

Political and Social Disturbances in the West Indies.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BY

FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A.

Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica.

PUBLISHED FOR THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA

BY

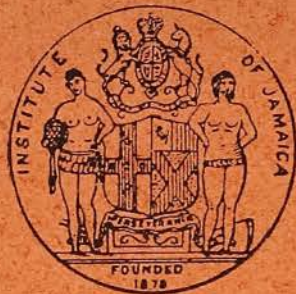
THE EDUCATIONAL SUPPLY COMPANY, PRINTERS,
16 King Street, Kingston.

LONDON:

H. SOTHERAN & CO., 140 STRAND, W. C., AND 37 PICCADILLY, W.

1906.

SOCIAL DISTURBANCES



THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA.

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART.

East Street, Kingston.

MEMBERS.—The Subscription is ten shillings or (to those who wish to borrow additional books) fifteen shillings; or, in case of Members residing outside Jamaica, fifteen shillings per calendar year, payable on election, and on the 1st of January in each following year.

Members have the right to use the Members Room; to borrow two books (of which one only may be a new book that has been less than six months in the Library) and one magazine from the Library; and to attend, and to bring one friend to Members Meetings. Members who pay fifteen shillings a year are entitled to borrow four books (of which two only may be new) and two magazines at a time.

A reduction in the favour of Members is made in the price of the subscription to courses of Institute of Jamaica Lectures. They also receive copies of the current publications of the Institute, either gratis or at reduced rates, and are admitted free to exhibitions held by the Institute.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE LIBRARY pay three shillings for three months' right to borrow books and magazines on the lines of the ten-shillings-a-year membership, or five shillings and sixpence for the facilities of the fifteen-shillings-a-year membership. Unless recommended by a member of the Board, they must lodge a deposit of ten shillings.

COUNTRY MEMBERS—Members and Subscribers to the Library can receive free of charge and return to the Institute, free by post, books which may be taken to represent reading for the sake of improvement (not novels) and certain periodicals.

THE CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY, 1895, may be purchased, price 2s. There is also a card catalogue in the Library, kept up to date.

BOXES OF BOOKS.—Boxes of 100 selected books are lent to local institutions, or private individuals, in the country at a charge of £2 10s. per annum, payable in advance. The boxes are exchanged as often as is found possible.

THE LIBRARY, READING ROOM, MUSEUM, AND ART GALLERY are opened to the public every week day. The Library and Reading Room from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; the Museum from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; the Art Gallery from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., daily.

OFFICE HOURS—9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Forms of application for membership and further particulars may be obtained on application to the Secretary.

Political and Social Disturbances in the West Indies.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BY

FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A.

Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica.

PUBLISHED FOR THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA
BY
THE EDUCATIONAL SUPPLY COMPANY, PRINTERS,
16 King Street, Kingston.

LONDON:

H. SOTHERAN & CO., 140 STRAND, W. C., AND 37 PICCADILLY, W.

1906.

SOCIAL DISTURBANCES

INTRODUCTION.

The passing of the Emancipation Act in 1833 was an epoch-making event in the history of the West Indies.

In slavery days, riots and insurrections took place with more or less frequency and more or less disastrous results, in all the West Indian colonies. In Jamaica alone there were about twenty-eight, in one of which about 1,000 negroes were killed.

The following is a fairly complete list of the principal Disturbances which have taken place in the British West Indies since the date of Emancipation. In it an attempt has been made to give the date of outbreak, the cause which led to it (in two or three words) and the number of killed and wounded during and as the result of such outbreak.

	DATE.	COLONY.	NAME.
1837	June 18	Trinidad	Military Mutiny
1841	December 27	Jamaica	Riot
1844		Dominica	"La Guerre Nègre"
1856	February	British Guiana	"Angel Gabriel Riot"
1859	February 12	Jamaica	Toll-bar Riots
	,, August 1	Jamaica	Florence Hall Riot
1865	October 11	Jamaica	"Morant Bay Rebellion"
1876	March 28	Barbados	Disturbances
1881	October	Trinidad	Hosea Disturbances
	,, March	Trinidad	Carnival Disturbances
1884	October	Trinidad	Hosea Disturbances
1889	March 19	British Guiana	Market Riot
1893	April	Dominica	"La Plaine Riot"
1894	June 8	Jamaica	Soldier Riot
	,, December 16	British Honduras	Currency Riot
1896	February 17	St. Kitts	"Portuguese Riot"
1896	October	British Guiana	"Nonpareil Riot"
1898	May 1	Montserrat	Riot
1902	April	Jamaica	Montego Bay Riot
1903	March	Trinidad	Water Riot
	,, May	British Guiana	Coolie Riot
1905	November 30	British Guiana	Riot

CENTRE.	CAUSE.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Joseph	African nostalgia	About 30	—
Angston	Suppression of Festivities	2	"Several"
Queen's Chain	Land tenure	"Some"	—
Portorgetown	Anti-Portuguese feeling	"Several"	—
St-la-Mar	Objection to tollage	—	—
Portsmouth	Trespass	3	"Several"
Grant Bay	Political dissatisfaction	608	34
Edgetown	Anti-Federation feeling	40 killed or wounded	
	East Indian jealousy	1	—
	Negro anti-police feeling	—	—
San Fernando	East Indian obstinacy	18	98
Portorgetown	Negro anti-Portuguese feeling	0	5 by shot
St Plaine	Anti-taxes feeling	4	10
Angston	Anti-police feeling	0	"Several"
Stize	Dislocation in currency	—	—
Stseterre	Negro anti-Portuguese feeling	4 or 5	—
Stonpareil"	Coolie discontent with wages	3	—
Stth's Village	Resistance to police	—	9
Stntego Bay	Anti-police feeling	2	9
Strt-of-Spain	Discontent with water-rates	16	43
Strbice	Coolie discontent with wages	5	—
Portorgetown	Negro discontent with wages	8	103

From the list it will be seen that during the seventy-two years which have elapsed since Emancipation there have been some twenty-two disturbances of importance throughout the West Indies. Of these, 5 each have occurred in Trinidad, British Guiana and Jamaica; 2 in Dominica; and 1 each in Barbados, St. Kitts, Montserrat and British Honduras. Of these, three (Jamaica, 1865; Barbados, 1876; and Trinidad, 1884) have been the subject of enquiry by commissioners appointed from England: in the last case the commissioner was resident in the West Indies at the time. One (Trinidad, 1903) was enquired into by a commission appointed by the local governor at the instance of the home authorities; three (Jamaica, in 1859 (two) and 1902) by commissions appointed by the local governors on their own initiative—and others have been the subject of parliamentary papers, a list of which will be found in the bibliography at the end. In many cases coroners' inquests and legal proceedings were held locally. In the case of Jamaica in 1865 several trials took place in England.

In all cases of enquiry the local government authorities have, in the main, been exonerated: the principal exception being Jamaica in 1865.

With the exception of a few officers and some of the soldiers in Jamaica in 1865, the police in Montserrat in 1898, the fire brigade and some of the police in Trinidad in 1903, and a section of the militia in British Guiana in 1905, those who were called upon to quell disturbances, whether they were regular soldiers, militia, marines, sailors or volunteers, acquitted themselves well.

When one considers the number of islands involved, the cosmopolitan nature of the inhabitants of most of them, the number of killed during Disturbances extending over seventy years, some 750 in number (of which Jamaica in 1865 accounts for 608), does not seem a subject for much comment: and when one considers that at the commencement of the period under review the great mass of the people had just been released from a degrading slavery, and that the coolies have been, in the interval, imported under artificial conditions and not always from the best sources of supply, one wonders that the disturbances have been so few; and one feels that the negroes of the West Indies may still fairly be termed law-abiding, as a body, and that if the East Indian coolie has a tendency to suffer from *tête montée* when transported to the western hemisphere it is not altogether his fault.

Nearly half a century ago a Jamaica newspaper editor wrote, in connection with the toll-gate riots of 1859, "the peasantry are well disposed, and if left to themselves, would respect the authorities and obey the laws of the land; but, their minds are influenced by political quacks, who are indifferent to the probable results of reckless agitation." While the loyalty of the peasantry has gone

on increasing, encouraged by their increasing stake in the country, the political quack is, unfortunately, still at times to the fore.

With regard to the origin of the various disturbances, we find that in Jamaica in 1865 the outbreak at Morant Bay, which was the most serious menace to governmental authority of them all, arose from discontent at the manner in which the people were governed, and similar causes may have underlain the troubles of 1859: in Barbados in 1876 it was the result of a strong feeling against federation with the Windward Islands: in British Guiana in 1856 and 1889, and in St. Kitts in 1896, the trouble was caused by negro prejudice against the Portuguese inhabitants living in their midst, due probably in part to jealousy at the thrift which enabled the latter to acquire money and better their positions, in much the same way as the Jews have incurred enmity all the world over by reason of their money-making capabilities. In Trinidad in 1881, and in Jamaica in 1902 trouble arose in ill-will between police and civilians; and in Jamaica in 1894 in ill-will between soldiers and police. In Dominica in 1844 and 1893 it was mainly caused by disinclination to meet legal obligations which were regarded as oppressive; in Montserrat in 1898 by sympathy with law-breakers. In Trinidad, in 1881 and 1884, the disturbances were occasioned by lack of power to control the coolies, due, in a measure, to a lack of ability to understand them. In British Guiana in 1896, 1903 and 1905 the cause of the outbreak was discontent with wages—the first two coolie, the last negro: while in Trinidad in 1903 it arose in resistance to an attempt on the part of the government to regulate the water-supply of Port-of-Spain. Of the seven disturbances which have occurred during the last ten years five arose more or less from discontent with financial arrangements. In St. Kitts in 1896, the trouble, which was stimulated by anti-Portuguese feeling, arose from a discontent with wages offered.

