

## **The Commission of 25/10 1878, final report and sentences**

After the revolt which broke out on the island of St. Croix in 1878 had been quelled and the drumhead Court-Martial, installed by the governor during the revolt, had been lifted, the governor appointed a Commission with reference to the resolution of the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1878. According to the Commission mandate, the aim of the Commission was to examine and regard the crimes committed by the rebels and the troublemakers and all participants in the revolt and the destruction during the occurred revolt. After the Commission had concluded its examination and submitted accounts of the interrogations, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April the same year, 40 named individuals were charged with participation in the revolt – or rebellion – of October 1878 on St. Croix and with one or more of the rebellious crimes, for example arson, plunder, destruction of others' property or attack or abuse of others, namely: 1. James Emanuel Benjamin (Mannie), 2. John Hodge, 3. George Henry, 4. Francis Harrison, 5. Emanuel Jacob, 6. David Cameron, 7. Susanna Abrahamson, called Bottom Belly, 8. Isaac Anthony, 9. Axeline E. Salomon (Agnes), 10. Mathilde Mc Bean, 11. Joseph Bowell, 12. Joseph Spencer, 13. Hans Christian, 14. John Thomas Sobers, 15. Christopher Samuel, 16. George Michael, 17. Thomas James, 18. William James, 19. George Callender, 20. Henry England, 21. William Arnold, 22. William Barnes, 23. George Simmons, 24. Richard Gibbs (Sealy), 25. Edward Lewis, 26. Henry Barker, 27. Joseph Briggs, 28. William Henry, 29. Christian Martin, 30. Wren Gittens, 31. George Cambridge, 32. James Cox, 33. Joseph William, 34. Mary Thomas, 35. Johannes Samuel (Bamberg), 36. Joseph James, 37. John Samuel, 38. Thomas James, 39. James Griffith plus 40. Rebecca Frederik. Additionally, Axeline E. Salomon, Mathilde Mc Bean and Joseph Bowell are charged with murder or accomplice to murder or murderish assault.

During the morning on Tuesday the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1878, as always on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, Contract Day, crowds of laborers flocked to the towns, and thus, after midday, many negroes were gathered in Frederiksted, particularly around the rum shops in the main streets. Some people noticed that the negroes were not gruff and brisk as usual, bragging and boasting about what they would demand for their pass. Moving around the town and the rum shops, drinking abundantly, they became more and more loud and boisterous, but nothing in their speech and behavior indicated that it would exceed ordinary brawling, and there was no indication of any fear in the town that the public order would be disturbed, when suddenly, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, an incident occurred. A salesman in the rum shop Junghanss forced out a drunk negro because he was quarreling with another negro, and this is what initiated the disturbance which evolved into the later events.

When two Police Officers turned up to remove the drunk negro, who was bleeding from a head wound, whether this had been inflicted upon him by a blow or because he had fallen, several other negroes interfered and a resistance towards the Police Officers unfolded. They strove to wrest away and did indeed wrest away the negro, who was subsequently led away by the crowd of comrades. When the Police Officers then tried to arrest the negro who seemed to be the leader of the crowd, this also failed, and with the arrival of the Police Commissioner, along with the Police Assistant, accompanied by two mounted soldiers, the crowd had grown in size and excitement to the extent that it was impossible to restore the order, but the crowd jostled, yelling and hooting and also, in part, throwing stones at the Police Commissioner and his men, pushing towards the Police Quarters at the fort. However, through exhortations and persuasion by the Police Commissioner and several of the town's inhabitants and citizens, the crowd was successfully led towards the eastern entrance to the town and there urged to express what was wrong, and the negroes expressed discontent with the existing working conditions. They were, it seems, successfully calmed down and were willing to go home, when an exited woman came running and yelled that the negro who had been hit by the Police Officers had died, and she shamed the mob of negroes for letting themselves be pacified. After that, the mob was no longer

under any control, the negroes rushed into town again, forcing their way into the hospital to see the negro, who was alive and well, but this did not calm down the negroes, who again rushed towards the fort, where the police force had gathered, and when the negroes attempted to gain access to the fort and attacked it with stones, conches and small cannonballs, which they found stacked up in the inner fort yard, they were shot at, and several of them were wounded. There are different accounts of the size of the mob which stormed the fort, so it is not possible to accurately state how many there were, but possibly there were several hundred.

A singular, sad episode during the goings-on outside the fort was the attack on planter Fontaine. He was, as far as can be deduced from the different statements, riding towards the fort's gate, when he was first hit in the head by a stone or a conch, and then hit by a cane and thus thrown off his horse. Then, the mob seemed to fall back, as if in horror of its own deed, and some of the town's citizens who were standing close by could take him away, unhindered, into the house where he later died. It has not been possible to attribute the blow – or several blows – which brought him down – to a specific person, but it is probable that he was hit, aimlessly, by a stone or conch.

After gunshots had driven the negroes away from the area in front of the fort, they tumbled around in town in groups of various sizes, committing different excesses. The Assistant Room in the Customs Houses was broken open but not plundered apart from the fact that a mosquito net was ripped off the bed and subsequently shredded and used as flags, fastened on canes. A couple of shops in Kongens Gade were broken open and drink was stolen, a Police Officer's living quarters was dismantled and partly destroyed, and the negroes' usual signal when something is up, "the Blowing of the Conch" began to sound, but only scattered. Gradually, darkness fell, the citizens did not venture far away, and all in all, peaceable people stayed at home. Therefore, statements regarding the subsequent incidents have been obtained solely from the participants in the excesses. Naturally, some of the statements are considerably embellished and, since it has included blaming each other, some are unreliable.

At this point, it is not possible to establish any management or leadership in the disturbances, despite the fact that the negro who took the lead in grabbing the drunk man away from the Police Officers, Joe La Grange, who died during the revolt, is still mentioned as leader. It has not been possible to determine what caused the initiation of the arson. At approximately 8 o'clock, a shop on the corner of Prindsensgade was broken into, the goods were strewn on the street, and it was set on fire. This procedure was repeated in another shop right across the road. Other places, houses were broken into and partially plundered without the houses being set on fire. Later, when news of the disturbances and the blaze from the fires caused the negroes from the plantations nearby to stream into town, the arson in the entire lower part of town progressed, not, it seems, organized by a group which moved from place to place under authoritative leadership, but wildly, with larger and smaller groups gathering randomly amongst the hundreds of negroes who overflowed the town. Some individuals were molested, and an old French grinder was so badly beaten when attempting to escape with his wheelbarrow that he later died. It has not been possible to place the blame on any one person.

This situation lasted until morning, when a division of soldiers arrived from Christiansted, and the news caused most of the negroes to disperse and disappear into the sugar cane fields. An hour or so later, yet another, unsuccessful attempt was made to set fire to the upper part of town, the so-called Fregut. The next prominent episode during the revolt was the murderish attack which was carried out on two soldiers who were left at the plantation Carlton on Wednesday morning. A great crowd of negroes, consisting partly of those driven out from Frederiksted, partly of people from plantations farther up in the country, had gathered at the "Høgensborg" bridge when a rumor spread amongst them that two soldiers were left alone at Carlton. The rumor was confirmed by negroes from Carlton, and under the

leadership of one of them, the gang, consisting of a couple of hundred men and women, went to Carlton, where they drove the soldiers out from their hiding and hunted them around, pelleting them with stones and battering them with canes, until they, dying, fell to the ground and were abandoned. Then, some of Carlton's laborers threw them onto a cart, drove them out onto the country road and threw them in the ditch. This time, Carlton was not set on fire, and the mob progressed to nearby Whim, where they set fire to the stacks of magass and looted and disrupted the greathouse. Around noon, after setting fire to the works etc. at Concordia and Wheel of Fortune, the groups on the country road between Høgensborg and Diamond Skolehuus seemed to have gathered strength. Negroes came in from all over the island in increasing numbers, and then, as a mighty, violent gang of more than a hundred negroes, they attacked Mountain, ravaging the greathouse, continuing towards planter Flemming's domicile Allendale, which was completely plundered, ruined, and set on fire. One of Flemming's sons, a sickly young person who had not had time to hide with the rest of the family, was confronted outside the negro village and vilely mistreated and beaten and left on the ground until a couple of the plantation's laborers were able to get him into hiding in a negro house. Next were the plantations St. Georges and Grove Place, where several negroes, mainly women from the plantations, perished in the fires whilst trying to get some corn flour which was hidden away in the fold. Then, the group continued to River, where there is the first mention of an actual leader: According to the Court Martial ruling, this is the Robert James or Robert Teyson who was shot. Then on to Big Fountain, from whence the procession continued during the evening along the northern main country road, over Upper Love, Jealousy, and Mt. Pleasant. This is where Robert Teyson showed leadership after a brawl with another negro in which he received an ax wound in the shoulder. Da Silva, who, according to the Court Marital ruling, was shot, led the groups onwards towards Mon Bijou, Fredensborg and Slob.

According to accounts, it has more or less been the same gang who has operated in this procession of destruction where the plantations' dwellings, the greathouse, works and magass containers have been completely destroyed, and it is unclear whether negroes from plantations which the gang passed joined them on their further conduct to the same extent as they did on the following day. There have, surely enough, been negroes from River at Upper Love and from Upper Love at Jealousy, but the entire plantation gang<sup>1</sup> does not seem to have joined the mob. Perhaps the uncertainty is due to the fact that it was dark after the gang had been at River, and it was difficult to recognize and distinguish the participants, but it is also reasonable to assume that, because of the dark, it has been easy for those negroes who did not voluntarily join the mob to hide. Also, the crimes that were committed at nighttime had a more gruesome touch to them, and most places, negroes have only gone along on their own.

At the same time as most of the gang swarmed from St. Georges to Grove Place and carried out the aforementioned actions, a couple of negroes separated from the gang. They proceeded through Plessens' negro village and, partly there and partly on the country road, they congregated in a small gang. Together, they went via Centerline up to Lower-Love, which they ravaged violently, plundering, and committing arson, and from there they continued on to Castle, where the greathouse and the works were set on fire. This fire, however, was extinguished. This gang did not continue.

At Slob-Kingshill-Fredensborg, there occurred, if not disintegration and confusion, then certainly a considerable defection from the main gang which came from Mon Bijou. The mob leaders who were named the following day, the negroes Joseph Parris and John Lewis, according to the ruling of the Court Martial, must both have joined the gang around Mon Bijou, but did not continue that night. Probably, da Silva also stopped there. None or few of the laborers from Slob or Fredensborg followed,

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<sup>1</sup> The labor gang

and it seems that the negroes in that area were generally unwilling to go east of Kingshill where, as they knew, troops had been spotted during the evening. It was certainly a very reduced gang that attacked Cliftonhill sometime after midnight, and the leaders were presumably laborers from the area east of Kingshill, who had gone down country during the morning and had partially participated as early as at Allendale and stuck to it since.

