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Sir John Peter Grant, Governor of Jamaica, 1866-1874: an Administrative History.

Vincent John Marsala

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA, 1866-1874:
AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Latin American Studies Institute

by
Vincent John Marsala
B.A., Northeast Louisiana State College, 1958
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1962
January, 1967
PLEASE NOTE:
Figure pages are not original copy.
They tend to "curl". Filmed in the best possible way.

University Microfilms.
In Memory of James M. Watkins, Friend and Scholar
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express his appreciation to several individuals and agencies who were instrumental in the writing of this dissertation. First and foremost the author wishes to acknowledge the guidance of Dr. Jane DeGrummond for her time and advice given so freely in the preparation of this work. The author is also indebted to Louisiana State University for a financial grant which made possible his research in Jamaica. The author is grateful to Dr. Bernard Lewis, Director of the Institute of Jamaica, for allowing him to use the valuable research materials of that depository; and appreciation is also given to Mr. Clinton V. Black, Government Archivist of Jamaica, and his staff for allowing the author to use the resources of the Archives of Jamaica. The author is particularly indebted to Miss Judith Richards, Research Assistant at the Institute, and the entire Institute staff who were most helpful in searching for historical material pertinent to the dissertation. Also acknowledgment must be given to the Institute for allowing the author to copy the photograph of Sir John Peter Grant, and for reproducing the Orders in Council and Draft of Instructions which are located in the Appendices of this dissertation. The author is also indebted to his wife, Carol Ann, for her assistance in the tedious job of note-taking; and to Mr. Ken Purdy who so expertly processed the photographs included in this
dissertation. Finally, the author wishes to thank the many Jamaicans who made their island such a pleasant place in which to live and do research.
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ABSTRACT

Many in Jamaica believed, in 1865, that the island was headed towards a blood-bath similar to that experienced in Haiti in 1791. The English government avoided such a catastrophe by making the island a Crown Colony and by appointing Sir John Peter Grant governor in 1866. This individual, granted plenary authority by the Crown and guided by a sincere concern for the islanders, prevented the horror that many had expected. Upon assuming the governorship he immediately launched an enlightened program of reform which soon won the title of "paternal despotism." Governor Grant used his power to the fullest in helping Jamaica to "lift up her head." His program of governmental reform and reorganization led to a stable economy and the lessening of tensions between the classes. Unnecessary expenses were reduced, new taxes levied and the Revenue Department was reorganized. Roads, bridges, and public buildings were constructed throughout the island, and the number of parishes was reduced from twenty-two to fourteen. The educational system was overhauled and greatly expanded for all classes. Elementary schools were built throughout the island, a College was opened in Spanish Town, and a Government Training School for Schoolmasters was opened. Hospitals were built, island-wide medical services improved, the immigration of laborers was encouraged, and the Church of England in Jamaica was disestablished.
The legal system was revised; a new police force was organized; and all, regardless of class, color or creed, were made equal before the law. The capital was moved from Spanish Town to Kingston and many public improvements were initiated in the new capital to make it a modern city. The far-sighted Rio Cobre Irrigation system was started and a Government Savings Bank was opened.

In seven years Sir John Peter Grant laid the foundations for a modern Jamaica and won for himself the praise of many citizens. His administration was marked by responsibility, character, vigor and intelligence. Jamaica's historical records show that he was an able administrator for both the Crown and the Colony.
CHAPTER I

THE MORANT BAY "REBELLION"

The year 1865 is of great significance in Jamaican history because of the so-called "Rebellion" that occurred in Morant Bay and the resultant far reaching consequences that eventually laid the basis for modern Jamaica.

Many of the events described in this dissertation may seem unimportant to the reader. However, on a small island community such as Jamaica, detached by time and distance from world-shaking events, isolated incidents such as the Morant Bay riot or the installation of a new governor were of great importance to Jamaicans and have become a significant part of their national history. The lack of eye-catching events on the islands of the Caribbean (except Cuba) is one reason why few historians have bothered with island history. This, of course, should not be the case. The islands of the Caribbean have their own exciting stories to tell and possess the necessary depositories for competent historical research.