Except in Jamaica in 1865, in Barbados in 1876, and in Trinidad in 1903, when there were instigators amongst the educated classes, the disturbances arose more or less spontaneously amongst the mass of the people who caused them, encouraged perhaps now and then by a section of the press which translates liberty into license; and they disappeared, during later years at all events, at the first attempt at repression. One cannot help feeling that with a little more patience, tact and sympathy on the part of the leaders, and a little more education on the part of the masses, some of these disturbances need never have occurred. In more than one case, it is evident that the trouble arose through suspicion begotten of ignorance; suggesting that the schoolmaster rather than the soldier or constable is required for the abolition of such disturbances.

Although there are in the West Indies, as elsewhere, especially in the larger towns a number of loafers and others of both sexes who

are more easily moved to do evil than good, and although there is a certain section of the community which thinks it clever to be ever "agin the government," yet in the records of none of the disturbances treated of is there strong evidence of marked distrust between white and black, or that state of unrest which some residents in the colonies themselves and not a few casual visitors think they see, and which many Englishmen assume to be the normal state of the British West Indies.

After reading the volumes of reports and other works recorded in the bibliography one has the feeling that, in some cases, more has been made of these disturbances than the occasion warranted—more than is made of many larger and more disastrous outbreaks elsewhere ; and yet it is these lengthy reports and appendixes of special commissions which form the embodiment of that desire to do justice to all on which the success of the British Empire rests.

BRIEF ACCOUNT.

The following is a brief review of the disturbances, gathered from the various publications dealing with them, a list of which is given in the bibliography at the end.

1837—Trinidad.

As a connecting link with the old-time slave rebellions, which not infrequently arose from the natural struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, to which type it really belongs, was the mutiny of soldiers of the 1st West India Regiment which took place in Trinidad on the 8th of June, 1837, in the transition period which existed in most of the colonies between the abolition of slavery in 1834 and the abandonment of the apprenticeship system in 1838. A detailed account is given in Fraser's "History of Trinidad," occupying eleven pages of the volume, and Major Ellis devoted to this unfortunate occurrence a chapter of his "History of the First West India Regiment," chiefly taken from Kingsley's "At Last." It appears that at the time, upwards of one hundred recruits had joined the detachment of the West India Regiment stationed at St. Joseph, while, with the exception of the non-commissioned officers, there were not half a dozen old soldiers on its strength. No less than 426 slaves, savages with no knowledge of the English language, had been enlisted in 1836-7 into the regiment. Some of these recruits, notably the ringleader, a tribal African chief, a giant in height, consisted of the living cargo captured from a Portuguese slaver, with all the striving for liberty full upon them, and unable to discriminate between Portuguese captors and English liberators. Fraser alludes to the lack of "ordinary prudence displayed in allowing over two hundred savages, not a year in the regiment, to live together in one set of barracks with free access to arms in the use of which they were daily being trained."

1841—Jamaica.

The following reference is given in the chronological history included in the "Handbook of Jamaica for 1881," under the year 1841 :—"Dec. 27—Serious riots in Kingston in consequence of the Police attempting to carry out an order of the Mayor (the Hon. Hector Mitchell) for the suppressing of the usual Christmas drummings. Two men were shot and several wounded by the Police. The Military and Militia were called out and placed under Major-General Gomm, 'by whose promptitude and skilful dispositions tranquillity was ultimately restored to the city.'"

1844—Dominica.

In Sir Robert Hamilton's report on the island of Dominica of the year 1844, in the historical introduction, occurs the following reference to a disturbance which was locally known as *La Guerre Nègre*. He says :—

“In 1844 an attempt to take a census, when the people were in a state of irritation owing to the unsettled question of the rights of occupancy on the ‘Queen's Three Chains,’* a strip of land of that width measured from high water-mark all round the island over which the Government reserved certain rights, and on which many of the emancipated slaves had been allowed to settle, led to a serious outbreak of the negroes, who imagined they were to be numbered with a view to the re-imposition of slavery. Martial law, however, was proclaimed, and this outbreak, known as the negro rebellion, or *la guerre nègre*, was promptly and severely put down, but not without some loss of life and property.”

1856—British Guiana.

In February 1856, the anti-Portuguese feeling of the negro population of British Guiana was excited by a negro named Orr, calling himself the *Angel Gabriel*, whose violent language and fanatical prejudice against Roman Catholicism had led to riots in New York, Greenock and Glasgow, ending in his imprisonment on more than one occasion, and his return to his native Demerara. On Orr being prevented from street preaching, the negroes commenced to pelt and attack the Portuguese; and on his being arrested and committed for trial there was fresh trouble, and more cowardly attacks on the Portuguese. The police were almost powerless; special constables were sworn in and the 2nd West India Regiment was put under arms. The anti-Portuguese feeling spread to the neighbouring villages and to Essequibo and Berbice. The Court of Policy passed an ordinance repressing disturbances. The ministers of religion did what they could to quiet the people, and a French and a Dutch man-of-war assisted with their men in suppressing the riot. The trials of the rioters lasted over a fortnight. The number of prisoners was so large that the jails were crowded to overflowing. Those convicted of minor offences were allowed out under police surveillance on special conditions; but about 300 were sent to the penal settlement. The result of the riot was the loss of several lives (one a policeman) and the destruction of a great deal of property.

* This reservation of land, which also occurs in St. Lucia, is of French origin, known in the French islands as *les cinquante pas du Roi*. It was claimed originally, for the purpose of erecting towns and ports by the seigneurs who owned the islands; then by the colonizing companies, and lastly by the crown.

1859—Jamaica.

In the chronological history given in the "Handbook of Jamaica for 1881," occurs, under date 1858, the following entry:—"Toll Riots in Westmoreland during which the toll-bars were demolished." But, on reference to the "Falmouth Post," it is evident that these riots took place in the early part of 1859, especially on the 12th of February. Ruffians, some dressed in female attire, destroyed the toll-keeper's houses and toll-gates at Savanna-la-Mar and the neighbourhood. Apart from the objection to toll-gates generally (which subsequently led to their abolition) one ill effect of the Jamaica toll-gate law was that, in some cases, toll had to be paid in order to fetch water. During the disturbances the police were powerless. They were subsequently supplemented by men from the neighbouring parishes of Trelawny, St. James, Hanover and St. Elizabeth; but even then, being only 52 strong, they were still unable to quell the mob.

The "Falmouth Post" on March 4th said, "The demolition of toll-gates in the parish of Westmoreland—the pulling down of toll-keepers' houses—and the threats held out to persons in authority, by a lawless, desperate rabble—are events which have resulted from mischievous speeches delivered at public meetings, and from editorial articles, equally mischievous, which have appeared from time to time, in the columns of newspapers owned by persons who are always boasting of their patriotism, and friendship for the people. * * *. The late riots were planned by men of tolerable intelligence: some who aspire to the rank of respectable citizenship counselled that the law should be set at defiance, and salaried officers have taken, if not a direct, at all events an indirect, part in the disturbances."

The resulting trials were interrupted on the 9th of March by a crowd numbering about 2,000, and the governor had to go down to Westmoreland accompanied by a large military force. The custos of the parish, an old man, was relieved of his office. In his history of the West India Regiment, Colonel Caulfeild writes: "In March, 1859, serious disturbances took place in the parish of Westmoreland, and the regiment was employed in establishing order, which was not finally done till October of that year."

1859—Jamaica.

In the chronological history given in the "Handbook of Jamaica for 1881," occurs under date 1859:—"Riots in Falmouth in connection with the trial of trespassers on Florence Hall Estate. Five persons shot and several wounded by the police. The rioters, like those of Westmoreland, were tried by a special Commission."

From the "Falmouth Post" for August 2nd 1859, we learn that, on August 1st, after interfering with the trial, a mob of men and women armed with stones and bottles, attacked the Falmouth police, who were escorting to the gaol from the court house a number of

rioters connected with the disturbances at Florence Hall pen, which had arisen over a dispute as to ownership, in which the negroes sided with the disputant in possession, Theodore Buie by name. Twelve (all but one) of the prisoners were rescued; the police were injured, and the court house and police station were battered. The riot-act was read and the police fired in self defence, killing three women and wounding other persons. Special constables were called out. Many buildings in the town were damaged by stones and fire. A coroner's inquest on the bodies of the women who were shot resulted in a verdict of justifiable homicide. Extra police were called in from St. James and Hanover. When two companies of the 2nd West India Regiment were sent from Kingston, a quieter state of affairs was at once apparent. Over 100 rioters were arrested. The "Falmouth Post" was of opinion that these riots were in some measure, attributable to the mistaken leniency with which the Westmoreland rioters had been treated.

