

The Treasury, the Commission of the 28th of December 1878 regarding the uprising on St. Croix

Record of interrogations 1879 and various accounts

[*folio 0*]

The Commission
regarding the uprising on St. Croix
1879
Record of interrogations

[*folio 1*]

The 21st of February

1. Supreme Judge Rosenstand, Chairman of the Col. Council.

Is unable to unambiguously answer the question regarding whether the insurrection of the 1st of October was planned beforehand, but he is inclined to disbelieve that it was planned. However, the laborers had been discontented for a long time, and many of them wished to leave the island because they did not want to sign annual contracts¹. On the 1st of October last year, they were even more than usually prone to riot, and they flocked to town in great masses. He does not know whether measures to keep them on the island had been employed, which the Police denies, but in any case, the negroes believed that such obstacles were in place.

The laborers' discontent stemmed from the use of "porters". This use had gradually developed to such a degree that many plantations had just as many porters as permanent laborers, and it caused offence² because they were paid at least 20 Cts. a day, and additionally, they usually received full "allowance", which was much more than the permanent laborers were offered. The high wages which porters received originated from the labor system which was introduced at the Central Factory³ and which paid 35 Cts. a day. In the period leading up to the insurrection, some planters had laid off their porters; this was done in connection with a petition pushing for a more acute supervision, adhering to the Labor Act, which it had been intended to present to the Government. The foreign negroes⁴ had more cause to be disgruntled than the natives, as it was more difficult for them to become porters. Particularly in the middle area of the island, almost all permanently

¹ Laborers were to work for at least one year after the contract was signed

² In the Danish transcription, it says "det stode sig at...", the meaning of which is slightly unclear. It might well mean "de blev stødt over" (they were offended). Therefore it is translated to "it caused offence"

³ Danish: Central-factoryet. A central factory system which was established in 1878 to manufacture sugar by large scale methods. At the Factory, laborers were paid 30-35 Cts. a day

⁴ from other islands, primarily Barbados and Antigua

employed country laborers are people who have immigrated from Barbados and [Folio 2] Antigua. These are the laborers who work the hardest and are paid the least. The insurrection was only possible because of the reduction of the military force in the Westend, and it would never have been possible if this had not been done. The weakening of the entire administration due to the lack of funding has demoralized the entire population, and the fact that the government was powerless is clearly proven by particularly the reduction of the military and the shutdown of the Station at Kingshill. The rare dispatchments of a Danish warship has also contributed considerably, and the moving of the government seat to St. Thomas must also be mentioned. It must be remembered that here, a force is brandished over a foreign nation, so to speak, and therefore, it is necessary to have a larger apparatus than what would have been sufficient under other circumstances.

Apart from the fact that the white population represents the possessing classes, racial hatred does not seem to have been contributory in triggering the insurrection. The battle stood between the laborers and those in possession, regardless of color. The social difference which is prevalent in the relations between the races still exists unaltered, but it is not so much motivated by the racial difference as by other circumstances and traits, and it seems that the colored people are strongly opposed to any changes in this relation⁵.

Even though many singular episodes do occur in which negroes are treated brutally, the Supreme Judge does not believe that the laborers have been treated irresponsibly⁶ to any greater extent. The system of punishment which is stipulated in the Labor Act has perhaps been utilized to a greater extent lately [Folio 3]. Also, it is believed that it has become common to not pay the laborers until Saturday, but then, they are often absent on Monday.

In order to prevent a recurrence of the insurrection, repressive precautions proposed are the strengthening of the military forces, partly through an increase in the military force itself, and partly through, if possible, a permanent presence of a warship. The re-establishment of Kingshill as a Military Station is not advisable without it being connected to a Police Chamber there. This last-mentioned measure is strongly advisable, particularly in the near future, when the Labor Act is to be removed, as this Police Station will probably have to be supported by a smaller military force. Regarding preventive measures, the Squatter-system⁷ could develop beneficially, but only if the Factory⁸ prospers.

Immigration will probably be necessary because many laborers will no doubt leave the island as a result of the insurrection. Earlier attempts have been done, first with "Liberated Africans" from America, and then with East Indian Coolies⁹, but these implementations did not pay off.

⁵ This sentence is slightly unclear in the Danish transcription, which reads: "Den Forskjel, der i det sociale Samqvem gjøres mellem Racerne, existerer endnu uforandret, men den motiveres formentlig ikke saa meget ved Raceforskjellen som ved andre Forhold og Egenska-ber har de Couleurte, der vistnok ogsaa ville forhindre, at der i en overskuelig Fremtid vil indtræde nogen Forandring heri"

⁶ The Danish text uses the word "uforsvarlig" (irresponsible), but the term "uretfærdig" (unjust) is more precise in the context

⁷ a system in which land was rented

⁸ Danish: "dersom Faktoret lykkes" (if the Factory succeeds)

⁹ unskilled laborers from Asian countries

Approximately 260 out of 400 Coolies left the island again with their savings. The colonial chest laid out all the expenses from the immigration fund.

The improvement of the school system is not estimated to have met [Folio 4] resistance amongst the planters, but also in this respect, the lack of funding has been an issue. There is probably no particular reason to implement substantial changes in the existing arrangement in the country, though the teaching could be improved in some ways. The best solution would probably be to turn the parish schools into general schools, subsidized by the council. Regarding higher secondary school education, the establishment of an institute of this kind might do more harm than good, as many people now send their children to Europe with positive consequences for those sent away, and a beneficial interrelationship is achieved¹⁰.

Finally, the Supreme Judge¹¹ strongly opposes the present system regarding the management of the colonies, and he considers the insurrection to be a direct result and the final capstone of the arrangement implemented with the Colonial Law of 1863, and he reserves the right to put forward a more detailed explanation of his views in this regard at a later date.

2. Planter Hvid (La Grange and Work and Rest)

Is convinced that the insurrection was not planned beforehand; all rumors to the contrary are based on loose conjectures. It was completely unexpected. It would not have evolved had the Police authorities been able to stop a random street disturbance. He has heard it said that obstacles have been set up in order to hinder the laborers in leaving the island. He does not estimate that [Folio 5] there has been any particular discontent amongst the laboring population lately. He particularly does not believe that the stipulation regarding annual contracts contributed to the discontent. He considers the porter system, which, by the way, is not implemented much in Planter Hvid's¹² area, to be a great disaster. It is the Factory which has damaged the conditions in his area because it solely employs day workers and has thus perverted the laborers and made it possible for them to work as much as they wanted, for a good pay¹³. He considers this entire system to be deplorable.

He thinks that the unconditional lifting of the Labor Act, without transitional regulations, will be very harmful, particularly regarding the laborer's family circumstances. All parents will strive to send their children to the towns, which will increase vagrancy. Therefore, it will be necessary to implement an appropriate vagrancy regulation which has to include the requirement that every negro has to be able to account for his use of time.

¹⁰ The Danish sentence is slightly unclear. It says: "... maaske snarest gjøre Ska-de, da den tildeels vilde have den nu for Mange tilstedeværende Nødvendigheder at sende deres Børn til Europa, hvoraf gavnlige Følger opnaaes for de Bortsendte og en heldig vevirking udøves" (... might do more harm than good, as it party would have the for now many present necessities to send their children to Europe, whereof beneficial results re achieved for those sent away and a beneficial interrelationship is achieved")

¹¹ The Danish text actually says "Comparenten" = the person who appears in court (legal language)

¹² The Danish text actually says "Comparenten" = the person who appears in court (legal language)

¹³ The Central Factory paid the laborers 30-35 Cts. a day

He considers it a given that the negroes, overall, despite exceptions, have been treated well by their employers.

He believes that the reduction of the military forces in the West Indies and the shut-down of the Police Station at Kingshill significantly contributed to the extent of the insurrection. Next after the continuous lack of funding, these measures are the primary points in a petition which is authored by planters, primarily the Irish.

Racial hatred has nothing to do with the [Folio 6] insurrection. The murder of planter Fontaine must largely be ascribed to his own rough and brutal character.

He feels convinced that there will be no recurrence of the insurrection, at least not in our generation's lifetime, but he considers it necessary to take the appropriate military precautions

He regards the introduction of foreign laborers - other than the immigration from the neighboring islands - as a dangerous and expensive step, which the attempted Cooli-introduction amply proves; these people cost the plantation owners disproportionate amounts of money, they worked poorly and they were, in every respect, dastardly and inept (*added in the margin: see p. 8*)

A real improvement of the school system is difficult to accomplish before the parents start to take interest in the matter themselves, and as it is, they do not do so to sufficient degree. However, if it were possible to implement a reform of the peasant school, adhering to a new system, it could have very beneficial results for the population.

3. Cst¹⁴ Fire Brigade Commander¹⁵ in Christiansted Meyer (*added: colored*)

Believes that the insurrection was planned beforehand. This is supported by a statement which a negro is assumed to have uttered during the riots in Frederiksted: "I think that by this time it is hot enough at the Bassin¹⁶". According to Meyer, the reason why Christiansted was not set on fire as intended was the circumstance that he, on this exact day, took the fire brigade out on a drill, and the drum sounded etc., which scared the rioters.

He attributes a major part of the laborer's dissatisfaction and the outbreak of the insurrection to the labor system at the [Folio 7] Factory; and also the porter-system.

He considers an increase of the military force to be a necessity. However, he considers the re-establishment of the Police Station at Kingshill to be unnecessary, but a military station on the site is advisable

He is in favor of the unconditional removal of the Labor Act, and he does not think it would drive the laborers off the island. A pay raise would be necessary, but a mutual arrangement between the employers and the laborers could easily be made.

¹⁴ The abbreviation "Cts" presumably stands for "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

¹⁵ Danish: Brandmajor

¹⁶ In the Danish text, the words "I think that by this time it is hot enough at the Bassin" are written in English. In the Danish transcription it says "hat" (not "hot"), but this must be an error (Bassin = Christiansted)

He thinks that the school system is in need of improvement. Particularly the teachers are bad, as there are insufficient resources to pay them adequately.

Meyer's¹⁷ own line of business, the Fire Department, is in a bad shape. The regulations of 1849 are impractical now. There are 200 men in his Brigade, but it is difficult to assemble more than 40 for drills. However, they mostly all turn up when there are fires.

4. Road Master¹⁸, Plantation manager Hattensen

Does not believe in a premeditated plan, but that the insurrection came about quite accidentally, and it was completely unexpected. There has been some discontent amongst the laborers, and many of them did not want to sign new contracts. He does not think that an unusually large number of laborers were going to leave the island on the 1st of October or that obstacles have been put up for this purpose¹⁹.

The discontent stemmed from the Factory-system [Folio 8], the higher wages and less stringent control which had been introduced there. The Factory took on any laborer at day wages, without examining his relations to his plantation. The porter-system, which is also detrimental, was introduced on this part of the island through the Factory. The foreign laborers are those who have been most dissatisfied and most prone to riot. Additionally, they are also better workers than the natives, particularly when it comes to piecework.

He thinks that the uprising would have been quelled quickly if there had been a military force present, even if it was small.

