ANNOTATED REGISTER OF CONSULAR CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE ORIGINS, EVENTS AND AFTERMATH OF THE ST. CROIX LABOR INSURRECTION OF 1878, AS FOUND IN THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE PAPERS, AT THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, KEW, ENGLAND

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#### INTRODUCTION

Although British capital and British nationals of all classes had played a decisive role in the founding and economic development of the Danish West Indian colonies, not until 1853 did the British Government establish a consulate there to represent British interests. Presumably this step came in response to a petition submitted in 1849 by the sizable group of British merchants and bankers residing in the commercial emporium of St. Thomas. At the time a considerable volume of trade flowed between the British Isles and St. Thomas, and a number of British mercantile firms, including the Royal Mail Steamship Company, had established themselves in that island. According to the 1849 petition, some 200 British ships and 2000 British seamen called at St. Thomas annually. 1

The St. Thomas consulate served all of the Danish islands until 1863, when a second post was established on St. Croix in order to provide direct protection for 321 contract laborers brought to the island from India under a formal agreement between Great Britain and Denmark. The contract period lasted five years, after which most of the East Indians returned home and the St. Croix consular post was down graded to that of Vice-Consul, subordinate to the St. Thomas Consul.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>FO 22/174, "Petition of British Merchants and Bankers at St. Thomas, July 9, 1849.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>For the East Indian emigration scheme see K. K. Sircar, "Emigration of Indian indentured labour to the Danish West Indian island of St. Croix 1863-68," Scandinavian Economic History Review, vol. 19 (1971), pp. 133-148.

In 1877 the Foreign Office created a second Vice-Consul post on St. Croix. This expansion had been recommended by the St. Thomas Consul, who pointed out that 82 of the 108 sugar estates on the island were British owned, and that at least one-third of the 21,000 inhabitants were British subjects, most of whom had emigrated as contract laborers from the British West Indian islands. 1

When British investment and population in St. Croix began to shrink in the 1880's the two vice-consulate posts were terminated. The St. Thomas consulate, however, remained in existence until at least 1905, when consular correspondence from that island ceased altogether.

Much of the documentation in the British consular records (located in the F.O. 22 series along with all other diplomatic correspondence with Denmark and her dependencies) pertains to house-keeping matters and to petty disputes among British residents. Little can be learned from it about the history of the Virgin Islands. However, buried among the trivia is a large and extremely important body of material bearing on the origins, events and immediate aftermath of the St. Croix labor insurrection of 1878 (the "Fireburn"). Most of this documentation, which is described in this "Annotated Register", has been copied from the originals at the Public Record Office in Kew, England for the Bureau of Libraries, Museums and Archaeological Services, so that it can be placed in the public libraries of the Virgin Islands for use by local scholars, researchers and students of Virgin Islands history. 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>FO 22/406, Consul George A. Stevens to Earl of Derby, St. Thomas, May 15, 1877, No. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>A total of 130 documents, amounting to 685 pages, were copied. Twelve (12) documents have not been copied in their entirety, primarily because the omitted pages contained only formal closings. In two or three instances, however, pages containing substantive information have been inadvertently omitted. All incomplete documents are identified by an asterix (\*) at the end of their title.

The British Government and its consular representatives in the Danish West Indies became deeply involved in the labor troubles on St. Croix for several reasons. First, emigrant laborers from the British West Indies comprised a large percentage of the island's plantation labor force. Many of these workers took part in the Fireburn because of legitimate grievances over ill-treatment and exploitation by the planters, lack of protection and justice from Danish officials, and especially the concerted efforts of planters and officials to prevent them from leaving the island at the expiration of their contracts. After the insurrection these complaints were brought to the attention of the British consular agents, and subsequently became an issue between Denmark and Great Britain.

Secondly, about 80% of the sugar plantations on St. Croix were owned and administered by British subjects, most of whom resided upon the island. The British planters petitioned Denmark for indemnification for losses incurred during the insurrection, claiming that they had been inadequately protected by the Danish colonial government. The planters requested the British Government to press their claims on the Danish Government, which it did for a short period of time, until forced to drop the matter by Danish resistance and a Law Office opinion that the British planters had no other claims to compensation than those of Danish subjects. In wrapping up