1865—Jamaica.

No disturbance in the West Indies since the days of Emancipation has caused half so much excitement or given rise to half so much acrimonious correspondence, publication and litigation as that which occurred in Jamaica in 1865, and is usually known as the "Morant Bay Rebellion." Apart from the official enquiry, which is of course judicial in tone, the publications range over the whole subject of negrophobia or negrophilia—of abuse of governor Eyre and of his defence. It is interesting to note that this was the last occasion when regular troops have fired with ball or shot on rioters in the British West Indies.

In 1862 Eyre was appointed acting governor of Jamaica, and in 1864 he became governor, when the post was no "bed of roses." The island was not prosperous, the American war had raised the price of American bread stuffs, and the governor was at variance with the house of assembly in which the negro population was then represented. Agitation ended in riot at Morant Bay on October 11th, 1865. Undoubtedly the riot, or rebellion, was a very serious one in its actual results, and still more in its possible consequences, and but for its prompt and energetic repression, it might have spread into a general negro insurrection in an island where the negroes outnumbered the whites by at least 50 to 1. Martial law was proclaimed on October 13th throughout the county of Surrey, except Kingston, and tranquillity was restored. Then followed courts-martial and punishments; and George William Gordon, a ringleader, was taken from Kingston (where martial law did not exist to Morant Bay where it did), tried by an ill-constituted court martial and executed in haste and on evidence wholly insufficient.

These Jamaica disturbances engaged public attention in England for nearly three years, and caused an excitement quite unprecedented.

The parliamentary papers relating to the case are voluminous, consisting as they do of eight separate publications and covering in the aggregate no less than 2,336 pages. The first series of Papers begins with the celebrated letter of Dr. Underhill to Mr. Cardwell, drawing attention to the state of affairs in Jamaica, and the subsequent despatches have reference to it or the question which it raised.

Part 1 of the Papers relating to the Disturbances opens with a despatch from Eyre describing the outbreak and the steps taken to repress it, and the rest of the letters bear on the same subject. Part 2 contains some documents showing that certain persons anticipated a rebellion, but they contain no positive evidence. Part 3 commences with a despatch from Eyre stating that the local legislation had given up its power to the crown. One learns from it that troops sent from Barbados and Nassau were stationed for a time in the island, but that those sent from Halifax were returned without even being landed. It also contains addresses of thanks to Eyre for his promptness in repressing the "late diabolical rebellion," and it contains the commission to Sir Henry Storks to be governor, and despatches to him from the secretary of state. The royal commission, consisting of Major-General Sir Henry Storks, Russell Gurney, Q.C., recorder of the city of London, and J. B. Maule, recorder of the town of Leeds, appointed to inquire into the origin, nature and circumstances of the disturbances and the means adopted for their suppression and the conduct of those concerned in the disturbances and suppression, after taking a large amount of evidence—reported that the disturbances had their immediate origin in a planned resistance to lawful authority, which resistance was caused, in manifold ways, by a desire to obtain land free of rent, a lack of confidence on the part of the labouring class in the tribunals before which most of their disputes were adjudicated, and, in some cases, hostility towards political and personal opponents, and a desire to attain their ends by the death or expulsion of the white inhabitants of the island. They further reported that, though the original design was confined to a small portion of St. Thomas-in-the-East, the disorder rapidly spread over an extensive tract of country, and that praise was due to Eyre for his skill, promptitude and vigour which in a great degree caused its speedy termination. The military and naval operations appeared to them prompt and judicious, but they thought that martial-law was continued longer than necessary and that the punishments inflicted were excessive. The volume contains a map of the county of Surrey (prepared by the island engineer for that district) showing its topographical features, the lines of march of the troops and maroons, and the situation of the several villages burnt or partially burnt during the disturbances. The portion of the report, containing the minutes of evidence of witnesses and an appendix of returns and documents submitted to them, is very bulky, 1162 pages

in extent. The last but one of the parliamentary papers connected with the case consists of papers laid before the royal commission of inquiry by Eyre; all tending to justify the action which he took throughout the occurrence. It contains a map of the county of Surrey showing the various marches of troops etc., during the rebellion, from information collected by lieutenant Castle, R.E.

The reply of the secretary of state to Sir Henry Storks stated that Her Majesty's government generally concurred in the conclusions arrived at by the commission. So far as Eyre was concerned, it gave him full credit for his promptness in quelling the outbreak, but held him responsible for the continuance of excessive severity, and for the method of Gordon's trial and execution. Eyre was recalled and was most bitterly attacked by a large section of the English people headed by John Stuart Mill, and defended by another led by Carlyle: and he successfully underwent more than one legal prosecution. He retired on a pension into private life, and never sought, even in the face of the greatest hostility, to justify his actions to the world. He died at Tavistock on the 30th of November, 1901, aged 86. "He did many good and brave things, and atoned for the one error of his life by a silence so dignified and so prolonged."

On the day of the outbreak at Morant Bay, the 11th of October 1865, 22 civilians, including the custos (the chief magistrate), and volunteers were killed and 34 wounded; under martial-law 439 were put to death (354 by sentence of courts martial—the rest shot by soldiers, sailors or maroons). In addition there were 147 put to death after martial-law ceased. One thousand "houses," some of them very flimsy in character, were destroyed.

The "Jamaica Papers," seven in number, were issued by the anti-Eyre party called the "Jamaica Committee." No. 1, a general résumé of the case, was compiled from a multiplicity of documents; the statements made resting on the authorities quoted, but the general tenour being hostile to Eyre. No. 2 consists of a commentary by the Committee on the first three of the parliamentary blue books. No. 3 consists of statements of the committee and other documents, and No. 4 deals with the question of legislation in Jamaica. Nos. 5 and 6 both deal with the subject of martial-law: No. 5 consisting of a series of six letters to the "Daily News" by Frederic Harrison and No. 6 of illustrations compiled by John Gorrie, counsel of the committee before the royal commission, and despatched by the committee to Jamaica to watch the affair in the interest of Mrs. Gordon and others. No. 7 consists of a full report of the proceedings at Bow Street police court on the committal of colonel Nelson and lieutenant Brand for the murder of George William Gordon. The Jamaica Committee appealed for a sum of ten thousand pounds in order to proceed against Eyre for murder. Lindo's letter to *The Times*, reprinted in pamphlet form

at Falmouth, Jamaica, states the planter's case as against the Baptists. Mr. Warmington's was the only account of the outbreak published by one who went through it. He was one of the wounded. It is a letter written to his father, and was published for private circulation. Much of the information is also contained in the evidence which the author gave before the royal commission.

George Price's work was written with the object of showing that the royal commission did not investigate political events connected with the government which caused the outbreak. It speaks of the "vicious system of the Colonial Office" and attacks governor Eyre with considerable virulence. The author had been a resident in the island for many years and a member of the executive committees of Governors Sir Henry Barkly, Sir Charles Darling and Edward Eyre; he had also had a seat in the legislative council of the island, and had been custos of St. Catherine. The Addresses to governor Eyre consisted of presentments from grand juries, and addresses from the two legislative bodies, the parishes, the public, the peasantry, volunteers, ministers of religion, foreign (St. Vincent), individuals, and the ladies of various parishes—37 in all. The title-page of "The Reign of Terror" sufficiently explains the scenes it describes and the spirit in which it was written. The author, Bleby, was a Wesleyan minister who resided seventeen years in the island. The excuse for the violence of his language must be sought in the horrors he depicted.

Chief Justice Cockburn's charge to the grand jury, in the case of the Queen versus colonel Nelson, who ordered the court martial that tried Gordon, and lieutenant Brand, R.N., who presided at it, criticised adversely the application of martial law, the constitution and jurisdiction of the court and its methods of conducting the trial: but the grand jury ignored the indictment for murder.

William Francis Finlason, a barrister of the Middle Temple, published six works dealing, directly or indirectly, with the Jamaica disturbances. Two treat of martial law; one with the repression of the riot or rebellion: a fourth is a report of the trial of Eyre in the court of Queen's Bench: a fifth, which ran into a second edition, deals exhaustively with the history of the Jamaica case from the causes which led to it, to the criminal prosecutions arising out of it, treated in the form of "a permanent record and an impartial review of the whole case." A sixth work is entitled "Justice to a Colonial Governor." In the course of his legal investigations involved in the preparation of the previous works, the author became strongly impressed with the belief that great and grievous injustice had been done to Eyre, and he narrates this his "special and dispassionate judgment on the case."

