

LEEWARD ISLANDS

Papers relating to the
Disturbances in St. Christopher
(St. Kitts)

January—February, 1935



Despatch from the Governor of the Leeward Islands to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Government House, Antigua.
13th May, 1935.

SIB,

In compliance with your request I have the honour to send you the following full report on the recent disturbance in St. Kitts together with my observations on the possible causes underlying or contributing to them.

I happened to be at St. Kitts at the time, on one of my routine visits of inspection, and thus am able to give you first-hand information of the disturbance.

- 2. I arrived in the island on 23rd January and found conditions apparently quiet. The beginning of the sugar-cane reaping season was set for 28th January. The planters, though the price of sugar was still disastrously low, had decided to pay the same wages as last year. These wages are higher than in the neighbouring island of Antigua, but are said to be just possible in St. Kitts owing to the larger crop, thus reducing the overhead costs. The planters have been in dispute with the Factory Company for over a year past as to the price paid by the Company to them for their canes. They allege that the Company could, and should, pay them more, in which case they themselves could, and would, pay more wages to the labourers. Be that as it may, the fact remains that practically all the labourers in the island turned out peacefully to work on the morning of 28th January, apparently realizing that the planters were not in a position to pay them more.
- 3. There had, of course, been discussions among the labourers for some weeks beforehand as to the rate of wages they should ask for, but this invariably takes place before the beginning of each crop in all these sugar-growing islands. The "Workers' League", a comparatively new organization, held a meeting on 20th January, and the "President", an elderly and I believe peaceably disposed man named Séaton, at an interview with the Administrator intimated to him that as far as his people were concerned there was no intention of stirring up trouble. Apparently they considered that it was not possible under present conditions for the planters to pay more.

On the other hand, the Secretary to the "St. Kitts-Nevis Universal Benevolent Association, Ltd." wrote on 29th January to the newspaper (*The Union Messenger*) that the labourers ought to receive a 12½ per cent. increase in wages. The labourers are on the whole very credulous, and this statement—passed round by word 30282

of mouth—might quickly come to mean to them that the wages had been increased by 12½ per cent., which would tend to make them dissatisfied when the planters had to disillusion them. The other newspaper of the island, the Bulletin, stated: "At no time has the labourer been more satisfied with the treatment accorded to him than last year, and there is every confidence that he will receive the same terms, or even better, this year without coercion".

- 4. Basseterre, St. Kitts, has always been the port where labourers from other islands are collected to be transhipped in the labour schooners to Santo Domingo and other "Spanish" sugar islands, and at the end of the season are set down again at the same port to await other vessels on to their homes. Many of them either remain in Basseterre for weeks waiting for ships, or even take up permanent residence there. Thus there is always a bad crowd of "loafers" in that town. The "strike" was started by a small number of Basseterre men, probably not more than a dozen or so, who decided (or were ordered by someone in the background) on a " march" round the island, calling at every estate and ordering the peaceful labourers to "down tools". A gang like this marching along a road, especially if a man at the head of them beats a drum as was done in this case, will in the West Indies quickly attract hundreds of followers, who can easily be stirred up to any excesses. It is significant that they started out on their march with big stout cudgels, not usually carried in quantities by bodies of labourers.
- that many of them joined the "march" and the crowd grew to great numbers. Some gangs split off and visited estates up by-roads. ' Lodge ' Early in the afternoon the main gang reached the Estate, owned by Mr. Philip Told, a highly respected elderly white planter who for many years was on the Executive and Legislative He is always very good to his labourers and is popular They were working peacefully when the rioters broke into the estate compound. He met the intruders, informed them that they were trespassing and must go. They assumed a threatening attitude, and finally struck him. There were only a few of his own labourers in the vicinity, who could do nothing. In self-protection he sent for his servant to fetch his shotgun, hoping to disperse the men by the sight of it. The gun was unloaded. thereupon set on him, knocked him down, broke up his gun, and severely belaboured him with cudgels. They then proceeded towards Estridges Estate, but were overtaken by a small number (8)

5. I understand that threats of bodily violence were offered to the working labourers in the event of their refusal, and the result was

6. I was informed of these events by about 3.30 p.m. and within an hour I had been able to get into touch with the Administrator

of armed police under Major Duke, who had heard of this

and were turned back to town, after five of the ring-

" march "

leaders had been arrested.

and with various members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, and prominent planters with knowledge of local conditions, and the unanimous feeling was that this gang, having taken the unprecedented step of serious assault upon a well-known and popular white man, would now be nervous of the consequences and would disperse and try and conceal any part they had in the matter. Major Duke was, however, instructed to keep his men in readiness to move to any point as required.