When not held back by rain showers, the gang continued briskly, so that it, for example at Cliftonhill, after having ravaged and plundered and burned the greathouse, only set fire to the works quickly and inadequately because, as one of the leaders shouted, they had to hurry to reach Christiansted by dawn. Apart from ravaging Clifton, as mentioned, the gang also ravaged Barren Spot, Strawberryhill, Diamond & Ruby, Castle-Coakley, Peters Rest, and Work and Rest, until the gang was dissolved at Annashope. Apart from the isolated gang that violated Lower-Love and Castle on the Wednesday, and in particular on Wednesday afternoon, evening and night, it was a single gang, with a regular turnover of members and partly with alternate leaders, which rampaged, plundered and burned through the country, from Wheel of Fortune or in any case from Høgensborg, near Frederiksted, to Annas Hope, right outside Christiansted. Thursday morning, the character of the gang took a turn, as it now split up into smaller gangs in order to destroy individual neighborhoods. During the interrogations, several detainees have stated that “the whole negro population was walking<sup>2</sup>”. The spirit of revolt and plunder had been awakened through accounts and braggings from those usually bad, shabby, “penniless<sup>3</sup>” vagrants who had returned from the events of the previous day. Many places, the negroes were grumpy because their own plantations had been burned down whilst the neighboring plantations were untouched, and it may well have partly been the case, as the participants in Thursday’s gangs maintained, namely that the leaders of the previous day and night had gone so far that they had nothing to lose, and they stressed that no one was to sit at home in the negro villages. Anyone who could stand was to get out and “fight for liberty<sup>4</sup>” – otherwise, the negro village would be burned down.

In general, it was the individual plantation’s “gang<sup>5</sup>” which, under the leadership of a couple of their own people, headed out and attacked one of the nearest plantations, and by degrees, the negroes from the plantations they had ravaged and destroyed joined them, and the original little gang became a considerable, sometimes very big, gang. Thus evolved the gang which had started at Høgensborg and which on Thursday morning destroyed the western part of the Southern Side, Williams Delight, Whim and Carlton. Also, the gang at Castle which, at the same time, practically burned down Golden Grove and Negrobay, and which swelled when a gang from Manningsbay joined those who, coming from Lower Love, had set fire to Adventure and Paradise, and who had joined in with a gang from Diamond and one from Upper Love to set fire to Bettys Hope. The joined gangs were now united in one big gang, which must have been the largest assembled gang, and around midday, it attacked Anguilla, moving onwards to Kingshill-Station over Bethlehem, on both sides of the road, and Castle (the works), to Mt. Dermott, Mt. Pleasants (Holm). Laborers congregated and attacked Hermitage from where the destruction continued to Little Fountain, Lebanonhill, Canaan, La Vallée and Rust up Twist. Meanwhile, at Windsor, a gang was formed which burned Mt Pellier, Morning-Star, Concordia, Windsor and Glynn Station, until it was disassembled by the volunteer planter corps. On the “West-End Northside”, where the negroes held back on Wednesday, presumably tired and exhausted by their rampage in Frederiksted during the night, a gang evolved a bit later, at noon, and this was the gang that moved over Orange Grove, Mt. Pellier, Two Friends, Mt. Steward, Annally, Mt. Victory, Nicholas and

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<sup>2</sup> In the Danish text, the words “the whole negro population was walking” are written in English

<sup>3</sup> The Danish text says “pennyless”

<sup>4</sup> In the Danish text, the words “fight for liberty” are written in English

<sup>5</sup> Labor gang

Punch. Late on Thursday evening, Mt. Pleasant & Plessens' works were burned down, as has been disclosed, by a few people who went about it in a calm and quiet fashion.

Finally, the last actual day of the uprising took place Friday, as Joseph Parris, who on Thursday had led the aforementioned gang out from Castle and had probably been the most energetic leader, again gathered laborers at Lower-Love and Castle, moved over Jealousy to Mt. Pleasant (Holm), burning buildings and carts which had not been burned on Wednesday night. In the company of the laborers from Mt. Pleasant, he went from there to River, where some buildings had been spared on Wednesday. A corps of mounted planters turned up and dispersed this last gang. An isolated occurrence which must be noted took place on the evening of Thursday the 3<sup>rd</sup>, at the plantation Blessing, which had been burned by three or four laborers from Anguilla around midday. Afterwards, towards evening, they walked to nearby Blessing, where the few people there heard the shout "our side"<sup>6</sup> and thought there was a gang coming in. The gang set fire to the magass stacks which burned down completely, and then they ravaged the boiling house, which had just been set alight when they were disturbed by the plantation's laborers and fled. A similar occurrence took place on Friday, on the north side of the island, where some laborers from La Vallée, which had burned the previous day, decided to haunt the neighboring place, the cattle plantation Northstar, where they burned down a small greathouse. From there, along with a couple of negroes, they walked westwards to Prosperity and set fire to what was left of the greathouse there.

Finally, an isolated occurrence took place on Friday the 4<sup>th</sup> of October at the plantation Upper-Love, when the plantation's negroes, who are not noted "the whole gang"<sup>7</sup>, together with some unknown negroes, attacked and mistreated a middle-aged woman Julia Roebuck, who lived at the plantation where she had a small commerce with candles, thread and the like. She thought that everything was over and walked to the negro village and scolded them, saying that they were thieves who had looted and stolen what she had in her house. She was beaten with canes and whips and dragged out to the country road, where she was beaten to the ground. A couple of negroes started to pull the rings off her fingers, and during this commotion, her hands and one arm became so badly knocked about that she can still barely use her fingers and will probably never regain full mobility. When they finally let her go, she could barely drag herself into hiding in a sugarcane field to escape her pursuers. From the fireburn night in Frederiksted, it has only to some extent been possible to ascertain the details of isolated incidents and even less the details which could shed light on the development of the entire day. As noted, apart from within the criminals' own circles, only few people ventured outside, they dared not linger at the scenes of the fires, and their agitation and confusion has been so extensive that in most cases, their information has been uncertain. Amongst the villainous negroes there has been a solidarity and reluctance to inform on each other. When the perseverance of the interrogations and the lack of solidarity regarding the destruction in the country is taken into consideration, this is curious. It might be the case, as has been reported from various sides, that the arson was executed wildly and without leadership and that the negroes congregated arbitrarily from all sides and were half unrecognizable, as they tried to be, with scarves wounded round their heads, only vaguely knowing each other, or recognizing each other, so that they could give only information regarding themselves and their own doings. There has been no inclination to give confession about the crimes in Frederiksted. In any case, it is not possible to construct a reliable account of the progress of the arson or the course of action during the more prominent arson attacks of the night.

There is sufficient evidence that shops and houses have been broken into, that goods and other items have been robbed, plundered, damaged, and burnt, but how the procedure within the houses unfolded

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<sup>6</sup> In the Danish text, the words "our side" are written in English

<sup>7</sup> In the Danish text, the words "the whole gang" are written in English

and to which degree the houses were ransacked prior to the arson, no one will give evidence to. Regarding both the Customs House and the many private businesses, it is therefore still undisclosed whether money and document cabinets were ransacked and looted and, if so, what has become of the booty. Regarding the destruction in the country, there is much more detailed information, mostly from the plantations which were burned during the day. It has not been uncommon, or perhaps it has been the case at most plantations, that the plantation's laborers have held back or at least wanted to give the impression that they held back from participating in the destruction of their own plantation, except from participation in the plunder of supply- and rum cellars, and it is not seldom that even eager participants in the destruction have rebuked and shamed a negro who participated in the burning of his own plantation. Thus, many of the criminals have willingly portrayed how the destruction went about.

The course of action was, once the endeavor had started up, without particular variation. The gang followed two, sometimes three or four self-proclaimed leaders who were armed with, most commonly, an old guard's saber, a manure fork, a harpoon, or a sugar ax fixed to a cane, or a whip – in some instances a gun which was found at a plantation – and with two or three conch-blowers up front. The gang, counting between 50-100 negroes, men, women, and children, all armed with cudgels, canes or axes, headed out towards the plantation, sometimes relatively calm and in ordered rows, mimicking soldiers, and sometimes in a wild swarm, shouting, screaming and hooting. They stopped at the negro village or in the yard, addressing the plantation laborers who were either gathered, ready to “greet” the strangers, or who, as could also be the case, stayed inside their houses. The cry was “our side”<sup>8</sup> and it had to be answered immediately and without objections. Most often, they then asked to see the driver, but also sometimes the guard, but fearing that they would be in danger when the gang advanced, they had often gone into hiding. Along with the plantations' laborers, the gang then went to the allowance cellar, which was broken into, either by the leaders of the gang or by one of the plantation's own laborers, thereby immediately making them accomplices. The flour barrels were opened, and the negroes plunged into them. Otherwise, there was a veritable distribution, so the negroes received their 6 or 12 quarter flour, measured up with the same regularity as he or she had received it from the overseer the previous week. Next up was the rum cellar, where barrels of rum were rolled out into the doorway or outside. The bottom was knocked out, and now it was the men who fought to get close; everyone drank however much he wanted, barrels were upturned and the rum which flowed from the barrels was ignited; sometimes it happened that a negro, who was tired of waiting, set a match to the barrel while it was still surrounded by people, and the men gathered around it were burned. This happened at Windsor, Upper Love, Paradise and possible more places.

The burning rum flowed into the rum cellar where the rum barrels exploded, setting the works ablaze. The works were also set on fire in other ways. At the same time, or on the way, magass houses and magass stacks were set on fire; women and children ran about with burning magass tufts from one stack to another or whatever else was nearby, and rapidly, the whole plantation was on fire. Finally, if the greathouse lay at the front or if a particular passion and indignation towards the owner or manager led the swarm towards his now abandoned residence, this too was attacked. In many instances, the domestic servants or other plantation laborers had moved out some of the household effects and hidden them in the negro village or in the sugarcane fields, but what was left was, unless it was easily looted by the swarm of women, destroyed completely until one of the leaders, usually, gave the signal “strike a light”, whereafter it was all set ablaze; a match was struck, and rum and magass and broken furniture constituted such an exquisite kindling that there was not much need for petroleum in the countryside – whatever might have been the case in town. The command “move on” sounded, and the gang, now strengthened, which, as stated, was mostly the case regarding Thursday's mobs – with the

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<sup>8</sup> In the Danish text, the words “our side” are written in English

laborers from the newly attacked plantation, moved on to the next plantation, now, because of the consumption of rum, even more wild and agitated than when it arrived.

On the way, sugarcane fields were set on fire; many were burned and destroyed, but in many places, the canes were too fresh and green for the fires to ignite or gain power. It is not observed that there was any distinction regarding any person's standing; plantations where the relations between master and laborer were splendid, according to what is commonly assumed, were sacrificed to the same degree as others, where it is assumed that a different relation was prevalent. Where one place the works or the greathouse were spared, they actually were set on fire, but the mob left before seeing its deed concluded, and the plantation's laborers have, in several instances, come out of their hiding on request of their driver or guard, and put out the fire. There are several examples where drivers, when they have stayed at the plantation and have pleaded for it or tried to moderate the fury of the gang, have been threatened or mistreated for being "on the bucked side"<sup>9</sup>, just like other negroes were violated if there was not enough vigor in their yells, or if they stood watching or even let a regretful remark fall. However, by and large, the procedures were executed without any exercise of violence towards people, and the accounts which have been in circulation claiming that the negroes extensively mistreated and murdered each other are not confirmed. It cannot be denied that threats and force was employed in many places by self-proclaimed "Captains"<sup>10</sup> of a gang in order to get the negroes to participate in the practice to the greatest possible extent, and it is not possible to dismiss the many statements that claim that there were threats that negro villages would be burned down in order to induce a great turnout on Thursday, or that the inhabitants of an individual plantation displayed reluctance or unwillingness to go along. On the other hand, it is also possible that these statements regarding use of threats, especially concerning individual people, are made on the pretext of (...) <sup>11</sup> or were an excuse for participation in the crimes. Some of those who have confessed their guilt have stated that, after what happened on Wednesday, it was irresistible for the negroes – except drivers and other entrusted people – to go along. It was an overwhelming urge considering that if they did not loot foodstuff like everyone else, they would starve, and this led them to join the gangs.