When the regulations of the Labor Act are removed, he considers it necessary that the laborers are obliged to sign contracts, preferably annual contracts, and if they do not, they are to be punished according to the vagrancy law. Additionally, he thinks that if this is done, the disadvantages which will follow the removal of the Labor Act will be overcome with no particular difficulty.

He considers immigration to be very advisable, particularly in the transitional phase. He has had the opportunity to be acquainted with the formerly imported Coolies, and he speaks very positively (*added in the margin*: see p, 6) about their diligence, capability and thrift. Most of them left the island when they had amassed enough, and the import did not continue.

The 22nd of February

¹⁷ In the Danish text, the introduction begins with "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

¹⁸ Danish: Overveimester

¹⁹ to prevent them from leaving St. Croix

5. Country Doctor²⁰ Dr. Kalmer, member of the Colonial Council.²¹

The Doctor²², who has very little plantation practice, dare not express any solid opinion regarding whether there was a premeditated plan, but he is inclined to not believe in one, as there were, apparently, several instigators amongst the negroes who were intent on causing trouble. [Folio 9] He assumes that the Factory's labor system was the main cause for the outbreak of the insurrection, as it developed the porter system to a hitherto unseen extent, thus demoralizing the laborers. Additionally, the negroes seem to have been dissatisfied with: 1. that the fines which were imposed went straight into the manager's pockets, 2. that the planters did not use the weekly 3 Cts., which according to the regulations were subtracted from their wages for medical expenses, for this purpose and 3. that their passports were often withheld²³ from them, apparently often disloyally, by the managers, according to the Labor Act's stipulation regarding the terms of notice.

The Doctor wishes to state that in his opinion, the reduction of the military forces was solely due to the bad financial situation and that the Government is without responsibility in that respect. The idea came from the Colonial Council, and the planters themselves must carry the responsibility for it on their own. It is a fact that they could not have been able to take loans²⁴ had the reduction not been implemented, as there was no money, but the circumstances are distorted if it is claimed that the Government in this fashion forced the Colonial Council to agree to the reduction. The dismantling of the Police Station at Kingshill was also the result of a petition from the planters. Additionally, it is the Doctor's opinion that the preservation of the military force in the Westend would have prevented the insurrection.

Considers it impossible to accurately answer the question of which effect the removal of the Labor Act will have. He assumes that the regulations, particularly [Folio 10] during the bad years, have been very beneficial for the population, which are in a far better physical state than for example the laboring population in Denmark. There, the laborers have no physical conditions for comfort, and the death rate here is far lower than at home²⁵. What is condemnable about the regulations is that they put the bad laborer on the same footing as the good laborer, so that a strong man, for example, receives the same payment as his grandmother. He believes that many laboring families will continue to sign annual contracts after the removal of the Labor Act, but many people will prefer to take on casual labor for a couple of days a week. If freedom is to be sustained, he does not see how this can be avoided by implementing a severe vagrancy law.

Considers the introduction of competition by importing foreign laborers to be the only means which can be employed and through which the dangers of the transitional phase can be alleviated. He does not think that immigration of negroes from the neighboring islands will be beneficial, but

²⁰ Danish: Landphysikus

²¹ Danish: Coloniale Raad. From 1863 onwards, there were two colonial councils in the Danish West Indies, one for St. Croix and one for St. Thomas, together with St. John. These two councils resembled district councils, but had certain legislative powers

²² In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

²³ In the Danish text it says "foreholdt" (confronted with, but in the context, it seems to make more sense to use the word "tilbageholdt" (withheld)

²⁴ The Danish text says "Bureau-Laen" (bureau loans) (bank loans?)

²⁵ "at home" presumably refers to Denmark

is mostly in favor of introducing Chinese laborers who would set a good example for the negroes with their diligence and thrift.

Considers it to be best if the negroes do not enter into marriage, as it most often leads to tyranny from the man's side, and divorce. However, cohabitation without marriage is mostly more harmonious and stable.

Child care is still inferior, and the mortality rate amongst young children is very high. The reasons for this are: 1. The inadequate midwife system, 2. the lack of knowledge regarding [Folio 11] how to treat and feed the children and 3. the overall lack of motherly love. There is 1 good midwife in Christiansted, one in Frederiksted and 1 in the country. Many births take place at the plantations without a midwife but with "experienced women", who are incompetent. Overall, quackery is widespread amongst the negroes. The Doctor has not come across terminations of pregnancies in his practice. Abortions do occur in large numbers, but mostly, they are caused by other things. He believes that an alleviation of the mentioned shortcomings is only possible through a sincere cooperation between the authorities and the planters.

The Doctor²⁶ is requested to and declares himself willing to comment on the aforementioned aspects in further detail, particularly regarding the doctors' situation on the island.

Overall, he considers the negroes to be an intelligent race which can be developed, and he believes that an improvement of the school system will have the most beneficial effects in all aspects, even though it will take generations to obtain an extensive change.

6. Custom Manager in Christiansted Captain Boye, member of the Colonial Council

The insurrection was completely unexpected for everyone. However, Captain Boye assumes that there was some sort of pre-planning, but he cannot give any further details regarding this matter apart from that he has also heard the rumor about what was uttered in Frederiksted, about that Christiansted was burning.

Primarily blames the porter system and particularly the Factory's labor system for [Folio 12] the insurrection.

States, and it is his most certain conviction, that if there had been an armed Fort and 10 men in Frederiksted, the insurrection would never have been attempted. He considers the re-establishment of the Military Station at Kingshill to be necessary.

7. Police Chief²⁷ in Christiansted Nyssum

²⁶ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

²⁷ In the Danish text, the introduction begins with "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

The insurrection came as a complete surprise! On the evening of the 1st of October, the Police Chief²⁸ drove up to Kingshill because there was thought to be fire²⁹ somewhere in the west. He came across nothing on his way, and it was not until upon his return on the morning of the 2nd that he realized that there was an insurrection.

Does not believe that there was a preconceived plan. In Christiansted, nothing indicated that there was more unrest than usual on the 1st of October. He has heard about the things which were said in Frederiksted, but he considers it to be loose talk.

Assumes that the present dissatisfaction amongst the negroes is caused by the porter system and the Factory system, and also the fining system which is stipulated in the Labor Act.

Reckons that it is highly probable that the presence of a military force in Frederiksted would have prevented the insurrection.

Does not believe that a re-establishment of the Military Station at Kingshill is necessary, but thinks that if re-established, the Police Station would also have to be re-established. It would improve the control, but considerable disadvantages are not solely detected by the existence of only 2 Police Stations³⁰.

Believes that if the Labor Act were removed but the mandatory annual contracts maintained, it would cause frustration.

Considers an increase of the police force on the island to be necessary, even if the military force were larger. 1 Police Scribe and 4 Officers would probably be a suitable reinforcement for Christiansted; this would cost approximately \$ 2,200. A similar reinforcement would probably also be required in Frederiksted.

Does not believe in the necessity of immigration, but considers the present labor force to be sufficient. Has no experience with the previous efforts with immigration.

Considers the prison system to be completely satisfactory.

Experiments with an armed citizen's force have been attempted in Christiansted, with approximately 100 men, but it did more harm than good, as they lacked discipline and consistency.

He has several colored and 1 black Police Officer, and he trusts them all.

8. Managing Director of the factory Wassard

²⁸ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

²⁹ In the Danish transcription, it says "Ildløs etsteds" (which means nothing), but this is probably an error, as "Ild løs et sted" (fire somewhere) makes sense in the context

³⁰ The meaning of this sentence seems slightly unclear, but the Danish text says "væsentielle Ulemper spores dog ikke af, at der kun existerer 2 Politistationer" (translated directly in the text)

An actual insurrection was unforeseen. What many people expected, however, was an ordinary strike, and this would, as is always the case, cause unrest. The reasons why this was foreseen was, amongst other things, that many of the negroes had neglected to tend their “provision grounds³¹”. The planters (Mc Dermott, Wilson, Heyliger) were concerned about this and talked about the situation at meetings. [Folio 14]

Believes, however, that the insurrection unfolded haphazardly under lucky circumstances, and he assumes that when the negroes saw that it went well and that many whites fled, they really started to think that they could take over the whole island. Therefore, they spared for example the livestock, as they wanted to turn all plantations into livestock-plantations.

Believes that the blacks harbor a racial hatred. Overall, the treatment of the laborers has probably not been as good as could be desired. The Factory treats its laborers as it does laborers at home, and this had led to the population having a positive view of the Factory, and Fair play Stations were spared during the insurrection.

Thinks that the promise of removing the Labor Act in 3 years has considerably contributed to the present unrest, as it is in the negroes’ nature to dislike future promises.

It was impossible for the Factory to take the present labor conditions into consideration and it has had to break with tradition completely. The day’s wages which the Factory pays, an average of 35 Cts., is not unreasonably high: at the plantations (for example at Slob), up to 43 Cts. has been given. The Factory usually uses day labor and only occasionally piece rate. The Factory wants to have permanent laborers who do not shift as often as they do now, but the uncertain circumstances which have hitherto been prevalent have made this goal impossible to accomplish. Except for night labor, the factory did not employ laborers who did not have a passport from the plantations.

The porter system, which was widespread, particularly in the Westend, stopped abruptly shortly before the insurrection (in September) when all planters [Folio 15] fired their porters due to an intended petition to the Government, thus generating a large number of vagrants.

For the Factory’s part, he does not believe that introduction of foreign laborers will be necessary.

The Factory will probably produce 5 -5 ½ sugar from 100 canes with advantage. Some planters believe that they can get 6 and also cover their fabrication expenses with the extracted rum and molasses; but this calculation is probably not correct.

There have been some insignificant instances of theft from the Factory.

The Factory has obtained large quantities of sugarcane which has been delivered by the Squatters established on the Eastside. If the Squatter system is evolved, the factory would be able to receive

³¹ In the Danish text, the words “provision grounds” are written in English. Laborers were provided a small plot of land, the so-called “provision grounds” (30 square feet) to grow food

more - probably from approximately 150-200 acres - but it would not be possible to establish a special pressing station on the Eastside.

Believes that the harvest here ought to commence in December like on the other islands; but the harvest has been postponed further because of the bad years.

The 24th of February

9. Plantation Inspector Bruley (Colored)

Believes that the insurrection erupted by chance, but thinks that some - perhaps 2-3 troublemakers on each plantation beforehand intended to cause trouble, beat the police or something of the like.

An ordinary strike was commonly expected and has, he believes, also been planned, but no data suggests that unrest on a larger scale was intended, and therefore, the planters did not inform the authorities beforehand. He assumes that unrest would also have erupted in Christiansted [Folio 16] had it not been because the Fire Brigade happened to have a drill, which frightened the negroes. A much larger crowd than usual was gathered on the 1st of October, and they mostly refrained from drinking.

Is convinced that the presence of even a small military force would have prevented the insurrection, and that an increase of military force is the only way to prevent a recurrence.

Considers the porter system to be a main reason for the discontent. This system has been employed in various ways at different plantations, but usually, on top of their wages, the porters received the same "allowance" as did the permanent laborers. It is believed that the Factory also had a harmful influence on the laborers.

Believes that the Labor Act was originally very beneficial for the population, but that the regulations have been in place for too long, despite their not having been upheld consistently for a long time.