- 7. The next morning I started to drive off on a tour round the island, partly with a view to inspecting some of the Government schools but principally to see for myself whether the labourers had been intimidated into striking or not. I also wanted to get the correct account of events at "The Lodge" from Mr. Todd him-I found very little work going on, except at Estridges and Belleview estates. I had travelled nearly half round the island when another car caught me up with an urgent message from the Administrator asking me to return to town at once. It appeared that there had been further demonstrations on a large scale presumably by the same gang, but this time reversing their route and proceeding round the island in a westerly direction. Major Duke had been called out again to disturbances at Buckleys and West Farm estates, and the Administrator had very properly summoned an emergency meeting of the Executive Council, over which he wished me to preside. Major Duke had taken Mr. E. P. Bell, the Magistrate, with him, who would if necessary give the requisite warning to rioters; and the Honourable Clement Malone, who has a remarkable influence with the labouring classes, had readily agreed to go out and remonstrate with them and endeavour to persuade them to depart peaceably to their homes. By the time I reached the Council Chamber the Executive Council had assembled and were momentarily awaiting the arrival of Major Duke and Mr. Malone with their reports of the situation. They reported that the rioters had atterly refused to follow Mr. Malone's advice and that there had been serious trouble at West Farm where (after the Magistrate had twice read the necessary part of the Riot Act) it had been found necessary to fire three shots, but without inflicting damage. Stone-throwing had been continuous on the part of the mob.
- 8. On the advice of the Executive Council and of Major Duke I decided to send off two telegrams at once, one to the Admiral at Bermuda warning him that it might be necessary to ask for a warship, and the other to Colonel Bell at Antigua instructing him to proceed to St. Kitts at once with reinforcements of police. We decided to postpone for the moment the calling out by Proclamation of the Defence Force and Defence Reserve.
- 9. By 3 p.m. a large mob had again invaded Buckleys Estate, making a hostile demonstration against the manager, Mr. Dobridge. I understand that he, like Mr. Todd, warned them with his shotgun, and then fired, hitting some of them with pellets. This seems

to have infuriated the mob, and finally Major Duke sent down a message that in his opinion the time had arrived to call out the Defence Force and the Defence Reserve. I therefore signed the necessary proclamations about 5 p.m. I happened to be having a Garden Party at Government House and a good many of the gentlemen of these forces were present. I therefore got them quietly away to re-assemble at the Police Station, after which Major Duke assumed control of the whole forces. By 6 p.m. messages reached me that the affair was assuming some seriousness and I decided then to telegraph for the warship and also to Antigua to expedite the departure of the Lady Nelson with Colonel Bell and the extra police. I also intimated as soon as possible without unnecessarily alarming people that the Garden Party had better be concluded while there was still daylight for the people to get to their homes.

- 10. From about 6.15 to 7 p.m. the forces appear to have found it impossible to control the very large mob, and, again after repeated warnings, it was necessary to fire, and during this period three men were killed and eight wounded. Major Duke came in to report to me about 7.30 p.m. and gave me a detailed account. He himself had been injured on the left wrist by one of the stones. He again reported to me about 9.30 p.m. that all was now apparently quiet, and he detailed the dispositions for the night. I may mention that previously to this I had issued an order closing all liquor shops.
- 11. The Lady Nelson with Colonel Bell and six men duly arrived at 2.30 a.m. on 30th January, and I also received telegrams from the Admiral saying that H.M.S. Leander was being expedited to arrive at St. Kitts.
- 12. I had hoped that the rioters would have learnt their lesson, but on that morning telephone messages were received from several different parts of the island saying that large bedies of men were parading about and still trying to intimidate the peacibly-inclined labourers. They had also driven off the cattle and cut the harness on a number of estates. We decided that it was unwise to scatter and dissipate the small force we had in order to deal with these different localities, but to keep the main body together to meet any really serious emergency, until we could have additional reinforcements from H.M.S. Leander, due on 31st January.
- 13. It was thought that after the stern measures that had had to be taken on 29th January there would be no further troubles, yet acts of incendiarism in the cane-fields, within a few yards of Government House and at other places on the borders of Basseterre, were started on the morning of 30th January. Intimidation, also, was still being carried on against the labourers on some of the country estates.
- 14. Early in the morning of 31st January H.M.S. Leander arrived, and after consultation with myself Captain Turner decided

to land a party of marines, chiefly for the purpose of being held in reserve and to enable the small body of police to be detailed to various places in the country to protect willing workers and to make arrests of known rioters. Their presence also allowed both Defence Force and police to get some much needed rest after nearly three days' continuous duty. It was several days before really normal conditions again prevailed.