The exact number of British emigrant laborers in St. Croix at the time is difficult to determine. British officials placed the number of workers wanting to leave St. Croix in October 1879 at between two and three thousand. See FO 22/435, Capt. Knowles to the Admiralty, Oct. 8, 1879 and Consul Stevens to Salisbury, Oct. 15, 1879. According to the Colonial Council records a total of 3707 laborers from other West Indian islands entered St. Croix between 1863 and 1878. See St. Croix Colonial Council Proceedings, 18 July 1882.

the matter, Thomas Lister, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, commented:

My impression is that the Governor of the Danish West Indies & some influential persons at Copenhagen were pecuniarily interested in the Central Factory and that some of the illegal measures adopted by the former to ensure its success were remote causes of the riots. When the moment of danger arose, the Gov, who was generally arbitrary and insolent in time of peace, proved unequal to the occasion. But I cannot see that we have any grounds for requiring compensation to the British planters whose property was destroyed beyond that which may be, or may have been, granted to Danish planters.

Thirdly, British consular agents and naval personnel became directly involved in a massive, but peaceful, general strike by plantation laborers, which occurred on St. Croix in October-November 1879. Danish authorities attributed this strike action, which resulted in improved working conditions and the abolition of the hated system of annual labor contracts, to consular interference on behalf of British emigrant laborers.

Fourth, having become alarmed over the long imprisonment without trial, and in terrible conditions, of a number of British subjects implicated in the Fireburn, the British Government applied diplomatic pressure on Denmark to speed up their trials. And, after the Danish courts had sentenced 23 British subjects (including "Queen" Mary Thomas of Antiqua) to death, the British Government pressed for commutation of the sentences. When the Danish King did commute the death sentences to various terms of imprisonment, the British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>FO 22/432, Lister note, Feb. 28, 1880. The Law Office opinion, dated April 28, 1880, can be found in the same volume.

Government could justifiably take some credit for this outcome. 1

Finally, out of all of this arose a controversy over the right of British consular agents to intervene with Danish authorities on behalf of the rights and interests of British subjects resident in the Danish West Indies. The Danish Government steadfastly denied any such right, arguing that all foreign residents holding a Burgher Brief (a business license) had sworn an Oath of Allegiance to Denmark by which they became temporary Danish subjects for as long as they lived in the Danish The Oath of Allegiance was considered necessary in order to ensure effective local control over the extremely large foreign population of the islands. The British Government rejected this position as inconsistent with existing Anglo-Danish treaties, and as an unwarranted infringement upon the rights of Britons in an emerging world economy. Commenting on the dispute, which above all else threatened to undermine diplomatic relations between the two nations, one exasperated British statesman wrote:

St. Croix is an unproductive estate which the Danes would be glad to sell cheap. It is badly managed by an ill-tempered, pompous sea captain who refuses to receive communications from our Consul respecting the grievances of British subjects. Englishmen are not allowed to trade in the Colony unless they take the Danish Oath of Allegiance which is held to deprive them of the protection of their own Government.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This aspect of British involvement is not well documented in the consular correspondence and therefore little about it appears in the copied material which is the subject of this Register. The above paragraph is based on the following sources: FO 22/421, Lister to Salisbury, Nov. 28, 1879 and FO 22/431, Foreign Office to Stevens, Oct. 4, 1880.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>FO 22/454, Lister note, September 9, 1880.

The end neither side backed down, although the Danish

Communicate the right of consular agents in the

Slands to communicate directly with the Danish Governor.

The two nations agreed to disagree. And to smooth over

their relations the Danish Government recalled Governor

Carde, while the British Government replaced its energetic

Consul George Alexander Stevens with a less forceful and

committed personality. The rights of British planters and

West Indian emigrant laborers were thus renounced and soon

forgotten in the interest of European geopolitics, a fact

underscored by the reversion to trivia in the consular

correspondence after 1881.

With respect to the voluminous documentation generated by British involvement in the Fireburn, there is no doubt that it contributes significantly to our understanding of that seminal event. Not only does it reveal the hitherto unappreciated role of the British Government, but it also clarifies the contribution of both British planters and British laborers. It sheds valuable light on the origins and organization of the insurrection, and highlights the critical role of the little known general strike of 1879 in destroying the last remnants of the old slave labor system. Finally, this documentation calls into serious question the official Danish version of events, a version which has provided the basis of almost all scholarly research and interpretation up to now. While this material does contain its own biases, and while we still lack a documentary basis for viewing Fireburn from the vantage point of the insurgents, it nonetheless does provide a welcome foundation for reinterpreting this strike for freedom from a Virgin Islands perspective.