Thinks that overall, the laborers have been treated well at the plantations, but admits that there have been several exceptions.

After the removal of the Labor Act, most of the laborers, and particularly the older laborers, will be very willing to sign contracts which are similar to those which exist today, with allowance etc., but it is impossible to say which consequences will follow. A strict Vagrancy Law will be necessary to force the population to work. [Folio 17]

Additionally, immigration will be necessary, as no more than 6-7,000 native laborers can be rounded up. He considers the native Coolies to be good laborers, but they were expensive and caused conflicts with the English Consul. Is more in favor of the Chinese.

Believes that the school system has improved a great deal lately.

Considers the disputes and lack of unity amongst the planters to be one of the main reasons for the general decline of the island and thinks that the Irish, though competent and thrifty, bear much of the blame.

10. Parish priest in Christiansted Pastor Engholm.

Whilst he was a priest in Frederiksted, he was under the impression that as early as 6 months before the insurrection, there was agitation amongst the laborers regarding a push for higher wages, and this brought about the unrest of the 1st of October. He has also heard that the negroes have talked about these issues during their usual gatherings and on other occasions.

Believes that the laborers on the island are well off, and many of them have money. Several of them buy houses in the towns.

In the pastor's³² experience, marriages between the negroes are almost always unhappy and end in divorce, but the loose connections between the sexes work well. He has observed this so frequently that, though he is a priest, he never encourages them to marry.

Does not believe in the existence of racial hatred. Usually, the negroes look up to the whites and like them: They rejoice [Folio 18] when their children have lighter skin than themselves, and they talk about "to raise the race"³³.

Considers all schools on the island, both the citizens- and the common schools, to be very bad. Would prefer establishment of parish schools alongside the common schools, and they should be funded and supervised by the Government, like for example on Jamaica. This would probably cost less and lead to better results. Optionally, the common schools could be discontinued. As it is, the conditions are very loose. Compulsory schooling cannot be accomplished because of passive resistance. The punishment system³⁴ is too hard and is used reluctantly. Does not believe there are any prospects of establishing a really good secondary school which can last.

11. British Deputy Consul Pastor Du Bois

Pastor Du Bois³⁵ wants to speak of the events of the 1st of October, as the published accounts on the subject are incorrect on several points.

On the day of the riots, he saw a mob gathered outside his house in Frederiksted, so he went down and spoke to the people. They complained about being mistreated by the Police, and he encouraged them to address the authorities but otherwise remain calm and go home. They were

³² In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

³³ In the Danish text, the words "raise the race" are written in English

³⁴ Slightly unclear. The Danish text uses the word "afsoningssystemet". "Afsoning" means to serve a sentence, so presumably, Pastor Engholm refers to a system of punishment

³⁵ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

prepared to do so, but then two soldiers came along with drawn sabers, and they rode towards the people. This angered the mob, which began to throw stones. Police Chief Petersen and Assistant Gyllich now also arrived, and the mob followed them and the soldiers [Folio 19], hooting and yelling. The pastor³⁶ followed as quickly as he could and found that the Fort was shut, and the mob was gathered between the Fort and the Custom building, preparing to attack the Fort, wielding knives with which they wanted to kill the Police. The Pastor³⁷ attempted to calm them down; almost all the people were from the middle and south side of the island. He managed to persuade the mob to follow him down the street towards Wood's shop, where they started to dance around, but he got them to go to the edge of town. At Wood's shop, Petersen and Gyllich had also arrived, which the mob did not like, and they remained there. At the edge of town, the Pastor spoke to the mob again, telling them to go home, and declaring that if they wanted, he would present their complaints to the Governor. Some of them, hereamongst particularly a Barbados negro, now stood forward and said that what they complained about was: 1. that they were only paid 10 Cts. a day, whilst the Factory paid 35 Cts. 2. The annual contracts, and particularly the managers' harassment of the laborers regarding the terms of notice which meant that they could never leave the plantations: "and that is slavery³⁸". 3. The obstructions which the Police set up to prevent them from leaving the island, even if they could pay for their passport, and also the demand that they possess a certain amount of money /: in this regard, the Pastor states that when he was Deputy Consul in 1876 or 77, he himself had a correspondence with Police Chief Egge regarding a case which was brought to his attention, in which [Folio 20] this demand had actually been put forth by the Police, but the case was immediately settled :/. 4. The managers' right to fine the laborers. Then, the Pastor³⁹ encouraged them to delegate 6 people with whom he would go to the Governor and put forward all the above-mentioned complaints. Then, they all declared that they were willing to go home and give 3 cheers for the Pastor. But, unfortunately, at the same moment, the woman Felicia James came running and yelled that the man who had been brought to hospital and who had allegedly been abused by the Police, was dead.

The Pastor tried to tell her to be quiet, but now, the mob was excited and they declared that they had to go to the hospital. When the Pastor saw that it was impossible to stop them, he just said to them that they had to promise him that they would not go to the Fort, and that they should return to this location, where he would wait for them. However, only approximately 20 of them returned, and they told him that the others had gone to the Fort anyway. Shortly after, shots were heard from the direction of the Fort, and the insurrection ran its course.

Later in the evening, the Pastor⁴⁰ once again went out and was present when the mob broke various stores open, and he was unable to stop them even though he repeatedly said to them that they were committing crimes and that the owners of the houses had done them nothing, but they replied: "they are white men⁴¹". A certain Henry from Concordia was the only one who was

³⁶ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

³⁷ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

³⁸ In the Danish text, the words "and that is slavery" are written in English

³⁹ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁴⁰ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁴¹ In the Danish text, the words "they are white men" are written in English

impudent towards the Pastor⁴² [Folio 21], but he was stopped by the others who yelled that they were not going to harm him or set fire to his house. Now, a new mob arrived from outside (corrected to: from the Northside), and arson became commonplace and unstoppable. Inside a house, some gunpowder exploded, and the entire mob ran away, screaming “they are shooting”.⁴³

The Pastor⁴⁴ saw very few drunken people in the mob, on the contrary, they tried to prevent each other from drinking. As he could do no more, the Pastor spent the rest of the night at home. When he went out again at daybreak, the soldiers had arrived and the negroes were fleeing. He does not believe that the insurrection was premeditated but that it was the result of a prevalent dissatisfaction. Amongst the reasons for this, he mentions the higher wages paid by the Factory, which allegedly provoked the complaint that the plantation negroes’ women often took up with the Factory laborers when they came out with a lot of money on Saturdays.

Assumes that the number of the actual rebels was relatively small, whilst the majority were originally forced to participate in the arsons etc. An ordinary strike was expected, and planter Mac Dermott is to have mentioned this to the Governor. The number of negroes gathered in town was presumably very large. Has not heard it said in the mob that Bassin also had to burn. Is convinced that a small military force could have prevented the insurrection and he [Folio 22] thinks that if such a force could be established, it would certainly prevent a recurrence.

In the 25 years in which he has resided here, he has observed a still growing antagonism between employers and laborers. He believes that there are faults on both sides, and due to the nature of the last-mentioned, they shirk labor, and the first-mentioned have perhaps demanded too much. But the Pastor has not witnessed any examples of actual cruel treatment of laborers. He thinks that the laboring population has degenerated, amongst other reasons because the worst elements from foreign islands have immigrated, particularly from Antigua. The Barbadians, however, are diligent and better laborers.

He does not think that there is any actual racial hatred or that it was a contributory factor in the insurrection (The above-mentioned remark “They are white men” is the only one of its kind which he has heard.)

He thinks that the common school’s function is obstructed by the all too few years of schooling. The Pastor himself has a Sunday school for adults which is attended by between 200 and 1200 people, and he experiences that after just a few years, they have forgotten what they learnt at school because they leave at too early an age. Amongst the attendees of the Sunday school, at most 6 partook in the insurrection.

The 25th of February

12. Plantation manager Leery (Slob)

⁴² Somewhat unclear. The Danish transcription says “En vis Henry fra Concordia var den Eneste, der blev uforkammet ligeoverfor Comparanten...”

⁴³ In the Danish text, the words “they are shooting” are written in English

⁴⁴ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

Thinks that the insurrection itself was arbitrary, but believes that there was a plan to cause trouble with the Police. During the insurrection itself, the town negroes, particularly [Folio 23] the women, were the leaders, and they were more excited than the country negroes. On the second day of the insurrection, after having had good fortune, a kind of plan formed to conquer the island etc. 3 gangs formed, and they were to converge in Christiansted.

He does not think that the planters' reduction of porters was a reason for the unrest. He thinks that the main reason for the discontent was the Factory's labor system. Believes that the Factory could have followed a better course of action by hiring fewer laborers, but for the entire Campaign⁴⁵.

Some negroes spread the rumor that Mac Moore would not allow laborers to leave the island on his schooner, but this was untrue.

He⁴⁶ affirms that many laborers have neglected to cultivate their provision grounds over the last 2 years because they wanted to leave the island.

Does not consider the relations between planters and laborers to have been as good as desired, at least at many places. On one hand, many employers have misused the annual contracts, and on the other hand, the negroes have been difficult and have not been able to handle too much kindness.

In order to prevent a recurrence of the insurrection, he believes that a military force is imperative. But it would probably be even more effective if the planters themselves formed a kind of militia to enable self-defense. Had such an organization existed, the insurrection could have been prevented even without military forces in Frederiksted. [Folio 24]

Thinks that the removal of the Labor Act will be best for both parties, and had this happened 20 years ago, it would have demoralized the population, particularly by favoring the excesses between the sexes⁴⁷.

Considers immigration to be the salvation of the island. One has to take what one can most easily get. Does not think that the foreign laborers played a more prominent role in the riots than the natives; of the 8 leaders of the arson at Slob, 6 of them were natives. The natives are more frequently employed in the so-called "sideworks⁴⁸", and the foreigners are employed in the more difficult work in the "gang", but this is the natural system.

⁴⁵ The Danish text says "men for hele Campagnen", probably meaning that they should hire more permanent labor (for the length of the duration - the "campaign") - instead of day-labor

⁴⁶ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁴⁷ Danish: Kønsudskielserne

⁴⁸ In the Danish text, the word "sideworks" is written in English. The meaning is presumably all the types of work which are not directly field work?

Attributes the development of the school system importance in the gradual improvement of the population over time. Thinks that after the removal of the Labor Act, fewer women and children will be needed at the plantations, and that will improve attendance at the schools. Does not assume that a longer schooling will meet resistance from the parents; as it is, many mothers insist that their children attend school. At “Bethlehem”, there has been an evening school which was established by a negro who got 1 Ct. weekly for light. 20 or 30 children from the plantation attended.

During the pursuit of the negroes during the first days of the unrest, whilst the gangs were still active, many negroes were shot by volunteer planters (Thus, planter Mac Evoy shot 6 of the worst), but this was inevitable. He⁴⁹ only knows of 2 instances where excesses were committed after it was all over. [Folio 25] (Manager Wilson at River and W. Fleming at Becks Grove). There was one incident where a wounded person was buried alive at Strawberry Hill, but the negroes themselves did it, and no white person was present.

