left, to produce any charge against me; and, by this time, they know that William Knibb is performing his duty.

It will be said, in answer to the evidence in the House of Commons, and to this young man, the book-keeper, that gentlemen have travelled through Jamaica, and have brought home a very different tale. It is not enough to go to Jamaica, to know what slavery is. May not a person ride through Bath every day, and know none of the miseries of the poor; and none of the wretchedness of the sick? You must know the negro; you must enter into his feelings, and into his wants, before he will tell you any thing about himself; he knows too much of white men, by unhappy experience, ever to trust them till he is acquainted with their character; and when I hear of captains and other men coming home, and stating, "pon honour," that the slaves are happy, and thus fixing the condition of 800,000 of their fellow-creatures, it reminds me of a verse I have somewhere met with:—

" Purlind to poerty the worldling goes,
And scarce sees rags an inch beyond his nose;
But from a crowd can single out His Grace,
And cringe and bow to fools who strut in lace."

I call upon you by the tender sympathies of your nature—I call upon you by that manful feeling which Britons have ever expressed—I call upon you by the love of liberty which now animates every breast, to leave no method untried till colonial slavery shall have passed away, and become a tale of yesterday. Already, the system shakes to its foundation; the passing of the REFORM BILL will hasten its destruction. It needs but the united effort, (and do not the elections show it?) and soon the accursed system will be cast down; over it we will wave the banner of freedom; our chapels, again erected, shall stand monuments of that freedom; and, as we retire from the spot on which we have achieved the greatest victory that ever signalized our land, we will sing, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; good-will towards men." The advocates of colonial slavery know well they are not celebrating the triumphs of their system, but are assisting at its funeral obsequies; the sooner we arrive at the tomb the better, and then, with one uplifted voice, and with one consecrated heart, we will exclaim, "ashes to ashes, and dust to dust."

I now leave this respectable assembly, repeating that from henceforth I will never take notice of any anonymous newspaper aspersion. If my enemies come forward manfully, manfully I will meet them; but, if they are so dastardly as to shield their arrows under anonymous signatures, they shall meet from me with that scorn which they deserve. On Monday, I return to Scotland; the next place I shall stand in will be Glasgow: there will I lift up my voice for injured Africa; and all I claim shall be that my African brother may stand in the family of man; that my African sister may call her child her own; and that both may have free permission to bow their knee at the footstool of that God who has made of one blood all nations that stand on the face of the earth. Aid me, British Christians, by your prayers; aid me by your exertions; aid me by your sympathies; and, ere that devoted servant of God, WILBERFORCE, descends to the tomb, let the attendant angel, as he descends to waft his spirit to the abodes of the blessed, whisper in the ears of the dying saint, that AFRICA IS FREE.

(Mr. Knibb here produced an iron collar, with projecting spikes, ten inches in length.)

Here is a nice plaything, one of the blessings of slavery! This collar was taken off the neck of a negro, by Mr. Jeremie, who is gone out to teach the people, in Mauritius, obedience. This collar was given by Mr. Jeremie to Dr. Lushington; the slave who wore it had worn it, night and day, for some months, and his back was lacerated from the top to the bottom. I have been asked why I brought it? I had read in the papers that my opponent was to have a piece of plate presented to him for his valuable exertions in the cause of slavery. Silver and gold I have none, but this I have, and Mr. Borthwick has my permission to wear it for six months, that thus he may speak *feelingly* on the system of which he is the champion.

After much expression of indignation from the audience, Mr. Borthwick commenced his address.

Mr. BORTHWICK.—Before I proceed to the examination of the statements, which have just been made by Mr. Knibb, it is meet and well that I should set myself right on one or two points. The first is in reference to the challenge, or challenges, anonymously given, to which Mr. Knibb referred, when he opened his address. I have never, in the course of my life, either written a letter to a newspaper, or written a pamphlet or book, or in any way appeared before the public, without my name and address; therefore, whatever

be the challenges or accusations of which Mr. Knibb complains, I have nothing to do with them. So much on the part of Mr. Knibb; now, for myself.

It will be recollected that, in the course of an address to an English audience in this room, on behalf of the West India body, I declared that, knowing something, as I have known much, of that class of society which is known in England by the term "evangelical," and of that class of men in that society which associates itself with sectarians, that I could not allow myself to believe that any missionary, belonging to any denomination whatever of British sectarians, could directly lend any influence to the rebellion in Jamaica.

(Mr. Borthwick then gave some explanation as to the cause of his absence from Bath on the previous Tuesday, when he had been expected to meet Mr. Knibb; but, as that had little or no reference to the subject in hand, it is omitted here.)

I shall now proceed to examine Mr. Knibb's statements; and, in the first place, as to Reading. Mr. Knibb is reported to have said there, that, "during eight years, to the credit of the missionaries, they kept their tongues silent when their hearts were bleeding; during eight years mine bled incessantly. Now I submit that the insurrection did not last for eight years, and because the insurrection did not last for eight years, it must have been in reference to these eight years, and not to the insurrection, that the gentleman referred, when he said his heart was bleeding continually. For what was his heart bleeding incessantly? "I witnessed scenes of blood enough to make angels weep and devils tremble.

"During the late rebellion, three hundred men," (it seems to have been misprinted five hundred; it is possible the printer would print five hundred for three hundred; therefore, on that charge, I acquit Mr. Knibb—indeed, on that ground, there was nothing against him.) But the point lies here; in speaking to an English audience, this gentleman says, "My heart was bleeding eight years, in consequence of the cruelties done;" and, when he adds on that, "During the late insurrection I witnessed scenes of cruelty which would have made angels weep and devils tremble," with what meaning was it said? Why, to enlist the good feelings of the people of England against the planters! To what point did the whole of the gentleman's speech to-day tend? Was it not to show that cruelty dwelt in the minds of the planters? What means the yell that is set up when I say that the meaning and spirit of the words, as well as their literal and grammatical sense, imply that the missionaries were obliged to check their common feelings by the cruelties which they witnessed, but which they did not condemn, in consequence of one of two things; either because they did not stand in the land of freedom, and durst not, for fear of their lives, or because (which would have been the right motive, had it been so) they did not wish, even under these cruelties, to excite jealousy or commotion on the part of the slave. If Mr. Knibb's sympathies were so liberally drawn upon in Jamaica, for more than eight years, it must have been by acts of cruelty—must it not? And if by acts of cruelty his sympathies were drawn upon by for eight years, he must have seen more than not many of them. This is the inconsistency with which I charge Mr. Knibb; that, having said at Reading he had witnessed scenes of cruelty during the late rebellion, which would have made angels weep, and devils tremble, before the House of Lords, on his oath, Mr. Knibb said he had not seen many. If it be intended by Mr. Knibb that he did not see them, but knew of them, why did he use the words, "I have witnessed scenes of cruelty?"