When gathering information and testimony from negroes who accused others, it has been necessary to employ great caution, as they have most commonly been more excessive than reticent in their statements, and drivers and guards and other people who remained faithful and who have subsequently been exposed to pursuit, have in their indignation often let themselves be biased. They have embellished their accounts and have even, when talking about a negro who had an old score with them or with the plantation, assumed that he had done worse things than he had actually done. This has caused the Commission to scrutinize the accounts and the character of the population which the Commission has had access to, and the documents will contain many examples of this testing of the accounts.

When asked whether there was a plan or premeditation behind the movement whose development is described above, it can be said that the interrogations have not uncovered data which can prove this to be the case. Many of the statements which have been accumulated by the Commission, partly from negroes who have been implicated in the crimes, partly from others, namely drivers and supervisors, who continuously move amongst the negroes on the plantations, essentially triggered by the use of the labor of "porters", which on many plantations had gone out of control. It grieved the regular laborer, who by his annual contract was bound to work for certain hours for the statutory payment, 10 cents pr.

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<sup>9</sup> In the Danish text, the words "on the bucked side" are written in English

<sup>10</sup> In the Danish text, the word "Captain" is written in English

<sup>11</sup> Missing or unintelligible

day, beside the usual “allowance<sup>12</sup>” of flour and salt fish, to see the “porter” work next to him, often more lazy and complacent than himself, for a pay which is reckoned to be higher, and over time it became the custom many places to give the porter allowance on top of a payment of 20 cents pr. day, and he was also given permission to build a house on the plantation, so the pay was really almost twice the pay of the laborer. In many instances, when the number of “porters” was almost the same as the laborers, the “porters” worked in a separate “gang on a field next to the others, and the laborers believed, or more often perhaps actually saw that the porters were pampered in other regards as well: They were given sugar and rum and were given easy labor, and they would come in or stay away from work the next day. When they worked through the midday hours, the porter left work at 4, whilst the other laborers had to stick to it until sundown. The porters often gloated and taunted the others, and it was no small wonder that the laborers often said that come October, they would all become porters and not again bind themselves for a year. However, this mood was more prevalent in the beginning and the middle of the summer than it was in the late summer towards October.

When the harvest was coming to a close, and the common boiling house, which had attracted many laborers from the plantations, ceased business, there was an excess of porters. Many of them were idle, as they were not willing to take permanent employment, and they were seized by dissatisfaction. Those in permanent employment let themselves be employed anew or took employment again on other plantations in September, to a greater extent than was expected. Also, the cultivation of “provision grounds”, which were neglected for as long as the laborers were unwilling to take permanent employment, was resumed to a certain extent. However, the question of payment and employment had entered the laborers’ minds, so naturally, there was more strife and unrest than usual amongst those negroes who usually, on Contract Day, flooded into the towns, and there was talk about avoiding new contracts, being less amenable – as stated in the beginning of the report. It is not possible to establish whether they flocked to the towns in larger numbers than usual, but none of the persons who have testified have divulged knowledge indicating that there was a plan to congregate to implement any common objective or that there was talk about seeking to make any communal demands in any direction. Different factors have been mentioned and also declared to the Commission pointing in the direction that there was a plan or an agreement in the movement, but during the course of the investigation, they have been either contradicted or have evaporated. It has been claimed that the negroes of the 1st of October, contrary to custom, did not consume alcohol, or even throughout the movement. However, according to a great many statements, here amongst statements from owners of the rum shops in Frederiksted, people drank as usual, and there was the usual amount of drunkenness; a great many of those who were interrogated have proclaimed that alcohol was to blame, and it is known that the rum barrels were attacked with great vigor during the arson attacks at the plantations. It is also noted that many of the negroes, during the evening and night in Frederiksted, covered their heads with scarves, even though they wore hats, but the motley scarf is, like the thick hard-wood cane, part of a negro’s attire when he goes “out walking<sup>13</sup>”, and nothing indicates that there has been any extraordinary, common, union association. It has been reported that the negroes turned up carrying nicely cut and painted “shells” (the conches which were blown), but apart from that, there has been nothing noticeable, and there are statements that explain that when the negroes had been driven away from the fort and swarmed through town, only a single blowing of the conch was heard from the gang. It has been referred that the cry “our side”<sup>14</sup> had to be planned, but it is not reported to have been heard until later during the evening when the excesses were in full swing, and it has turned out that the negroes, in many cases, answered or repeated it mechanically, without having any prior knowledge. It has been reported that negroes in Christiansted had shouted to each other that they were going to be in

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<sup>12</sup> In the Danish text, the word “allowance” is written in English

<sup>13</sup> In the Danish text, the words “out walking” are written in English

<sup>14</sup> In the Danish text, the words “our side” are written in English

Frederiksted at 6, but it has turned out that the two negroes who it is presumed the report refers to, left the town drunk and much later than 6. Also, they did not go to Frederiksted that evening. Any such information has been examined and has not led to any result which could strengthen the opinion that there was a plan. According to all the aforementioned, it can only be held that the negroes were in a mood of discontent, defiance and arrogance which made them more inclined towards disobedience and more willing to be dramatic than usual, and this mood was nourished by drunkenness and a haughty knowledge that they were beyond military surveillance. The commotion must be considered to have broken out impromptu and was not executed or led with any particular goal in sight but evolved under erratic circumstances. After the troublemakers had cornered the police force in the fort and felt that they had the upper hand, it developed into a revolt during the evening, and even if the arson was committed with intention, gaining advantage and plundering, it was still initiated as an act of violence and was a threat to the public authority with the intent to enforce an upheaval of the existing societal order under which the labor conditions were lawfully regulated. This was expressed through the shouts "fight for liberty", "for more money", "no 10 cents more"<sup>15</sup> amongst others. Throughout the nights' vandalism in the countryside, the intent to provoke a change in the existing society, alongside, in part, the urge to revenge injustices, rightly or wrongly, became more and more distinct, and the direction and progress of the gangs during the night between Wednesday and Thursday in connection with what is expressed in several statements regarding utterances from gang-leaders, namely that they wanted to reach Christiansted, adequately demonstrates that it was not the intention at any point to cease the destruction. It has, however, not been possible to clarify, probably because it has not been clear to anyone in the mob what it was, they wanted to force through or achieve by leaving the entire country, save the negro villages, in ruins.

The notion - because there is still no evidence that there was an actual plan - that all non-negroes should be exterminated, either driven out or murdered, must be regarded a guess or a conjecture derived from what in the general awareness is considered to be the nature of a negro revolt, but there is no evidence to suggest this, and it must be noted that many places on the plantations, some white people were hiding in such a manner and under such circumstances that the negroes could easily have located them, like for example at Bettys Hope, where the manager Mr. Peebles along with 11 other people tried, for a long time, to reason with the gangs, who only once tried to harm him, and the attack was fended off by the other negroes. Also, in Frederiksted, it would, had the negroes been so inclined, have been easy for them to track down many people outside their class and kill them. Thus, it's concluded that the movement, at least from the beginning of the arson on the evening of October 1st must be considered to be a revolt, including the crimes committed throughout, with some singular exceptions which aimed at advancing and encouraging the revolt. It follows from the aforementioned that it's not possible to point out originators or instigators who are responsible for the affair as a whole, but only ringleaders, inciters or leaders of individual crimes or sequence of crimes, and with regard to them as well as the others, their participation in the crimes will be considered participation in the revolt. Also, particularly regarding the participants in the excesses in the afternoon and the stone-throwing at the police and at the fort, it must be noted that they cannot as such be viewed as the initiators of the subsequent crimes. This will be taken into consideration in the judgement of the two defendants James Em. Benjamin and John Hodge, who in the following will be found to have participated in these excesses along with participation in other excesses, while no one else who was solely present during these excesses or the excesses and commotion that was committed around town prior to the arson have been indicted. These defendants will be acquitted as so far as it does not emerge that they have evidently and with their own hands initiated or participated in the crimes ascribed to them or that they as ringleaders and leaders have led them, or other particular exceptions. Regarding the crimes

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<sup>15</sup> In the Danish text, the words "fight for liberty", "for more money" and "no 10 cents more" are written in English

committed in the countryside, where all the gangs formed, those who were involved by way of joining such gangs voluntarily, fully aware of the gang's aim to commit a series of crimes, and following the gang whilst it committed criminal actions and fully participated in the criminal acts which were committed during the gang's procession, will be considered to be perpetrators.

The commission has cross-examined 403 detainees of whom 272 were originally handed over to the commission when it assembled on the 4th of November 1878, whilst 102 people were imprisoned in Frederiksted, partly in police custody, partly handed over through police measures, so that the commission only undertook a limited number of imprisonments (29). However, it was given from the outset that the participation in the revolt and in its crimes was, as is evident in the above-mentioned, widespread, and as such it involves a much larger proportion of the population. Except for the crimes in Frederiksted, where, as stated above, the unravelling of events has been crucially difficult, and the business at Carlton, it would be possible to place blame on a far greater number of individuals. Also, there is a large number of charges which have been examined by the Commission, and when the interrogations, which have largely been carried out on the plantations themselves, have not resulted in more arrests and have not been pursued further, then it's not because the charges were found to be groundless, but because the charged people were not of the worst sort and were, in most cases, not worse than those who were set free at the beginning of the investigations. This course of action was decided upon when it became apparent that it was not possible to extend the investigations to include every single participant in some areas of the country as well as every single able negro. This was the only way in which they could conduct fairly towards everyone, and extensive pardon or amnesty was in concord with the premise of the examination. Thus, by and by, and in accordance with the caution, which was necessary due to the circumstances, 336 detainees were released. The examination was focused on people who were reported to be leaders, arsonists or who had participated extensively in the activities of the gangs and who could thus be considered to have contributed considerably to the continuation of the movement, or who were charged with the execution of or involvement in singular crimes which were either exceedingly brutish, such as the arson in Frederiksted or the murders at Carlton, or which could be particularly connected to them, such as the isolated arson at Blessing and the arson of the factories at Mt Pleasant-Plessen, and for those, the indictment instructed by the government, has been restricted.

However, it might seem that the number of those who have been identified during the interrogations as ringleaders is slight in proportion to the extent of the uprising and the number of actual leaders. Many names of the ringleaders are missing and not accounted for. Some lost their lives during the rebellion itself and died in the siege of the drumhead court-martial enforced by the government. Thus, the ringleader Samuel Henry, who was responsible for the arson in Frederiksted, three of the principal participants in the murders at Carlton, John James and Joseph Harrison, the two ringleaders of the Westend-Northside gang, Thomas Graydon and Daniel Philip, two of the ringleaders of the big gang which played havoc throughout the country through Wednesday and Thursday night, Robert James or Teyson and James de Silva, the wild instigator and leader of the gang both Thursday and Friday, Joseph Parris, the leader of the Windsor-gang John Lewis, and some, here amongst some of the most active participants, died during the uprising, a fact which is also apparent in statements compiled by the commission which was initiated by the government. Finally, 23 detainees have died, probably during and in the aftermath of the scurvy epidemic which broke out in the prison at Richmond last spring.