13. Planter Mac Evoy (Barren Spot)

Assumes that there was a plan beforehand. On an outing, Mac Evoy's⁵⁰ wife was yelled to by a negro: “Wait till the shell is blown at Barren Spot⁵¹”. Has also heard other utterances to the effect that everything was to begin in Westend. During the insurrection, they also thought that it was burning in Bassin. Believes that there was a leading instigator at every plantation. There has been bad blood amongst the negroes for a long time, they committed excesses, killed livestock etc.

Considers the Factory system to have been the demoralizing element. The laborers there did not have enough work to do, there were too many, and they were paid too much. Pronounces very strongly that he is against the entire Factory. They pulled so many people away from the plantations, so many of them⁵² had to employ porters, increasing the dissatisfaction amongst the permanent laborers.

The impact of the removal of the Labor Act will depend on which arrangements are reached with the laborers, particularly whether they voluntarily sign annual contracts with allowance etc. Thinks that the best laborers on the island would accept this. If not, many of them will indulge in gambling and drinking, and the population will degenerate.

Considers immigration to be the salvation of the island [Folio 26]

Is convinced that 10 men in Westend could have prevented the insurrection. Estimates that the number of rebels in each of the “gangs” which went about burning in the country mostly exceeded 20.

⁴⁹ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁵⁰ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁵¹ In the Danish text, the words “Wait till the shell is blown at Barren Spot” are written in English

⁵² the plantations

Considers the relations between planters and laborers to have been good, but it has been perverted by the too lenient treatment of negroes, particularly by the police authorities, and particularly at Kingshill. They were under the impression that they could do whatever they wanted.

14. Police Chief in Frederiksted R. Petersen

Does not believe that there was any plan beforehand, as all circumstances point to this, but there were some troublemakers amongst the laborers who tried to get as much out of the riots as they could after they had broken out. The Police received no information from any side regarding an expected unrest. The passport cases which were handled on the 1st of October went smoothly, and fewer laborers than usual intended to leave the island.

The practice of demanding that a laborer possesses some money (\$3 or \$5) in order to leave the island has not been in use during the Police Chief's time in office, but probably from 1867 to 1875: it was enforced on demand of the Police in St. Thomas, but it was easy to get around, as the demanded amount of money was passed from hand to hand, and eventually, the practice was discontinued.

Regarding the events of the 1st of October, the Police Chief⁵³ repudiates that the town negroes were worse than the country negroes. He has heard the utterance that Christiansted was also burning [Folio 27] amongst the mob during the insurrection.

Considers a military force of approximately 30 serviceable men in Frederiksted to be necessary and sufficient. Additionally, he assumes that after the lifting of the Labor Act, if no central police district is established, an increase of the police force in Frederiksted, consisting of at least 4-6 mounted Officers, will be necessary. Speaks complimentary of the black and colored Police Officers and does not believe that they are subjected to more hatred than the white Officers.

Thinks that the relations between the planters and the laborers, overall, has been good, but with exceptions (Macmillan, Mac Dermott, J. Farrelly).

On the whole, he considers the foreign (English) laborers to be better trained and more alert than the natives. As a rule, they can read print, but not handwriting, and they cannot write.

15. Bank Manager⁵⁴ Brandt from Christiansted

Does not believe in a premeditated plan and thinks that less than 20 men could have stopped everything.

Thinks that a recurrence of the uprising is possible if the necessary safety precautions are not taken.

There was great dissatisfaction in the population. The reason for this is to be found in the Factory system.

⁵³ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁵⁴ Danish: Bankbestyrer

Considers the closure of the Police Station at Kingshill to be beneficial as it has made it more difficult for the laborers to complain for the smallest reasons.

Believes that the relations between whites and [Folio 28] blacks have been good, overall. The house negroes (“the pets⁵⁵”), who were treated the best, were, in many instances, the worst during the rebellion. There is a good deal of affluence amongst the laborers, many of them have bought houses in the towns.

Considers immigration to be utterly unnecessary, particularly because of competition.

The 26th of February

16. School Headmaster⁵⁶ Quinn

Has reason to presume that there was some kind of plan behind the rebellion. Has been told by the English priest, Revd. Branch, that the negro “Monsiou⁵⁷”, who was later shot, had told another negro, on the morning of the 1st of October, that there was going to be a rebellion, and that they would “fight for their liberty⁵⁸”. Has also heard that they had stocked up on conch shells and canes in advance.

There has been a lot of dissatisfaction amongst the laborers because of the wages. Problems were predicted when the Labor Act was lifted, but the October rebellion came as a surprise. Thinks that the employers, on the whole, but far from everyone, have imposed the Labor Act regulations much too ruthlessly. Thinks that the negroes have appreciated being treated well, and the rebellion gives several examples of this. He also assumes that in the beginning, the rebels only wanted revenge on the harsh masters, but when things went well, they became wild and hoped to conquer the entire island.

Is convinced that the rebellion would have been prevented had there been a presence of a handful of military in the Westend and that such could prevent recurrences. [Folio 29]

The schooling system is far from as good as the headmaster could desire. The school legislation is supposed to have been reformed for 6 years now, but it has not happened, and during his entire time in office, he has had to work under that pressure. When he started his employment, regarding the country schools, he took over from the Moravian Brothers’ Headmaster, who was appointed by them, but he received a subsidy. Here⁵⁹, he has absolute authority, hires and fires teachers etc., and just informs the School Commission. Regarding the town schools, he is only a member of the School Commission.

⁵⁵ In the Danish text, the words “the pets” are written in English

⁵⁶ Danish: Skole-Inspecteur

⁵⁷ Elsewhere: Monsieur

⁵⁸ In the Danish text, the words “fight for their liberty” are written in English

⁵⁹ regarding the country schools

Though a slight improvement regarding the country schools has been detectable lately, extremely many children cannot read or write at the end of their schooling. The most prominent reasons for such a poor result are: 1. The lists of the children of a compulsory school age are incomplete, so often, he does not receive the children until they are 9, 10, or even 11 years old instead of 6 years old. The various Police Chiefs adhere to different systems regarding the compilation of these lists. 2. It is very difficult to get the children to turn up at school. At the end of each week, the teachers hand in lists of those who have not attended school to the Police Chief, or, recently it has been twice a week, but nothing is done about it, as there are too many. The parents are summoned by the police, but often, they don't turn up. They use all kinds of excuses. Fines are never given, and nothing happens. The Headmaster⁶⁰ would like the right to issue fines which should be paid to the Commission or the Headmaster. 3. Many parents keep [Folio 30] their children off the October-lists by sending them to the towns for a short while. 4. The teachers are not able to manage the teaching on their own, wherefore they use "monitors", chosen amongst the best of the children, but these are unsatisfactory.

The Headmaster⁶¹ does not think that the planters and managers would exactly support a better schooling solution, but he does not think they would obstruct it, either. He considers a longer schooling to be necessary (from 9-12 and 1-3 daily except Saturday. The Saturday schools no longer exist, but they were of no use, either). The children should be kept in school until they turn 11, all the time from 9-3, and they should not be used for field work in the afternoon except if they voluntarily continue their schooling. Then, he recommends the education of "pupil teachers", following the English model, instead of the "monitors" which are used now, and 3-4 of these should be employed, along with an assistant teacher, in each of the larger schools. The teachers now are probably as good as one can get, and higher wages would hardly improve them. He considers the establishment of 2 new country schools to be necessary because in several instances, there are large distances between places, and it would prevent overloading.

The Headmaster⁶² is well-disposed towards the establishment of parish schools in the towns, but only as an addition to a public free school which is to be maintained for those who cannot afford [Folio 31] to use the first-mentioned but who are important as role models. However, the parish schools must be under government control, and preferably so that the subsidy is independent of the results it reaches.

The citizen's school in Christiansted costs a disproportionate amount compared to the good it does. The expenses could be lowered and the money thus saved could be spent to subsidize the parish schools or something else.

On the whole, he considers our entire schooling system here to be inferior to that on the English islands, particularly Antigua and Barbados.

⁶⁰ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁶¹ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁶² In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

17. Planter J. Farelly (Morning Star). Member of the Colonial Council.

Some unrest, particularly a strike, was expected on the 1st of October, but no one expected a rebellion.

The actual cause of the rebellion was the Factory. Before it was established, the island had a calm and good-natured laboring population, perhaps the best in the West Indies, but the Factory's labor system demoralized them.

With 10 soldiers in Westend, everything could probably have been prevented. Planter Farelly⁶³ has always been opposed to the reduction of the military and he considers it to be a fatal measure.

The relations between planters and laborers have been very good. The last-mentioned are treated well and all their reasonable wishes have been fulfilled.

Does not venture to express any [Folio 32] absolute stance regarding the effect of the lifting of the Labor Act regulations. The planters must do all they can to get voluntary annual contracts with or without allowance, and at worst sell foodstuff to the laborers.

Considers immigration to be absolutely necessary, preferably Barbadian laborers, as they are excellent workers despite their being obstinate. Thinks that the Chinese can also be used.

18. Planter Queale (Glynn)

Does not believe that the insurrection was premeditated. The porter system which has gotten out of control, particularly the last 2 years, caused discontent. Porters usually lived at the plantation, received allowance etc., particularly in the districts which were situated at a distance from the towns.

Has not heard of an impending strike.

Considers a military station at Kingshill to be necessary to give the planters more trust and establish a gathering point for them during unrest. A Police Station, however, is not needed there.

The laborers have been content. Through their "privileges", a laborer can easily earn \$36 annually. Thinks that the native laborers would voluntarily sign the same contracts as now, if they could keep their "privileges".

Immigration will be necessary. Had experience with the Coolies, but was not satisfied with them. They were too expensive, caused trouble etc. Thinks that [Folio 33] the Chinese are good laborers, but would prefer laborers from other islands, particularly Barbados.

⁶³ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

Regarding a reform of the tax legislation, planter Queale⁶⁴ believes that the customs duty for import is too high for necessities, but should be raised for luxury items. The customs duty for export is also somewhat oppressive. Regarding the implementation of an income tax, planter Queale⁶⁵ is generally in favor if it is imposed on everyone who earns somewhat more than a poor salary. Is convinced that many, particularly American, business houses can do good business. Thinks that a plantation manager's income is an estimated \$800 aside from various "privileges" and extra incomes. An "overseer"⁶⁶ has only 60-70, but free station⁶⁷. The tax assessment in the country is probably unreliable and is not sufficiently audited.

19. Merchant in Christiansted Capt. Willard. Deputy Consul of the United States. Member of the Colonial Council.

Has expected that something would happen on the 1st of October, a strike and unrest, but not a rebellion, and he has spoken about it to several people, here amongst Supreme Judge Rosenstand, but they did not agree with him.

The Factory system has undoubtedly been one of the main causes behind the rebellion.

Has never been in favor of the Labor Act regulations, but grants that they have been useful. Hopes that the removal of the Act will be followed up by a guarantee that the plantations will not be in lack of laborers.

Believes that [Folio 34] the negroes have been treated well, apart from some exceptions. Considers the native negroes to be the best and most calm in the whole of the West Indies, but they have been perverted by the immigrated, English negroes, who are almost always the ringleaders in such instances of trouble.

Is convinced that 20 men in Frederiksted would have prevented the insurrection.

Overall, he does not think the taxes are too high. Is in favor of income tax, which he considers to be the most just tax, but believes that it is impossible to reach a correct taxation assessment.