- 15. I append a comprehensive report by the Chief Justice, Sir James Rae, on the whole affair.
- 16. From the above it will be seen that there has been brought out no evidence of any special underlying or contributory cause of the riot; and one can only assume that the attempted "strike" (which became converted into a "riot") was instigated, reckless of the possible consequences, by some person or persons, of whose actual identity there is no legal proof. Nor do I think it would be possible to obtain sufficient proof to take action. I think it is probable that there was a vague idea at the back of the minds of those who set the "marchers" in motion that it would force events so that the Factory Company would be compelled (by what method they did not trouble to think), to pay more to the planters in order that in their turn the labourers should get higher wages. I am confident, however, that such a method of forcing the hand. of the Factory Company did not emanate from the planters themselves, who would be the last to desire strikes and riots in the island.

I have, etc.,

R. St. JOHNSTON,

Governor.

Chief Justice's Chambers, Antigua, 8th May, 1935.

REPORT.

YOUR EXCELLENCY.

I am asked to report whether I am satisfied that "the requirements of justice have been fully met or not" in connection with the recent disturbances in St. Kitts.

- 2. In order to deal comprehensively with this subject it is necessary to trace the movements of the rioters, from the time when they first collected, in order to get a correct perspective of the events which led up to the firing on the mob by the police and Defence Forces.
- 3. It appeared from the evidence adduced before the Court that the ringleaders started from Haynes Smith village, which is to the immediate west of the principal town Basseterre, on the morning on the 28th January and proceeded to the plantation known as

- "Chadwell", situate to the immediate north of the outskirts of Basseterre. Here the crowd, which had gathered in numbers as they went along, met the labourers at work on this estate and at an adjoining estate known as "Stapleton's", and demanded of them that they should desist from work. The cane-cutters were ordered to put up their bills (implements which are used for cutting down the cane stems) and to "fall in" with the crowd.
- 4. The crowd continued their journey in a northerly direction to "Monkey Hill". While there, the Inspector of Police, Major Duke, the Magistrate, Mr. Bell, and several non-commissioned officers of police went up to the crowd and urged them to disperse. Demands were being made for higher wages.
- 5. At this time most of the crowd were armed with sticks of more or less lethal sizes.
- 6. It was pointed out that they were not justified in the action they were taking, but all efforts to assuage them proved fruitless. At this stage the police were not armed.
- 7. The crowd then went on to Douglass's Estate and forced the labourers at work to desist. The same procedure was followed at "Needs Must" Estate. The crowd continued to grow in size, and continued their course around the north-eastern bend of the island's main road, stopping at estates and compelling the labourers at work to put down their implements and to stop work. Some of the men, it was alleged, being ordered to "fall in" with the crowd.
- 8. About noon, the crowd arrived at the estate known as "Brighton". The manager, a reliable and trustworthy person, met the crowd as they advanced in large numbers into his estate yard. He ordered them out, telling them that they were on private property. The crowd, still armed with sticks, and numbering by estimation, between 300 and 400, surrounded the manager (Mr. Yearwood) in a threatening manner by raising their sticks over his head. He again spoke to them. No personal violence was done to him. His estate labourers were ordered to stop work. Mules and cattle, which were harnessed in their carts, were taken out and the working gear cut up in order to prevent any immediate use being made of the carts.
- 9. The manager and his employees were put in fear by the action of the crowd. His principal "cutter" was forcibly ordered to join the crowd and a stick was placed in his hands.
- 10. The crowd, still further augmented in numbers from the neighbouring villages, proceeded to the next estate known as "Lodge". They entered the estate yards. As they did so, the owner and manager, Mr. Todd, a man of about 60 years of age, advanced towards them with his hands above his head, saying, "You must not come in here. You must go back. You are trespassing and this is private property". Four men came forward

from the crowd and commenced hitting Mr. Todd with their sticks. The latter was unarmed. Upon seeing the violence of these men, he called to his maidservant to bring his shotgun. It was fetched and handed to Mr. Todd, but as he grasped it, he was struck on his hand and forced to drop the gun. The gun was not loaded. Upon its falling to the ground, it was seized by one of Mr. Todd's assailants and broken in two. In all, Mr. Todd was struck five or six blows.