Below is a review of the individual defendants and the particular crimes which they have committed.

1: The detainee James Emanuel Benjamin (Mannie) from pl: Mt Pleasant, born on Antigua, appr. twenty odd years old, has lived on this island for over 10 years. In one of the interrogations conducted by a Police Officer, he has stated that he was present and that he partook in encouraging the crowd when the commotion in Frederiksted began and the negroes wrested the drunken negro away from the Police Officers and that he incited violence against the Police Officers, particularly the killing of an Officer, but that he did not actually practice violence or try to carry out his threats. He has also admitted, in concurrence with what has been stated by many others who have been questioned, that he, during the afternoon, evening and night, moved around in a distinctive and conspicuous way with the mobs that ravaged the town, especially during the night and during the fireburn. He wrapped himself in a piece of red cloth, like a scarf, had a Panama hat on his head, also wrapped in a red scarf, and he carried a driving whip and later also a knife, and the mob considered him one of the leaders. However, he has denied having acted as a leader in any way, and he denies having burned or plundered. However, the hat as well as the red clothing was robbed from a shop but was apparently given to him by a friend. It has not been possible to counter his denial and prove that he in any way, either directly or through active participation, took part in the destruction, particularly regarding the destruction of the Customs House, and the mere presence in a mob during the act of arson is not considered to be sufficient evidence to convict someone, and he cannot be convicted as an accomplice in these acts. It is thereby established that he through and through was part of the gang which on Thursday the 3rd of October, as mentioned above, plundered something from Mt Pleasant and burned Pl: Hermitage, Little Fountain, Lebanonhill, Canaan and partly Rust up Twist, and it must be presumed that, even though the detainee denies having been one of the instigators of this gang, the available evidence, partly corroborated by the detainee's own faltering explanations, and additionally by a great deal of other people's statements, supports the assumption that he, along with the detainees Edward Lewis and Fritz Richardson, who died directly after the end of the examination, certainly in a way was one of the leaders of the gang which he led alongside the other two. He has denied having directly participated in the plunder and arson. Finally, he has confessed that he joined the gang when Parris' gang on the Friday came to Mt Pleasant and continued to River. However, despite the different information which has emerged, it cannot be sufficiently confirmed that he supported and instructed the destruction of the plantation or in particular rang the plantation bell when the gang came to Mt Pleasant on Wednesday evening. The detainee has previously only been convicted according to police court rulings, mainly for offences regarding conditions of employment and the like.

2: The detainee John Hodge of Pl: Fredensborg was born on Trinidad and states that his age is 39 years and that he arrived on this island in 1866. He also confesses that he was part of the mob which stormed the fort during the afternoon on the 1st of October, and on that occasion, he hit the gate of the fort with a stone, and it may be affirmed that he participated in the excesses of the negro mob and the arson in Frederiksted during the night. According to his own explanations, he moved about in the streets and was thus in several instances present in mobs which had gathered at places which were set on fire, but without having taken part in their deeds himself. But according to the witness statements which have come forth, the detainee has been sighted at different places and in such situations that leave no doubt that he was an active participant in the destruction, and in particular one of the witnesses states that, as he drove back and forth with a water barrel during the night, he frequently came across the negro mobs that plundered and burned. At Wallace's shop he saw the detainee chase a boy who tried to save a wagon, which the boy confirms, but he did not see the detainee do anything in particular, and at John Moore's shop, he saw the detainee destroy and bash the door. Also, when a section of the mob was still in the act of destroying Moore's shop, the detainee turned towards Beech's office on the other side of the street and shattered the door, and another witness who lived in the same yard has stated under oath that he knew the detainee well and saw him break open the shop door with a bludgeon or an iron bar, but he did not see whether the detainee subsequently entered the shop. Hence,

alongside the different information that evidently indicates that the detainee was not a passive onlooker, it must be assumed that there has been gathered sufficient confirmation to cancel out his denial and ascertain that he indeed was an active participant in the mob which plundered and burned John Moore's shop. The detainee remained unnoticed in Frederiksted until the day he went home to Fredensborg, and there is no proof that he has been part of any gang in the country. According to Frederiksted's police court ruling of the 15th of August 1872, the detainee has been convicted for fraud (Obeah – Work) and punished with forced labor for 60 days and according to an extra verdict from St. Thomas on the 31st of January 1877 after Fr: April 11, 1840, § 80 with correctional prison<sup>16</sup> for 8 months.

3: The detainee George Henry of Sprathall, born on this island, around 30 years old, has, according to two sworn witnesses, been sighted during the night where the arsons in Frederiksted were well under way. He was part of the negro crowd which came from the square up by Dronningensgade and which stopped outside a house where the tailor Dompierre had a workshop, and he rounded up the mob shouting things like “our side, fall on Dompierre<sup>17</sup>”, accompanied by remarks about how Dompierre earned one or one and a half daler<sup>18</sup> for sewing a pair of trousers, whilst a negro only earned 10 cents a day, and then the mob surged around the house, which was destroyed, and after the negroes had rummaged inside the house and, which was particularly noted, had thrown the tailor's sewing machine out on the street, they burned the house. A bit later, when the rum stall holder Flynn's house burned down, the same witnesses, who lived nearby, heard the detainee say things to the effect that they must not put out the fire and that now everybody had to share the same fate. Nothing indicates that the detainee participated in the destruction in the countryside. The detainee has previously only been convicted for minor crimes following police court rulings.

4: The detainee Thomas Harrison of Pl: Prosperity, born on this island, approximately 30 years old, has confessed that he moved about the burning town with the other negroes on the fireburn night in Frederiksted and that, after different witnesses had explained that they had seen him after the soldiers had come to town in the morning, after dawn, and he was walking up Prindsensgade, shouting and threatening, with a bottle of petroleum in his hand, he confessed that he did indeed walk with a bottle of petroleum, which he had found, but he has no recollection of having used threatening language, but there has not been put forth evidence that he was an active participant in the destruction or plunder apart from the fact that he stole some cigars and joined in drinking rum from a demijohn which another negro had. However, after all that is put forth along with his own confession, it is confirmed that he, according to his own statement, was so exhausted the next day, the day after the fire, that he kept himself indoors. On Thursday the 3rd, when the northside gang was converging under the leadership of “Colonel Peter” and “Queen Mary”, he joined it at Prosperity and followed it all through its duration, plundering and burning the plantations Orange Grove, Monpellier, Two Friends, Mt Stewart, Annally, Mt Victory, Nicolas and Punch, until a shot was fired from the plantation William, which was guarded, and the gang became afraid and scattered. However, the detainee has denied being one of the leaders, of which he is accused, and he claims that he did not, as the detainee Mary Thomas has stated, set fire to the greathouse at Mt Stewart. The detainee Mary Thomas has stated that this arson was chiefly carried out by the detainee Emanuel Jacob, Thomas Harrison or by them both together, but he states that he only took a crock of guava berries but did not do anything apart from that. The detainee has been sentenced with minor offences by the center district's police court.

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<sup>16</sup> Danish: Forbedringshusarbeide

<sup>17</sup> In the Danish text, the words “our side, fall on Dompierre” are written in English

<sup>18</sup> Daler: Danish currency

5: The detainee Emanuel Jacob of Pl. Prosperity, born on this island, twenty odd years old, has confessed that he walked to Frederiksted after having heard, around 6 O'clock in the afternoon, that there was unrest in the town. Here, he met a large negro mob outside Junghans' rum stall where they had rolled out a keg or barrel from which they drank. From there, he went out on a "round of the town", led by Joe la Grange and the detainee J.E. Benjamin, and he was present at the destruction of Police Officer Jackson's house, just as he was part of the mob when they broke open the shops and set fire to the goods, and later, he was inside the houses themselves, but did not help to open or plunder them. However, a boy did hand him a wallet containing some money, which the boy had found, but in the face of his denial it's not considered sufficiently confirmed that he was the leader of a gang of negroes who, during the night, began to break into Mrs. Ramsay's house, an attempt which was prevented by the inhabitants. The detainee has thus confessed that he, in the same way as the previous detainee, was part of the northside gang but did not continue further than to Mt Stewart, and he denies the accusation that he was one of the leaders of the gang or that he in particular set fire to the greathouse of Mt Stewart, where he did indeed go inside, but only robbed a demijohn with drink. The detainee has previously only been convicted of Fr. April 11, 1840, § 30.

6: The detainee David Cameron of Pl. La Grange, born on Jamaica, appr. 30 years old. Two witnesses state that they are convinced that, as the fireburn night in Frederiksted was in full progress, the detainee, along with a crowd of negroes, had stopped outside a house in Dronningensgade, and had pointed out the house as being the home of Police Officer Larsen, because he knocked on the door with his staff, whereafter the gang, which counted a considerable number of women, rushed into the house which, after a great deal of rummaging around, was set on fire. No one could be in doubt that it was the gang which had been assembled by the detainee that was responsible for the arson, and the one witness, who knew and spoke to the detainee, saw the detainee himself take a bottle from a woman and wave it towards the door frame with a movement as if he sprinkled petroleum on it. The detainee has confessed that he was in town the night in question but has denied the specific act of which he is accused and of any participation whatsoever. He is not known to have participated in any gang in the country. He has not previously been convicted.

7: The detainee Susanna Abramson, called Bottom-Belly, of Pl. Prosperity, born on this island, a woman between the age of 40 or 50, who has, partly on this island and partly on St. Thomas, been convicted of theft and fencing, and to a lesser degree, vagrancy, disorderly conduct and fighting. Right from the very beginning of the examinations, she has been charged as one of the worst participants in the plunder and arson in Frederiksted, so she was attributed more share in the more prominent misdeeds, in particular in connection with the plunder and arson of the Customs House, but during the interrogations, the charges have not been proven altogether. She has herself confessed that she was part of the crowd which vandalized the assistants' room in the Customs House, but that she did not intend to play any role in the gang, which she was actually drawn into against her will, and then, according to her continuously changing explanations, she went home and did not come into town again during the evening or night, but then she confesses that she perhaps was in town a bit later – Prosperity is situated on the outskirts of town – but that she only helped carry water and did not participate further. However, on the basis of the information given by two sworn witnesses it is presumed that, as the torching was in full progress during the night, she was amongst a crowd of negroes who moved from the burning part of the town up to the corner of Prindsensgade and Kongens Tværgade and attacked the house in which widow Smith lived and that she, when Mrs. Smith's maid begged and implored them to spare Mrs. Smith, she yelled and screamed that Mrs. Smith had to be burned out just like everybody else, and she tried to egg on the negroes to not spare the house. However, a new gang arrived and a negro in this gang forbade the gang to hurt Dr. Smith's widow, and finally, they desisted plundering and burning. It has been verified that the next day, she had burns on her one foot, and she

had looted goods in her house, and she could not give a reasonable explanation for this, and thus, coupled with the direct evidence of her participation in the effort to harm Mrs. Smith's house, adequate proof has been provided to confirm that the detainee was an accomplice in the plunder and arson in Frederiksted. The detainee was arrested as early as the 3rd and has therefore not been part of the northside gang.