The 27th of February:

20. Shoemaker in Christiansted Frørup (Owner of the livestock plantation Boetzberg)

The insurrection probably erupted by chance, but there was a general atmosphere of rioting. The laborers were hindered in leaving the island, as there were no ships, and it is said that people had to have a certain amount of money to leave.

The laborers were mostly satisfied with their positions.

⁶⁴ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁶⁵ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁶⁶ In the Danish text, the word "overseer" is written in English

⁶⁷ The Danish text says "fri Station" (free station), meaning that a dwelling is at their disposal

Shoemaker Frørup runs the plantation which he himself owns in the Eastend. It is 250 acres large and is partly a livestock plantation and partly, he has rented land to 12 or 14 Squatters, 3-4 acres each, for sugarcane. They sell their sugar to the plantations. They do not pay him more than what barely covers the taxes, and some do not pay at all, but the advantage is that the land is cultivated.

After the removal of the Labor Act, he does not think that the laborers will be interested in signing annual contracts with allowance, even if they are [Folio 35] paid more.

During the last couple of years, there has been a consistent decline amongst the traders in Christiansted. Shoemaker Frørup's⁶⁸ son attends the citizens school in Christiansted, but it is bad. Anyone who can do so employs private tutors for their children. The school has too many holidays and on top of that, there are all sorts of other days off. The teachers might well be competent enough, but the system itself is lax. The Danish lessons are of no consequence.

Shoemaker Frørup's wife is Roman Catholic as are his children. He is a Swedenborgian himself, and there are very few of them here. He complains that the freedom of religion is not sufficiently implicated here, but he is unable to substantiate this stance.

21. Planter Elliot (Bonne Esperance). Member of the Colonial Council.

Believes that the intent to cause unrest was present before the 1st of October. Has never seen so many laborers gathered in the towns as on this day. Has heard about the utterance in Frederiksted that Christiansted was also burning. The omission of tending the provision grounds has also been conspicuous.

Considers the Factory as the actual main reason for the rebellion. Many laborers left their plantation to work at the Factory and were disgruntled when they had to return.

Thinks that it is unnecessary to re-establish a regular Police Station, but is in favor of the establishment of an assistant-post in the middle of the country, where lesser police cases can be undertaken. [Folio 36]

Does not know anything about the misuse of the Labor Act's regulations regarding the terms of notice, which the negroes have complained about, and he has never heard about it.

Assumes that the laborers overall have been treated well and that it has always been their own fault when the opposite has been the case.

Thinks that the removal of the Labor Act will strip half the labor force from the island. Even now, the negroes are strongly inclined to move to the towns, and when this happens, it will increase greatly. Therefore, he considers immigration to be absolutely necessary. Is in favor of Chinese, but

⁶⁸ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

thinks that they will be too difficult to get. There are some Chinese on this island, and they are very friendly, even though they steal.

Does not think that any other crop apart from sugar, for example tobacco, would be worthwhile on this island.

Is convinced that a very small military force would have prevented the rebellion. Has always been opposed to its removal from Westend, and considers it to be imperative that it is reestablished there.

22. General practitioner in Christiansted Dr. Neumann

Dr. Neumann⁶⁹ is the doctor for approximately 20 plantations. He does not believe that the rebellion was preplanned, because if there had been a plan beforehand, the negroes would have given it away, at least after the rebellion, as they are very talkative.

The negroes were dissatisfied and demanded higher wages; many more than usual refrained from selling their passports, and an ordinary [Folio 37] strike was perhaps intended. Does not attach great importance to the fact that many “provision grounds⁷⁰” were left uncultivated, as this has been the case for several years at plantations where the population is less stable.

The Factory system has contributed to bringing about discontent to a very high degree.

Generally, the negroes have been treated well and have been content, particularly in this part of the country with many Danish planters and managers.

Now, the atmosphere is bad and the laborers are disgruntled.

Thinks the whites have committed excesses during and after the rebellion.

With the removal of the Labor Act regulations, many laborers will probably seek to avoid permanent jobs. Family considerations will not hinder this, as they are virtually non-existent amongst the negroes. Marriage is the worst thing one can advise a negro to commit to, as they are almost always unhappy. In many instances, the loose connections amongst the sexes are happier, and the children are better cared for regarding upbringing, schooling etc. But as a rule, the children are treated badly as they are solely considered to be a burden and even the mothers want to be rid of them. The midwife system, child care etc. is lousy. On the plantations, there are experienced women who exclusively make a living through midwifing [Folio 38]; they receive \$1 for each birth. It would be desirable if it was demanded that such women went through training, and this would probably not entail further expense.

⁶⁹ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁷⁰ In the Danish text, the words “provision grounds” are written in Danish

Thinks that the attitude amongst the Europeans towards the blacks and particularly the coloreds is well-founded, as they, naturally with exceptions, are highly unreliable, immoral, disloyal and spiteful. The Doctor⁷¹ arrived here completely unprejudiced and has striven to maintain his sympathy for the blacks, but through experience, he has been forced to change his views.

23. Merchant in Christiansted W. H. Heyliger. Owner of plantation Concordia (colored)

Considers the insurrection to have been premeditated. The proof of this is that the negroes had painted conch shells beforehand and that the battle cry “our side” was known in the entire country as early as on the 1st of October. The rebel “Paris”⁷² had 2 flags, a Danish flag and a red flag, and he is to have informed someone else that he intended to fold out the Danish one, but if they succeeded in winning over the whites, he would use the red one.

A small military force would have prevented the rebellion and it is necessary to reestablish it.

Considers it doubtful that the Factory should be the main reason for the rebellion.

Thinks that the treatment of the laborers has been very good everywhere, and if not, it has been their own fault. The police have always been prone to take the laborers’ side. [Folio 39]

The planters do not see eye to eye amongst themselves as they should; it is always difficult to get them to agree on anything.

Assumes that the removal of the Labor Act regulations will trigger a short-lived excitement and some trouble; particularly, there will be a lack of work force.

Immigration will be necessary, but it is a question of where to get the laborers from. The Chinese will probably be inclined to be craftsmen as soon as they have saved a bit of money; the Coolies will easily give rise to problems with the English Consul

24. Planter Coulter (Anguilla). Member of the Colonial Council

Believes that there was a premeditated plan to cause trouble, but it was probably not intended to go as far as was the case. Planter Coulter⁷³ himself was not at home during the insurrection as he had left the island on the 1st of July, but before his departure, he had already detected that there was excitement amongst the negroes. They did not want to cultivate their “provision grounds”⁷⁴. Has spoken to town Bailiff Jurs about this, but he did not believe him.

⁷¹ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁷² Elsewhere: Parris

⁷³ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁷⁴ In the Danish text, the words “provision grounds” are written in English

Considers the Factory with its system of too high wages and too little work to be the main cause for the rebellion. He has to say this despite his being one of the most eager supporters of the central cookeries⁷⁵.

Thinks that approximately 30 soldiers in Frederiksted and the previous force at Kingshill would have prevented the entire insurrection. Emphasizes the reestablishment of the force at the last-mentioned location. Does not, however, think it necessary to reestablish an actual [Folio 40] Police Station there, but would appreciate the establishment of an assistant post for the settlement of lesser cases.

Wants immigration and thinks that the Chinese are preferable.

After the removal of the Labor Act, he would prefer voluntary contracts without allowance, but he admits that it would be better for the laborers to get this. Does not think it is possible to reach agreement amongst the planters regarding setting up equivalent stipulations for the laborers; hitherto, it has been impossible to get them to agree on anything.

Is convinced that overall, the laborers have been treated quite well and knows no instances of the opposite. As an example, he notes that most planters have not exercised their right to withdraw the 3 Cts. weekly for medical treatment from the laborers' wages. But the negroes' inherent ungratefulness renders all good treatment useless.

Hands in a written transcript of his views and estimates of the losses he has suffered.

The 28th of February:

25. Merchant Mendes in Christiansted (colored)

Has no particular opinion regarding whether there was a plan beforehand, but he assumes not, because when Du Bois first convinced the rioters to leave town, they would have given up the plan, had there been one.

A more general dissatisfaction has been prevalent, but the insurrection was still exceedingly [Folio 41] unexpected; in Christiansted, not even a strike or trouble was expected.

Thinks that the laborers have overall been treated well, because it has very much been in the planters' interest to keep them at the plantations.

Is inclined to assume that after the lifting of the Labor Act regulations, there will be no difficulties regarding voluntarily signing annual contracts towards higher wages.

Considers the presence of an appropriate military force in Frederiksted and at Kingshill to be necessary.

⁷⁵ Danish: Central kogeriet

Believes that the island's poor financial situation makes the introduction of a income tax or wealth tax or other taxes⁷⁶ worrying, and the taxation will entail great difficulties. Regards the present customs duty as rather high.

26. Plantation administrator A. Jensen (Sion Hill)

Does not believe that there was a plan beforehand, but that the insurrection evolved haphazardly from a street commotion. It was unexpected, and no ordinary strike was expected; at Sion Hill, 14 laborers out of 75 laborers left the plantation on the 1st of October, whereas the usual number is 3-4.

There was discontent amongst the negroes. The Factory system is much to blame for this. Many laborers left the plantations (for example Sion Farm), pretending to be ill, and went to work at the Factory. Has reason to assume that the Factory hired laborers without regards to whether they had a passport from the plantations. Many provision grounds [Folio 42] were left uncultivated. The atmosphere now, after the rebellion, is probably the same as last year, when the laborers were still affected by the Factory.

Is convinced that even a very small military force could have prevented the rebellion, but now, a larger force is needed, because the negroes have gained confidence after the rebellion.

The family relations amongst the negroes deteriorates year by year. The children have lost all respect for their parents. They go to school but learn practically nothing, and after 6 months, they have forgotten the little they had learnt. Does not think the school system will have any particular effect, because the negroes are bad by nature. The most good-natured are the previous slaves.

Considers the many regulations in the Labor Act as unjust, particularly the uniform wages, but he does not think that the repeal of the Act will reform the negroes, because they are not willing to work more than they are forced to and they are unable to fathom the meaning of labor.

Thinks that there will be a great lack of labor after the repeal of the Act and that some of the plantations will close down. Immigration would provide a beneficial competition. The Chinese are not physically strong enough, but apart from their tendency to steal, they are good-natured people.

27. Town Bailiff in Frederiksted, Legal Counselor Sarauw. Member of the Colonial Council.

Does not believe in a prepared plan. However, there was discontent amongst the laborers, particularly because of the higher charges for passports to journey to foreign West Indian islands (1\$, and 32 Cts to the Danish islands), and this bothered the laborers, because they wanted to leave in order to avoid signing annual contracts. The negroes also say that the vessels were kept back to prevent them from leaving. The fact that the prospect of a repeal of the Labor Act had been

⁷⁶ The Danish text says "Lejlighedsskat"

announced but was not to be put into practice for 3 years also annoys them; this is a parallel to what happened in 1848 when a time limit of 12 years was set for emancipation.