- 11. The two ringleaders, who had been at Brighton Estate, were men from Basseterre and Haynes Smith village respectively, and were prominent among the crowd, but made no attack upon Mr. Todd. A few stones were also thrown, two of which struck his house servants. Mr. Todd and his servants were forced to retreat into his homestead. The crowd then proceeded to other estates, unharnessing all cattle carts and damaging the working gear.
- 12. From here onwards the leadership would appear to have been left to the labourers who constitute the working class on estates on the northern portion of the island.
- 13. Another estate known as "Willetts" was visited. The overseer was seized and a "bill" demanded of him for the purpose of destroying the working gear of the carts which were then unharnessed in the estate yard. The "bills" had been previously stored away. The leaders seized the overseer and marched him up to the manager's house. The chief or principal rioter ordered the crowd to remain about 100 feet from the manager's house, and went forward to the house with the overseer. The manager, a native of St. Kitts, told the overseer to come inside his house. The leader, as also members of the mob, used threats of violence, but did not take any further action.
- 14. Meanwhile, the police, under the command of Major Duke, arrived, and met the crowd at "Estridges" Estate. The police were eight in number and were armed with rifles. Arrests were made. It does not appear from the evidence that any attack was made on the police.
- 15. This brings the movements and actions of the crowd, which by estimation had decreased to between 200 and 300, up to approximately 5 o'clock p.m.
- 16. The crowd moved onwards but were not followed by the police, who were then 12 to 13 miles from headquarters and with hostile villages in their rear.
- 17. The following morning, a smaller band of rioters went around the western limits of the island, visiting estates and demanding of the labourers that they should "fall in" with them.
- 18. In coming along the main road, which encircles the island, two carts, belonging to sugar-cane estates, were met. These were hauled out (unharnessed) and the cattle set at large amongst the

cane-fields. The gear was damaged and the employees threatened if they did not "fall in" with the crowd.

- 19. At "Saddlers" village the crowd came to a standstill outside of a local rum and grocer's shop. A labourer belonging to one of the neighbouring estates was ordered to join the crowd. He refused, and was struck over the head with a piece of iron piping by a man of powerful build, and felled to the ground. The blow was of a serious nature and has caused paralysis of the left side of his face. His name is Jonathan Moore. At the close of the cases for riot, I opened a fund in aid of the injured man. He was an outstanding figure in these cases and I was of opinion that he fully deserved some special recognition for having stood out for law and order under pressure from the rioters.
- 20. The next stage of the incidents connected with the series of riots occurs at West Farm Estate, which is about 3½ to 4 miles from Basseterre. Similar happenings took place there, and the police were in attendance, armed. Apart from being mentioned in other cases, no prosecutions related to the occurrences at this estate. It was mentioned that the police were stoned when on guard at this estate.
- 21. However, earlier the same morning, 29th January, an estate cart, belonging to West Farm Estate, was met along the main highway in the vicinity of Duports, about 3 miles from Basseterre. This was unharnessed and the two cart boys threatened if they did not "fall in" with the crowd. The carts were unhung, the cattle whips taken from the drivers, and the gear destroyed.
- 22. The police were summoned, and again Major Duke appeared upon the scene with armed police, just as the ringleaders had ordered the cutters to stop work.
- 23. About 3 p.m., a large crowd, estimated at 200 to 300, armed with sticks, entered the estate yard of "Buckley's" Estate. The overseer was in the yard and he made a report to the manager. He entered the manager's house and called Mr. Dobridge, the manager. The former is a native of Montserrat. The crowd proceeded to haul out an estate cart which was in the yard. Dobridge, accompanied by his foreman overseer, went out into the yard in front of his dwelling-house, both being armed with a shotgun loaded with No. 1 shot. Mr. Dobridge ordered the crowd out of the estate yard. Immediately threats of violence were made and stones thrown at the two of them—one large one just passed They retreated behind the wall of the garage between them. Meanwhile, stones were being thrown at them. Dobridge pecred around the corner of the building and was impressed that the crowd was advancing towards them Thereupon, he and his overseer came from behind their cover into the open. Stones were thrown at them. Mr. Dobridge, fearing an attack on his life, discharged one barrel of his gun at the crowd, aiming low. He swore that he aimed at the feet, but as his gun only carried a fatal

shot at 120 feet, the shots hit the stony ground in front of the crowd, they being distant about 145 feet. However this may be, it is known that three persons received shot wounds, two shot wounds being in the cheeks of two persons and one in the shoulder of another. The wounds were of a superficial nature.