8: Concerning the detainee Isaac Anthony of Frederiksted, born on this island, 22 years old, it has, through a number of examinations, been established that he, on Wednesday morning the 2nd of October, after the military forces had arrived in Frederiksted and the lower, burned-out part of the town had been abandoned by the negroes, was part of a mob of negroes who appeared at the town's eastern entrance with the intent to, as one of the witnesses said, set fire to this part of town, the so-called "Free Gut", where mostly poor people lived, as it had been mostly spared during the night. A large manure heap which was situated at the entrance to the town had been set on fire, and from there they met the protests of the inhabitants and the children with blows and stone throwing, with burning "trash" from the manure heap, and a fence by one of the houses was set on fire, all made of wood. The detainee forced his way into a room which was inhabited by the woman Matilde Dyer where he, according to M: Dyer's statement, whilst she for fear of harm kept in hiding under her bedsheets, set fire to a chair and then immediately ran away, in her mind because he thought the flames would catch. The second witness who saw the detainee come jumping out of M: Dyer's room did not see the detainee ignite a fire inside, as he was outside, but he saw that Dyer, afterwards, threw some charred straw out of the window. However, the alarm had sounded in town, and when word spread that help was coming, the gang dispersed into the surrounding sugar fields. The detainee has denied that he was part of this mob. On the afternoon of the same day, the detainee was at Allendale together with the gang which played havoc with great violence, so after a vehement denial, he eventually, during one of the very last interrogations, confessed; but he has also stated that he did not arrive at the place with the gang, so he did not go along with them on their earlier journey, but he came down from the northside hills where from he could see all the way down to Allendale, and he met them at the place, and he did not participate in any destruction and did not join them with destruction in mind. Nor is there any proof, despite the determination of the charges against him, that he participated in the above-mentioned mistreatment of Charles Flemming who, according to his statement, was already lying, bleeding, on the ground when he arrived; and it has not been confirmed that he proceeded with the gang. Hereafter, the participation in the arson in Freegut will be decisive in the assessment of the detainee's situation. The detainee has not previously been convicted.

9: The detainee Axeline Elizabeth Salomon, called Agnes, of Plt. Bethlehem, born on this island, 20-25 years old is, as stated, particularly charged with murder or accomplice to murder or murderish assault; and is thereby charged with the murder of the two abandoned soldiers at Carlton. When she heard of the fireburn on Wednesday morning, around 7 O'clock, at Bethlehem, the detainee wanted to go into town, and on the country road at Carlton, she met a large mob of negroes, and she has confessed that she followed this mob in to Carlton, and the mob fell over Carlton in order to search for the two soldiers who were allegedly there, and she threw a stone - according to her specification, it was the size of her clenched fist - at one of the soldiers, but without knocking him to the ground; and just as the witness, the overseer F. Mc Kay was present in Carlton yard and was an eyewitness to how the negroes, whom he assumed to count more than two hundred, here amongst a number of women, after having driven the soldiers out of the stables, hunted them around with beatings and throwing of stones that fell in hundreds until the dying men fell to the ground, and he has confirmed that the detainee struck the largest of the soldiers with a stone when he fled out of the stables, so he fell to the ground, and thus several witnesses, staff from Carlton who were present in the yard, stated under oath that the detainee held a prominent position in the attack. They state that the detainee, arm in arm with John Christian -

the negro who is particularly charged with having led the mob in pursuit of the soldiers, and who, later, during the riot, risked his life – led the way, and was very excited. Her head was bound like a man and she had a cane in her hand, and a witness, who observed her on the country road, whilst the negroes were debating whether to go in to Carlton or not, described her excitement even more decidedly: she had a bottle of gunpowder in her hand and poured gunpowder into her mouth, and then she wanted to drink rum and yelled that if she met a white man's children, she would kill them. When John Christian came, she "danced" with him at the front. Hereafter, even though it's only disclosed that the detainee threw a stone at the one soldier and that it's not known which effect this blow has had, the detainee's activity at and during the initiation of the deed was such that the killing of the soldiers, which must be viewed as deliberate, and under which, though bad intentions cannot be said to constitute as intention to kill, had been willing to go to any extent, in full must be blamed on her. It has not been confirmed that the detainee, counter to her statement, went along further with the gang or in other ways participated in the uprising. She has not previously been convicted.

10: The detainee Matilda Mc Bean of Pl: Cane, born on this island, 20-22 years old is likewise charged with participation in the murder of the two soldiers, and has confessed that she was part of the swarm at Carlton when the murder of the two soldiers was carried out, but she denies having participated in the deed. However, according to the witness statements, as the pursuit of the soldiers commenced, she was convinced that she had struck one of them with a cudgel or mallet but without the soldier falling to the ground as another witness has explained. The detainee was amongst those who pursued the soldier who fled up into the house's gallery but was again thrown over the top of the gallery into the yard and struck with a stone; and the detainee – of whom it has been stated by a witness, a plantation manager who knew her well, that she, after the act of violence had been executed, stood by the driveway to Cane and gloatingly chopped at a tree with a cudgel or a large hammer, saying: "This is the way I knocked the military" – and thus, though it's not certain which effect the first of her blows had, she must be considered an accomplice to the murder which was committed by the gang as a whole. Furthermore, the detainee has confessed that, on the following day, when the staff from Høgensborg set out through Cane in a gang, she joined them and accompanied them to Williams Delight where she, when the allowance cellar was forced open, took some corn flour. The detainee is not previously convicted.

11: The detainee Joseph Bowell of Pl: Høgensborg was born on Barbados but arrived here as a boy, approximately 18 years ago. He denies even being present at Carlton on Wednesday morning when the murder of the soldiers took place, but this is contradicted by sworn statements given by two witnesses, one of which knew the detainee well and the other recognized him with absolute certainty. It's thereby considered confirmed that he, when one of the soldiers had fallen to the ground and was dying – according to the one statement, he was dead or dying – at the foot of the staircase leading up to the greathouse, struck or knocked him in the head with a stone or, as one of the witnesses says, in the neck or the back. Also, the witness Brathwaste heard him accompany the strikes with the words "this damned old soldier is not dead yet"<sup>19</sup>. Since it's now conceivable that the detainee's action possibly did not contribute to the death of the soldier, he will be held guilty in the same way as the previous detainee. The detainee has moreover confessed that he was amongst those people from Høgensborg who preyed on Carlton the following day. He does not admit to having gone further, and he also denies having done anything, and in particular he denies or, according to his latest statement, does not remember what must otherwise be considered confirmed by proof, as well as the circumstances allow, namely that, when overseer Crawford's wife tried to reason with the negroes in the yard, he threatened her – though not very seriously – with a knife. The detainee is not previously convicted.

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<sup>19</sup> In the Danish text, the words "this damned old soldier is not dead yet" are written in English

12: The detainee Joseph Spencer of Plt: Høgensborg, born on Barbados, arrived on this island in 1863, and is forty odd years old. Whilst sufficient evidence has not been provided to confirm that he, as informed, took part in the arson in Frederiksted or in the murder at Carlton, several witness statements given under oath by staff from the plantation Concordia concurrently state that they are convinced that he was a participant and also one of the leaders of the gang. According to the witnesses' estimate, he led the gang alongside Parti Rose who died during the riots. Wednesday morning, shortly after the murder at Carlton had been committed, the gang set fire to magass and factories at Pl. Concordia, and it's particularly confirmed that the detainee, whilst Parti broke open the allowance cellar, struck the lock to the rum cellar, which was soon after ablaze. Furthermore, he has, after the presentation of certain witness statements from various people, confessed that he, on the Thursday, when staff from Høgensborg converged in the gang which is described above, was a participant in said gang's activities and was thus present at the destruction of W<sup>ms</sup> Delight, Enfieldgreen and Carlton where, at the arrival of the military, whilst the gang played havoc, he was shot in one of his fingers, but he denies having been one of the instigators or leaders of this gang which, according to the findings of the commission, was principally led by Wm H. Washington, who has died during the duration of the commission's examinations. During the activities of the gang, the detainee stole some maize flour at Enfieldgreen and Carlton. The detainee has previously only been convicted for minor offences.

13: The detainee Hans Christian of Pl: Williams Delight, born on this island, 26 years old, has, as he has confessed, in concurrence with the given testimony, that he participated in the actions of the gang which, immediately after Concordia had burned down, as related by the previous detainee, set fire to the factories and the magass house, amongst other things, at Pl: Wheel of Fortune, and he has, particularly, single-handedly, set fire to the magass house. The detainee was armed with two sugar axes of which the one was fixed on a rod, but he denies having been the leader of the gang which, he informs, was led by Joe la Grange and "Norway-Charley", who both died during the uprising – and he did not join the gang before it was in the vicinity of Wheel of Fortune. The detainee also confesses that, when a part of the gang which came from Wheel of Fortune negro village attacked the guard Joseph Franklin who, in order to avoid the gang, had made off to the Gut, he beat him so thoroughly that he was ill for a long time and still has a rigid arm. He raised an axe over Franklin, as he says, to prevent the others from beating him further. The detainee then meant to leave the gang and was wounded in his thigh when they approached Frederiksted and were spotted by a patrol. The detainee has previously been convicted of theft by the Centre district's police court.

14: The detainee John Thomas Sobers of Pl. Becksgrove, born on Barbados, arrived here as a boy over 16 years ago, is 30 years old and has, after having maintained throughout the examination that he had absolutely no involvement in the crimes committed, finally conceded when, at the conclusion of the interrogations, there was an overwhelming accumulation of proof of his being part of the gang which played havoc at Mountain and in particular on Allendale and St Georges, but he has since maintained that he played a passive role, the only exception being that he, in the allowance cellar at St Georges, after it was broken open, stole some maize flour. It must, however, be affirmed through the given witness statements, that the detainee, in particular at Allendale, was an active member of the gang and that he, particularly after the house was ablaze and the gang was leaving, tried to hinder the people of the vicinity in putting out the fire, which they expressed attempts to do. He was armed with a saber and, along with another member of the gang, it's unclear who this was, he returned and threatened to kill anyone who dared to put out the flames. Counter to the detainee's denial it's not confirmed whether he was present or active in the mistreatment of Charles Flemming, and regarding this matter it must be remarked that it is not possible to affirm that the mistreatment and personal violence was part of the gang's aim, so it impassable to blame all members of the gang, but only those who participated in

the deed. In 1876, the detainee was convicted of disobedience and punished with forced labor for 60 days.

15: The detainee Christopher Samuel of Pl: Mt Pleasant, born on Antigua, arrived here in 1869, 36 years old, is, like the previous detainee, charged with participation in the destruction at Mountain and in particular at Allendale and St Georges and he is also particularly charged with having participated in the mistreatment of Charles Flemming. Regarding the latter there is, however, counter to his denial, attained sufficient evidence, and partly through his own confession and partly through the given witness statements, it must be confirmed that he indeed was a participant in the said gang's procession, so the doubt solely regards whether he, as the other's statements imply, played a prominent role or whether, as he maintains himself, he did not do anything in particular. Eventually, however, he will not deny that he was in the house, but he does not remember that he used the cane, which he carried, to beat on the furniture, the household effects etc. He only admits to stealing a black jacket which he says he found in the garden, and he says that he, all in all, would not have been "so stupid as to do something which he knew he would, one day, be held accountable for, considering that he has yet to see negroes rule any country". He also states that he was in Frederiksted on the night of the fireburn, but that he did no evil. He only took some cheese and sea biscuits which he found on the street, and likewise he took some cigars home with him. At Frederiksted's police court on the 9th of January 1878, he was convicted of disobedience and violence towards the overseer whilst in employment at St: Georges.