I believe, a point to which I have referred in this statement is one to which I owe it alike to this audience, to Mr. Knibb, and to myself, to refer; and that one is, the argument by which Mr. Knibb endeavoured to confine the cruelties to which he referred to the period of the insurrection only; which cruelties being confined to that period, I say, go to contradict that part of the sentence which refers to the eight years' residence. With regard to the insurrection, however, I have to submit that the question, as put to the reverend gentleman, before the House of Lords, did not confine his answer to any particular period of his history in Jamaica; it was general. The words are, "Did you witness many acts of cruelty on the slaves in the West Indies yourself?" and the answer is, "No, not many." Now, if it be said that Mr. Knibb, not having witnessed many scenes of cruelty in the West Indies himself, yet had his sympathies drawn upon for eight long years, I would say that the scenes of cruelty must have happened seldom and far between. I speak now, not to the point of fact, but to the variation between the gentleman's statements. Mr. Knibb admits, in his speech to-day, that he has seen females flogged; but, if he had not seen many, it was because he did not choose to witness such things. Now, I perfectly agree with him, that whatever be the justice or injustice of flogging, no man of good feeling would, unless he were necessarily present, bring himself forward to witness such punishment. But I say that "I have witnessed scenes of cruelty," or "I have seen it," are two statements which, taken together and opposed to the statement in the House of Lords, appear to me to require more ingenuity than Mr. Knibb has to-day exercised to reconcile them. It is a thing I never denied, that a man may see some, and yet not see many; and that he may be justified in saying he has seen cases of very horrid cruelty; and yet that he has not seen many cases of very great cruelty; these two may be perfectly con-

sistent. But when they are coupled with the spirit and meaning of the declaration at Reading, that for eight years his heart was bleeding, these form, in my judgment, a distinct contradiction, not in terms only, but in meaning.

With regard to the hanging of one hundred men, and the flogging of three hundred men and women, I have one word of remark, before I proceed. When a country is in a state of insurrection, when civil war rages in a country, what is the usual practice of all nations under the sun? Why, to establish courts-martial, is it not? Well, courts-martial being established, what inquiry do they make as to persons accused? What is the law of arms on that subject? Nor more nor less than this—that every man found armed against the commonwealth, against the constitution of the country, is considered guilty, and immediately condemned to death. This may be cruel or it may not be cruel; but, whatever it be, it is the law of all nations under the sun, and not peculiar to the West Indies. Now, then, if a hundred men, or twenty hundred men, if never so many men had been hung on one gallows, in consequence of being found armed against the king of England, and his authorised representatives—and, above all, if, in the course of that warfare, youth and old age, women and children, suffered under a blood-thirsty vengeance—if we find this so, why, instead of aggravating the circumstance that the martial law took effect there, it lessens the cruelty of it, and shows that the planters in Jamaica, or the magistrates, or officers, who condemned these slaves to be hung, did what every magistrate, every officer, under such circumstances, is bound, in all nations of the world, by oath to God and to man, to do.

But this does not contradict the statement before the House of Lords. Well, if it do not, why bring it forward? Why come before an English audience, panting—and nobly panting, whatever be the cause that has excited the desire in their minds—for the freedom of the slave, and telling them, as an inducement to make them immediately and unconditionally free, that a hundred men were hung on one gallows, and three hundred men and women indecently flogged beneath it? It is putting an impression on the minds of the audience, which impression is at variance with the truth. That acts of cruelty, perpetrated by the planters, would have weight, and strong weight, too, in the question of emancipation, I am willing to grant; but still I say that cases of alleged cruelty, which are neither more nor less than punishments for avowed rebellion, and on men in arms against the country, destroying the property of the country, reeking their vengeance on the helplessness of infancy, and on the purity of innocency—to use this as an argument is not consistent with fair and true representation, but precisely the contrary. Thus much have I to say about the statement at Reading, about its consistency with itself and its avowed object, and about its consistency with the declaration of Mr. Knibb before the House of Lords.

But Mr. Knibb says he has been accused of misprision of treason because he talked in an inflammatory style to the negroes. The speech from which I read had been delivered at a Baptist Missionary Society in London, I believe, or, at all events, in England. That speech has been printed in Jamaica, in a supplement to the Jamaica Gazette, and there the words as they stand are—“Did you ever know buckra man tell you any thing to do you good?” Mr. Knibb says he did not say *buckra*, but *busha*, and that buckra is the general term for a white man, busha is the term for a man that flogs men, women, and children. Now, if Mr. Knibb meant even to say to the slaves—“Did you ever know the busha (or overseer) tell you any good thing,” can you reconcile that statement with St. Paul’s declaration, “Be obedient even to the froward and unmerciful?” Remember, I am, for the sake of argument, taking for granted what Mr. Knibb took for granted, but which I shall disprove when I come to speak at the end of the general question. I am taking for granted, for the time, that the overseers are what Mr. Knibb describes them to be, and that busha does only mean a man who flogs men and women. Even taking it in that sense, I say, it is diametrically opposed to the spirit and meaning of the benevolent declaration of St. Paul, that advice to the people which tends to promote peace and good will.

Aye, but they take advantage of such a circumstance as this to say that Christianity will destroy slavery. I know it will; and I have pleaded for the destruction of slavery by the means of Christianity, and by that alone, however Mr. Knibb may choose to stigmatize me as a pleader for slavery. I do not plead for slavery. Is it not before the public, in every speech of mine that has been properly published, that I plead for the extinction of slavery and nothing else? I plead for the extinction of slavery upon a system and a plan which would annihilate it at an earlier period than has ever been shown us even by Fowell Buxton himself; a system that would begin to-day to loosen the bond of slavery, and which would gradually, under Christian, moral, and political means, emancipate them from year to year, until the child, who is now born, should not be a man, when there ceased to be one slave in the colonies. That is the time, and that is the plan. An honourable gentleman says, I want them for twenty years longer. Eloquent arguer! I want them for twenty years longer, that never had a slave in my life! Those whom I represent, do they want them for twenty years longer? No. How long? Till, and no longer, it shall be consistent

with the safety of the slave, and nothing more. I plead for the abolition of slavery, and upon consistent ground; and I was remarking that the only ground of inquiry which I would make, as to the best means of securing the safety of the planter, would be to secure the safety of the slave. If the slave be safe, the planter must necessarily be safe; if the slave be perfectly free, the planter must have his compensation in that fact alone. It is on record, and on official record, that when Wilmot Horton called upon Mr. Macauley and others to produce their evidence before His Majesty's Privy Council, that free labour could be given, and when these men could not produce their evidence, and after six long months' trial could not furnish their legal advocate with the means of giving evidence; I say that then Wilmot Horton declared the only thing the planters wanted was not a compensation in money, but a compensation in the safety of the slave.

Then the next, and by far the most important point between Mr. Knibb and myself, is in reference to the *Edinburgh Evening Post*. It will be remembered that, when I alluded to that statement first, I said, if Mr. Knibb uttered the words there attributed to him, he was guilty of sowing sedition. I beg that the Reverend Gentleman will now take my words from my own lips, in order that he may not say, I did speak behind him what I will not ray before him. If Mr. Knibb used these words, he uttered what was subversive of the established laws of his country, what tended to the destruction of the throne of his King, what tended to introduce ruin, and anarchy, and bloodshed; not in Jamaica alone, but in England too. It will be remembered also, that at that time I said, that till I saw these words, I had always uniformly acquitted Mr. Knibb. I am sure that Mr. George Thompson, a most eloquent speaker, one of the Agency Anti-Slavery Society's lecturers, would prove the truth of what I say, for in answering him I have said so constantly.

Now this is a grave point; and I beg the audience will do Mr. Knibb every justice with respect to it as they may do me. Mr. Knibb says that the words as I find them in the *Edinburgh Evening Post* are not correct. The words in the *Edinburgh Evening Post* are these: "The negro who planned the whole insurrection in Jamaica, and a fine fellow he is too, deserves an imperishable monument erected to his memory." Mr. Knibb complains of the article in which this occurs; I have nothing to do with the observations which are made in this newspaper. The words are as I have read them: and it is necessary and due to myself, as well as necessary and due to Mr. Knibb, that I should say, with regard to the other parts of the paper, I have nothing to do with them; nor with regard to Mr. Knibb's private character, which he and some others say I calumniated; I declare it is untrue; I never spoke a word of Mr. Knibb's private character, but always carefully said that I knew him only in his public character as a speaker against the West Indian cause. In that public character I am Mr. Knibb's determined opponent; and wherever and whenever I can detect inconsistency in his argument I will expose it, as well as where I can detect truth I will yield to it. With his character, or with that of any man who speaks, I have nothing to do. I have subjects of much greater importance to draw my attention.