Dr. Underhill's "Tragedy at Morant Bay" is as true a tale of the occurrence as it is possible for a strong partisan to write. It is interesting as being the personal recollections (verified by reference

to public documents) of one, whose letter to the secretary of state, bringing to his notice the state of the island prior to the outbreak, figured largely in the report of the enquiry and other publications. The life of Gordon by Fletcher, as well as that of Eyre by Hume, is written in a partisan spirit. Gordon's widow says in a "recommendation"—"There are but few men living who knew my martyred husband better than Mr. Fletcher." He was a missionary of the London Missionary Society. Hamilton Hume was secretary to the Eyre Defence and Aid Fund.

1876—Barbados.

In the disturbances in Barbados of 1876, we have the somewhat unusual experience of the masses siding with the government against the people's representatives. The disturbances had their origin in the proposal first made in 1868 for the federation of the Windward Islands, which was, as one secretary of state later said, not so much confederation as an amalgamation of some municipal arrangements. First was tried the formation of a single legislative chamber. In June, 1875, fifteen hundred persons, assembled in Bridgetown, protested with one dissentient voice, against "any attempt to tamper with the ancient constitution of Barbados," and when, in January, 1876, Sir John Pope Hennessey proposed six points for adoption by the Assembly—suggesting that the Windward Islands should have in common:—an Auditor General; a Prison system; a Lunatic Asylum; a Lazaretto; a Judicial system; and a Police force—he was met in the same spirit. *be can't see into* The questions were never discussed on their merits, and it became a political struggle between governor and assembly. The planters became hostile. The Barbados Defence Association, having for its object the preservation of their constitution, was formed. Riots occurred; special constables were sworn in; the military were called out, and extra help was sought from Jamaica and Demerara. The assembly were anxious for Hennessey's recall. The four voluminous blue books (only exceeded in length amongst such literature by the Morant Bay publications) cover the ground from September 1871 to September 1876. They deal, in a series of correspondence, with the statement of the facts; the action of the assembly, the action of the West India Committee in London, the arrival of the troops from Jamaica and Demerara, the question of the trial of the rioters, and the complaints which various parties in Barbados had made either directly or indirectly as regards the action of the British government. They also deal with the charges that had been brought against governor Hennessey, who was transferred to Hong Kong at the end of the year 1876: it being, as Lord Cardwell said in the House of Lords, a case of incompatibility of temper.

The governor was openly accused, but exonerated by the secretary of state, of having sent secret emissaries through the island to

scatter abroad among the negro population his views respecting federation. It is evident that the negroes misunderstood what was intended by the federation of the Windward Islands, thinking that it would advance their prospects in life, cause their wages to be raised, and give them land.

The disturbances, which commenced on the 28th March 1876, and were confined chiefly to the southern half of the island, lasted about a month, and chiefly took the form of plundering provision grounds and poultry yards, killing cattle and destroying houses and furniture—albeit some 40 persons were taken prisoners.

Mr. Clarke's volume is a collection of articles contributed at the time to the *Barbados Herald* thrown into narrative form: consisting of a prologue extending over the period 1868-1875; the main story of 1875-76: and an epilogue covering the period 1877-1884.

1881 & 1884—Trinidad.

Sir Henry Norman, in his report on the disturbances in Trinidad of October 1884, says that in 1881 "a leading Coolie had been killed in the procession [Hosea], owing to some squabble between the Coolies of different estates as to precedence", and refers to a serious collision between the Creoles* and Police on the occasion of the celebration of the Carnival of the former which had taken place in March 1884.

1884—Trinidad.

The riot at San Fernando, the second town in Trinidad in point of size, which occurred on the 30th of October, 1884, did not occur without warning. For many years the celebration of the anniversary of the Muharran or Hosea Festival (sometimes called the "taziya-dari") by the Indian immigrants had been attended with more or less disturbance. Many of the better class Mahomedans had requested the government to prohibit the celebration of the festival. In 1881 and 1884 disturbances had occurred between the negroes and the police at carnival time. Regulations had been drawn up forbidding the entrance of the Hosea procession into the towns of San Fernando and Port of Spain. The coolies of the Naparima district, all natives of Behar, the North-western Provinces or Oudh (with whom were associated a certain number of negroes), insisted on attempting to enter San Fernando. They were fired on by the police with buck shot (backed up in one case by regular troops who however took no part in the firing) at two entrances to the town, and in both cases repulsed—with a result of 13 killed and 98 wounded.

Sir Henry Norman, then governor of Jamaica, was sent to Trinidad to hold an enquiry. He reported that although the ceremony was of

* i.e. negroes, in distinction from coolies.

Mahomedan origin, many of the Mahomedans held aloof from it, and it had become a national Indian demonstration, of a rather turbulent character, common to both Hindoos and Mahomedans: that the precautions taken to stop the procession entering San Fernando were appropriate: that the sergeant of police who, at the request of the magistrates, gave the order to fire did so with coolness and checked the firing as soon as prudence allowed: that the magistrates did all in their power to persuade the coolies not to enter the town: that it was not lack of information that led to this deplorable collision, but want of influence over the coolies: that there was no authority in the island who possessed the influence: that time had arrived for the issue of regulations with regard to the festival, and that the regulations issued were unobjectionable and should be adhered to in the future.

1889—British Guiana.

A disturbance occurred in Georgetown, British Guiana, on the 19th of March 1889, arising out of a quarrel between a negro lad and a Portuguese shop-keeper lad over a loaf of bread. It indicated the state of ill-will which had existed between those two classes of that somewhat cosmopolitan town since the "Angel Gabriel" riots of 1856. The negro lad was rendered unconscious, but not seriously hurt, by the Portuguese lad. The Portuguese lad was arrested, but was liberated at the police station. The negroes, hearing that the boy was dead, attacked the Portuguese stalls, and the police had to clear the market. The Portuguese lad was re-arrested, but the negro mob stormed the Portuguese shops and houses of the town, in some cases destroying the contents. Special constables were sworn in to supplement the police and did good service, several being injured. The soldiers were kept in barracks "for fear they should join the riot." Five persons received gun-shot wounds. By the time H.M.S. *Canada* arrived (4 days later) the riot was over. \$41,500 were paid to the Portuguese in compensation for damages sustained.

1893—Dominica.

The riot which took place at La Plaine, on the east coast of Dominica, in April 1893, was dealt with in a Colonial Office publication, and as a result a royal commission, consisting of Sir Robert Hamilton, was sent out to enquire into the condition and affairs of the colony. The circumstances of the riot were excluded from the scope of the enquiry by Sir Robert, but he was required to enquire into the complaints made at La Plaine prior to the occurrence of the disturbance. The outbreak had its origin in disinclination to pay house-taxes. An attempt was made to prevent the police from enforcing an ejectment process against a man who had repossessed

himself of his house from which he had been ejected. The district of La Plaine is in a district where smuggling was rife. The people complained of lack of facilities compared with other parts of the island, insufficient medical service and educational facilities, lack of roads on which to take their produce to market, and of public works, and the hardship of the boat-tax (as the rough sea on their side of the island rendered large boats necessary, and prevented constant fishing).

Warning of trouble had been received, and the governor and a naval commander and blue jackets were present. The police fired without orders but in self-defence—4 men were killed and 2 women wounded; 4 policemen, 3 blue jackets and a naval officer were injured. The deaths were the object of a protest sent home by the elected members of the legislative council, which gave evidence of much friction between these members and the government, which ended in the commission of enquiry. A contributing cause of trouble lay in the fact that the recently appointed government officer in La Plaine district was ignorant of the local patois.

Sir Robert Hamilton during his enquiry found that there had been much friction since Dominica had been federated with the Leeward Islands, and suggested that it should in future have a resident lieutenant-governor: he also recommended alterations in the constitution of the legislature; the securing of means for the increase of revenue by increase of taxes on articles; a reduction of house and land tax, and generally relief to the smaller taxpayers and improvement in the method of dealing with crown lands. He also recommended the administrative union of all the British Antilles under one governor-general.

1894—Jamaica.

The soldier riot which took place in Kingston, Jamaica on the 8th of June 1894, is thus referred to in the "Handbook of Jamaica for 1895":—

"In June an unfortunate disturbance took place in Kingston which at the time caused considerable excitement, and some anxiety.

A soldier of the West India Regiment had been arrested by the police for some trivial offence against law and order, and on the following day was brought before the Magistrate and punished. He appears to have been a favourite with his companions and they keenly resented his arrest and punishment. The relations between the soldiers of the Regiment and the police had always been somewhat strained, and the incident mentioned stirred up in the former their dormant enmity. On the evening of the 8th of June a large number of them came down from camp to Kingston where they were joined by a crowd of loose women and other idlers of the town. The police stations at Fletcher's Land and Sutton Street were

attacked—the former being wrecked, and considerable damage done to the latter. The police in endeavouring to quell the disturbance were roughly handled. Inspector Pratt was seriously wounded with a razor, and several members of the Force were more or less hurt. Several of the soldiers were subsequently arrested with a number of civilians—principally women—and charged with riot. The trial in the Circuit Court which met in September lasted for a month and resulted in the conviction of three soldiers only and of ten women for complicity in the disturbances. The result was felt to be unsatisfactory, for of some 50 or 60 men that took part in the proceedings of the 8th of June, thirteen only were arraigned for trial, and of these, as has been said, three only were convicted.” Thirteen soldiers were tried for rioting and thirteen women for inciting them to riot.