#### F.O. 22/320

- 1. Consul Henry Rainals to Earl Russell, St. Croix, January 11, 1864, No. 2. pp. 1-8 Report on the situation of 318 British East Indian laborers on St. Croix. (8 pp.) 2. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, March 26, 1864, No. 5.\* pp. 9-13 Problems of British West Indian emigrant laborers on St. Croix. (5 pp.) 3. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, April 7, 1364, No. 8. pp. 14-19 On the situation of East Indian laborers and the need to employ an interpreter to communicate with them. (6 pp.) 4. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, May 12, 1864, No. 9. pp. 20-24 Report on the situation of the East Indian laborers. (5 pp.) 5. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, June 9, 1864, No. 11. pp. 25-32 Respecting difficulties arising from Danish claims that British and foreign residents of the Danish West Indies become Danish subjects upon taking out a Burgher License, which necessitates swearing an Oath of Allegiance to Denmark. (8 pp.) 6. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, June 25, 1864, No. 13. pp. 33-45 Details the problems of black emigrant laborers from Barbados on St. Croix, and recommends a convention
- emigration from the British West Indies. (13 pp.)

  7. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, July 26, 1864, No. 16. pp. 46-54
  Report on the difficulties of East Indian laborers
  on St. Croix on account of planter exploitation and
  the failure of the courts to protect their rights.

pp. 55-59

between Great Britain and Denmark to regulate future

8. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, July 27, 1864, No. 17.

Governor Birch has named an unsuitable person as
Emigration Agent for recruiting laborers from
Barbados. (5 pp.)

(9 pp.)

### F.O. 22/320 (continued)

- 9. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, July 27, 1864, No. 18. \* pp. 60-67 Complaints of ill-treatment by East Indian laborers and efforts to reduce their wages in violation of the British-Danish agreement. (8 pp.)
- 10. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, Dec. 10, 1864, No. 31. pp. 68-74

  Governor Birch has ordered the planters to halt
  wage reductions and to refund any wages so lost.

  (7 pp.)
- 11. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, Dec. 10, 1864, No. 32. pp. 75-77

  Governor Birch has agreed to provide him with an interpreter at government expense. (3 pp.)

#### F.O. 22/331

- 12. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, Feb. 14, 1865, No. 6. pp. 78-85
  Regarding his efforts to ensure that East Indian
  laborers are fed in accordance with their contracts.
  (8 pp.)
- 13. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, Feb. 14, 1865, No. 7. pp. 86-101

  Detailed report on the treatment and condition of
  East Indian laborers on St. Croix. (16 pp.)
- 14. Rainals to Russell, St. Croix, August 11, 1865, No. 21. pp.102-104

  Some East Indian laborers have not yet received refunded wages; he is working to rectify the situation. (3 pp.)

### F.O. 22/338

11,

15. Rainals to Earl of Clarendon, London, Feb. 19, 1866. pp. 105-122

Reviews instances of ill-treatment of East Indian
laborers on St. Croix and refutes the claims of
Governor Birch that the emigration project has worked
well. (18 pp.)

#### F.O. 22/351

 Acting Consul Francis Dutton to Lord Stanley, St. Croix, August 28, 1868, No. 16.

pp. 123-124

Details on the departure of the East Indian contract laborers from St. Croix to India. (2 pp.

17. Dutton to Stanley, St. Croix, Sept. 26, 1868, No. 17.\* pp. 125-126

Reports the arrival on St. Croix of 50 new East
Indian laborers from St. Lucia; the number of
contract laborers from neighboring islands is
increasing. (2 pp.)

## F.O. 22/389

18. Consul Gifford Palgrave to Earl of Derby, St. Thomas, August 25, 1874, No. 28.

pp. 127-130

Concerning the need to establish a registration system for the large number of British West Indian emigrant laborers residing in, or passing through, the Danish islands. (4 pp.)

### F.O. 22/395

- 19. Palgrave to W.H. Wylde, St. Thomas, October 26, 1875. pp. 131-135
  Analysis of economic change and the commercial depression in St. Thomas. (5 pp.)
- 20. "Memorandum on the Social and Political aspects of St. Thomas, W.I. for the year 1875," by G. Palgrave, January 26, 1876, Confidential. pp. 136-143
  Survey of social change, particularly in the composition of the elite, in consequence of economic change.

Survey of social change, particularly in the composition of the elite, in consequence of economic change; claims there is a strong current of Anglophobia among the Danish population, but pro-British sentiment is widespread among the black middle and lower classes. (8 pp.)