16: The detainee George Michael of Pl. Envy, born on St: Lucia, arrived on this island in 1866 as a boy, appr. 30 years old, has confessed that he, on Wednesday afternoon, after having left Envy, armed with an old pistol, which was still functional, joined a gang which was at Høgensborg. He proceeded with the then strengthened gang to Mountain, Allendale and St: Georges, and though there is no definite validation regarding his conduct, it's confirmed through the given witness statements, that he to a great extent played a very violent and prominent role in the gang and alongside the detainee Thomas Critchlow, he initiated the burning of the factories. When the main share of the gang continued to Grove-Place, the detainee went with the detainee Critchlow towards Plessen's negro village and gathered all the people, they met on the way. Despite accusations to the contrary, the detainee claims that he did not use violence or serious threats, and they proceeded together on Centerline until they reached Lower-Love, where the gang entered, strengthened with the people who had joined them on the way. The greathouse, the factories and the magass were set ablaze and, in concurrence with the given witness statements, the detainee has confessed that he, single-handedly set fire to some of the magass stacks, and overall, he conducted himself as the leader of the gang which moved onwards towards the neighboring plantation Castle, where they destroyed and set fire to the greathouse along with the factories. This fire was, however, put out by the plantation staff. Here, the gang scattered and the detainee claims that he did not participate in any further destruction during the night or the next day. He did not, he says, rob anything apart from drink, which he took, wherever he came. The detainee has not previously been convicted.

17: The detainee Thomas Critchlow of Pl: Jealousie, born on Barbados, arrived here in 1863 at the age of 17, has, as is evident through his own confession, committed offences in the same way as the previous detainee, and has, in particular at St: Georges been dominantly operative, while he, at Lower-Love, must be attributed a lesser role. In this respect it must be noted that this detainee has been more reserved in his statements than the detainee George Michael. Previously, the detainee has only been convicted of labor-related offences.

18: The detainee William James of Pl. Grove Place, born on Antigua, arrived on this island about 4 years ago, appr. 25 years old, has explained that, when he saw the large gang proceed from St. Georges towards Allandale, he hurried after it and joined it and was thus part of it there and at St Georges. Regarding the charges of participation in the mistreatment of Charles Flemming, there is no evidence to support this, and it's only possible to attribute him a role which is more active than others' when the gang proceeded from St Georges to Grove Place, where the detainee belonged. Through the given witness statements it must be considered confirmed that the detainee led the gang along with the detainee Callender when it stormed into Grove Place, and the detainee has confessed that he, the detainee Callender and the negro whom he calls "the Captain" (Robert Teylor) were the first to break into the greathouse, which is in concurrence with the witness accounts, and after the gang had rummaged inside the house for a while and destroyed this and that, they set fire to it. Despite his evasive explanations that it was "the Captain"<sup>20</sup> who forced matches into his hand and which the detainee, when "the Captain" turned around, threw away, it makes no difference, just as little as his excuse that he ran into the house on "the Captain's" order bears any weight. According to the statements of the case it makes sense that the factories were set on fire while the detainee was still inside the house, so he cannot be ascribed to any activity in that regard. The detainee remained at Grove Place when the gang proceeded towards River. During the fireburn night, the detainee was out and about on the streets of Frederiksted, but there are no particular charges against him. Previously, he has only been convicted of labor-related offences.

19: The detainee George Callender of Pl: Enfieldgreen, born on Barbados, arrived here as a child appr. 20 years ago, had stated that he did not join the gang before it had already destroyed St: Georges and that he, as corroborated by witnesses, was, along with the previous detainee and Robert Teyson, amongst the first of the gang to break in to Grove Place, and that they were the first who ran up into the greathouse where he, carrying a cane, participated in extensive destruction. From there he proceeded to the factories whilst, on the way, having a skirmish with the driver, whose beard he tugged and forced to shout "our side"<sup>21</sup>. He claims that he followed Teyson's order when he broke down the door to the boiling house and moved around the rum cellar, but he repeatedly maintains that he did not set it on fire, despite it being highly probable according to witness accounts that suggest that he at least partook in this endeavor. During the gang's wild procession towards River he was, also according to his own statement, in the lead of the gang or part of the gang, alongside Robert Flynn, who immediately rushed towards the manager's house, and he has also confessed to being part of the gang which forced entry to the allowance cellar, though maintaining that he did not do it with his own hands. According to various witnesses he was, on the whole, a very prominent participant in the gang. According to his own statements, he had drunk so much rum at Grove Place and at River and he was not in the mood for continuing with the gang, and there is no evidence to confirm that he continued during the evening or the next day. Previously, he has only been convicted according to a police court verdict.

20: The detainee Henry England of Pl: Jealousie, born on this island, appr. 23 years old, has from the onset been charged as a prominent and violent participant in the uprising. In this regard, crimes were committed to which he probably contributed, and his name is mentioned from different sides. On the basis of the preliminary interrogations it seems that he intentionally set fire to a substantial amount of rum which was situated in the mule fold at Grove Place and he was thereby responsible for the deaths of around 20 people, mainly women, who burnt to death, trying to hide a number of barrels of maize flour in the fold in order to save it for the plantation. Repeatedly throughout the interrogations, the detainee maintained that he had no part in the movement at all, but had stayed quietly at home at Jealousy, where he was known to be an unruly type, and shortly prior to October, he had just concluded

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<sup>20</sup> In the Danish text, the words "the Captain" are written in English

<sup>21</sup> In the Danish text, the words "our side" are written in English

a punishment of forced labor to which he had been sentenced because he had instigated unrest at Pl: River. It gradually came to light that he had, all in all, been part of the gang which played havoc Wednesday afternoon, and he was present at Mountain, Allendale, St. Georges, Grove Place and River, which he has also confessed himself as he clarifies that he, on Wednesday morning, after having spent the night at River, went out to Centerline, where he met the gang which attacked Mountain; but he has repeatedly claimed that he was not a violent participant in the undertakings of the gang; at Allendale he took half a bottle of ale from an other negro and drank it, whereafter he became so drunk that he could not remember what he did for the duration of the gang's course until he fell asleep in River's yard. This testimony is corroborated by a singular witness from River, but is contradicted by the others, and it's not found that the detainee's explanation of what he drank during the day gives sufficing explanation. However, the detainee is not charged with particular activities, particularly because the commission has reservations concerning letting the witnesses from River which speak against him give statements under oath, whilst, regarding the incident at Grove 's mule fold, it has come to light during the examination that someone yelled that there were maize flour barrels hidden in the mule fold, whereafter a mass of negroes rushed in, women, who tried to steal flour, and men, who attacked some barrels of rum which were situated close to the entrance. The rum was set on fire by someone who had drunk amply, but it's not clear that this act was carried out by the detainee or whether it was set on fire to cause burning people to death, which was the consequence as the straw in the fold ignited immediately and spread to the women's skirts. On Friday, in the middle of the day, the detainee proceeded from Mt Pleasant to River along with the rest of Parris' gang. The detainee has, apart from the verdict mentioned above, been punished for theft with forced labor for 2 months.

21: The detainee William Arnold of Pl. Upper Love, born on Antigua, arrived on this island appr. 14 years ago, estimated to be 20 odd years old, has confessed, in concurrence with otherwise available information, that he arrived and joined the above-mentioned gang at Upper Love on Wednesday evening the 2nd of October. Thereafter, he went with the gang and took part in the destruction of the plantations which were plundered and burned during the evening, except Slob and Fredensborg, until the gang was dissolved on Thursday morning at Annas Hope. When the gang reached Castle Coakley around Thursday morning, the detainee, a half-naked and completely insignificant negro, only armed with a wooden saber, was, as he says, "Diploma as Captain", when another captain had become tired, and as such he took part in leading the destruction of Castle Coakley, where he acted violently and significantly let a young fisherman, who was reluctant to shout "our side"<sup>22</sup>, be seriously molested, and he led the gang on to Peters Rest. He states that he did not personally set it on fire because "in the beginning there were too many, so he couldn't get a chance, and later, when he became Captain, he could order people to do it". He is thus convinced that he participated in the previously described attack on Julie Roebuck, but it must be remarked that Julie Roebuck, even though he, which he denies, must have talked about the negroes robbing her, must be considered to have been blameless<sup>7</sup>. The detainee has previously only been punished for labor-related offences.

22: The detainee Wm Barnes of Pl: Rust up Twist, born on this island, 25 or 26 years old. On Wednesday evening, the detainee left Rust up Twist on the northside of the island and went south towards the glow of the fires. He reached the fires when they were around Cliftonhill, and after some consideration regarding whether he should follow or not, he joined the gang at Strawberryhill. Thereafter, according to both his own statement and others', he was part of it continuously; and in the gang which he had now joined, he was not a passive participant; and it's especially established, that from Castle Coakley, he both set fire to the magass stack and found himself in the part of the gang whose job it was to set fire to the rum cellar, like he set fire to a stables at Work & Rest. After the gang

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<sup>22</sup> In the Danish text, the words "our side" are written in English

had disassembled at Annashope, the detainee went down country where he met the big gang which burned down Anguilla on the Thursday at midday, and he followed it on the route which is described above, until it dissolved at Mt Pleasant-Plessens, but here he claims to have been a passive participant, partly because he was drunk, and partly because no one knew him and wanted to use him. In the evening, he stayed in Plessens' negro village and was there when the factories at Mt Pleasant-Plessens burned, but there is nothing to add regarding any participation in this act of arson. Friday morning, he came along with the detainee Bamberg, who had also been in Plessens' negro village – details follow below – to Lower Love and there he joined the gang which Parris led down to River. The detainee has previously only been convicted by Fr. April 11 1840 §30 and punished with 8 days in prison.

23: The detainee George Simmons of Pl. Barren Spot, born on this island, more than 20 years old. On Wednesday morning, when the news about the movement in Frederiksted had moved up country, as had the movement itself, the detainee, according to his own confession, along with what is stated elsewhere, walked towards west from Barrenspot via Centerline until he met the gang which broke into Mountain and Allendale and he followed them to all the plantations it preyed upon, until he came, along with the gang, to Diamond and Ruby, Thursday morning. It's not known whether the detainee was a prominent participant in the activities of the gang before it came to his home place Barrenspot, where he, as a well-known man, fronted the gang and blew the conch, which he also did at the next plantation, Strawberryhill. In 1878, he was convicted and punished with 12 days forced labor for injuring a second man<sup>23</sup>.