(The Reverend Jacob Stanley here interrupted the speaker, and requested the chairman to allow him to ask Mr. Borthwick a question: "Is the private character of any individual affected by being publicly declared a self-convicted liar? Does not that affect a man's private character?" Mr. Borthwick proceeded.)

An honourable gentleman has asked me, and I will answer him—"Is the private character of any gentleman affected by any person publicly saying of him that he is a self-convicted liar?" Now I am perfectly willing to answer that if you will hear me, and say, yes; a man's private character is necessarily involved in his public character; and if publicly, a man is shown to be a self-convicted liar, he is not to be very much trusted in private life. The words referred to were never used by me, except when I placed Mr. Knibb on one of two horns of a dilemma, arising out of counter-statements of his; the one in reference to the very thing of which I am now speaking, and the other implying public cowardice in his public character. I will repeat the circumstance presently, in the course of the argument, and then gentlemen will have an opportunity of seeing whether I said right, or whether I said wrong; but if I ever used the term "liar," or any such thing, in reference to Mr. Knibb as a private man, I should hold myself unworthy of appearing before you.

Now then I will proceed with the statement; and I beg that the chairman will take notice that I will not be interrupted again by persons asking irrelevant questions.

The Chairman.—Allow me to say, I should not have approved of this question being put, but on the question being put, Mr. Borthwick asked whether it was a question in explanation.

Mr. Borthwick.—None of us put questions to Mr. Knibb, and why should I be so interrupted?

Now, with respect to the statement before us in the *Edinburgh Evening Post*; I was called first of all in question as to whether any such statement as this had been made.

Very fortunately a friend of mine, George Saintsbury, Esq., stood forward and gave the only satisfaction that could be given on such an occasion. He pledged himself to put fifty pounds into the hands of the Mayor of this town, which were to be forfeited to any charity that that magistrate should deem best, if the paper was not forthcoming, on condition that the gentleman who called in question its existence would do the same. But that was not forthcoming; the paper was at the next meeting.

The next attack made, was on the veracity of the statement in the paper. Now, Mr. Knibb says he did not use the words as they are set down here, but that he put it hypothetically. He said that if the Negro Sharp, who planned the rebellion, had been a Polish nobleman, and had been struggling for freedom against Russian bondage, why then he would have deserved an imperishable monument to be erected to his memory.

Mr. Knibb.—I said that this audience might say so.

Mr. Borthwick.—Now I beseech the audience to mark his words. He, Mr. Knibb, did not say that the negro would even in that case have deserved it, but a British audience would have said so. (Some persons cried, "So they would.") Well, I would say it too, that any man struggling to free his country from oppression, would certainly deserve an imperishable monument to be erected to his memory, whether a Pole, or a native of any other nation brought into the position of Poland. But I hold it an unfair way of arguing to take advantage of that. The declaration is, that if he had been so and so, he would have deserved so and so. Why, that was a sapient remark, that must have been marvellously applicable to the condition of the slave. The Poles were right, and, therefore, if Samuel Sharp had been a Pole, he would have been right too. But, does that prove that he would have been right in struggling for his freedom in Jamaica? Mr. Knibb says, No, he did not say that; nor did he say he would have been justified if he had been a Pole. When I am taking it so, I am taking it hypothetically, as Mr. Knibb says he stated it. Let me show you that that hypothesis would be very strange. I suppose then (for it is hypothetical) that Mr. Knibb comes to the audience, and says hypothetically, "If Samuel Sharp, the negro that planned the insurrection, had been a Polish nobleman, a British audience would have cheered him on." Is the inference drawn from that intended as an approbation of the conduct of Samuel Sharp, or is it not? If it mean an approbation of his conduct, it is no matter whether it is put hypothetically, or how it is put; but if, on the other hand, it was not meant to be an approbation of the conduct of Samuel Sharp, if it be not meant as saying he deserved an imperishable monument, what does it mean? If it do mean to approve Samuel Sharp, it is no matter whether it is put hypothetically or not; if it mean not to approve Samuel Sharp, what was its meaning at all?

But, ladies and gentlemen, an excellent friend of mine, the same honourable gentleman who first brought forward the Edinburgh Evening Post, who pledged himself to the amount of his fifty pounds to be forfeited to the poor, that same gentleman, Mr. George Saintsbury, wishing to establishing the fact, wishing that no injustice might be done to Mr. Knibb, nor any injustice done to me in this business, wrote to Edinburgh to ascertain what were the facts of the case. A letter comes from Edinburgh by this day's post, and was put into my hand just before I came into this room. That part of the letter, connected with this question, contains the following deposition:—"Before William Blackwood, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the peace for the city of Edinburgh, personally appeared Thomas Duncan, who, being duly sworn on the holy Evangelists, maketh oath and saith, that he was present at a meeting of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, on or about the 19th day of October last, when the Rev. Edward Craig presided; that after the chairman had opened the business of the meeting the Rev. William Knibb, late Baptist missionary at Jamaica, addressed it at great length: and, among other violent expressions, made use of the following words, or words to the same effect:—"Great disapprobation was expressed by the audience when these last words were read. When it had subsided Mr. Borthwick proceeded).—Ladies and gentlemen, though you have heard the beginning you durst not hear the end. Honourable gentlemen complain of what is only the legal technicality of the document. Does not every lawyer know, that these words are constantly inserted in every legal instrument? First they take advantage and say, the paper is not here at all; then they object to the oath because of its legal technicality. Does it not say above, "on or about the 19th day?" Though every body knew it was on the 19th. Every legal instrument from a will downward—from the charter of the crown to the lowest legal instrument, is drawn in that technical form. "And amongst other violent expressions made use of the following words, or words to the same effect, which words the deponent took down at the time—that Sharp, as the deponent understood it, who had planned the rebellion in Jamaica, deserved an imperishable monument. (Signed) Thomas Duncan. Sworn before me, this 12th day of December, 1832, William Blackwood, Justice of the peace." Mr. Duncan, who took the oath, is one of the Directors of the Bank of Scotland.

Then here is a further affidavit from another gentleman: "Before William Black-

wood, Esq. (the same Justice of the peace), one of His Majesty's Justices of the peace for the city of Edinburgh, personally appeared, the Rev. Archibald Brown, at present of the city of Edinburgh, in North Britain, and late senior Minister of the National Kirk of Scotland, in the united colony of Demerara and Essequibo, who, being sworn, maketh oath and saith, that he was present at a meeting of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, held on or about the 19th day of October last, at which meeting the Rev. Edward Craig, of the Episcopal Chapel, Broughton-street, presided, and that he heard the Rev. William Knibb, late Baptist missionary in Jamaica, in the course of his address, make use of the following words, or words to the same effect."—The same disapprobation was manifested at these words as was before shown). The nature of the document, and the wording of the oath, is precisely the wording of every oath on which the free subjects of the British Crown are tried at home, neither more and less. "The Rev. William Knibb, late Baptist missionary in Jamaica, in the course of his address made use of the following words, or words to that effect, to wit, 'the negro, who planned the insurrection, and a fine fellow he is too, deserves to have an imperishable monument.' (Signed) Archibald Brown. Sworn before me, William Blackwood, Justice of the peace, this 12th day of December, 1832."