With reference to the affair, General Caulfeild makes the following comments, *inter alia*, in his history of the 2nd Battalion of the West India Regiment :—

“Unfortunately the local press were only too glad to exaggerate the disturbance into a general mutiny of the native troops.

It was a most unfortunate and regrettable affair, but considering that only 50 men, as estimated by the police, out of nearly 1,000 native troops in camp took part in it, and that the picquets sent out after the rioters did their work right well, no one but an alarmist, or most unfriendly to the regiment, could consider that it was anything else than a street row, got up without premeditation and absolutely confined to the few who took part in it.” The governor on his return from leave, granted a free pardon to Lance-Corporal Latibeaudier, “who had been wrongfully convicted, this being done at the instance of the Judge and Inspector-general of Police.”

1894—British Honduras.

A change of currency took place in British Honduras on the 15th of October, 1894. From 1887 the standard in value had been the Guatemalan dollar, or sol, which fluctuated in value from 3 shillings and a penny in 1888 to 2 shillings in 1894. The new standard was the gold dollar of the United States. On the change being made, a feeling of disappointment arose in the minds of the poorer and more ignorant classes, when they found that the exchange value of each sol in their possession was only 50 cents of the new currency ; and discontent occurred because the prices of articles did not at once become adjusted to the new state of affairs. A mutiny arose on the part of some of the constabulary and resulted in the discharge of 24 men. Later, again, we read in the annual report of the colony, “ignorance as to the true value of the new currency, fear that wages would be reduced beyond what was fair and right, and a somewhat unconcili-

ating attitude on the part of some employers of labour terminated in a riot in Belize, on the 16th of December." The mahogany-cutters refused to receive the new coins, declined to re-engage for another twelvemonth, and began to riot, breaking into stores, especially those owned by employers of labour. A newspaper report states that one store-keeper fired into the crowd and accidentally killed a policeman, and that from another store two persons were wounded. The one man the police captured had to be released in the face of the mob, at whose mercy the town was for one hour and a half. Forty blue-jackets and three files of marines were then landed from H.M.S. *Partridge* which happened to be lying in port, and several rioters were arrested and taken on board. On a threat of the riot act being read and firing being ordered, the crowd dispersed. The blue jackets patrolled the town during the night, but next day the riot act had to be read owing to an attempt at rescue, and a Nordenfeldt gun was landed and made ready for use, but the riot subsided.

In the annual report of the colony occurs the following paragraph in reference to the riot :—

"Formidable, however, as it at one time appeared that the effects of the riot would be, no loss of life fortunately occurred, and comparatively little loss of property, the total damage done amounting only to about \$2,500, and that principally in one store."

The following is General Caulfeild's reference to this disturbance :—

"On the 17th [December], Orders were received to hold a detachment of 120 men in readiness to embark for Belize in aid of civil power and on the following day a detachment***sailed for Belize [from Jamaica]. On arrival there they found the town in a state of excitement almost verging on panic; however, the unexpectedly quick arrival of troops made matters quiet down. Although they had not to be actively employed in quelling disturbance, the duty of guarding the town against the threatened rioters was very severe." The detachment consisted of 1 major, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, and 120 non-commissioned officers and men.

1896—St. Kitts.

The riot which occurred at Basseterre in St. Kitts, on the 17th of February 1896, had its origin, about a week before, in a dispute about wages on "Needs Must," an estate owned by Joaquim Ferrara, a Portuguese. The negroes imagined they were being cheated. The discontent spread from estate to estate round the island, including here and there estates owned by creoles as well as Portuguese, till it culminated in the burning and looting of Portuguese shops in Basseterre on the 17th of February, in which looting the local boatmen also took part. As the police were unable to quell the disturbances, marines were landed from H.M.S. *Cordelia* (Capt. Hon. M. A.

Bourke) which had been summoned. Four or five of the mob were killed. About 150 rioters were apprehended, and were tried and convicted on various counts—arson, conspiracy to raise rates, rioting, etc. : the presence of H.M.S *Tartar* (which succeeded the *Cordelia*) tending to prevent any disturbance during the trials. The disturbances are thus alluded to in the governor's report for the year 1896. "In the month of February 1896 very serious disturbances took place in St. Kitts, which arose from some dispute about wages between the employer and employed. The town of Basseterre, the capital of the island, was attacked by the rioters who broke into the stores, set fire to the houses etc. H.M.S. *Cordelia* which was fortunately at Antigua at the time, proceeded to St. Kitts, and, with the assistance of her officers and men, the disturbances were quelled, although a very uneasy feeling existed in the island for some months subsequently."

1896—British Guiana.

In October 1896, a riot occurred on a sugar estate (Nonpareil) in Demerara, consequent, it was said, on the authorities finding it necessary to reduce the rate of wages owing to depression in the sugar industry. Cane-fields had been burnt during the previous week. Three gangs of coolies struck work on October 12th and went to Georgetown to complain to the immigration agent-general. On their return on the 13th four ringleaders were arrested on a charge of conspiring to murder the manager of the estate, who was unpopular. The agent-general had told them that no arrests would be made on account of their coming to him to lay complaints. In an attempt at rescue from the police, three coolies were killed and others injured by the police who first fired over the heads of the strikers. The police fired two volleys, and then fired independently with buck shot (about 70 rounds in all, 32 of which were in the air). Cane fields were burnt and bridges destroyed. An inquest under the immigration laws, was commenced before a stipendiary magistrate, but suspended by order of the government; an inquest was then opened with a jury in Georgetown, which found that the dead men were riotously assembled, and that the police fired under orders.

1898—Montserrat.

A riot occurred in Montserrat on the 1st of May 1898, consequent on the police endeavouring to seize men engaged in the illicit distillation of rum. The commissioner of the island was present, with the inspector-general of the Leeward Islands police force (who happened to be in the island on inspection duty), who had seven policemen with him. The police disobeyed the order to fire, and fled before the crowd, leaving unprotected the commissioner and

inspector, who were injured by stones and sticks. A police sergeant later fired in self defence; six men were wounded by buck shot. Appeal for assistance was sent to Antigua, with the result that next day 2 officers and 21 men from H.M.S. *Intrepid* and a re-inforcement of police arrived. Forty persons were arrested on a charge of rioting. The inspector-general at the end of his report strongly recommended the increase of the police force in the colony, and the appointment of a non-commissioned officer of the royal Irish constabulary to reorganize the force.

1902—Jamaica.

A riot commenced at Montego Bay (the estimated population of which is 7000) on Saturday, April 5th, 1902, market-day, when the streets were full, many country people being in town. It originated in the arrest of a drunken sailor, who was treated with unnecessary violence by the arresting constable. Some two hours after his being bailed out, the police on beat were attacked by a mob of young men and loose women, who virtually obtained possession of the town, their animus being directed solely against the police. Some arrests were made, but, owing to the threatening nature of the mob, the prisoners had to be released from the guard-room, where the sergeant-major and his seven men had to retreat, being stoned by the mob. Police sent to reconnoitre were also attacked. Three shots were fired groundwards from the guard-house, one only making a flesh wound; and the police fled and sought shelter, ultimately in the barracks. The *custos* (chief magistrate) addressed the people, and special constables were nominated. Rioting then ceased for the night.

The police force in the town on the 5th consisted of a sergeant-major and 9 men. These were reinforced on the 6th by the inspector general, three inspectors, a sergeant-major and 60 armed men. All was quiet during the day. After a slight disturbance, soon after 8 p.m., the crowd, following a Salvation Army officer, who had placed himself over them in the hope of diverting attention from the police, began to attack the police on beat (12 in number). These, and those sent to reinforce them, were driven to take shelter in houses. The mob then attacked the police barracks. The inspector-general, stooping to examine a prostrate figure (either hurt or pretending to be hurt) was (with the inspector accompanying him, who was rendered unconscious) violently assaulted, and received injuries "which would probably have killed a man of less powerful physique," and which probably occasioned his death which occurred three years later. Another inspector cleared the square with 40 men by means of bayonet and shot (some 25 rounds).

On their returning to barracks the police had to fire twice. Then the rioting, which had lasted two and a half hours, ceased. Three persons were shot by carbines—one shot dead, another died subsequently. One was wounded by a bayonet—one by a baton: and four or five contusions were attended to in the hospital. Of seventy policemen, thirty-one only were available for duty next morning. Three out of four police officers were severely injured. Troops, or H.M.S. *Tribune*, which was at Port Royal, were telegraphed for. Both came, but there was no further disturbance.