Counselor Sarauw⁷⁷ thinks it was very dangerous to leave a force of 3 men behind as Orderlies in Frederiksted; it would have been much better to have pulled out all the military. Then, the rebellion would probably not have escalated, because the mob would not have been so excited by the deployment of the 3 soldiers. In this regard, he refers to Pastor Du Bois' view (cf. this person's statement page 18). The presence of 20-30 men would obviously also have prevented the insurrection, but Counselor Sarauw⁷⁸ did not view this as necessary and does not do so now (except perhaps during a short transitional phase), since the Labor Act regulations are to be replaced with more just regulations. Also, he considers the reestablishment of both military and the Police Station at Kingshill to be unnecessary. [Folio 44]

Believes that with the termination of the Labor Act, it should be determined that annual labor with "allowance" should be considered the norm for all contracts between employers and laborers, as nothing else is explicitly stipulated.

Overall, the treatment of the laborers has been good, but the managers have rarely treated the laborers with equal justice; some are preferred, others are harassed. The blacks have harbored no hatred towards the whites.

Opposes to⁷⁹ the view that the workers have been persuaded to renew their contracts through offers of money even though they actually wanted to leave the island. The greatest freedom in those instances would be the best means to prevent a recurrence of the insurrection.

Is strongly opposed to the obstacles which particularly the planters set up to hinder a better development of the schooling system and the current system of child labor. The country school Commission has repeatedly urged the Government to expedite the reform, but hitherto with no result.

Assumes that a further development of the Squatter system will meet difficulties, even if it is made easier for people to acquire smaller acreage of land through partitioning, as there are insufficient funds for this, and it will be difficult for Squatters to get the cultivation of sugarcane to pay off. The Factory, which should facilitate this, is not beneficially [Folio 45] located in this regard. However, the Counselor⁸⁰ would consider it beneficial should the State make an effort in this direction.

28. Butcher in Christiansted Moses Williams, owner of the livestock plantation "Sight" (black)

Believes that there was a premeditated plan of some sort, but that the rebels here in Christiansted were frightened by the Fire Brigade's drill

⁷⁷ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁷⁸ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁷⁹ In the Danish text, it says "udtaler sig imod" (speaks against)

⁸⁰ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

The discontent had primarily arisen because the laborers did not want to wait the 3 years for the lifting of the Labor Act regulations. The Factory System has also contributed to the discontent.

Supports the establishment of a military force of 20-25 men in Frederiksted.

Thinks that many managers have been very severe towards the laborers.

Would consider it beneficial if it was decided that contracts should be binding for at least ½ year after the lifting of the Labor Act regulations. A strict vagrancy law will also be necessary.

Regarding immigration, Moses Williams⁸¹ would prefer Chinese, as they are more good-natured than the negroes from the English islands of which one would only get the worst.

Considers the Squatter system to be unfortunate, as they live at the expense of their neighbors, stealing sugarcane, firewood etc. from them.

An improvement of the schooling system is absolutely necessary, but it is doubtful whether even that would produce a moral improvement of the population. [Folio 46]

29. Planter, Major W. F. Moore and

30. Jas. Al. Moore, Members of the Colonial Council

Do not believe in a preconceived plan for the insurrection, but do believe that an ordinary strike was intended. This has been the subject of comment on the island, but the authorities did not believe it.

Are convinced that even a very small military force would have prevented the insurrection and that the reduction of the military is a disaster. Would also have preferred the retention of the Police Station at Kingshill. The planters' petition for the removal of this was prompted by a personal animosity towards Police Chief Forsberg, and subsequently, this was taken advantage of by the Government.

They oppose the Factory and use the strongest words in doing so. They consider the Factory to be the actual reason for the entire catastrophe.

Are in favor of the removal of the Labor Act, but this should have been proclaimed immediately, without a time limit.

Think that most laborers will leave the island after the removal of the Labor Act. They will probably go to Portorico⁸².

⁸¹ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁸² Puerto Rico

Regarding the responsibility which the Colonial Council must have regarding the measures which have been decided upon in various aspects, they state that the members of the Colonial Council are mostly not independent of the Government because of the loans⁸³ and the priorities. Since all the gentleman-planters have passed away, they do not consider the island, in its present state, to be sufficiently mature for a representative assembly.

Considers a return to the previous state with 3 military- and Police Stations to be the best guarantee for a prevention [Folio 47] of the rebellion.

Also, they refer to a motivated petition for compensation which they read aloud and hand in on behalf of themselves and various other planters and in which their views upon the reasons for the insurrection etc. are more developed.

/: On this occasion, is is informed that regarding the petition for compensation, it can be noted, but the Commission has no authority to grant a such, and if the presented petition contains accusations towards the Government and the Governor personally, it is completely beyond the scope of the Commission's duty to deal with it :/

The 1st of March

31. Master Carpenter in Christiansted John Samuel (black)

Does not believe in any preconceived plan for the insurrection. If such had existed, the laborers would have started to burn down the plantations immediately and would not have gone to Frederiksted where they had no revenge to take, and additionally, they destroyed large parts of their own property. The negroes believed that their endeavors to leave the island were being obstructed, though this was not the case; they became excited and then started to cause trouble, and this is how the insurrection then developed.

Is convinced that an appropriate garrison in Frederiksted would have [Folio 48] prevented trouble there, but is not certain that unrest could not have erupted in the country.

There has been discontent amongst the laborers for a long time. It dates back to the time when the Coolies were imported, as they were paid 20 Cts. a day plus "allowance". The planters could have given laborers better wages by giving them work on Saturdays and paying more for this; some did this, but the Irish planters and managers, who have generally been ill-disposed towards the laborers and who have harassed them in various ways, were very much against it.

Thinks that in many instances, laborers who have been ill have been forced to work because the doctors refused to declare them ill. The laborers were impatient to get the Labor Act removed after this had been promised.

⁸³ Danish: Bureau Laanene (the bureau loans)

Is in favor of a military force in Frederiksted, but not at Kingshill. The Police Station there has done damage; but a re-establishment of an actual Station is to be preferred to the establishment of an assistant post there.

Decidedly disagrees with the prediction that the laborers will be lazy after the removal of the Labor Act regulations. On the contrary, he thinks that they will work if they can find employment, as they all want to save up money. This has been evident for example with the pipe laying at the Factory, which was carried out on piecework. Therefore, he does not assume that it will be difficult to get the laborers [Folio 49] to sign voluntary contracts at any time at the plantations. However, because of the bad part of the population, he considers it necessary to introduce a severe vagrancy law.

Considers the number of laborers on the island to be much too small and therefore recommends immigration. Would prefer Portuguese laborers from Madeira, from where some have been imported, and they turned out to be very satisfactory. The laborers from Barbados, wherefrom the worst always come here, have contributed to the perversion of the population.

Considers the evolution of the Squatter system to be very fortunate, but it has been hampered by the Irish planters' aversion to Squatters. Otherwise, many would be inclined to become Squatters and would also have the means to do so. Now, they mostly inhabit the Eastside, and they are decent and diligent people.

Considers the schools to be good, but in need of improvement in various areas.

Does not believe that there is racial hatred from the side of the blacks. The insurrection was solely a battle between laborers and possessors. Many examples occurred which showed the negroes' gratefulness and love towards whites.

32. Architect in Christiansted, W. Peebles (colored)

Does not believe in a preconceived plan for the insurrection.

The lifting of the Labor Act regulations will create some difficulties, and W. Peebles⁸⁴ considers it probable that [Folio 50] the laborers will seek to avoid work.

Considers sufficient military precautions to be absolutely necessary.

It would be beneficial to evolve the Squatter system. Some are perhaps prone to wrong their neighbors, but approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ of them will probably be decent.

Thinks that an implementation of income taxes is just.

⁸⁴ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

33. Merchant in Christiansted W. Clindinen (colored)

Does not believe in a premeditated plan.

Military security precautions will be necessary.

W. Clindinen⁸⁵ knows the negroes well; he calls them “Children with the indulgences of adults”, and they have to be kept in perpetual fear of the military and the police.

The schooling system is bad and neglected. All the Irish are against it and hamper its improvement.

Considers the parceling of plots for Squatters to be a beneficial idea; it has to be done with subsidies.

Is very much in favor of the introduction of income taxes.

34. Merchant in Frederiksted W. H. Brown. Member of the Colonial Council (colored)

Does not believe in a premeditated plan. The trouble began in and outside W. H. Brown's⁸⁶ rum shop; he outlines the occurrences of the 1st of October, in complete concurrence with Pastor Du Bois (see page 18 ff.). He thinks that the interference of the 2 Orderlies was harmful, and that it would have been easier to calm down [Folio 51] the laborers if they⁸⁷ had not turned up, but he dare not claim that it would have prevented the insurrection.

For the last 2-3 years, there has been a general dissatisfaction amongst the laboring population because of the Labor Act regulations, particularly the equal pay. Thinks that the discontinuation of the Labor Act will increase the work force on the island, because the Act will be replaced by appropriate rules which secure annual or half-yearly contracts.

Military enforcement will be necessary.

Considers the way in which the schooling system is organized in the country to be pure, ridiculous humbug, and it is not worth the money which it costs. The children hardly learn anything, and what they learn is completely mechanical, and they quickly forget the little they knew. This, however, is not because of the teachers, but more because of the planters, the parents and other reasons.

The evolution of the Squatter system decidedly deserves to be supported in every way. It would contribute to the population's self-esteem and diligence. But the planters are unanimously against it because they fear theft from their fields.

⁸⁵ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁸⁶ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁸⁷ the Orderlies

Opposes income taxes which he does not consider to be fair, for example towards people in his line of work, who are already taxed in various ways. [Folio 52]

35. Planter Alex Flemming (St. George, Mountain, amongst others). Member of the Colonial Council.

Is inclined to believe that the insurrection was fortuitous. There was discontent amongst the laborers, provoked by the Factory's labor system. The Factory employed laborers without making sure that they had passports from their plantations; Planter Alex Flemming⁸⁸ himself has had such a case, a laborer who had an annual contract with one of his plantations was employed by the Factory for 3 months, and he had him punished.

Thinks that 20 men in Frederiksted would have prevented everything. Has considered the Police Station at Kingshill a good arrangement, but when the military station there was discontinued, much against his will, he also voted, in the Colonial Council, for the discontinuation of the Police Station. He has done all that was humanly possible to convince the Government of the dangers of reducing the military in Westend. The reestablishment is absolutely necessary, as is the reestablishment of the military station at Kingshill.

The relations between planters and laborers had been good right up until the establishment of the Factory. Has never himself employed porters at his plantations. Has co-signed the planter's petition regarding the suppression of the porter-system.

Is of the conviction that if the annual contracts are not made compulsory when the Labor Act is discontinued, the entire cultivation of the island will become impossible, and the island will be declared bankrupt. Because of the lack of solidarity amongst the planters, it is impossible to imagine that they will reach any common agreement on only employing laborers on particular terms.

Thinks that immigration will contribute substantially to the salvation of the island, and he would prefer Chinese.

Wishes very much that the island's self-government will be discontinued.

Is opposed to income taxes, as it would probably not amount to much.

The 3rd of March

36. Principal of the Congregation of the Moravian Brothers in Christiansted Pastor Franze

⁸⁸ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

Is inclined to assume that something was prepared by the laborers - probably more like a strike - but it was not to have been implemented until later. The street commotion in Frederiksted was the coincidental incident which caused the outbreak to come earlier than intended.