## F.O. 22/406

21. Consul George A. Stevens to Earl of Derby, St. Thomas,
May 15, 1877, No. 19. pp. 144-163

Report on St. Croix, with emphasis on the size of the British population and the extent of British economic interests. Affirms that he will be vigorous in protecting the rights of all British subjects. (20 pp.) Encloses: a) enumeration of plantations belonging to British subjects on St. Croix. (1 p.)

### F.O. 22/406 (continued)

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22. Stevens to Derby, St. Thomas, Nov. 28, 1877, No. 47. pp.164-172

Concerning the case of an adolescent British national sent from St. Thomas to a penal institution on St.

John without trial, and the refusal of Governor Garde to admit consular interference in such cases. (9 pp.)

#### F.O. 22/415

23. Stevens to The Marquis of Salisbury, St. Thomas, May 9, 1878, No. 10.

pp.173-205

Regarding his dispute with Governor Garde over the right of the British consular agent to intervene in another case of improper "banishment" of an adolescent British national. (33 pp.)

- 24. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, May 14, 1878, No. 11.pp.206-209

  Reports the successful resolution of the case of the
  "deported" adolescent, but Governor Garde still denies
  the right of consular intervention. (4 pp.)
- 25. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Sept. 24, 1878, No. 18. pp.210Recommends a convention between Great Britain and
  Denmark to permit the British consul to arrange for
  the repatriation of destitute or undesirable British
  nationals in the Danish islands; reports growing
  labor problems on St. Croix because of the failure
  of the Central Factory scheme. (4 pp.). Encloses:
- 26. a) Stevens to George Berkeley, Governor-General of the Leeward Islands, Sept. 14, 1878. pp.214-218

  Seeks authority to repatriate Leeward Islands' emigrants who Danish officials would otherwise sentence to forced labor as vagrants. (5 pp.)
- 27. Foreign Office to Stevens, London, Dec. 12, 1878, draft. pp.219-222

  British Government will not enter into a compact
  with Denmark to repatriate vagrant British laborers,
  as it would be too costly, and would encourage
  increased emigration. (4 pp.)

- F.O. \$25/127 (CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE INSURRECTION AT SAINTE CROIX OF OCTOBER 1, 1878 AND CLAIMS ARISING IN CONSE-QUENCE, 1878-1879 (Confidental Print, January 1880)
  - 28. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 2, 1878, No. 19. pp.222-224 Report on the labor insurrection on St. Croix; he has ordered the H.M.S. Tourmaline to the scene. (2 pp.)
  - 29. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 3, 1878, No. 20. pp. 225 Updated information on the labor insurrection. (1 p.)
  - Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 4, 1878, No. 21 30. pp.225 Additional information on the insurrection. (1 p.)
  - 31. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Croix, Oct. 10, 1878. Reports that 18 laborers from St. Croix have been apprehended at Tortola, but Governor Garde has declined their extradiction or prosecution. (1 p.) Encloses:
  - 32. a) President Hickson to Acting Consul Lamb, Tortola, pp. 227 Oct. 7, 1878. Information on the 18 refugees from St. Croix arrested in a boat off Tortola. (1 p.)
  - 33. b) Stevens to Hickson, St. Croix, Oct. 9, 1878. pp. 227 Respecting the identification and possible criminal activities of the arrested laborers. (1 p.)
  - 34. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Croix, Oct. 10, 1878. pp.228-234 Detailed account of the labor insurrection and its causes. (7 pp.) Encloses:
  - 35. a) "Confidential Report" on political and social conditions of St. Croix for 1877 by Vice Consuls Francis Armstrong and John C. DuBois, St. Croix, January 27, 1878. (3 pp.)

36. Captain Dennistoun to Vice-Admiral Sir E.A. Inglefield, Fredericksted, Oct. 5, 1878. pp.238-240 His eyewitness account of the insurrection. (2 pp.) Encloses:

37. a) Account of the Labor Insurrection by Vice Consul, Rev. J.C. DuBois, n.d. (2 pp.) pp.240-241

pp.235-237

pp. 226

ion.

(2 pp.)

- 38. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 16, 1878, No. 23. pp.242Details on difficulties encountered by British
  emigrant laborers attempting to leave St. Croix
  as a contributing factor in the insurrection;
  explanations by the insurgents of their grievances.
  (5 pp.)
- 39. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 17, 1878, No. 23a. pp.246-On prosecution of British planter McMillan for giving laborers more food than allowed by Labor Act. (1 p.)
- 40. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 22, 1878, No. 25. pp.247Additional information on his activities during the insurrection and its immediate aftermath. (2 pp.)
- 41. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 22, 1878, No. 26. pp.248-Additional information on the insurrection. (2 pp.)