The riot was reported upon by a commission, appointed by the governor to enquire into the incident and causes of the disturbance in question, consisting of Sir Fielding Clarke, the chief justice, lieutenant-colonel R. Egerton, commanding the troops, and the Hon. C. B. Vickers an elected member of the legislative council. The commission took evidence at Montego Bay on 21st April and three following days; at Kingston on May 1st and 2nd, and again at Montego Bay on May 7th and 8th. They reported that; though the rough treatment of the sailor commenced the disturbance, the subsequent riot was the outcome of a hatred on the part of the idle young loafers and dissolute women and others not confined to the lowest class, for a very efficient sergeant-major, Montego Bay being a very troublesome town to police; and that the number of rioters were swelled by a fear of increased taxation in connection with a proposed "Property Tax Law." They also reported that the firing in the streets was necessary and not excessive; but that the firing into a certain house was the result of a mistake. They highly commended the conduct of the inspector-general (who though seriously wounded retained command), and the serjeant-major and the force generally.

1903—British Guiana.

The riot amongst the coolies on Plantation "Friends," Berbice, had its origin in dissatisfaction (later shown to be groundless) with the price of labour. It came to a head in the attempted rescue of four of their comrades, ring-leaders, charged with threatening to kill an overseer, afterwards convicted. The police fired with ball cartridge, in self defence—with the result that five coolies were killed. The stipendiary magistrate, who held the enquiry said in his verdict, "I find no one criminally responsible for their [the four coolies] deaths. Every possible means was adopted to avert the disaster. The shooting was justifiable and only resorted to after great forbearance on the part of the police and magistrate, both of whom throughout displayed considerable tact and patience."

1903—Trinidad.

With the exception of the Morant Bay outbreak in Jamaica in 1865, the Water Riot which occurred at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, in 1903 was the most serious disturbance that has taken place in the West Indies in post-emancipation days. The two outbreaks were alike in that they were instigated in great measure by persons other than the actual rioters. The trouble arose out of discontent with a new water-works ordinance, against which a violent outcry was raised and an unscrupulous agitation organized chiefly because it was intended to curtail the use of water in Port-of-Spain, which, being remarkably abundant, had been used with recklessness. Trouble had been foreseen by the disturbance by spectators on March 16th when the legislative council was adjourned; and steps had been taken to regulate admission (by tickets) to the council chamber, where the matter was to be discussed, the chamber being part of a block of government buildings known as the Red House. Additional police were called in from country stations: and there were available for duty in the neighbourhood of the Red House on the 23rd of March, 200 police: 99 being in and around the house itself, armed with ten rounds of ball ammunition apiece. Steps were taken to supplement the police by means of volunteers and the fire brigade. Shortly before the opening of the council meeting, members of the Rate-payers Association demanded admission, and refused tickets that were offered them, claiming right to free admission: in which they were backed by the crowd which had been assembled by means of inflammatory speeches and placards, and had come, as had their leaders, with the definite purpose of preventing the second reading of the water-works bill. Their attempt to force an entrance failed, and they held a meeting hard by. On the opening of the council at noon, three unofficial members protested against the restriction of admission by tickets and two left the meeting as a protest. On the governor rising to make a statement with regard to the water-works ordinance, trouble arose and the meeting had to be adjourned—much noise having been caused outside by a crowd consisting of men, women and boys. Good natured turbulence gave place to hostilities. The governor's carriage was wrecked; the council chamber was attacked by throwers of stones, bricks and bottles. A reserve of police was summoned. The mounted men behaved with cowardice, and retired in the face of an adverse mob: and the others were little better. An attempted sortie by the police from the Red House failed: at half past two it was found that the house had been set on fire, and it became necessary to read the riot act. This was done, but the stone throwing only increased. The order was given to fire, and several rounds were fired by the police and a few volunteers before the mob gave way. More firing had to be resorted to to clear a way for the governor and his party (including the

director of public works) to seek safety in the police barracks : but this was followed by unnecessary and unjustifiable independent shooting by some of the police. More firing under direction took place in order to disperse the mob. The fire brigade behaved badly, and only turned out after much inducement, exhibiting both disloyalty and cowardice. This behaviour rendered the task of saving the Red House from the flames impossible. The registrar's vault and the walls of the building were all that were left, and, with rare exceptions, all the archives and important documents were destroyed. Fires at the police barracks and neighbouring houses were put out, but again the fire brigade behaved badly. At this time men from H.M.S. *Pallas* and *Rocket* arrived and volunteers from St. James barracks : and they were used to patrol the town to prevent the threatened looting of shops. Troops of light horse and additional police were summoned from various towns. The patrol proved adequate, and there was no recurrence of disturbances.

The commission selected by the secretary of state for the colonies and appointed by the governor of Trinidad, consisted of Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., formerly governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Henry Evan Murchison James, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., formerly commissioner of Said, and Mr. Stuart Macaskie, K.C., recorder of Sheffield. They sat from the 29th April till the 22nd of May, and examined 146 witnesses. The commission reported that they estimated the number of shots fired at 200. Sixteen persons were killed on the spot or died of their wounds subsequently, and 43 others were treated for injuries. They further reported—(1) that the riots were to be attributed to the public opposition to the proposed water-works ordinance, stimulated by falsehood and incitement to violence, and that they were precipitated by the opposition (stimulated in the same way) to the order restricting admission to the meetings of the legislative council to those who applied for and obtained tickets : (2) that, with the exception noted in the next clause, the firing by the police and certain civilians was amply justifiable : (3) that there was excessive and unnecessary firing by some individual members of the police-force, when not under control of responsible officers, to which some of the wounding and loss of life was attributable : (4) that two, if not three, persons were brutally bayoneted and killed by the police, without any justification whatever : (5) that the executive government failed to take adequate measures to correct the misrepresentations about the draft ordinance with a view to allaying the public excitement : (6) that there was, without doubt, a regrettable and serious division between a large and influential portion of the community in Port of Spain and the executive government regarding public affairs : (7) that there had been most deplorable delay (for which there was, in their opinion, no justification) in prosecuting the rioters and those whose conduct was

in a greater or less degree responsible for the rioting : (8) that it was not foreseen by any one in authority that the public excitement against the draft water-works ordinance and the ticket regulation would culminate in serious rioting, and in that view the steps taken to maintain order and preserve the peace were not insufficient.

1905—British Guiana.

Consequent on a demand, by casual wharf labourers, for higher wages (on a par with special rates recently paid for special work), serious rioting ensued at Georgetown on November 30th, 1905, chiefly amongst the "Centipede" class, men and women of the lowest type, and the riot act was read. Further disturbances occurred next morning : breaking out at Ruimveldt estate in the suburbs, and soon spreading to the town. A mob attacked, with stones and bottles, the police, who had to fire on three occasions. Seven persons were killed, windows were broken, a pawnbroker's store looted ; the militia (foot and artillery) were called out ; special constables enrolled, and a man-of-war was cabled for to Trinidad. The governor addressed the people from the public buildings, but the result was unsuccessful. On December 3rd, the governor was able to report that all was quiet though there was some trouble at an outlying plantation. He received a deputation from the strikers, and, on that day H.M.S. *Sappho* arrived (110 blue jackets being landed), and she was followed by H.M.S. *Diamond* the next morning.

To sum up, on Thursday the riotous strikers practically put a stop to all business, forcibly entered stores, assaulted those who wished to work, and also some employers and their clerks &c. Several policemen were injured, one seriously. On Friday most serious rioting, accompanied by many severe and dangerous assaults on white persons, entire cessation of business, open robbery, innumerable cases of minor assaults, threats and abuse &c., and great damage to property, which could only be quelled by bloodshed. On Saturday disorderly crowds blocking all traffic, and preventing all business, assaults, robbery and damage to a lesser extent took place.

Of the 148 persons arrested in connection with the riots, 59 were released : 87 were convicted in the police magistrate's court ; the sentences including six months imprisonment and flogging for males and the shaving of the head for females. The total number of police injured during riots was 58, most of them slightly : one died. Forty-five of the civilian population were stoned and assaulted by rioters.

Proceedings were taken out against militiamen who failed to answer the call to arms.

The verdict of the inquest on those shot was "deceased met their deaths from wounds at the hands of police shooting on the 1st

December in the lawful execution of their duty after the Riot Act had been read and the people duly warned." The Governor reported "I can not speak in too high terms of the conduct of the police at every stage of the rioting. They obeyed all orders willingly, promptly, and unflinchingly, and proved themselves to be a reliable and well directed body of men." He also praised the militia, as a body (some of the infantry failed to turn out). A public subscription of upwards of \$1000 was raised for the police force. As an outcome of the experience gained during the quelling of the riots, it was proposed to add mounted men to the police force, to reduce the number of the militia, and to resuscitate the volunteer force, part to be mounted.

Four elected members voted in the court of policy for a special enquiry into the cause of the riots. The governor thought it unnecessary, and the secretary of state confirmed that opinion, stating that he would grant an enquiry only, if a majority of the elected members in the combined court asked for it at the colony's expense.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[*Except in the case of those marked with an * the works mentioned are in the Library of the Institute of Jamaica. Newspapers have only been quoted when more permanent sources of information are lacking.*]

1837. Trinidad.

1. *Reference in* (i.) The History of the First West India Regiment. By Major A. B. Ellis. London, 1885, 8vo.
2. (ii.) History of Trinidad (Second Period) from 1814 to 1839. By Lionel Mordaunt Fraser. Vol. II. *Port of Spain*, 1896. 8vo.
3. (iii.) Military Report and general information concerning the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago. Compiled by Captain G. M. A. Ellis, and edited by the General Staff, War Office, 1905. 8vo. With map "Sketch of roads in Trinidad."