These are two oaths, confirmatory to the letter, almost confirmatory to a word, and to the meaning in every iota of it, of what is said in the Edinburgh Evening Post. I am, therefore, under the necessity of doing one of two things, either I am to believe that Mr. Knibb did, or that he did not, use these words, or words to that effect, in reference to Mr. Samuel Sharp, the slave who planned the insurrection; I am either to believe it or I am not; and in order to know what I am to do in this important question, I must examine the evidence on both sides: surely that is but fair justice. On the one side I find Mr. Knibb saying, he did not use the words otherwise than hypothetically, and that he introduced the supposition, that Samuel Sharp, was a Polish nobleman. On the other side, first of all the paper, and then the oaths of two gentlemen are brought forward to prove, that he did use the words in reference to Samuel Sharp, and there is nothing hypothetical stated, and nothing about a Polish nobleman is introduced. I do not mean to say that the Polish nobleman, as a figure, might not have been introduced by Mr. Knibb; God forbid that I should call any man's word in question to such an extent as that. But I must say this, that with every wish to give Mr. Knibb's declaration its just and full meaning on the first supposition, that he stated it hypothetically, it goes to one of two things, as I said, either it is intended as a sort of compliment to Samuel Sharp, or it is not. If it be intended to be applied to him without the hypothesis, then it is rebellious; if it be not intended, it means nothing. Then, on the other hand, if I am to believe the oaths of these two gentlemen, the one a highly respectable citizen of Edinburgh, and a director of the Bank of Scotland, the other a Scotch clergyman, long residing in the West Indies—if I am to believe these two gentlemen on their oaths, their statements being confirmatory of the general statement in the paper; why then, undoubtedly, the thing is not hypothetically rebellious, but simply and plainly rebellious. (Great disapprobation was expressed by the audience at this remark.)

The Chairman.—If these interruptions continue, as I fear they frequently proceed from Mr. Knibb's friends, independent of their actual impropriety, allow me to say, they cannot be doing his cause a greater injury, than in thus occupying the time of the meeting, and preventing him or his friends from offering a rejoinder.

Mr. Borthwick.—Mr. Knibb next states, that he has been called to order, before an English assembly, for having dared to call that man a rebel who struggled for his freedom. That man, whoever he be, who owes obedience to the British Crown (and Mr. Knibb does not deny that the slave owes obedience to the British Crown)—that man, whoever he be, a master or slave, a peer or a peasant, who attempts, by force of arms, to destroy the authority of the British Crown, is a rebel: and there is not a man in this assembly, I am sure, who would take the part of such a man.

The negroes, in the late insurrection, concocted it after morning prayers had been held at the Baptist Chapel. Mr. Knibb says some one has reported to him that I said it was concocted in a Baptist chapel (many persons called out—"So you did")—I did not.

Rev. Mr. Price.—You did say so.

Mr. Borthwick.—I said this, and I will repeat it, and prove it too; that the insurrection was concocted, after morning prayers at a Baptist chapel, by men who had attended these morning prayers. I will read the evidence on which I said it, and you shall see that if I had said "in the walls of the chapel," my evidence would have been just the contrary of my assertion. Here is the evidence of Robert Gardiner just before his death, taken by the reverend clergymen of the parish, the Rev. T. Stewart.

"The whole business of the rebellion was settled upon in Montego Bay. I had often

heard the thing spoken of in a casual manner before Christmas, but I never gave much heeding to it; the first time I heard that the time was fixed, and the thing determined upon, was at Christmas, at Montego Bay. It was determined upon after we had been to morning prayers at our chapel (Baptists)."

Will honourable gentlemen doubt this, upon the oath of one of the parties concerned, who surely ought to know? Will they take against the oath of this party concerned, the evidence of a mere *ex parte* statement, unsupported by oath? If they can, I can only tell them that my way of judging evidence is very different from theirs. Their general, Sharp, the fine fellow, who, if he had been a Polish nobleman, would have deserved an imperishable monument. Is there a difference then, after all, even on my opponents, showing, between a Polish nobleman and a slave? Is morality one thing to a nobleman, and another thing to a slave? Do the principles of justice and right shift with the changes of a man's position? Can a matter be rebellious in one place, and just, noble fighting for freedom in another? No, verily: even-handed justice is alike in Africa and in India—in the colonies of Great Britain, and in Great Britain itself.

"General Samuel Sharp, belonging to Mr. Gray; Taylor to Mr. Boyd, the Saddler; Johnstone to Retrieve (who was afterwards killed in the battle of Montpelier); Guthrie to Colonel Grignon; Dove to Belvidere; Sharp to Hazelymysh; myself, and some other of the head people, were present. General Sharp spoke first: he said, 'the thing is now determined upon, no time is to be lost; the King of England and the parliament have given Jamaica freedom, and it is held back by the whites; we must at once take it. The King sent the law since March last, and it has been withheld by the whites: rise at once and take it.' Sharp kept on talking in this way, which roused us and made us nearly mad; at last he stopped, and I said, Sharp, I do not like this business at all—let us do away with it! Sharp then became very furious, and said, 'What is to become of all the men I have sworn; then they might as well obey me as to die from not doing so?' George Duncan also said, he did not like the business. Guthrie then said, the thing must be done, and was very violent. Guthrie then wanted us to take 'pot luck' with him at three o'clock, in his room at Montego Bay. We went; Guthrie then commenced talking of the thing again; he asked us what we would drink: we said wine; he filled our glasses, and then took up his, and said, 'In a few days may we get our rights, and my Little-breeches (that being the name Colonel Grigson was called by among us), and the other gentlemen who oppose us, lay at our feet.' I would not drink the toast, and declared I would have nothing to say to it, which Duncan, and old Carpenter belonging to Hazelymysh, can prove; they then laughed at me, and then drank the toast. Taylor also said, 'Let us not spill a drop of blood; if we do, it will bring a prosecution upon our church (the Baptists). (The word is written *pro*-secution; whether it is *per*-secution or not, I don't know; I say this to give you the benefit of whatever doubt there may be about the misprinting.) Guthrie then said, 'I will be up on Tuesday to Barney side, and I will be on your side on Wednesday (meaning Greenwich, &c). I will put the first ball into the man (meaning Gregson).'"

And yet this was only to refuse to work without wages!

Mr. Knibb.—It was Guthrie said that—not Sharp.

Mr. Borthwick.—I read it so.

Mr. Knibb.—I said that Sharp said so to me in the gaol; and Mr. Miller is my authority.

Mr. Borthwick.—Guthrie said, "I will be up on Tuesday, to Barney-side, and I will be on your side on Wednesday, (meaning Greenwich, &c.) I will put the first ball, into the man (meaning Colonel Grignon)." And yet they were only struggling for freedom; they were only going to say we will not work any more. A gentleman is here on the platform who was in Jamaica during the whole time of the rebellion: and let me here remark,—in reference to Mr. Knibb's saying that the members of his congregation were not engaged in the rebellion, and that the estates on which Mr. Knibb preached were not destroyed—in the parish of Trelawny, there are something like ninety-six estates, and out of the whole, not four at the utmost were burnt at all.

Mr. Knibb.—There was not one burnt down.

Mr. Borthwick.—Mr. Knibb says there was not one burnt down. Mr. Knibb must see that what he has said is in my favour. I said there were not four at the utmost; Mr. Knibb says there was not one: my arguments therefore becomes the stronger. There are about ninety-six estates in Jamaica, in the parish of Trelawney (a parish in Jamaica is like a county in England)—in that parish Mr. Knibb takes credit to himself for having preserved three estates. Why, there was none burnt down, according to his own showing; if, in the whole parish of Trelawney, there was not one estate burnt down it does not argue any thing at all in favour of Mr. Knibb that the slaves, to whom he preached, did not burn down their estates, seeing the others did not burn down any.