  Encloses:
- 42. a) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, Oct. 21, 1878. pp.249-250
  On the departure of the H.M.S. Tourmaline. (1 p.)
- 43. b) Captain Dennistoun to Stevens, Oct. 18, 1878. pp.250
  Reports that he is leaving St. Croix. (1 p.)
- 44. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 23, 1878, No. 27. pp.250-251

  Further documentation on past incidents in which

  British emigrant laborers were prevented from returning home by Danish officials. (1 p.) Encloses:
- 45. a) Vice Consul Francis DuBois to Palgrave, St. Croix, pp.251 Sept. 27, 1873.
  - Concerning prevention of British laborers from returning home after the expiration of their annual contract. (1 p.)
- 46. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 24, 1878, No. 28. pp.251Account of a recent murder of a black Driver by a
  British planter. (1 p.)
- 47. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 24, 1878, No. 29. pp.252Background information on the case of Donald McMillan, a prominent British planter arrested by Governor Garde for publically demanding indemnification for property losses during the insurrection on the grounds that it was caused by government policies and lack of protect-

- 48. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 27, 1878, No. 30. pp.254

  Regarding the arrest of British planter McDermott
  for speaking contemptously of Governor Garde in
  public. (1 p.)
- 49. Consul Sir Charles Wyke to Salisbury, Copenhagen,
  Nov. 16, 1878, No. 87.

  Concerning actions taken by the Danish Parliament
  to loan money to sufferers in the insurrection and
  to investigate the causes of the insurrection. (1 p.)
- 50. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 29, 1878, No. 33. PP.255-British planters in St. Croix are planning to sue the Government for losses sustained from the insurrection on grounds of inadequate protection; they want the support of the British Government. (1 p.)
- 51. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 30, 1878, No. 34. pp.256

  Some of the laborers are plotting revenge for the death of their comrades in the insurrection. (1 p.)
- 52. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Nov. 5, 1878, No. 37. pp.257

  There is a good prospect that planters will be indemnified for their losses. (1 p.)
- 53. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Nov. 11, 1878, No. 39. pp.257British planters will file formal protest requesting indemnification; they are asking for official support from the British Government. (1 p.) Encloses:
- 54. a) British subjects resident in St. Croix to Stevens,
  Oct. 31, 1878 pp.258-259

  Respecting their claim for indemnification and listing their losses. (1 p.)
- 55. "Protest Against Losses of Property sustained by British Residents in the Island of St. Croix...by the late pp. Insurrection of Labourers therein..." Nov. 20, 1878. (2 p.) 260-261
- 56. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Dec. 10, 1878, No. 45: pp.262
  Governor Garde will refute planter claims to indemnity, and disclaim any Government responsibility for the insurrection. (1 p.)

- 57. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Dec. 10, 1878, No. 46. pp.262

  Danish Diet unsympathetic to the plight of Cruzans.

  (1 p.) Encloses:
- 58. a) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, Dec. 2, 1878. pp.262-263

  Concerning Governor Garde's efforts to undermine the planters protest, and condemning Police Master Petersen's official report of events as a misrepresentation designed to exonerate Government of any responsibility. (1 p.)
- 59. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Dec. 12, 1878, No. 47. pp.263
  Reports rumors of a new uprising being planned for the Christmas holidays. (1 p.)
- 60. James Henderson to Sir J. Hogg, January 31, 1879. pp.264-265

  Requesting him to use his influence to have the British Government press indemnification claims; provides account of events. (2 pp.)
- 61. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Jan. 26, 1879, No. 4. pp.265

  There is much dissatisfaction on St. Croix over
  announcement that the Royal Commission established
  to investigate the insurrection will not be examining Garde's responsibility. (1 p.)

pp.266

- 62. Sir C. Wyke to Salisbury, Copenhagen, May 1, 1879, No. 22.

  Planter claim for indemnification will not be upheld by the Danish Diet because the planters in the Colonial Council asked Government to remove troops from King's Hill barracks and Fredericksted prior to the insurrection. (1 p.)
- 63. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, June 16, 1879, No. 30. pp.267-268

  He will investigate planter role in the removal of the troops, but claims that Danish accounts and press reports of the insurrection are biased and that there is considerable anti-English sentiment among Danish officials. (2 pp.)
- 64. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, July 9, 1879, No. 11. pp.268

  There is discontent among all classes in St. Croix over honors made to Governor Garde and other Danish officials for their role in the insurrection. (1 p.)