1841. Jamaica.

4. *Reference in* The Handbook of Jamaica for 1881. Kingston, 1881.

1844. Dominica.

Reference in No. 60.

1856. British Guiana.

5. *Reference in* History of British Guiana. From the year 1668 to the present time. By James Rodway, F.L.S. Vol. iii. 1833-1893. Georgetown, 1894. 8vo.
6. *Correspondence between Governor Wodehouse and the Colonial Office on the recent Disturbances and Compensation Claims, £50,000. Parliamentary Papers 29th July, 1856. folio. pp. 89.

1859. Jamaica. (February)

7. *Reference in* The Falmouth Post and Jamaica General Advertiser. Falmouth. Vol. xxv. 1859.

" Jamaica. (August)

Reference in No. 7

8. *Pamphlet by James Mockler. Falmouth, 1859.

1865. Jamaica.

9. Papers relative to The Affairs of Jamaica. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, February 1866. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. iv. + 279.
10. Papers relating to the Disturbances in Jamaica. Part 1. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, February, 1866. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. vi. + 262.
11. Further Papers relative to the Disturbances in Jamaica. Part 11. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, February, 1866. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. iv. + 45.
12. Further Papers relating to the Disturbances in Jamaica. Part 111. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, February, 1866. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. iv. + 27
13. Jamaica Disturbances. Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, 1866. Part 1. Report. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. 41. With map of the county of Surrey.
14. Jamaica. Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission, 1866. Part II. Minutes of Evidence and Appendix. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. x + 1162.
15. Jamaica Disturbances. Papers laid before the Royal Commission of Inquiry by Governor Eyre. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, June, 1866. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. ii. + 483. With map showing marches of troops.
16. Jamaica Disturbances. Copy of a Despatch from the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. to Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. K. Storks, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 18 June, 1866. *London*, 1866. fol. pp. 7.
17. Jamaica Papers. No. i. Facts and Documents relating to the alleged Rebellion in Jamaica, and the measures of repression, including notes of the trial of Mr. Gordon. Published by the Jamaica Committee. *London*, 1886. 8vo. pp. iv + 98.
18. Jamaica Papers. No. ii. The Blue Books. Published by the Jamaica Committee. *London*, n.d. [? 1866]. 8vo. pp. 52.
19. *Jamaica Papers No. iii. Statements of the Committee and other Documents. *London*, 1866?
20. *Jamaica Papers No. iv. A quarter of a Century of Jamaica Legislation. *London*, 1866?
21. Jamaica Papers No. v. Martial Law. Six Letters to "The Daily News." By Frederic Harrison, of Lincon's Inn, Barrister-at-law. Published by the Jamaica Committee. *London*, 1867. 8vo. pp. viii. + 53 + iii.
22. Jamaica Papers No. vi. Illustrations of Martial Law in Jamaica. Compiled from the Report of the Royal Commissioners, and other Blue Books laid before Parliament. By John Gorrie.

- Advocate, Barrister-at-law, and Counsel of the Jamaica Committee before the Royal Commission. Published by the Jamaica Committee. *London*, 1867. 8vo. pp. viii. + 102.
23. Jamaica Papers No. vii. Report of the Proceedings at Bow Street Police Court, on the committal of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand for the murder of Mr. G. W. Gordon. Edited from the shorthand writer's notes by William Shaen, M.A. Published by the Jamaica Committee. *London*, 1867. 8vo. pp. 96.
24. Dr. Underhill's Testimony on the Wrongs of the Negro in Jamaica Examined: in a letter to the Editor of *The Times*. By A. L. [indo]. *Falmouth, Jamaica*. [1866]. 8vo. pp. 17.
25. *The Case of George William Gordon: with Parliamentary Observations on the Jamaica Riot of Oct. 11, 1865. By Baptist Wriottesley Noel. *London*, 1866.
26. A Narrative of the Rebellious Outbreak in Jamaica, October 11, 1865. An account of the massacre and my own providential escape. By Arthur Warmington, J.P. and Lieutenant of Volunteers (unattached), Jamaica. *Tottenham, London*, 1866. 8vo. pp. 19.
27. *Jamaica: Who is to blame? Reprinted from two articles in the "Eclectic Review," entitled "The Problem" and "Jeopardy of Jamaica." By a thirty years Resident. With an introduction and notes by the Editor of the "Eclectic Review" (E.P. Hood), *London*. (1866). 8vo.
28. Jamaica and the Colonial Office: Who caused the crisis? By George Price, late Member of the Executive Committees of Governors Sir Henry Barkly, Sir Charles H. Darling, Edward J. Eyre, Esqr., in the Legislative Council of that island, and late Custos of the precinct of St. Catherine. *London*, 1866. 8vo. pp. xii. + 180.
29. *Observations on the Royal Commission and the Disturbances in Jamaica. *London*, 1866. 8vo.
30. *The Present Crisis, and How to meet it. By Rev. Mr. Panton. *Jamaica*, 1866.
31. *Reflections on the Gordon Rebellion. By S. R. Ward. *Jamaica*, 1866.
32. Jamaica. Addresses to His Excellency Edward John Eyre, Esquire, &c. 1865, 1866. [*Kingston*,] *Jamaica*, 1866. 8vo. pp. viii. + 172.
33. *Report of W. Morgan, Esqr., on his mission to Jamaica, 1866.
34. *Copy of Extracts of Correspondence between the Horse Guards and General O'Connor on the conduct of Military Officers during the recent deplorable occurrences in Jamaica. *London*, 1867.
35. *The late Insurrection in Jamaica. By Gardiner Greene Hubbard,

- of Cambridge, Mass. (excerpt) from the *New Englander* for January, 1867.
36. Charge of the Lord Chief Justice of England to the Grand Jury at the Central Criminal Court in the case of the Queen against Nelson and Brand. Taken from the shorthand written notes, revised and corrected by the Lord Chief Justice [Sir Alexander Cockburn, Bart]. Edited by Frederick Cockburn, *London*, 1867. 8vo. pp. 167.
37. The Reign of Terror. A Narrative of facts concerning Ex-Governor Eyre, George William Gordon, and the Jamaica Atrocities. By (Rev.) Henry Bleby. *London*, 1868. 8vo. pp iv. + 124.
38. *A Treatise upon Martial Law : as allowed by the Law of England, in time of Rebellion ; with practical illustrations drawn from the official documents in the Jamaica Case, and the evidence taken by the Royal Commission of Enquiry, with comments, constitutional and legal. By W [illiam] F [rancis] Finlason. *London*, 1866. 8vo.
39. *Commentaries upon Martial Law : With comments on the Charge of the Lord Chief Justice. By W. F. Finlason. *London*, 1867. 8vo.
40. *A Review of the Authorities as to the repression of Riot or Rebellion : with special references to the civil or criminal Responsibility of those engaged in such Repression. By W. F. Finlason. *London*, 1868.
41. Report of the Case of The Queen v. Edward John Eyre, on his prosecution in the Court of Queen's Bench, for High Crimes and Misdemeanours alleged to have been committed by him in his office as Governor of Jamaica : containing the evidence, (taken from the Dispositions), the indictment and the charge of Mr. Justice Blackburn. By W. F. Finlason, *London*, 1868. 8vo. pp. xl. + 111.
42. A History of the Jamaica Case, founded upon Official or Authentic Documents, and containing an Account of the Debates in Parliament, and the Criminal prosecutions, arising out of the case. By W. F. Finlason. *London*, [1868]. 8vo. pp. xii. + 679.
- The same.* 2nd edition. The History of the Jamaica Case, being an account, founded upon official documents, of the Rebellion of the Negroes in Jamaica, the causes which led to it, and the measures taken for its suppression ; the agitation excited on the subject, its causes and its character ; and the debates in Parliament, and the criminal prosecutions arising out of it. 2nd ed., enlarged and corrected. By W. F. Finlason. *London*, 1869. 8vo. pp. viii. + xcvi. + 691.
43. Justice to a Colonial Governor ; or Some Considerations on the

case of Mr. Eyre ; containing the substance of all the documents, discussions, and proceedings relating thereto. By W. F. Finlason. *London*, [1868]. 8vo. pp. viii. + clxxvi.