24: The detainee Richard Gibbs, called Sealey, of Pl: Barrenspot, was born on Barbados, has been on this island for 4 years and is estimated to be in his early twenties. During the interrogations he was often called "Jimkey" by the other witnesses, because of his little growth, It is confirmed that he, under similar circumstances as the previous detainee, joined the often mentioned gang, before it attacked Allendale from where he, as he only just confessed right before the recordings of the day, went along with the gang to Jealousy; here he wanted to leave the gang and go home, but he soon met the gang at Cliftonhill, which he joined and went along with to Barren Spot. During the morning, he went out again, and after having again met the gang at Peters Rest factory-station, he followed it to Work & Rest. The detainee, who has been very reluctant to give testimony regarding his circumstances or the details of his participation in the activities, has confessed that he robbed a bottle of Genever<sup>10</sup> in the greathouse at Allendale and in the allowance cellar at St Georges he robbed some maize flour, but did not otherwise participate actively. However, according to the other witness accounts it must be confirmed that he, at Cliftonhill, tried to force or cajole first one, then another of the plantation staff to open the allowance cellar and then he broke it open himself, but without having time to rob it, because the greathouse, situated above the cellar, was already in flames. The detainee has no previous convictions.

25: The detainee Edward Lewis of Pl: Mt Pleasant (the jurisdiction of Christiansted), born on St: Kitts, arrived on this island appr. 12 years ago, 26 or 27 years old, has confessed that he was a participant in the gang previously described, in particular by Emanuel Benjamin. The gang's aim was to plunder and arson the surrounding plantations, and the detainee was part of the gang throughout its course. He has stated, as is the case with the majority of those charged, that he thought that if he was not caught in having "handled trach<sup>24</sup>", he had not committed a crime. He denies having plundered or burned, and he repeatedly denies having been one of the instigators or leaders of the gang, but in that respect, it's difficult to acquire direct evidence of leadership, the circumstances taken into consideration, as it's difficult to determine whether one or the other participant is in leadership in a wild negro mob.

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<sup>23</sup> The meaning of this is slightly unclear. The Danish text says "Andenmand" (Secondman)

<sup>24</sup> In the Danish text, the words "handled trach [trash]" are written in English

However, on the basis of the testimonies of other gang members and also from witnesses from those plantations vandalized by the gang, it's concluded that, even if he might have been less prominent than the deceased Fritz Richardson, the detainee was in leadership along with him and with the detainee J. Emanuel Benjamin, without anyone from the outside or at Mt Pleasant inciting him to do so. As so far as the detainee has been charged with both participation in the excesses and the arson in Frederiksted and for, on the Wednesday, having attempted to agitate other negroes to rebel and for having cleared the way for and instructing the gang which preyed upon Mt Pleasant on Wednesday night, there is not, counter his denial, evidence against him. He has, however, confessed that he, along with the other people from Mt Pleasant, went to River along with Parris' gang on Friday morning. Here, the gang split up, and the detainee fled along with Mannie and Fritz Richardson into the hills on the northside, where he hid for several days. The center district's Police Court has previously convicted the detainee on charges of theft, insulting his employer and fighting.

26: The detainee Henry Barker of Pl: Høgensborg, born on Barbados, arrived here 16 years ago, and is around the age of 28-30. He has stated, in accord with what is confirmed elsewhere, that he was a guard and sometimes a kind of guard at Høgensborg, and when the previously mentioned gang was formed and left Høgensborg on Thursday morning, he joined it and followed it from beginning to end. He has been charged with being, if not a leader of the gang, then a prominent and active part of it, but he has denied it and states that he does not remember it. The testimony implies that it is highly probable that he did partake in the forced entry into the allowance cellar at W<sup>ms</sup> Delight. He denies that he encouraged the staff at Goodhope to join the gang on its further course towards Carlton, and he also denies that he entered Carlton, blowing the conch, but he confesses that he did ring the bell there. The detainee has no previous convictions.

27: The detainee Joseph Briggs of Fredensborg, born on Barbados but arrived on this island as a boy appr. 18 years ago, is estimated to be around 28 years old. He spent the entire Wednesday the 2nd of October calmly on the plantation Cane, where he has his woman, but Thursday morning, when the gang, which the description of the previous detainee revolves around, struck out from Høgensborg, and he joined it, as he has confessed, and followed it on its further course until it was dissolved by the soldiers at Carlton. As mentioned previously, and as is generally the case, he has denied any participation in the activities of the gang, and he has tried to explain away the gravity of the information which has been brought against him through the witness testimonies, when it was impossible to squarely contradict them. Thus, conflicting the witness statements from Enfieldgreen, he maintains that he did not do anything. Nothing can be proven directly, and regarding W<sup>ms</sup> Delight, the detainee Joseph Clarke has stated that the detainee took from him an old axe which he had in his hand, and he threatened to chop off his head if he did not get moving, but the detainee himself says that he was afraid that Clarke would harm him with the axe. He has also twisted the testimonies which state that he vehemently tried to get the staff and W<sup>ms</sup> Delight to join the gang, or else he would burn down the negro village, and whilst confessing that he was part of a mob which broke into planter Skeoch's cellar and plundered it at Carlton, he claims that he believed that leading the gang down there would prevent their setting fire to the house; however, he completely denies taking part in the break-in and arson of the rum cellar at Carlton, a charge which could not be proven. It is not evident that the detainee's role in the gang was that of a passive onlooker. The detainee has previously been sentenced for violence and fighting and has been punished with water and bread and forced labor.

28: The detainee William Henry or Henry William of Pl: Lower-Love, born on Antigua, arrived on this island 14 years ago, appr. 30 years old, is charged with, alongside the detainees Christian Martin and Wren Gittens, on the morning of the 3rd of October, having initiated and lead the gang which departed from Lower-Love, primarily or only consisting of people from the same plantation, and they plundered

and burned the plantations Adventure, Paradise, and then went to Bettyshope where the gang joined the gang that came from Diamond and Upper Love, and after Bettyshope had burnt down, they continued until they joined Joseph Parris' gang at Manningsbay and proceeded with them to Anguilla, as described. The detainee has, overall, confessed to the charges, but in his justification he has stated that John Codday - a negro from Upper Love who was burned to death at Negrobay - had threatened to burn down the negro village if the people from Lower-Love did not set in motion, and that, when they came to the country road, the people from Adventure waved them in, and he has stated that when they were at Bettyshope and the other gangs arrived, he lost his command and henceforth only was in the gang as an average participant - a common soldier, as it is sometimes termed - and as such he followed to Kingshill or Bethlehem. He has also, in accord with what is stated elsewhere, confessed that he joined Parris' gang on Friday morning, and, alongside Parris, he was in the lead of the gang when it advanced on Mt Pleasant and on to River. On both occasions he had a long saber in his hand. Previously, the detainee has been sentenced twice by Fr: April 11, 1840, §30, and also once for disobedience and otherwise only for dereliction.

29 and 30: The detainees Christian Martin of Lower-Love, born in this island, 35-40 years old, and Wren Gittens, also of Lower-Love, born on Barbados, arrived on this island about 15-16 years ago, when he was a big boy, have both confessed that they were participants in the gang which the assessment of the detainee W<sup>m</sup> Henry revolves around, and that they participated in its course. Christian Martin did not continue further than Bettyshope, but they have, overall, both been very reluctant to speak, and particularly the detainee Wren Gittens has been more untrue in his explanations than W<sup>m</sup> Henry. They have not confessed that they participated in the instigation and leadership of the gang, whilst the detainee Martin confesses that he blew the conch, and the detainee Gittens can not deny that he played around with a cutlass in his hand, and on the basis of all the available testimonies there can be no reasonable doubt that they both, despite the detainee bearing the name "the Captain", were, alongside him, the prominent participants in the gang, and that they were full accomplices in the destruction at Adventure and Paradise. Though he does not recall going further than Anguilla, the detainee Gittens does not deny the accuracy of the many statements that revolve around him being at Kingshill, as he had drunk at all the rum cellars that were broken into and was now drunk. The detainee Chr: Martin has previously been sentenced for assault causing bodily harm and has been punished with prison on water and bread, and the detainee Gittens has been sentenced for theft and has done forced labor.

31: The detainee George Cambridge, of Pl: Upper-Love, born on Antigua, arrived here as a boy, about 20 years ago. He was, as he has confessed himself, a participant in the gang which ravaged Grove Place on the 2nd of October. He has furthermore confessed that he left Upper Love Thursday morning, after Upper Love's factories had been burned, but without having taken part in the deed, with which he has been charged. He left Upper Love with a small gang of negroes and went south. On their way, they found that all plantations had burned, until, strengthened in number by negroes they met on the way, they reached Bettyshope where they, along with the gang, mentioned above, which departed from Lower Love, with whom attorney Peebles had debated, and the gang which had departed from Diamond, which was the gang in which the detainee James Cox was a participant. United, they fell over Bettyshope's yard, and when Bettyshope's staff pleaded for the estate, the detainee insisted that it had to be burned just like the other plantations, and then he walked straight to the factories, destroyed the lock to the curing house<sup>25</sup> with a blow of his cane and set fire to it using matches and magass. As soon as he had started the fire, he brought magassfire into the greathouse where a stack of curtains and

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<sup>25</sup> The curing house was where the muscovado (the crude, brown sugar) was drained.

doors and other easily ignitable items were already on fire, so the arson of Bettyshope must fully be attributed to him. From Bettyshope, he continued to proceed with the united gangs on their wild course, but he claims that he did not play a prominent role, because, especially on the road to Anguilla, it was the detainee James Cox who was in the lead, and at Bethlehem, he left the gang. The detainee has only been previously sentenced in accordance with Fr. April 11, 1840, §30.

32: The detainee James Cox of Pl: Diamond, born on Barbados, arrived on this island 18 years ago at the age of 15, states that he remained calmly at home at Diamond on the Wednesday, but that a gang arrived there from Enfieldgreen on the Thursday. He says that he gathered Diamond's staff on request of people in the gang, because he was afraid that the negro village would otherwise be set on fire, and he went along with them and with part of the gang coming from Enfieldgreen to Bettyshope, but he denies having acted as the leader of the gang, which the detainees W<sup>m</sup> Henry and others, who saw him, have otherwise stated. All in all, his explanations are reluctant and sluggish, and he denies any prominent participation in the activities of the gang. However, whilst there is insufficient evidence against him regarding his activities at Bettyshope, and whilst there may be alternative reasons for his leading the gang on the way from Bettyshope to Anguilla, it is considered confirmed that the detainee was one of the leaders of the gang at Pl. Anguilla, and as such he instigated and led the destructive activities at this plantation. Regarding the question of whether the detainee from there on continued to persevere in the gang's activities throughout the afternoon, only statements from other people who are charged are available, and thus it remains unclarified. The detainee has previously been sentenced for fighting and in accordance with Fr. April 11, 1840, §30.

33: The detainee Joseph Williams of Pl: Windsor, born on this island, appr. 25 years old, has, in accordance with what is elsewhere stated, confessed that he was one of the leaders of the gang which was formed on Pl: Windsor Thursday morning and which was strengthened with negroes from the plantations which they passed or went through, burned down, as clarified above, Pl: Montpellier, Morningstar, Concordia, Windsor and Glynn Station. Just like several other detainees, he has explained in further detail that it was John Lewis, who was sentenced by the court-martial, who was the actual instigator of the enterprise. Having heard the accounts of what had happened on the south side, he encouraged and threatened Windsor's staff to get on the move, telling them that he himself had been appointed leader by the big gang. Regarding the threats and acts of force claimed from here and elsewhere, to which some inquisitors have attached great importance, whilst others have attached them little to no importance, it must be noted that, whilst there might be extenuating circumstances, no witnesses disclose use of violence or force which could excuse him<sup>26</sup>. The detainee did not follow the entire course of the gang, and from Morning Star, he returned home to Windsor, but he was, however, sighted in the rum cellar at Windsor again, and when the rum was suddenly set ablaze, his feet were burned. The detainee is not known to have been previously sentenced.