- 65. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, July 19, 1879, No. 35. pp.269

  Concerning planter responsibility for troop removals. (1 p.) Encloses:
- Detailed rebuttal of claims that the British planters were responsible for troop removals; Royal Commission has been highly selective in the evidence it has taken. (5 pp.)
- 67. Ambassador Brook P. Bridges Taylor to Salisbury,
  Copenhagen, Aug. 29, 1879, No. 37.

  Concerning the case of planter McMillan, who Danish
  Government claims is a Danish subject in consequence
  of his having taken the Burgher Oath. Denmark hopes
  that British claims on St. Croix will not be allowed
  to endanger harmonious diplomatic relations between
  the two countries. (2 pp.) Encloses:
- 68. a) Note Verbale by Baron Rosenorn-Lehn, Aug. 27, 1879. pp.275

  Danish position on the McMillan case. (1 p.)
- 69. Thomas V. Lister to Stevens, London, Sept. 17, 1879, No. 27. 275-Since McMillan has been released from prison, the British Government has no further interest in pursuing his claims. (1 p.)
- 70. "Memorandum as to Right of British Subjects to Trade in Danish Territories under Treaty." by A. Walmisley, Foreign Office, London, Sept. 22, 1879. (2 pp.) pp.276-277
- 71. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Sept. 24, 1879, No. 47. pp.277-Little money has been granted by the Danish Government to sufferers in the insurrection; loans, however, have been made on poor terms for the planters. (1 p.)
- 72. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Sept. 26, 1879, No. 48. pp.278-279

  The powerful political position of Governor Garde in Denmark and the islands encourages him to resist British claims for indemnification. (1 p.)

- 73. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Sept. 26, 1879, No. 49. 279-280

  Details on financial assistance to the planters by the Danish Government. (1 p.) Encloses:
- 74. a) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, Sept. 25, 1879. pp.280
  Concerning Government loans to planters. (1 p.)
- 75. Salisbury to Ambassador Taylor, London, Oct. 17, 1879, No. 34.

  British Government cannot accept claim of Danish
  Government that the Burgher Oath makes a British
  national a Danish subject. (1 p.)
- 76. Sir C. Wyke to Salisbury, Copenhagen, Nov. 4, 1879, No. 47. pp.282
  Explaining the Danish Government's position on the
  Oath of Allegiance question. (1 p.) Encloses:
- 77. a) Taylor to Baron Rosenorn-Lehn, Copenhagen, Oct. 25, 1879. pp.
  Reiterating British position of the Oath question. (1 p.)
- 78. b) "Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Causes which led to the Disturbances in the Danish West Indies in October 1879," English translation. (29 pp.) pp.283-311
- 79. Sir C. Wyke to Salisbury, Copenhagen, Dec. 30, 1879. pp. 311-312

  Details on Government loan to sufferers in the insurrection. (1 p.)

## F.O. 22/423

- 80. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, March 13, 1879, No 9. pp.313-318

  Details on obstacles placed by local Danish officials against British emigrant laborers seeking to leave St. Croix. (6 pp.) Encloses:
- 81. a) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, March 6, 1879. (3 pp.) pp. 319-321
- 82. b) "Extracts from journal kept at the British Vice-Consulate, St. Croix," 1873-1877. (17 pp.) pp.332-338
- 83. c) Statement of Sarah Scott, St. Thomas, March 8, 1879. pp.339-341 (3 pp.)
- 84. Foreign Office to Stevens, London, Dec. 12, 1879, draft. pp.342-345

  The British Government cannot bear the expense of repatriating British emigrant laborers "en masse" from the Danish West Indies, as proposed by Stevens. Instead he is to deal with individual cases only. (4 pp.)

# F.O. 22/423 (continued)

85. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, March 26, 1879, No. 10. 346-347

Reports widespread dissatisfaction on St. Croix over the one-sided investigation of the Royal Commission sent out to investigate the insurrection. (2 pp.)