- 44 *Special and Authentic Details of the Inhuman Butcheries and Ruthless Atrocities recently perpetrated in Jamaica, being a thrillingly Horrible Narrative of the revival of the days of Revolutionary Terror in 1865, 5,000 men, women and children, murdered in cold blood, 8 miles of road strewn with dead bodies, concluding with the True Story of George W. Gordon. n.d. 8vo.
45. The Tragedy of Morant Bay. A Narrative of the Disturbances in the island of Jamaica in 1865. By Edward Bean Underhill, LL.D., Honorary Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. *London*, 1895. 8vo. pp. xix + 219.
46. Personal Recollections of the Honourable George W. Gordon, late of Jamaica. By the Rev. Duncan Fletcher. *London*, 1867. 8vo. with portrait. pp. 195.
The same. 2nd. ed: The Life of the Honourable George W. Gordon, the Martyr of Jamaica. By the Rev. D. Fletcher. 2nd. ed. enlarged and improved. *London*, 1867. 8vo. pp. ix. + 199.
47. *Case of W. G. Gordon. By B. T. Williams.
48. The Life of Edward John Eyre, late Governor of Jamaica. By Hamilton Hume. *London*, 1867. 8vo. with portrait. pp. xvi. + 320.

876 Barbados.

49. Papers relating to the late Disturbances in Barbados. Presented to both Houses of Parliament 1876. *London*, 1876. C. 1539, folio. pp. xii. + 247.
50. Further Papers relating to the late Disturbances in Barbados. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1876, *London*, 1876. C. 1559. folio. pp. x + 220.
51. Further Papers relating to the late Disturbances in Barbados. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, February, 1877. *London*, 1877. C. 1679. folio. pp. iv. + 66.
52. Further Papers relating to the late Disturbances in Barbados. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, March, 1877. *London*, 1877. C. 1687. folio. pp. v. + 70.
53. The Constitutional Crisis of 1876 in Barbados. By Charles Pitcher Clarke, LL.B., (Barrister-at-Law), M.C.P. *Bridgetown*, 1896. pp. 154.

1881. Trinidad.

Reference in No. 54.

1884. **Trinidad. (March.)**

Reference in No. 54.

“ **Trinidad. (October.)**

54. Correspondence respecting the recent Coolie Disturbances in Trinidad at the Mohurrum Festival, with the Report thereon by Sir H. W. Norman, K.C.B., C.I.E. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, March, 1885. *London*, 1885. folio. pp. iv. + 97. with sketches.

1889. **British Guiana.**

55. Type-written copy of “Daily Chronicle.” *Georgetown*, 1889.
Reference in No. 5.

1893. **Dominica.**

56. Dominica. Return to an Address of the House of Lords, dated 30th June, 1893, for Copies of Extracts from the Correspondence on the subject of the late Fatal Disturbances in the island of Dominica. Colonial Office. Ordered to be printed 17th November, 1893. *London*, [1893]. folio. pp. 65.
60. Dominica. Report of the Royal Commission (appointed in September, 1893) to inquire into the condition and affairs of the island of Dominica and Correspondence relating thereto. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, August, 1894. *London*, 1894. folio. C. 7477. pp. xxxviii. + 204.

1894. **Jamaica.**

58. *Reference in* (i) “The Gleaner” for July, (the occurrence) and September (the consequent trials). *Kingston*, 1894.
59. (ii) The Handbook of Jamaica for 1895.
60. (iii) One Hundred Years’ History of the 2nd Battalion West India Regiment from date of raising 1795 to 1898. Compiled by Colonel J. E. Caulfeild. *London*, 1899. 8vo.

1894. **British Honduras.**

61. *Reference in* (i) *British Honduras. Annual Report for 1894. *London*, 1895. 8vo.
62. (ii) “The Gleaner,” *Kingston, Jamaica*. 1894, 1895.

1896. **St. Kitts.**

63. *Leeward Islands. Annual Report for 1896. *London*, 1898. 8vo.

1896. **British Guiana.**

64. Typewritten copy of Coroner’s Inquest. Reported in “The Daily Chronicle,” *Georgetown*, 1896.

98. **Montserrat.**

65. Typewritten copy of Report of Inspector General of Leeward Islands Police Force, to the Colonial Secretary. 1898.

02. **Jamaica.**

66. Montego Bay Riots of April 5th and 6th 1902. Report of Commission of Enquiry. [*Kingston*, 1902]. fol. pp. 17.

03. **Trinidad.**

67. Trinidad. Papers relating to the Recent Disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1903. *London*, 1903. (Cd. 1661). folio. pp. vi. + 72.
68. Trinidad. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Recent Disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1903. *London*, 1903. (Cd. 1662). fol. pp. 32.
69. Trinidad. Further Papers relating to the Disturbances at Port of Spain, Trinidad, in March, 1903. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, April, 1904. *London*, 1904. (Cd. 1988). fol. pp. 21.
70. Minutes of Proceedings of the Commission of Enquiry concerning the Riot at Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the 23rd March, 1903. n.d. [*Port of Spain* 1903]. folio. pp. xii. + ii. + 1113.
71. The Commission of Enquiry into the Water Riots of Monday, 23rd March, 1903. Together with Addresses of the Hon. H. A. Alcazar, K.C., and E. A. Robinson, Esquire. Written Statement by Sir C. C. Knollys to Mr. Edgar Tripp's evidence, and Mr. Tripp's reply. Statement by Counsel for the Colonial Government. Report of the Commissioners. By special permission of the "Port of Spain Gazette." *Port of Spain*, 1903, 8vo. pp. iv. + 559. with plan.

03. **British Guiana.**

72. Typewritten copy of "The Daily Chronicle," *Georgetown*, 1903.

05. **British Guiana.**

73. British Guiana. Correspondence relating to Disturbances in British Guiana. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, March, 1906, *London*, 1906. fol. pp. vii. + 63.
74. *British Guiana. Further Correspondence relating to Disturbances in British Guiana. *London*, 1906.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA.

To be obtained at the Institute.

Objects of the Institute of Jamaica. By Rev. J. RADCLIFFE	1881	6d.
Root Food Growth in Jamaica. By Rev. J. CORK	1881	6d.
Some Objects of Productive Industry: Native and other Fibre Plants. By D. MORRIS	1884	6d.
Outline of a Lecture on Vegetable Chemistry. By J. J. Bowrey	1884	6d.
The Cultivation of the Orange in Jamaica. By Dr. JAMES NEISH	1884	6d.
The Vine and its Culture. By Rev. WM. GRIFFITH	1884	6d.
The Cultivation of the Ramie. By Hon. J. C. PHILLIPPO	1884	6d.
On a New Beverage Substance: the Kola Nut. By Dr. JAMES NEISH	1887	6d.
The Advantages to result from Railway Extension. By Hon. W. B. ESPEUT	1887	6d.
On the Geology of Jamaica } On Mining in Jamaica. } By Rev. H. SCOTLAND	1889	6d.
The Mineral Springs of Jamaica. By Hon. J. C. PHILLIPPO	1891	6d.
A Provisional List of the Fishes of Jamaica. By T.D.A. COCKERELL, F.Z.S., F.E.S.	1892	<i>Gratis.</i>
Institute of Jamaica Lectures: Agriculture	1893	2/6
List of the Decapod Crustacea of Jamaica. By MARY J. RATHBUN	1897	1s.
The Economic Geology of Jamaica. By F. C. NICHOLAS	1899	2d.
The Rainfall Atlas of Jamaica. By MAXWELL HALL, M.A.	1892	2/6
The Meteorology of Jamaica. By MAXWELL HALL, M.A.	1904	6d.
Systematic Catalogue of the Land and Fresh-water Shells of Jamaica: By HENRY VENDRYES	1899	3d.
The Mosquitoes or Culicidae of Jamaica. By F. V. Theobald, M.A., and M. GRABHAM, M.A., M.B. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	1905	6d.
The Journal of the Institute of Jamaica (<i>Illustrated</i>)—		
Vol. I., Pts. i., ii., iii., iv., vi., (<i>others out of print</i>) per part		6d.
Vol. I., bound	1891-93	10s.
Vol. II., Pts. ii. and v., (<i>Pts. i. and iii. out of print</i>)		1s.
Vol. II., Pt. iv. (Special "Aboriginal Indian Remains" Number)		1s.
Vol. II., Pt. vi.		2s.
Vol. II., bound	1894-99	15s.
Bibliotheca Jamaicensis: Some account of the principal works on Jamaica in the Library of the Institute. By FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A.	1895	6d.
Bibliographia Jamaicensis: A list of Jamaica books and pamphlets, magazine articles, newspapers and maps, most of which are in the Library of the Institute of Jamaica. By FRANK CUNDALL	1902	6d.
Classified Book List: Agriculture	1893	1d.
Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Institute	1895	2s.
List of Books on Jamaica in the Library of the Institute, Excerpted from the Catalogue	1894	3d.
Studies in Jamaica History. By FRANK CUNDALL. Illustrated by Mrs. LIONEL LEE	1900	2/6
Biographical Annals of Jamaica. By FRANK CUNDALL. (<i>Illustrated</i>)	1904	6d.
Jamaica in 1905: A Handbook of Information for intending Settlers and Visitors. (<i>With Illustrations and Map</i>) By FRANK CUNDALL	1905	6d.
Political and Social Disturbances in the West Indies: A Brief Account and Bibliography. By FRANK CUNDALL	1906	6d.
Lady Nugent's Journal. Jamaica One Hundred Years Ago. Edited by FRANK CUNDALL. (<i>With Illustrations and Maps</i>) <i>In Preparation</i>		2/6