Mr. Knibb.—I acknowledge no such thing.

Mr. Borthwick.—Mr. Knibb says he had members in various parts over the whole of that parish. I have no doubt of that; but I could name the estate of Pitfall, on which were many chapels of his connexion, and the negroes all round went to them. It belonged to Mrs. Hay; she did not allow her negroes to go, but took them to the church, to which she went herself, the established church of her native land. Now her negroes were so far from rebelling, that they preserved her property, and some of them sacrificed their lives in defence of it; they defended it from the attacks of those around them who went to the chapels referred to. I do not wish to bring these as any proof upon the subject, further than as having their mutual weight against that which Mr. Knibb brings forward, in reference to the members of his church: but let Mr. Knibb understand fully what it is I have said. Let the gentleman give my words their proper weight and their proper application. I have not been speaking about what was done in Trelawney, but I spoke of what was done over the whole island of Jamaica. When I did so, I brought the evidence from various parts, and I brought it from the confessions of leaders of the rebellion themselves, in that solemn moment when they were going to die. Mr. Knibb has mentioned Mr. Manderson, and a case of singular nobleness of conduct, in reference to a slave and a Baptist, for whom Mr. Manderson is willing to come forth, and prove the truth with his oath. I will give him, in reference to the same gentleman, a case weighing directly against it; and that is one in which Mr. Grant, a magistrate, was deeply concerned. Mr. Grant was present. When going to some place on military duty, a body of men were attracted by the cries of a soldier in great distress. Coming to the place, where they found him, they discerned a slave struggling with him to kill him. They found that the slave had been attempting to set fire to a house, and that the soldier had discovered him. They succeeded in preserving the soldier from the grasp of the murderer; and, having found the man there alone, they asked him what was his object. He unequivocally declared it was to extirpate the whites altogether, and added, too, he was sorry he had been prevented doing what he meant to do. When he was tried and condemned, he said, "I am going to heaven; I am the soldier of Jesus Christ and Parson Burchell; you cannot hurt me; the hand of Jesus Christ is come down to take me up; I will soon be with my Saviour and you," (I quote the words exactly as they are sworn to) "and you d—d bucker men will be doomed to hell." It is undoubtedly fair that I bring this single case (which is but a single case) against the single case of Mr. Knibb. Mr. Grant is willing to come forward with his oath to support this statement; and, if required, I will write by the earliest conveyance to Jamaica, and obtain Mr. Grant's oath; the whole of this having passed in the presence of Mr. Manderson. (Some one asked the name of the slave.) The slave's name, I am sure I do not know. I give you the name of Mr. Manderson, and Mr. Manderson will take his oath to the whole fact—Mr. Manderson, a man of colour, and a member of the assembly at Jamaica; is not that evidence?

I will now read you the names of the persons who made confession on oath with regard to the rebellion. If Mr. Knibb call in question the fact, I will read the evidence itself. The names of the persons are, Robert Gordon, — Manby, a prisoner under sentence of death in Savannah gaol, Thomas Dove, Alexander Burnet, George Stilton, John Bell, James Ricketts, James Fry, William Evans, *alias* Alexander Evans, further confession of James Fry, Charles Carter, Robert Morris, William Black, William Aikins, John Morris, Edward Morris, Robert Morris, John Davies, Joseph Linton. Linton's is of great importance, because it shows that the two principles on which the rebellion was conducted were these: In the first place, that they should banish from the colony all white and free people; in the second place, that the inferior slaves should not obtain their freedom. The confession of Linton is this: "If I chose I could tell a great deal about the business, but, as I am going to die, let it all go with me; I do not like to speak of 'Gardner's friends, trumps;' if he and they escape judgment here, they cannot escape it in the day of judgment. If I had been sentenced to transportation or flogging, perhaps I might have told more than the people think for; but if I do so now, people will say that I did so because I was afraid to die, and because I knew that I could not be present to prove it. I will tell this only: we were all sworn upon the Bible to do our best to drive white and free people out of this country. The head people among all of us negroes were then to divide the estates among us, and to work them with the common negroes, who were not to get their freedom, but work then as they do now. I might as well tell the truth, though they would have had bad treatment from us, we could not treat them as white people now treat them; we would have been obliged to rule them hard to keep them down; but this is nothing; we all believed this freedom business, from what we were told, and from what we heard in the newspapers, that the people in England were speaking up very bold for us; we all thought the king had been upon our side. Gardner constantly kept telling us that he and the other head people had been told that the king had given orders for his soldiers here not to fight against us, and that he was sending out powder and arms, and the

governor was to go away and leave the country to us. In about three or four years the negroes would break out again, for they cannot help believing that the king has given them freedom, especially as they hear so much about it in the newspapers. Those who cannot read always give a 5d. to those who can, to read the papers to them, when they hear they contain good news for them. Besides this, our religion says we cannot serve two masters, but must only serve Jesus Christ."

In regard to Mr. Knibb's defence of his view of the slave question; to wit, that of immediate and unconditional emancipation, I am perfectly prepared to enter upon it at any time and at any place where I can possibly meet him consistently with the engagement I have already made. In the mean time I will mention to Mr. Knibb before this audience, that, whenever, however, and wherever I meet him, I do not conceal my name or my place of abode; I do not attack anonymously, but come forward openly. When in Cheltenham I spoke on the question of negro slavery, and gave the views I have attempted to maintain here, two gentlemen pledged themselves to me that during the month of December Mr. Knibb should meet me at Cheltenham. I replied that give me a week's notice, and wherever I am I will meet Mr. Knibb.)

I am now about to sum up what I have been saying. The bargain between me and Mr. Knibb was, that I should occupy the same time that he did, and I must abide by it to the letter: I have always stood by every thing I have said to the letter.

(Much dissension was expressed at these observations. The speaker was unable, by the opposition, to address the meeting further than to say that the time during which he had to reply to Mr. Knibb was expired. After a short conversation between Mr. Knibb and Mr. Borthwick, it was agreed that Mr. Borthwick should proceed a quarter of an hour longer, on condition that Mr. Knibb should reply.)

Mr. Borthwick.—"Am I to speak," says Mr. Knibb, "the same language to a British audience which I would hold to a slave in the West India Colonies? Am I to speak to free-born Britons as I would speak to obsequious slaves?" I say, "Unless you be a tyrant, yes." I am asked, would I speak to bond-slaves as I would to freemen. I say I would. If a freeman ask me what is rebellion, I tell him it is taking up arms against the government of his country: if a slave ask me what is rebellion, I say it in taking up arms against the crown of his country. And if a man say one thing is Jamaica and another in England, what can be the cause of it? Why, that in England, says Mr. Knibb, I speak in a free land, and in Jamaica I do not. I tell Mr. Knibb it is not true. Religion is in Jamaica the same as in England; and, blessed be religion, wherever she goes, for every wound she has a balm, whether it be the wound of a slave, or the wounds of persons in any station of life whatever. Religion changes not with clime, or colour, or country; no, nor with position in society. But the question between us is, What are the dictates of religion and sound policy with regard to what ought to be done to the slave now? I have endeavoured to show on former occasions that a false religion will ever be productive of bad effects, as a sound religion will ever be productive of good effects. What evidence does Mr. Knibb produce to support his assertions on this subject? He tells us that the officers of the army and navy are not to be credited on this point. Why? Because he quotes a sentence from an English satirist, speaking of "fools that strut in lace." Fools that strut in lace, or in black coats, certainly are not to be believed: but will Mr. Knibb stand up with his single personal humanity, and oppose himself as a man, as a Briton, as a Christian—in any sense, I care not how he puts it—and call on an English audience to believe that so large a portion of their countrymen as the officers of the army and navy are "fools strutting in lace?" Are the officers of the army and navy, men whose honour is proverbial, not to be believed? I ask you, Will you believe the testimony of one, or ten, or twenty men, when that one, or ten, or twenty men, come and tell you that the appointment of the Bishop in Jamaica has stopped religion? Though Mr. Knibb gives it the sanction of his name by reading it here—yet what is he or Mr. Wildman, or ten, or twenty more, added to them, when compared to the whole mass of men, including the Bishop, his clergy, the officers of the army and navy, and the men of independent fortunes, that have gone out to visit the country?