- 24. Mr. Dobridge and his overseer retreated into his dwelling-house and stood at a window on the veranda facing the crowd, who by this time had retreated to the main road in front of his dwelling-house and the estate yard
- 25. It could be seen from the street that both Mr. Dobridge and his overseer were armed. Mr. Dobridge admits having a rifle as well as two revolvers on his premises, besides the two shotguns.
- 26. An armed police contingent of eleven men, under the command of Major Duke, accompanied by Magistrate Bell, both also armed with rifles, arrived about 3.45 p.m. The police were lined up in the estate yard facing the crowd at about 10 yards distant from them. The Magistrate and Major Duke went amongst the crowd urging them to separate and depart to their homes, but with absolutely no response.
- 27. On their way to "Buckley's" Estate, and near to its environs, some of the crowd approached the Magistrate and Major Duke, and demanded the arrest of Mr. Dobridge and his overseer, Mr. Pond, some alleging that Mr. Pond had shot some of the crowd, others that it was Mr. Dobridge. Thereupon Major Duke left and interviewed Mr. Dobridge at his house.
- 28. On his return, he spoke to the parties who had made the complaint, and told them that if they would disperse and some of them would come to the Police Station with him along with the injured parties, he would take down their statements and fully enquire into the matter and see that justice was done. This did not please the crowd and they remained, shouting out at intervals, "We want Dobridge." "We want Pond, he don't belong here and has no right to shoot anybody."
- 29. I may here mention that Mr. Dobridge, when in his yard, had given Mr. Pond strict injunctions not to fire unless ordered to do so. The only shot fired was by Mr. Dobridge himself.
- 30. The police meanwhile were taunted with remarks such as, "Oh, you can't shoot because you have no ammunition." "You only have blank cartridges." "See me here, shoot me if you have anything in your gun."
- 31. At or about 5 p.m., Major Duke and Mr. Bell left the forces alternately, with the object of making reports, the former to arrange for the assistance of the local Defence Force and the Defence Reserve Force.
- 32. Mr. Bell brought back with him the Reverend Williams, Moravian Minister, Mr. Manchester, President of the Workers Union, and Mr. John, a prominent merchant in the town of

Basseterre, in order that they might speak to the people and get them to disperse.

- 33. The Honourable Clement Malone, a member of the Executive Council and a leading and influential member of the Bar, also attended and spoke to the crowd, urging them to disperse and telling them of their error in attempting to use force for the purpose of getting increased wages.
- 34. The crowd listened only to the urgings of Mr. Manchester, and a large number left with him, but apparently none of those immediately in front of Mr. Dobridge's house. The other speakers do not appear to have had any effect on the crowd. Indeed, the Reverend Williams, who is well known and who has a large congregation, was jeered at, and told that this was no church and no place for services.
- 35. The other armed forces arrived shortly before 6 p.m. At this time the crowd, which at a low estimate was given at 400 to 500 men, women and children, was getting more and more hostile, and were shouting out threats of violence towards Mr. Dobridge and Mr. Pond.
- 36. The Inspector of Police and Magistrate conferred, and shortly after 6 p.m. the Magistrate, Mr. Bell, read the Riot Act and again urged the crowd to disperse. There being so much noise, after an interval, which varied, according to the evidence, from four to fifteen or twenty minutes, the Riot Act was read a second time. The crowd would not listen, and immediately after the second reading of the Riot Act they commenced cannonading the forces with stones; some of the police were struck but not seriously injured.
- 37. Major Duke then ordered the police to move forwards with their arms at the port, in order to press the crowd backwards towards the villages of Haynes Smith and St. Johnston's, and away from Mr. Dobridge's quarters, the Defence Forces being ordered to stand by in support at the rear.
- 38. Meanwhile, the police and Defence Forces were being subjected to a continuous fusilade of stones of dangerous sizes. Several of the men were hit as was also the Magistrate. The crowd were warned that if they did not desist their stone throwing they would be fired on by the Forces. This had no effect and orders were given to the Forces to fire on persistent stone-throwers on the flanks, which was done. There were women and children in the main body of the rioters.
- 39. On approaching St. Johnston's village, one of the members of the Defence Force observed the flashes and heard the reports of two shots which came from behind a fence in this village. Mr. Dobridge confirmed this statement by swearing that he heard the whizz of two shots pass over his house from the direction of the village.