Assumes that only 2 or 3 Moravian congregation members partook in the rebellion, as all congregation members who do not behave well are immediately excommunicated.

The reason for the prevailing discontent was the promised, but not yet implemented, lifting of the Labor Act regulations, which led the laborers to first contemplate the restraints under which they lived, and then to compare it to the conditions on the other islands.

An appropriate military force would probably have prevented the insurrection. In all of West India, it is necessary to protect the white population with such measures, and the neglect to do so will have punishing consequences. [Folio 54]

Considers the schooling system here to be very poor compared to other places, particularly the English islands, which are those he knows best. He believes that the occurrences to a high degree can be ascribed to the inadequate child rearing and he thinks that the schooling system, in time, will reform the population.

Considers the black race to be inferior to the white. His Church endeavors to educate blacks to become missionaries by all means, but they rarely succeed, not because of any lack of ability to learn the required knowledge, but because they lack other traits; they are like children and are rarely to be trusted. He does not think that this will ever change, and if so, it will take centuries.

In Pastor Franze's⁸⁹ experience, the treatment of the laborers has been good. Overall, their material situation has been better than on most other islands.

After the discontinuation of the Labor Act regulations, a lot of laziness will probably spread amongst the negroes, who will only work as much as they are forced to. Considers a severe vagrancy law to be imperative in order to alleviate this. The lack of such has for example turned out to be very severe [Folio 55] on Jamaica.

37. Apothecary in Frederiksted Legal Counselor Faber. Member of the Colonial Commission

Does not believe in any preconceived plan. The insurrection evolved out of a random street tumult. It was unexpected, even though it had been known for a long time that there was discontent amongst the laborers.

The deeper cause for the insurrection must be sought in the general decline in all respects and the chain of unlucky events which has haunted the island in the course of the last years - the sale to

⁸⁹ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

America⁹⁰, hurricanes, earthquakes, the bad years and the closing of the Factory last year. Reductions and spending cuts on all areas were necessary, and in particular, the Government was forced to reduce the military forces.

A force of 25 men in Frederiksted would have been able to prevent the entire rebellion. The actions of the two Orderlies on the 1st of October can probably not be said to have contributed to the outbreak of the insurrection. He considers it utterly irresponsible if an appropriate military force is not now established in Frederiksted.

The laborers were dissatisfied with many of the measures in the Labor Law regulations, particularly the annual contract, the equal pay and the medical supervision, and particularly the requirement of a doctor's note to be excused from work when ill; also the fining system.

The treatment of the negroes has not been good everywhere, particularly regarding the Irish.

Legal Counselor Faber⁹¹ would consider it a great joy for the Colony if the self-government was discontinued entirely. The Colonial Counsel does great [Folio 56] harm because the predominant influence wielded by the Irish planters makes a healthy development of the conditions impossible. It cannot be said to be a real representation of the population, because it mostly consists of foreigners who have no other interest in the island than enriching themselves and creating animosity towards all things Danish.

Considers the development of the Squatter system to be felicitous and thinks it could spread if the Factories succeed.

Thinks that the reestablishment of a savings bank would be very beneficial. Considers the introduction of an income tax to be a just and constructive measure.

38. Planter J. Farelly (Upper Love)

Considers the presence of a preconceived plan to cause unrest to be feasible, but it was not planned for it to go so far, beforehand, as what happened.

Blames the Factory for the dissatisfaction which was prevalent amongst the laborers. Before the establishment of the Factory, they had always been calm and satisfied, and they had no reason to complain about their circumstances, which were very good. The porter system also contributed to generating dissatisfaction, and the planters who employed them deserve reproach. Planter Farelly⁹² himself has [Folio 57] never had porters.

⁹⁰ After the Danish defeat in the war against Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, the US was concerned that Austria might seize control of the Danish West Indies. Therefore, the US Secretary of State William S. Seward initiated negotiations regarding a sale of the harbor on St. Thomas. The vote in a Danish referendum on the matter was favor of the sale, and a treaty was signed on the 24th of October 1867. However, the US congress wavered and the time limit of the treaty ran out

⁹¹ In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

⁹² In the Danish text, it says "Comparanten" (the person who appears in court)

A small military force would probably have prevented the insurrection, and it is imperative to establish one now.

Considers immigration to be absolutely necessary.

On the basis of his many years of experience he believes that it is impossible to treat the negroes leniently. Only strictness can keep them in order. Does not think that they can be improved through education; the negroes from Barbados who are properly trained are the worst of all.

Is very much opposed to the Squatter system.

39. Merchant Masterson in Frederiksted

Has reason to assume that preparations towards a rebellion were underway since October 1877 if not earlier, but it is possible that it was not intended to go as far as what happened. One of the signs of this is that the “provision grounds” were not cultivated. The foreign negroes from the English islands were the instigators.

Thinks that 10 soldiers in Frederiksted would have prevented the insurrection and considers the establishment of an appropriate crew to be imperative.

Thinks that the number of laborers who want to leave the island did not exceed 50, and he knows that no obstacles were set up in that regard.

Merchant Masterson⁹³ (who is Roman Catholic) does not ascribe the improvement of education any unconditional significance [Folio 58], and overall, he thinks that no education is better than a half. A reform of the entire upbringing is necessary, and this undertaking entails other issues than just education, namely the religious aspect and the development of character.

Considers the development of the Squatter system to be fortunate and viable.

Thinks that immigration will be necessary and prefers the Chinese, whom he has had the opportunity to be acquainted with in America and whom he has a high opinion of.

40. Plantation administrator Mac Dermott (Mount Pleasant & Plessens)

Has predicted an ordinary strike and possible unrest on the 1st of October. He tried to inform the Governor about this some weeks beforehand, but could not get access to talk to him. Has also talked to Police Chief Petersen and Town Bailiff Jurs about it, but they did not believe it; has even made a bet on it with the last-mentioned⁹⁴ before his departure.

⁹³ In the Danish text, it says “Comparanten” (the person who appears in court)

⁹⁴ Town Bailiff Jurs

The planter-meeting in September was held in planter Mac Dermott's⁹⁵ house and was summoned by himself; however, they could not reach an agreement, and he ended up warning them about the 1st of October.

He has, himself, voted in favor of the discontinuation of the Police Station at Kingshill, but now he acknowledges that he was gravely mistaken on this matter. He also considers the reestablishment of the military station the same place to be necessary. A small military force in Frederiksted would have prevented the insurrection, and one such has to be reestablished [Folio 59] there.

Speaks with strong expressions against the Factory, particularly also from the point of view of the shareholders regarding the expense and inconvenience of the administration, and he thinks that under these circumstances, the Factory would in no way be worth its while, even if sugarcane were delivered for free.

Will hand in a written account of his views on the above-mentioned and other questions.

41. Planter Riis (Lebanon Hill)

Does not believe in a preconceived plan, but there was some dissatisfaction amongst the negroes, and a strike was perhaps predictable. Of the 50 first class laborers⁹⁶ at Lebanon Hill, 23 or 24 of them resigned. The cultivation of "provision grounds"⁹⁷ was also rapidly decreasing.

The Factory had much blame because of its system which did not take sufficient consideration to the labor conditions on the island when hiring laborers.

Thinks that the Irish planters and managers' treatment of the negroes was arbitrary, as it was at one time much too harsh and at other times too lenient; this has contributed to the perversion of the laborers.

Considers the negroes to be naturally bad and unreliable, ungrateful and immune to good treatment. They can only be controlled through fear. The old slaves are usually the [Folio 60] best. It is hoped that improved schooling will be able to contribute to reform their character through the generations, but experience, for example from Barbados, seems to make it unlikely.

Thinks that a further development of the Squatter system will meet a lot of resistance from the side of the planters, and admits that this will also be partly well founded, particularly if the Squatters are to be distributed around the island. It would expand better on the Eastside alone.

Immigration will probably be necessary after the lifting of the Labor Act, amongst other things because of the moral influence the foreign laborers might have on the natives.

⁹⁵ In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

⁹⁶ The best workers were called "the first class laborers" and received a wage of 15 cents a day. Second class laborers received 10 cents a day. Third class laborers received 5 cents a day

⁹⁷ In the Danish text, the words "provision grounds" are written in English

The 4th of March

42. “Driver” at “Little Princess” John Adam (black)

Does not believe that there was a plan for the insurrection. There was dissatisfaction amongst the laborers, particularly caused by the Factory’s labor system.

The treatment of the laborers has varied greatly. Instances of brutal treatment have not been exceptional.

Believes that most parents would like to have their children better educated than now.

Thinks that many laborers would like to be Squatters as it would relieve them to acquire smaller plots of land.

Has gotten to know many laborers from the English islands and considers them to be good. The Chinese are also good workers, [Folio 61] but the natives are probably the best.

43. Plantation manager Peebles (Betty’s Hope)

Does not believe that the insurrection was planned beforehand; but there was great discontent about wages amongst the laborers. 14 days before the unrest, Manager Peebles⁹⁸ saw one of his laborers suddenly hurl away his hack and exclaim: “No, this is too d...d hot for 10 Cts!”⁹⁹”

Has never employed porters himself, but he believes that even though they had been paid 20 Cts. a day and received allowance, they were still worse than the permanent laborers who were, in all regards, better off than any laboring population he knows of. Overall, they have been treated well, but they are ungrateful by nature.

Is convinced that great difficulties will arise after the discontinuation of the Labor Act, as the negroes will not voluntarily sign contracts for longer durations and they will under no circumstances work more than they are forced to. They hate field work and they will all seek to earn enough in other ways.

Immigration might possibly save the island. Right now, there are probably approximately 3,000 laborers from Barbados on St. Croix.

The schooling system is very much in need of improvement. Those of the population who care about their children’s education have lost all trust in the country schools and try to send the children to parish schools. But the vast [Folio 62] majority of the parents have no interest, and this

⁹⁸ In the Danish text, it says “Comparantens” (the person who appears in court)

⁹⁹ In the Danish text, the words “No, this is too d...d not for 10 Cts!” are written in English

is mainly because of the lack of family life; a priest, located here, once uttered: “the children of this island have no father and very little mother¹⁰⁰”.

Is very much in favor of the spreading of independent land ownership amongst the negroes and the spread of the Squatter system, and sees it as the only way in which to teach them to be industrious. But this has met a fanatical opposition from the planters. Considers it to be the Government’s duty to take care of this matter.

A small military force in Frederiksted and at Kingshill would have prevented the insurrection. Considers the establishment of a such at both the mentioned places to be a necessity, and also recommends a reestablishment of the police station at Kingshill. Considers the present police workforce on the island to be very poorly assembled.

Would consider the introduction of an income tax to be fair.

44. Priest in the Roman Catholic congregation in Christiansted Guilbot

Assumes that there was a plan to cause unrest, but not an actual insurrection; this evolved by chance.

There was dissatisfaction amongst the laborers, primarily induced by the influence of the foreign laborers. The Factory’s labor system and the reduction of the military force are the two main reasons for the outbreak of the insurrection. Also believes that the 3-year time limit for the lifting of the Labor Act has contributed [Folio 63] to the dissatisfaction.