34: The detainee Mary Thomas of Pl. Sprathall, born on Antigua, arrived here 14 years ago, estimated to be 25-30 years old, has under the name of "Queen Mary" become known as one of the most violently persistent leaders of the gang which, on the 3rd of October, played havoc on West-End Northside as has been described above and in particular by the detainees Francis Harrison and Emanuel Jacob. In her, by and large, candid confessions, she has admitted that, as soon as Thomas Graydon began to instigate his gang, she followed him, carrying a scarf, attached to a cane, as a flag, and she did not rest until the gang had burned Punch in the evening. She has also confessed that she was one of the leaders and was considered "Queen". Many testimonies state that, in many places, she was the most violent, even when Colonel Peter was inclined to give mercy, she yelled "burn level

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<sup>26</sup> Slightly unclear. The Danish text says "som kunde disculpere Paagjældende", perhaps meaning that no other person's acts of violence or force could excuse his behavior?

down” and urged on the destruction. Still, some people might express that she, a poor woman, could not have any power over the men<sup>12</sup>. She was in Frederiksted for part of the fireburn night, but counter to her denial, it has not been possible to ascertain that she participated in plunder and arson. She has previously only been sentenced for minor misconducts.

35: The detainee Johannes Samuel, called Bamberg, of Frederiksted, born on this island, around 30 years old, has attracted suspicion mainly through his false explanations, for every time he has been interrogated, he has presented varying and mutually contradictory testimony, thus implying that he has actively participated in the uprising, perhaps not as a violent or vehement gang-leader, but through calm, second-hand encouragement, and enticement. Likewise, he is charged for being an accomplice in the arson of the factories at Mt Pleasant-Plessen and for the relatively calm arson during the night of the 3rd of October. Regarding the latter, it has come forth that the detainee has moved around in Plessen’s yard, in which the factories are situated, and in the negro village during and after the fire, and there are circumstances which make his movements and his conduct strongly suspicious. However, the detainee has stated that he was in the negro village prior to the arson where he, alongside the detainee Wm Barnes, wanted lodgings for the night, and that he jumped up when he heard the noise and commotion of the arson. The unravelling of circumstances has not sufficiently ruled out the possibility that he did not belong to the little gang whose aim was to instigate arson, and he has not been sighted doing anything himself. Regarding the former, nothing in particular has been ascribed to the detainee. However, after the emergence of overwhelming information which contradicts his inconstant, sometimes even absurd explanations, he has had to confess that he joined Parris’ gang at Manningsbay on the 3rd of October, and that he followed it over Anguilla and Kingshill without having done anything on the course of the procession. He was thus present at Mt Pleasant-Plessens when the greathouse burned in the afternoon, but, despite various circumstances, it seems that he followed the gang all the way from Kingshill over Bethlehem and Castle on the way, and a witness has even explained that he arrived from Mt Pleasant, fronting the gang, blowing a conch. He maintains, as was the case with the factories in the evening, that he was at Mt Pleasant prior to the arson and took no part in the destruction. A witness has also stated that the detainee threw a heap of new sugar axes from the house down to the negroes, and, contrary to his denial, it has not been verified, but he has admitted that, when the axes had been thrown down, he took an axe, which he, later, fastened to a pole and brought with him when he, which he has also, finally admitted, followed Parris’ gang from Lower Love to Mt Pleasens<sup>27</sup> and River the following day. On the night of the fireburn, the detainee moved around Frederiksted, but it has not been informed whether he has committed any offence contrary to his statement that he has helped several people in distress. The detainee has previously only been punished for stealing sugar cane.

36: The detainee Joseph James of Pl. Enfieldgreen, born on this island, 35 to 40 years old, is primarily charged with being, if not an instigator, then particularly active in the arson at Mt Pleasant-Plessen’s factories – during the evening of the 3rd of October. According to the detainee’s own explanations, he met a little gang of around 6 to 8 negroes, during the evening, when he had come from Windsor on the main country road which runs between Mt Pleasant and Plessen’s buildings. The gang emerged from the additional buildings and went down to the factories which had been burned without the detainee having any part in the arson. From what has been put forth through various testimonies, it can, however, due to uncertainties, not be fully be confirmed whether the detainee really did meet the aforementioned gang on the country road or whether he led it from Mt Pleasant’s negro village, but it is presumed that the detainee did play a prominent role in the gang of which several members, as far as it

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<sup>27</sup> Presumably Mt. Pleasant

is possible to illuminate the matter, died during the activities, and primarily due to the sworn testimonies, it is considered confirmed that the detainee woke up people in Plessen's negro village and called them to action, directly informing them that they were to participate in the arson of the plantation's factories, which soon after were ablaze. Due to one of the witness testimonies stating that the detainee was at Mt Pleasant as early as the morning and that he acted in a violent fashion, threatening that he would return during the evening, and that it seemed like he came from the arson at Diamond, he has confessed that which is corroborated by one of the witnesses, namely that, during the evening, when he was at Plessen's factories, he was drunk, but, according to what has come forth regarding his conduct, and when compared to the nature of the crime, there is no reason to presume that he should have been of unsound mind. The detainee has not previously been punished.

37, 38, 39: The detainees John Samuel, Thomas James, and James Griffith, all from the plantation Anguilla. The first mentioned and the last mentioned have a past on Barbados, but arrived here 12 years ago, as boys, and they are estimated to be around 25 or 26 years old. Thomas James was born on this island and is appr. 20 years old. In accord with what is otherwise stated, they confess that they, jointly, carried out the abovementioned expedition to Blessing on the evening of the 3rd of October, and in particular the detainee John Samuel has confessed that it was he who took fire from an open, outdoor fire in the negro village and was the first to set fire to the magass stacks. They have also confessed that they broke open the boiling house and were inside the boiling house, but none of them confess to having started the fire there, though the detainee Griffith assumes that it was the detainee John Samuel who started it. John Samuel, however, claims that it was a little boy from Blessing who brought some magass fires inside and it is not known whether it was their intention to set fire to the boiling house. However this might be, the arson of the boiling house which, as mentioned, had no consequences, must be attributed to the detainees, as if they started the fire themselves. "The little boy" might be an invention or he might be assumed to have done their business. The detainees have confessed that they used the widespread yell "our side"<sup>28</sup>, but they deny shouting that they arrived along with a gang or that it, in some way, was their intention to unify with Blessing's staff in order to establish a gang which was to continue onwards. Despite the fact that this gang, the consequences taken into consideration, depicts itself as being of considerably less significance than the other acts of arson which the case revolves around, then it is, particularly when related to what the consequences would have been if Blessing's people had indeed joined the detainee's undertaking, which the yell "our side"<sup>29</sup> encouraged, not possible to indulge in the notion that the undertaking can be considered a separate arson apart from the uprising. It must, just like the others, be considered an act whose aim was to promote the uprising and the ongoing unrest which disturbed the peace and order of society. None of the detainees have previously been punished.

40: The detainee Rebecca Frederik of Pl. Upper Love, born on this island, appr. 20 years old, has, in accordance with what is otherwise brought forth regarding her person, confessed that when she heard that there was unrest, on the 2nd of October, at home at Upper Love, she went to Centerline and joined the gang which attacked Mountain and Allandale and later, during the afternoon and evening, she went along with it, so that, whilst being a participant at both St. Georges and River and both places having robbed maize flour from the cellars, she was not present at Grove Place. When the gang arrived at Slob around midnight, she stopped there until sunset, when she left in order to find the gang again, and she went with it to Castle Coakley, Peters Rest and Work & Rest, until it was split up at Annas Hope, where she became afraid and went home. She has not herself started fires and denies accusations that she was particularly violent. She is subsequently, according to her own confession, convinced that

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<sup>28</sup> In the Danish text, the words "our side" are written in English

<sup>29</sup> In the Danish text, the words "our side" are written in English

she took an extraordinarily active part in the mistreatment of Julie Roebuck. The detainee has not previously been punished.

With reference to all the aforementioned, every one of the participants' deserved punishments will be determined according to the nature of the crimes through which their participation in the uprising has unfolded, and additionally according to the principles in L. 6-4-3. Those who are subsequently charged and whose participation in it all has been displayed through arson or accomplice in mob-practice, which was all about arson, namely 1. James E. Benjamin (Mannie), 2. John Hodge, 3. George Henry, 4. Francis Harrison, 5. Emanuel Jacob, 6. David Cameron, 7. Susanna Abrahamson (Bottom Belly), 8. Isaac Anthony, 12. Joseph Spencer, 13. Hans Christian, 14. John Thomas Sobers, 15. Christopher Samuel, 16. George Michael, 17. Thomas Critchlow, 18. William James, 19. George Callender, 20. Henry England, 21. William Arnold, 22. William Barnes, 23. George Simmons, 24. Richard Gibbs (Scaly), 25. Edward Lewis, 26. Henry Barker, 27. Joseph Briggs, 28. William Henry, 29. Christian Martin, 30. Wren Gibbens, 31. George Cambridge, 32. James Cox, 33. Joseph William, 34. Mary Thomas, 35. Johannes Samuel, 36. Joseph James, 37. John Samuel, 38. Thomas James and 39. James Griffith and 40. Rebecca Frederik will, according to Fr. March 26 1841 be sentenced to death, whilst 9. the detainee Axeline E. Salomon, according to Fr. October 4 1833 §10 will be sentenced according to the prescribed life punishment in L. 6-6-1, and 10. the detainee Mathilda Mc Bean and 11. the detainee Joseph Bowell will be sentenced to death according to both the mentioned laws, whereas the detainees William Arnold and the detainee Rebecca Frederik, will be punished according to Fr. October 4, 1833 § 2 cf §§ 6 and 8, and this punishment will be absorbed by the punishment which is otherwise allocated. The detainees are also obliged in solidum to pay the expenses, but there is no basis on which to award salaries to the prosecution and defense, on which they have claimed. The representation has been legal.

It is adjudged that the detainees James Emanuel Benjamin, called Mannie, John Hodge, George Henry, Francis Harrison, Emanuel Jacob, David Cameron, the detainee Susanna Abrahamson, called Bottom Belly, the detainee Isaac Anthony, the detainees Axeline E. Salomon, called Agnes, and Mathilda Mc Bean, the detainees Joseph Bowell, Joseph Spencer, Hans Christian, John Thomas Sobers, Christopher Samuel, George Michael, Thomas Critchlow, William James, George Callender, Henry England, William Arnold, William Barnes, George Simmonds, Richard Gibbs, called Sealy, Edward Lewis, Henry Barker, Joseph Briggs, William Henry, Christian Martin, Wren Gittens, George Cambridge, James Cox, Joseph Williams, the detainee Mary Thomas, the detainees Johannes Samuel, Thomas James, James Griffith and the detainee Rebecca Frederiks should lose their lives. Thus, all those charged have been elucidated, one by one and one for all, in accordance with the legal expenses, to be complied in accordance with the law<sup>13</sup>.

Ph. Rosenstand C. Sarauw

Presented and ruled in the commission the 2nd of September 1880

Ph. Rosenstand.