- 40. There were five rounds of ammunition issued to the Forces. Fifty-five shots were fired; three men were killed and eight wounded.
- 41. As far as the police evidence is concerned, the persons killed were on the street in St. Johnston's village near the entrance to it from the Basseterre side.
- 42. The order to fire at persistent stone-throwers on the flank of the crowd apparently had little or no effect, as there was nothing to show anyone had been hit in that area or vicinity. Lafer, when stones were being thrown at the Forces from behind the fences of yards in St. Johnston's village, some of the shots were fired at the persons behind the fences and at persons in the crowd.
- 43. The above is briefly a summary of events or happenings which had taken place, culminating as it did, in the casualties above related.
- 44. There is no question, in my opinion, that a series of riots had taken place on the two days mentioned, namely the 28th and 29th January.
- 45. I now address myself to the consideration of whether or not the police and Defence Forces were justifiably ordered to fire on the rioters.
- 46. The Police Force as a whole is distributed at various stations throughout the island, and although the question was not asked, I take it to be a fact that there were only eleven men available for armed duty. Hence the calling to their aid the assistance of the Defence Forces. The Chief Inspector of Police has since confirmed my inference.
- 47. They were faced by an angry, tumultuous crowd, who were clamouring to get at Mr. Dobridge, with whom were his wife and daughter. Night was fast approaching. The estate homestead and outbuildings stood away from the villages about 150 to 200 yards to the west; southwardly they were bordered by the main street and on the other three sides by open fields, the latter of growing canes which could be fired, to the great danger of the buildings. The crowd had been spoken to by highly respected citizens whom they all knew.
- 48. On the other side of the picture, what would have been the position had the police not fired?
- 49. It seems to me that the crowd would likely have been inspired by the feeling that no force would be used against them, and, on darkness setting in, the shelter they needed for the use of such firearms as they were possessed of might readily have been made use of. Attempts, most likely, would also be made at burning the estate property.
- 50. Mr. Dobridge and his overseer were fully armed, and would, there is every reason to believe, have utilized them in defence of

their persons and the estate property. Mr. Dobridge had been informed of the attack made on Mr. Todd. Threats of violence had been made towards Mr. Pond and himself. He had no reason to anticipate mercy from the crowd.

- 51. In the circumstances, I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that there had arisen a serious civil disturbance which threatened the lives and property of law-abiding citizens of the Crown as well as the peace and good order of the Colony. Every effort had been made by personal talks and persuasion by highly respected citizens to get the assembled angry crowd to depart and go to their homes.
- 52. The police throughout the preceding day, and up to the time when force was used, exercised commendable calmness, courage and tact, all to no effect as regards the angry temper and purposes of the crowds. They were faced with the alternative of doing nothing, and so would have given encouragement to the crowd that they were free to do as they liked. Prolonged inaction would mean that or nothing to an angry, hostile crowd.
- 53. If, therefore, law and order were to be maintained, the only course open to them was to maintain it by the only means open to them—that of firing on the rioters.
- 54. It is worthy of mention that the Defence did not dispute the fact that the conduct of the persons assembled at Buckley's had all the elements necessary to constitute the offence of riot, nor was any adverse comment made on the action taken by the Forces in using their rifles.

I have, &c.,

JAMES S. RAE,

Chief Justice.

His Excellency,

The Governor.

Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of the Leeward Islands.

Downing Street, 7th June, 1985.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 13th of May, and to express my thanks for the full reports furnished by yourself and the Chief Justice on the recent disturbances in St. Kitts.

- 2. I have considered the question of a formal enquiry into the disturbances being instituted; but I am satisfied that the action taken by the Government was justified, and I have decided that no neefful purpose would be served by such an enquiry.
- 3. I appreciate that the rates of pay given by planters to estate below in St. Kitts are dependent on the contract between the sugar factory and the planters for the supply of cane. I am glad to know that an enquiry regarding this contract is being conducted by Professor C. Y. Shephard.

I have, &c.,

P. CUNLIFFE-LISTER.