It has been asserted that I said if Mr. Knibb had got justice he would have been hung. My statement was no more nor less than this—and I give my authority for it—Mr. William Gladstone of Liverpool, who was present at the time referred to. That gentleman mentions the following circumstance, to which I referred publicly, and to which I am happy thus publicly again to refer, that Mr. Knibb may know exactly what I did say. When the slaves were brought forward to give evidence against Mr. Knibb, I stated that they were discrepant in reference to time, and I stated that Mr. Knibb, in consequence of the discrepancy, together with other circumstances, was acquitted. I said he was rightly acquitted, and I added, moreover, that with Mr. Knibb, so far as Jamaica was concerned, I had no quarrel; my quarrel with him rested entirely and solely on his speeches spoken in this country, of which I declared my public opinion, and which opinion I confess I have not yet seen any cause for changing at all. If any

man understood me to say or to insinuate that some underhand means or improper means were used to acquit Mr. Knibb, I can only say that my words were, His counsel did well, and the jury did well, when they acquitted him.

Rev. Mr. Cater.—I declare that Mr. Borthwick did, in this room, charge Mr. Knibb with insurrection in Jamaica, and I will swear it on my oath.

Mr. Borthwick.—I said this, that it was an extraordinary thing to accuse the planters of injustice, and of seeking their lives by persecution, when we find the men so accusing the planters, sound in life and limb, untouched in mind or body. I say, what is the proof they give us of persecution? It has been said that Mr. Knibb put it to me whether I should like to be taken from my wife and children, and carried to such and such a place. I say that, if my country were in a state of insurrection, and I was called before a tribunal, and suffered what Mr. Knibb suffered, I would not consider it persecution. I say again, and I will repeat it, that Mr. Knibb, or Mr. Burchell, and all of them together, who make such declarations as these, only say this—that they come home to argue against the men who, according to their own showing, acquitted them when their lives were in their power.

(Much disapprobation was again manifested, during which the Chairman announced that nearly thirty minutes instead of a quarter of an hour had elapsed since Mr. B. resumed his address. The Chairman then requested that those who were satisfied with Mr. Knibb's explanation, would hold up their hands. The contrary was afterwards put, and the result on both sides was received with immense cheering by the respective parties. The Chairman then declared the meeting to be dissolved. A scene of great uproar followed, which continued for some time, and, when it was somewhat abated, Mr. Knibb addressed the meeting, another Chairman—Mr. Hunt—having been appointed.)

Mr. Knibb.—My opponent has asserted in his reply that, prior to my speech in Edinburgh, he had uniformly acquitted me, and appealed to that eloquent pleader on behalf of the helpless slave, George Thompson, Esq., for the truth of his assertions.

If this be true, why did Mr. Borthwick state, that if slave-evidence had been admitted against me, that I should have been executed? And when I replied to this, by affirming [that slave-evidence was admitted, why did he reply here this day, that my acquittal was owing to a discrepancy in the two witnesses who were examined on my trial, and that the jury very properly gave me the advantage of that which they could not prevent, and leaning to the side of mercy, acquitted me? The fact is, that I NEVER WAS TRIED AT ALL—no witnesses were examined—no discrepancy appeared—no jury shed tears of mercy, a *nolle prosequi* was entered by the law-officer of the Crown, and the case was dismissed. If my opponent knew this, it was worthy of his cause to endeavour to deceive you; if he did not, his ignorance is only equalled by that audacity which prompted him to speak on a subject of which he knows nothing.

But did not my opponent state at Warrington that I was wandering through the country with a rope round my neck, which justice needed but to grasp for my destruction?—Did not this very George Thompson, Esq., to whom he has appealed, then put the question to a numerous assembly, which of the two deserved death, myself or Mr. Borthwick; and was it not unanimously decided, by a show of hands, in the presence of my opponent, that the exaltation he awarded to me was his just and proper due? My opponent knows these things; and yet, after having endeavoured to blast my character, he would fain have you believe that his first efforts were made to proclaim my innocence. The assertions of the denials of such a being are unworthy of regard; and I feel at a loss to reply to a man who appears to glory in setting truth at defiance.

My opponent, in his play with "shadows," has laid much stress upon my speech in Reading, as contrasted with my evidence before the Lords and Commons' Committees. This speech I did not correct for the press, nor can I be certain that it was printed verbatim, but respecting which I have not the least desire to disown a single sentiment. Though I have not seen many instances of cruelty, yet in Jamaica there is daily much to make the heart of the philanthropist bleed, that does not come under that exact denomination. The degradation of man, the prostration of the image of God at the shrine of Mammon—the public sale of the mother and the child—the debasement of the female character, and the innumerable evils inseparably connected with a system which affronts the Majesty of Heaven, and classes with the brute the noblest work of his hands. But I have heard the moans of the tortured slave, when I have not seen the prostrate victim; my ear has been pierced with the shrieks of the African female, when I have not seen the lacerated body, writhing in bloody agony. I have seen the victim of despotic power, when he has risen from the hand of oppression, and breathed his sorrows into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. I have heard—frequently heard—the soul-sickening sound of the cart-whip, when it has aroused the unhappy slave to his daily task, or fell, with a deadening murmur, upon the back of the hapless sufferer; daily have I beheld children, females, and men chained like cattle in the streets, yea, the children of Britons in this degrading condition, while the demoralizing and pesti-

ferous influence of slavery, in all its rank luxuriousness, has painfully convinced me, that I dwell in a land from which freedom was banished, and which crime and oppression revelled as in their native dwelling-place. There the image of God is fallen; there the oppressor and the oppressed are alike depraved; man tramples upon man, and, because his fellow is cursed with a skin not coloured like his own, chains him, manacles him, and dooms him to a greater degree of suffering than is ever allotted to the greatest adepts in crime.

When I have adverted, in my public addresses, to the lamentable waste of life in reference to the late insurrection, or to the horrors of martial law, during which the blood of Africa was so wantonly and profusely shed, it has ever been with a view of preventing a similar catastrophe, by urging upon all the immediate and total destruction of that abomination of abominations, colonial slavery, which was the cause, the fruitful and direct cause, of all these varied enormities.

My opponent asserts that the insurrection was concocted after morning prayers in a Baptist chapel, and produces the confession of the dead to prove the assertion. The meeting, to which he alludes, was held on Christmas Sabbath, two days before the insurrection broke out, and the conversation he refers to occurred in consequence of Mr. Gardiner's preaching on the subject of obedience; this, Sharp, Gardiner, and Dove, informed *me* themselves. I disdain to answer dying confessions, knowing, which I do, the manner in which they were obtained. The slaves must, indeed, be possessed of extraordinary abilities, if in two days they can plan a rebellion, which was declared to be deeply laid, and as extensive as the Island.

The insurrection was not planned, either at or after morning prayer, at any Baptist chapel, but at a place called Retrieve; this I know to be the fact, and I challenge and dare any one to disprove it.