### F.O. 22/435

- 86. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, July 9, 1879, No. 33. pp.348-353

  Reporting two new cases of impediments encountered by British emigrant laborers seeking to leave the Danish islands; new disturbances are being threatend by the laboring class on St. Croix. (6 pp.) Encloses:
- 87. a) Stevens to St. Thomas Police Master, April 29, 1879. (2 pp.)
  pp.354-355
- 88. b) Stevens to St. Thomas Police Master, July 8, 1879. (2 pp.)
- pp.356-357

  89. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, July 23, 1879, No. 36. pp. 358-364

  Discontent is rife among both planter and laboring classes on St. Croix and new disturbances are a distinct possibility since the Labor Law remains in effect. (7 pp.) Encloses:
- 90. a) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, July 21, 1879. pp.365-367

  Concerning the continuing grievances of the plantation laborers. (3 pp.)
- 91. b) Stevens to Governor Garde, St. Thomas, July 22, 1879. pp.368-370 Informing him of the possibility of a new disturbance. (3 pp.)
- 92. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, July 27, 1879, No. 38. pp.371-376
  Governor Garde is taking precautions against a new disturbance; a new labor act is being drafted, but its provisions are unlikely to satisfy the laborers. (6 pp.)
  Encloses:
- 93. a) Armstrong to Stevens, Christiansted, July 25, 1879. pp.377-378
  Reporting discontent throughout St. Croix. (2 pp.)
- 94. b) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, July 25, 1879. pp.379-381

  Accuses the Government of responsibility for mounting labor unrest because of inaction on revising the Labor Law. (3 pp.)

## F.O. 22/435 (continued)

- pp.382
  Discusses the proposed new labor regulations and explains why they are unlikely to alleviate discontent among the plantation laborers. (11 pp.)
- 96. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Sept. 8, 1879, no. 43.\* pp.393-Concerning the proposed labor regulations and the demands of the plantation laborers. (5 pp.)
- 97. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Sept. 21, 1879, No. 44. \* pp.398-Reports that the new Labor Act has been promulgated, along with a new and stricter vagrancy act; is glad to learn that the H.M.S. Blanche will be sent to St. Croix to remove British laborers wishing to leave on October 1st. (5 pp.)
- 98. "Alledged Illtreatment of British Negroes" in the Danish
  West Indies, prepared by the Foreign Office, Sept. 30,
  1879. pp.403-409

  A comparison of Stevens' charges and the response of
  the Danish Government. (7 pp.)
- 99. Captain Knowles, H.M.S. Blanche to the Admiralty, St. Croix, Oct. 8, 1879, No. 38.

  General strike of plantation laborers has broken out on St. Croix; he has refused to remove any emigrant laborers and has told them to settle with the planters; Governor Garde is blaming the strike on British consular agents. (9 pp.)
- 100. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 15, 1879, No. 55. pp.419Eyewitness account of the general strike on St. Croix;
  laborers are demanding higher wages, better treatment
  and an end to the contract system. (32 pp.) Encloses:
- 101. a) DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, Oct. 13, 1879. pp.451-454
  Concerning the general strike and its causes. (4 pp.)
- 102. b) "List of Labourers' Wages and Privileges on St. Croix." pp. 455
- 103. Captain Knowles to the Admiralty, St. Thomas, Oct. 16, 1879, No. 41. pp.456~465

He is now ready to remove emigrant laborers, as planters refuse to abandon the contract system; Governor Garde is willing to grant passports, but will provide no funds. (10 pp.)

### .0. 22/435 (continued)

- pp.466104. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 20, 1879, No. 57.

  Regarding the ill-treatment of imprisoned participants in the 1878 labor insurrection, many of whom are British nationals. (4 pp.) Encloses:
- Describing the deplorable situation of the imprisoned insurrectionists. (3 pp.)
- 106. Foreign Office to Stevens, London, Oct. 23, 1879, draft. pp.473-484

  Enumerates Danish denials of charges raised by
  Stevens that British emigrant laborers have been prevented from leaving the Danish islands, and requesting a point by point response by Stevens. (12 pp.)
- 107. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 28, 1879, No. 60. pp.485-496

  Updated information on the St. Croix general strike; some laborers have come to terms, but most continue to hold out despite threats from planters and Danish authorities. (12 pp.) Encloses:
- 108. a) Letter of British Planters to Stevens, St. Croix, Oct. 20, 1879. pp.497-500

  Explaining why they are unwilling to accept the terms demanded by the laborers and abandon the contract system. (4 pp.)
- 109. b) Captain Knowles to Stevens, St. Thomas, Oct. 23, 1879. pp.501Explaining why he is unwilling to remove any British
  laborers without further instructions from home. (4 pp.)
- 110. c) Stevens to Captain Knowles, St. Thomas, Oct. 24, 1879. pp.505The three thousand British emigrant laborers asking
  removal from St. Croix have a legitimate right to do
  so, and a refusal of assistance by Knowles would only
  force them to settle on terms favorable to the
  planters. (7 pp.)
- 111. d) Stevens to British planters, St. Thomas, Oct. 24, 1879. pp.512
  Chastizing them for insisting on retaining the contract system, which is the primary cause of labor discontent.