Does not know much about the country school system, but does not consider it to be at a very high level. The Roman Catholic congregation does not have sufficient funds at its disposal to establish schools; there is only one, in Frederiksted. Priest Guilbot¹⁰¹ would very much appreciate subsidies to establish more schools under public control, similar to the way it is done on the English islands. He does not actually focus on improving the teaching, but more on a reform of the entire upbringing in a religious and moral sense, and in this connection, the home plays the most important role. Admits that the marriages are often unhappy, as the negroes have no concept of its meaning and much prefer having concubines, and he never neglects to counteract the illegitimate connections between the sexes. (*Added in the margin.* cf. Engholm!) The worst examples given in this regard and in other regards are set by the whites, primarily managers and “overseers” who do much harm, and amongst other things, they undermine the respect which they ought to infuse in the laborers and which then has to be upheld through harsh treatment.

Does, however, not think that maltreatment of the laborers has been the rule on this island, but there have been many instances of it. The permanent plantation negroes’ position is better than it is on most of the other islands.

¹⁰⁰ In the Danish text, the words “The children on this island have no father and very little mother” are written in English

¹⁰¹ In the Danish text, it says “Comparantens” (the person who appears in court)

Assumes that the development of the Squatter- [Folio 64] system of subdividing land will have a positive effect on the negroes in the sense that it will motivate them to work.

45. Butcher in Christiansted Derrick. Owner of the livestock plantation "Grøn Kalen" (black)

Does not know whether there was a preconceived plan but assumes that disturbances were intended. There was discontent amongst the laborers because of the wages.

Thinks that the lifting of the Labor Act will cause many of the laborers to leave the island.

Immigration will be necessary; Portuguese laborers from Madeira will probably be preferable.

Would appreciate improved teaching, as the schooling now is much too short. Those few who have gained any knowledge appreciate it greatly.

The Squatter system entails great disadvantages for the plantations, because the Squatters steal from them.

The 5th of March

46. Plantation manager Wilson (River)

Thinks that preparations were made 6-7 months up to the insurrection or at least a strike. The discontent was solely caused by the Factory system. The laborers had the impression that the Factory belonged to the King and would pay them any amount, and this demoralized them and made them dissatisfied with the plantation labor. Until the establishment of the Factory, the laboring population on this island had been the calmest and most peaceful in the whole of the West Indies. Is convinced that unless [Folio 65] the whole way the Factory works is gradually changed, it will never be worthwhile.

Thinks that a military force in Frederiksted as well as on Kingshill is necessary, 20-30 men each place.

Considers immigration to be imperative in the next couple of years, because the lifting of the Labor Act regulations will diminish the workforce considerably. The negroes do not possess the sufficient diligence or sense of independence to work when they are not forced to. Unless the annual contract is maintained, it will be impossible to function with the island's own workforce.

Overall, the laborers have been treated well; It would not be in the interest of the planters themselves to treat them badly.

47. Planter Svitzer (Clifton Hill)

Does not assume that there was a preconceived plan. Has heard the rumors that the laborers held meetings at Carlton and other places, but these rumors have turned out to be loose and unreliable.

There was dissatisfaction regarding the wages, and that was caused by the Factory system. Up until last year, there was never any discontent amongst the laborers.

Thinks that the Labor Act has been very useful for both planters and laborers. It would only be possible to get the negroes to work through such or similar regulations, and this is the greatest charity towards them; they lived happily and in affluence. [Folio 66]

All planters have probably striven to treat their laborers well in order to keep them.

Has no illusions¹⁰² that better teaching will reform the negro population. The English negroes are well enough trained, but they are also the most insolent, thieving and malicious of them all.

A small military force in Frederiksted and on Kingshill would undoubtedly have prevented the insurrection. Considers it possible that the discontinuation of the Labor Act will lead to new unrest and thinks it necessary to take all relevant precautions in that regard. Emphasizes the need to reestablish the military station at Kingshill. Does not think one could trust black soldiers. Would consider it desirable if the planters established a militia and thinks this would be possible.

Considers immigration to be absolutely necessary and prefers Chinese.

48. Planter Holm (Mount Pleasant)

Dare not state any certain opinion regarding whether there was a plan or not, but does not consider it to be probable.

The reason for the insurrection must be sought in the lack of military and police. The negroes will probably always take advantage of any chance to cause trouble if they believe they can do so without being punished, and then one never knows what it can lead to.

The relations between employers and laborers have probably overall been good. In planter Holm's¹⁰³ experience, the negroes appreciate being treated with kindness. [Folio 67]

A small military force will be sufficient to prevent a recurrence of the insurrection.

The 6th of March

¹⁰² Actually, the Danish text says "Nærer ikke noget Haab" (has no hope)

¹⁰³ In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

Planter James Latimer (Two Williams, Whim, Concordia amongst others). Member of the Colonial Council.

Thinks that the insurrection was haphazard, but there was dissatisfaction because of the Factory's labor system. This, in connection with the fact that the laborers had money, were drunk and that there was insufficient police and military, caused the insurrection. In June, Planter Latimer¹⁰⁴ had explicitly warned the Police Chief as well as the Assistant in Frederiksted about the 1st of October.

He has had porters at his plantations for several years. They were almost always employed for daywork and very rarely piecemeal. Their work was not satisfactory.

Considers a military force in Frederiksted to be necessary and also a military station at Kingshill. Also, it would be desirable if a volunteer force was organized.

The retention, in one way or another, of the forced annual contract will be a prerequisite for the continued cultivation of the island after the removal of the Labor Act. Also, immigration will be necessary, probably approximately 2,000 laborers. Planter Latimer¹⁰⁵ prefers the Chinese, as they, in his experience, are very good if treated well. The Coolies were bad laborers, difficult to control and their insubordination was supported by the English Consul.

Does not think that better education will improve the negro population. It is sufficient [Folio 68] to give them moral concepts, and this is not achieved through schooling. He refers to the Barbados negroes who are well trained but very bad laborers. Also, he does not assume that it was the planters but the parents who objected to an improvement of the schooling system, particularly the continuation of schooling until an older age than now.

Because of the negroes' inherent unwillingness to work and their lack of ambition, he does not consider it probable that the Squatter system will develop in a satisfactory way.

Is in favor of the introduction of an income tax.

50. Planter Skeoch (Carlton). Member of the Colonial Counsel.

Does not believe in a preconceived plan for the insurrection he thinks that a strike was prepared. There was a lot of dissatisfaction, primarily because of the Factory, where too high wages were given and too little work was demanded. Before that time, the population was one of the mildest and perhaps the happiest in West India. Has used porters at Carlton and gave them 15 Cts. (in the later years 12) and "allowance"¹⁰⁶, but many of the other planters paid them more. Does not think

¹⁰⁴ In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

¹⁰⁵ In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

¹⁰⁶ In the Danish text, the word "allowance" is written in English

that the porter system, before the time of the Factory, caused dissatisfaction amongst the permanent laborers, as these were, in reality, better off.

The laborers have been treated well, but it will always be impossible to predict what they might think of doing when they think they have grasped the power. [Folio 69]

Considers a military force in Frederiksted and at Kingshill to be necessary; also a police station at the last-mentioned place, as the distance between the towns is too big.

After the lifting of the Labor Act regulations, labor must be acquired through immigration. Prefers Chinese, preferably approximately 2,000; they are indeed thieving, but probably not more so than the natives.

Would consider the discontinuation of the forced annual contract to be not only the ruin of the island, but also very much of the laborers themselves, as they would then undoubtedly become completely demoralized.

The improvement of the schooling system is hampered by the resistance of the parents; but overall, the school will probably not be able to achieve anything as long as the family relations are as they are now and the children are groomed to lie and thieve.

51. British Deputy Consul in Christiansted, Merchant F. Armstrong. Member of the Colonial Counsel.

Does not believe that a plan to create an insurrection was prepared beforehand, but there was great dissatisfaction amongst the negroes, and when they came to Frederiksted, they undoubtedly intended to cause trouble. It significantly contributed to the heightening of the excitement that the laborers were prevented from leaving the island. The actual proof that this happened has now been presented to the Government through Consul Stevens.

Deputy Consul Armstrong¹⁰⁷ feels obliged to state that the entire blame for the insurrection must be laid on the Government, particularly because of its actions regarding the establishment and the operation of the Factory. [Folio 70] The responsibility for this cannot be laid on the Colonial Council whose members are mostly dependent on the Government and which¹⁰⁸ is just “a significant tool in the hands of Government¹⁰⁹”, and whose entire position and operation in the public opinion is an “object of contempt¹¹⁰”. /: The Chairman informs Deputy Consul Armstrong¹¹¹ that the Commission cannot allow the Colony’s constitutional representation to be referred to in such a manner :/.

¹⁰⁷ In the Danish text, it says “Comparantens” (the person who appears in court)

¹⁰⁸ The Colonial Council

¹⁰⁹ In the Danish text, the words “a significant tool in the hands of Government” are written in English

¹¹⁰ In the Danish text, the words “object of contempt” are written in English

¹¹¹ In the Danish text, it says “Comparantens” (the person who appears in court)

Ascertain that in the population, there has been and still is a general dissatisfaction with and lack of trust in the Government, and that the population has no blame in this situation. The island was furnished with the Factory despite the fact that very few people at the time expected it to have any particular use. But after it has turned out which immense damage its labor system and the lavishness in its administration has done, only a unanimous condemnation is to be heard.

Is convinced that a very small military force, perhaps 6 men, could have prevented the insurrection, had they been well armed; but everything was in terrible condition, the canons were useless and the citizens did not organize themselves in order to defend the town. Now, after what has happened, a much larger force will probably be necessary.

Criticizes the way in which the police courts have been administered.

Regarding the schooling system, it is [Folio 71] the opinion of the Deputy Consul¹¹² that for the last 20 years, the country schools have been absolute humbug. The children have learnt nothing, and the schools might as well be closed down completely.

52. Driver at Pl. Fredensborg G. Marques (black)

Cannot state anything regarding the question of whether there was a preconceived plan. The dissatisfaction with the wages was the reason behind the outbreak of the unrest.

After the discontinuation of the Labor Act, he thinks that the laborers will leave the plantations and only work when they have to; many will live off thievery.

Driver G. Marques¹¹³ himself has only attended school (Saturday school) for 2 years and can neither read nor write.

53. Merchant in Frederiksted Peter Joshua (black)

Does not believe there was any preconceived plan for the insurrection, but he believes that preparations were made amongst the laborers in order to induce unrest or a strike.

A small military force in Frederiksted could certainly have prevented the insurrection.

Thinks that the planters and managers have very often treated the laborers harshly and unkindly, so when the insurrection came, they felt that they were taking revenge.

Joshua Black¹¹⁴, who belongs to the congregations of the Moravian Brothers, complains at length over the state of the schools, and he very much hopes that the forthcoming changes in the conditions on the island will entail a thorough reform of [Folio 72] the schooling system. The

¹¹² In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

¹¹³ In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

¹¹⁴ In the Danish text, it says "Comparantens" (the person who appears in court)

teachers are not bad and they do their best; but the schools are shabby and both the number of lessons and the length of the schooling is inadequate.