I again aver that I have not the least recollection of having used the language attributed to me by the Editor of the Evening Post. The sentiment conveyed is not mine. This a few days will determine; till then every impartial man will suspend his judgment, especially when he learns that my opponents have only sworn that I stated something like it: that one of them, the regularly ordained minister of the Established Church of Scotland, I publicly defeated, when he stood forward as the Champion of Slavery in Edinburgh; and when I pledged myself either to procure counter declarations, or acknowledge my inability to do so.*

Did I wish to retaliate upon my opponent, nothing were more easy. His speeches, as reported, are as full of sophistry and untruth as their limits will admit; but, for the present, I forbear. The man who figured at Dalkeith, who played his part in Edinburgh, and pursued the even tenor of his way safe from false alarms in Cambridge, and who is now speaking of a system he has never seen, and fixing the happiness or misery of eight hundred thousand beings of whom he knows nothing, may well be left to that contempt which is ever the lot of the presumptuous and the vain.

Let all the Mr. Borthwicks on earth try to continue the system of Slavery, by pleading for gradual emancipation, they cannot succeed. The fiat of destruction against oppression has gone forth; Slavery has heard the award of her doom. Attempt to arrest the sun in his course, to stay the wheels of nature, or to dry up the ocean, ere you convince a free and enlightened people that Slavery is the only blessing that has survived the fall, or that the happiness of a nation depends upon the oppression of man.

Africa, thou shalt be free! Britons, Patriots, Fathers, Females, join me in my endeavours to rid my country of this Moloch of iniquity! Let not fear, let not scorn, let not danger deter your justice,—long-delayed justice demands it—mercy beseeches it—every feeling of humanity urges us forward to the contest—and every attribute of Deity is engaged on our side. If we are united, the bonds of the slave will be broken, his fetters will be snapped, the tears of the female African shall cease to flow. The trumpet of Jubilee shall sound. The banner of freedom shall be unfurled: and, beneath its life-giving shade, Africa shall arise and call you blessed. Anarchy and confusion shall be banished from the earth, peace shall be restored, joy shall beam in every eye, happiness reign in every heart, and plenty shall open her stores to bless mankind, while the God and Father of the oppressed shall smile upon the work which justice demanded, and which Britain has achieved. Remember that I plead for liberty, for liberty for those who have never forfeited it by any crime they have committed, and that, without this blessing, Africa must be miserable. For

'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it.

(The chairman then put it to the meeting whether they were satisfied that Mr. Knibb was guiltless of the charges brought against him or not. On a show of hands, he de-

* See Appendix.

clared he considered it his duty to pronounce that there was a decided majority in favour of Mr. Knibb.)

The Chairman.—I rejoice in this decision, because the characters of missionaries and christians were mingled up with it. It is an awful thing to think that men, who went to preach the gospel, should cherish rebellion; but we are glad to know that such is not the fact. I know you are determined that slavery should be extinguished: two hundred members of the new parliament are already pledged to use all their efforts to put an end to this abomination; two hundred and fourteen in England, to say nothing of Scotland and Ireland; and we are sure they will not be backward in this great cause. Whatever difference there may be in this system of treatment, or that system of treatment, it is still slavery which contains such elements of tyranny, iniquity, and oppression, that we cannot continue it. Mr. Borthwick tried to get into Parliament on the other side, and they refused him. Can you believe the man who says, he was not here to-day to defend slavery? If he was not, what was he here for? He was here to-day to defend slavery and slave-owners, specimens of whom we have seen here to-day. We have seen how they judged us and would not allow us to open our mouths, even after we had procured a hearing for them, and given them half an hour beyond what they had a right to. Mr. Borthwick's gradual abolition means perpetual bondage.

Rev. Mr. Price.—When, in the history of this country, was it known that the planters talked about gradual emancipation? Not until the British public, with one heart and one voice, demanded the immediate abolition of slavery. Prior to this period they were the avowed enemies of emancipation, whether immediate or remote; declaring that the latter equally with the former was inconsistent with their rights of property, and would prove destructive to the slave. They have now adopted our term in part, but it is only as a means of delusion—a fair sample of that frankness and rectitude by which colonial advocacy has been so eminently distinguished. But we should be the veriest idiots that live if we permitted ourselves to be thus deluded. Past experience of colonial craft and meanness afford us effectual protection from future injury. Gradual abolition can only serve to irritate the master, and to keep alive in the agitated breast of the negro that conflict of hope and fear which threatens a destructive eruption. The misery of the slave, I doubt not, has been lately more acutely felt than formerly; and that wretchedness will continue to increase until British justice shall invest him with the privileges of freedom. Had an opportunity been allowed at the close of Mr. Borthwick's reply, I would gladly have refuted, by Parliamentary documents, whatever was important in his statements. This would be an easy task; for never before did a public speaker display such recklessness in his assertions as our opponent has done. I have read in the course of these discussions a new chapter in the history of the human mind; but, I regret to say, the information obtained has served to lower rather than to heighten my estimate of man. I could not previously have believed that a public advocate, retained by a wealthy and influential body, would have displayed such an utter ignorance, or want of principle, as Mr. Borthwick has done. On one or other of these charges he must be convicted, for his statements are so far from truth, his assertions are so opposite to the facts of the case, that he can only escape the charge of wilful misrepresentation by admitting that of disgraceful ignorance. I wondered at the hardness of the man who could make the assertion which Mr. Borthwick has made, that all the compensation which the planters ask, is safety to their slaves. Does he imagine we are fools? Does he calculate on our ignorance being equal to his own, if a worse charge do not apply to him? Does he really believe we have come to Bath to meet the advocate of slavery without looking into a single document, or acquainting ourselves with one feature of the case? Such, I would have him know, is not our ordinary course; and, if he does not now stand before this audience convicted of uttering statements which he cannot prove, it is only because his friends would not allow us an opportunity to reply in his hearing. But what can you think of this statement of my opponent, when the official documents before me contain numerous claims, from the planters and their authorised agents, for full pecuniary compensation. Take, for instance, the Observations of the Committee of the Crown Colonies, forwarded to Lord Goderich on the 22nd Feb. 1832, and contained in the paper of March 29th, 1832, in which the claim is preferred in terms as explicit as language can supply. Who, then, I ask, are we to believe—Mr. Borthwick or his employers? I freely acknowledge that I prefer the latter. Their authority is highest, and the claim which it sanctions is recorded in a public document. Let our opponent settle the matter with those who have retained him, before he repeats his assertions. One thing follows from Mr. Borthwick's statement, and it is this, whenever emancipation takes place, if it do not prove destructive to the negro, the planters, if he be true, will say nothing about compensation. The first session of a reformed Parliament will distinguish itself, I trust, by doing justice to the slave. The determination of the British mind is taken; and his Majesty's Government will not, I verily believe, falter. They are too far committed by their general principles; they are

men of too upright and noble minds; and some of them have taken too prominent a part in the defence of the negro's rights, to allow my mind to hesitate for a moment about the course they will pursue. There are measures devising (hear it ye planters, and tremble!) which shall proclaim to the African that he is free. Yes; the virtuous and the wise of all classes are about to make one simultaneous effort to extort from the tardy justice of the British Parliament the restitution of the negro's freedom.