  (3 pp.)

### F.O. 22/435 (continued)

1

112. Captain Knowles to the Admiralty, St. Thomas, Oct. 29, 1879, No. 42.\* pp.515-520

Updated information on the general strike. The situation is improving and he now believes that removal is unnecessary, a position with which Consul Stevens disagrees. (6 pp.)

- 113. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 31, 1879, No. 61. pp.521-525

  On difficulties encountered by British laborers trying to leave St. Croix. (5 pp.)
- 114. Stevens to Captain Knowles, St. Thomas, Nov. 5, 1879. pp.526-527

  The general strike continues, but some planters have broken ranks and are making contracts for less than one year. (2 pp.)
- 115. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Nov. 14, 1879. pp.528-530

  Concerning his assistance to 31 British laborers wishing to leave St. Croix rather than accept a contract. (3 pp.)
- 116. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Nov. 22, 1879, No. 65. pp.531—

  The general strike has been settled through a compromise satisfactory to both sides. The presence of a British warship was a critical factor in the successful outcome, however, Governor Garde is displeased with Stevens. (7 pp.) Encloses:
- Details on the strike settlement; most emigrant laborers now willing to remain on St. Croix. (8 pp.)
  b) Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Oct. 27, 1879.
  Vagrancy Act to go into operation Nov. 1. (5 pp.)
  pp.546-550
  F.O. 22/431
  - 118. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Jan. 1, 1880. pp.551-554

    Justifies his assistance to 43 British laborers seeking to return to their home islands. (4 pp.)

### F.O. 22/431 (continued)

11

- 119. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Jan. 1, 1880. pp.555-592

  Reviews his activities during the general strike and defends himself against Governor Garde's accusations that the consular agents brought it on and prolonged it. (38 pp.)
- 120. J. DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, Jan. 13, 1880. pp.593-606

  Background to labor conditions on St. Croix and the causes of the general strike. (14 pp.)
- 121. J. DuBois to Stevens, Fredericksted, Jan. 21, 1880. pp.607-620

  Account of the general strike and his role in it.

  (14 pp.)
- 122. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, Jan. 31, 1880, No. 13. pp.621-629

  Defends his charge of biases in the report of the Royal Commission to investigate the insurrection of October 1878. (9 pp.) Encloses:
- 123. a) "Consul Stevens' observation on the six points enumerated in Foreign Office despatch...No. 31 of October 23rd 1879 to Consul Stevens," Jan. 31, 1880. (10 pp.) pp.630-639
- 124. Foreign Office to Stevens, London, March 13, 1880, draft. pp.640-642

  The Foreign Office is satisfied with Stevens' defense of his charges against Danish officials, but is going to drop the entire matter in order to improve relations with Denmark. (3 pp.)
- 125. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, March 20, 1880, No. 19. pp.643Respecting his assistance to a distressed British
  emigrant seeking to return to St. Kitts. (5 pp.)
- 126. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, April 6, 1880, No. 23. pp.648-653

  Summarizes extent and effect of financial assistance of Danish Government to sufferers in the insurrection of 1878. (6 pp.)
- 127. Stevens to Salisbury, St. Thomas, April 7, 1880, No. 24.

  On continuing infringement on the rights of British nationals and reporting a personal attack upon Stevens by Governor Garde in a meeting of the Colonial Council. (16 pp.)

#### F.O. 22/441

128. Stevens to Earl Granville, St. Thomas, Sept. 13, 1881, No. 24\*

Concerning the commutation of the death sentence imposed on 39 persons convicted of participating in the insurrection of 1878. (3 pp.)

129. Stevens to Granville, St. Thomas, Dec. 31, 1881, No. 37

Review of the general strike of October-November 1879, and the removal of some British emigrant laborers. (9 pp.)

### F.O. 22/439

130. List of British subjects among the 39 persons whose death sentence was commuted by the King of Denmark, enclosed in C. Wyke to Granville, Aug. 6, 1881, No. 14

Biographical sketches of 23 British negroes, including Mary Thomas of Antigua. (4 pp.)

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