I listened with the utmost attention to the reply of Mr. Borthwick, and now unhesitatingly affirm, that not one of the main positions or facts of my brother's case has been touched. Was the flogging and indecent exposure of females denied? Was the rubbing of saltpetre or rum into their mangled flesh denied? Was the separation of husband and wife, of parent and child, denied? Was the general brutality and licentiousness of the white population, the ferocious and assassin-like character of that population, disproved? Were the meanness, rancour, and bribery, by which the character of Christian Ministers was assailed and their lives attempted, disproved?—With all the hardihood of assertion which I have seen displayed, this would have exceeded all. No; our cause is omnipotent. Never did I feel it so triumphant as when the planters and their friends refused to hear either Mr. Knibb or myself in reply. They must have been conscious at that moment of a secret misgiving. The badness of their cause, rather than any deficiency of confidence in their advocate, led to their determination. They hate the light, and they come not to it lest their deeds should be reproved. I rejoice in the opposition we have experienced, and shall retire from Bath with full conviction that those men dared not hear the reply we had to make. One opponent expected to divide the Christian world, and thus to conquer. But the hollowness of his forbearance could not escape the keen glance of the Wesleyans; and they refused to accept his offers of peace. They pointed to their demolished chapels, to their imprisoned and brutally-treated Missionaries, and asked why this had been if they were held as guiltless. On a former occasion, it was asserted by Mr. Borthwick, in answer to a question from myself, that neither he nor any of the colonists suspected the Wesleyans of having been implicated in the rebellion. In my reply I referred him to the Report of the Jamaica Rebellion Committee, to the imprisonment of Messrs. Box and Greenwood, and to the tarring and feathering of Mr. Bleby. To these statements he deemed it wise to attempt no reply in his rejoinder. I rejoice, on the present occasion, to perceive members of different religious bodies around me. The Churchman and Dissenter, the Arminian, and Calvinist, the Pædobaptist and Baptist, here find common ground on which they can consistently meet. It is not a sectarian question which is involved in this struggle—Christianity itself is threatened, and the virtuous of every party are, in consequence, ready for the defence.

The Colonists much mistake if they imagine themselves able to banish religion from Jamaica. They must root out piety from the soil of Britain, they must render us as indifferent to the spiritual interests of mankind as themselves, before they can accomplish such a purpose. No; it cannot be. The attempts madness, and it will entail disappointment and perplexity on themselves. To the planters I would say, Mendicants that you are on the British public; receiving individually, on an average, several hundreds annually in the shape of protecting duties and bounties; if the alternative be, as your own conduct affirms, that either religion or slavery must be relinquished, we will not, we cannot hesitate one moment. You have forced a selection, and shall no longer be in doubt respecting our choice. Do what you may, the presence of Christianity shall be with you. Planted by the hand of Providence, and watered by the rains of Heaven, it shall spring up and bear fruit to the glory of our God. I do not wonder at the half-expressed sneer of some gentlemen whom I see. They cannot endure that Christianity should be referred to. They have attempted to drive it from Jamaica, and, if their power were equal to their impiety, they would banish it from Britain. But the nation's voice is now heard, and it will carry the assurance of coming good to the dark regions of the earth, which are full of the habitations of cruelty. Already do the advocates of slavery begin to tremble, for the signs of the times proclaim that their end draweth near. We hear the voice of their humiliation when they ask us not to persist in our measures. They seek to supplant our pity for the negro by compassion for themselves. But their entreaties shall be in vain. Our course is determined; and, by the help of our God, we will continue it till slavery shall cease. In conclusion, permit me to impress on all present another duty which you will speedily be called on to discharge. Immediately that you hear of the question being introduced into either of the Houses of Parliament, let the table of that House groan beneath the weight of your petitions. Let his Majesty's enlightened administration feel that they are sustained and carried onwards in this great measure by the unequivocal expression of public feeling. Then will the negro population bless your name; the interests of humanity will be advanced; and the curse of a righteous God will be averted from our beloved but guilty land.

Rev. T. Spencer.—In appearing at this meeting, although a minister of the

Establishment, I consider myself as much in my place as if I were a Baptist Minister. If a clergyman of the Church of England were to go to Jamaica, and preach the whole truth respecting the sins of the white man and of the slave, they would cast him out as they would a Baptist, a Methodist, or a Moravian. They have given out that they will get rid, as far as it is in their power, all that are under the Bishop himself, unless they are of the old school (we know that that is as old as Cain): that is, that they will themselves flog their slaves, that they will not reprove sin, and that they will not take any part in behalf of liberty; unless they will act thus, they will hate them as much as they hate Mr. Knibb. It has been thought right, that we should express our sentiments of Mr. Borthwick's conduct, as to how far it was an honourable undertaking when he sold himself to defend the iniquitous system, and how far he has endeavoured to get a fair hearing. He courted opposition, and frequently said things calculated to provoke: he knew that, if he could succeed in this, he should be able to say, he gave up because he would not hear him out; and if he could get the meeting to be dissolved, he would get rid of certain questions. We ought, therefore, as a body, to express our sentiments of Mr. Borthwick; either we approve of his conduct or we do not.

(Three groans were then given for Mr. Borthwick; and, after three cheers for Mr. Knibb, the meeting separated.)

APPENDIX.

THE following Counter Declaration, referred to in Mr. Knibb's second Reply to Mr. Borthwick, has since been obtained.

72, Queen-street, December 21, 1832.

My dear Sir,—Since you sent me the enclosed letter from Mr. Knibb, this morning, I have repeatedly endeavoured to recollect what could have been the expressions used by him, which have been perverted as he states; for I had not formerly heard of the allegation that he had made such a statement. My endeavours, however, have been perfectly fruitless; and I do not believe it is possible for my confidence to be stronger in any thing of the kind than it is in this—that he used no expressions having even the smallest tendency towards such a statement as he mentions to have been attributed to him. I have the firmest conviction that, if he had, I should have been struck with them, as they would have met my strongest disapprobation; and I cannot be more sure than I am of my attention having been such as to prevent their having escaped me if they had been uttered. I now refer to the meeting of the 19th October last, in Dr. Brown's chapel, as it seems that is the meeting at which it is said the expressions were used. You know, I think, that I was close by Mr. Knibb all the time he spoke. The only other public meeting at which I was present with Mr. Knibb—one sermon excepted—was that of the 3rd instant, in Mr. Lamont's chapel; and my testimony regarding what he then said would be the same, had I occasion to give it, with what I have now given regarding the meeting of the 19th October.

(Signed) JAMES OGILVEY.

The expression in Mr. Knibb's letter, referred to in the prefixed from Mr. Ogilvey, is—“Mr. Borthwick had procured the affidavit of Brown, who interrupted me, and of some other person, that I used the phrase attributed to me in the Evening Post, that ‘the man who planned the rebellion was a noble fellow, and deserved an imperishable monument,’” or words to that effect. It refers to the meeting held at Dr. Brown's.

Edinburgh, Dec. 22, 1832. Certified by H. D. DICKIE, to whom the letter was addressed.

Edinburgh, December 29, 1832.

I fully concur in the foregoing certificate by Mr. Ogilvey.

(Signed) H. D. DICKIE.

My dear Sir,—Mr. Ogilvey has shown me Mr. Knibb's letter to you, and, at the same time, requested me to say if I recollected his using the expression, in his speech at the Anti-Slavery Meeting in Dr. Brown's church, which has been attributed to him.

I am sure I paid great attention whilst Mr. Knibb was speaking, and I have taxed my memory as much as I can, but I declare that I have no recollection of his using such an expression. I have also inquired of several friends who were there, but they all declare they never heard it. The *ordained Minister of the Church of Scotland*, who, I understand, has asserted that he heard Mr. Knibb use the expression, is favoured above many of his brethren of that Church of the present day; for, whilst they have ears but cannot, or will not, hear sounds loud as thunder, which are roaring around them, his ears, or, as Dr. Ritchie would call them, “lugs,” are so long that they catch sounds which no one else can.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

(Signed) WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

H. D. Dickie, Esq.