In order to understand the upheaval that took place in Morant Bay it is first necessary to realize that prior to 1865 a rapid succession of economic and political catastrophes had hit Jamaica. Coupled with these problems was a gradual worsening of relations
between employers and laborers and also between the people as a whole and the Island Legislature and governor.¹

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of hardship for Jamaica. The island had always been a comparatively high-cost producer of sugar, and the opening of better sugar lands in Cuba and Brazil and the growing competition of the new European beet sugar depressed the world sugar price. This situation was complicated by two factors; (1) the development of a free labor system brought about the end of slavery, and (2) the end of preferential treatment for Jamaican sugar in the British market caused by the Sugar Equalization Act of 1846.²

In 1862, Edward John Eyre, Esquire, was selected by the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary of State, to succeed Captain Charles Darling as Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica. In May 1864


The Emancipation Act was passed on August 29, 1833. It did not immediately free all Negro slaves. It provided that all slave children under six years of age, and any which might be born after August 1, 1834, were to be free. All other slaves became apprenticed to their former masters, the predials (field-labors) for six years and the non-predials for four years. After this period of apprenticeship all were to be completely free. However, the brutal treatment of apprentices in workhouses and prisons quickly brought an end to apprenticeship. As a result, total abolition of slavery was realized on August 1, 1838.
Edward Eyre received full powers as Governor and Captain-General of Jamaica. Eyre's appointment as governor was to prove a disaster for Jamaica, even though there was nothing in his previous career to suggest that this would have been the case. At seventeen Edward Eyre had left England for Sydney, Australia. Within a few years he had become a well-to-do sheep-raiser and was appointed Resident Magistrate for the Murray River Territory. In this office he handled the Australian natives so well and was so considerate of their rights that he was appointed Protector of the Aborigines. He soon made a reputation for himself as a friend of the Australian native races. In 1840, Eyre led an expedition to explore unknown parts of the Australian continent. After a year long journey, over desolate terrain, Eyre returned to civilization as the only white survivor of the expedition and was immediately acclaimed the hero of southern and western Australia. In 1845, Eyre returned to England; and in 1846 the Colonial Office, gratified at finding a respected settler who sympathized with the natives, appointed him Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand. He was next sent to the West Indies as Protector of East


Indian immigrant laborers in Trinidad, and later he acted as Lieutenant Governor of the Leeward Islands shortly before his appointment to Jamaica.\(^5\)

Even though Edward Eyre had been successful in his colonial service in several positions, he lacked the experience and temperament necessary for so important a position as that of Governor of Jamaica. Also, he had certain failings which were bound to lead to trouble. He was extremely stubborn and would never give up an idea or plan no matter how unsound it might be. This was demonstrated when he supported a scheme to run a tramway down the main road from Spanish Town to Porus. The tramway would have closed the only road by which small producers could bring their goods to market. Moreover, the venture was illegal in some respects; but Eyre, nevertheless, pushed the project. Eventually the scheme was abandoned.\(^6\)

Eyre was fanatically attached to the Anglican Church and possessed a sincere hatred of Dissenters, especially of Baptists. He was known to be puritanical, and as a result he was poorly thought of by the easy-going planters who loved their rum and mulatto mistresses. Eyre could serve as a "protector" of the backward and submissive Australian natives, but Jamaican freedmen,

\(^{5}\text{Semmel, }\textit{Jamaican Blood,}\text{ 30-31.}\)

\(^{6}\text{Black, }\textit{Jamaica,}\text{ 174.}\)
seeking racial equality and opportunity, roused his anger. As a result Eyre was not able to obtain support neither from planters nor from the populace.7

In 1864, the Jamaican Guardian wrote:

Governor Eyre is daily becoming more unpopular, and nothing could give greater satisfaction to persons of all classes in the country than to hear that he has been recalled. People long for a change. His Excellency will not do. Weak, vacillating, and undignified in his conduct and character, he had lost caste exceedingly.8

During Governor Eyre’s administration Jamaica possessed a constitution, granted by Charles II in 1662, and similar to those which had been issued to many of the thirteen mainland colonies at about the same time. In Jamaica, the governor was assisted by a council and an elective assembly of forty-seven members. The voting of the appropriations bill rested with the assembly. The so-called representative assembly was far from being truly representative. The election law gave the vote only to those who were able to meet certain strict property qualifications. The result was a very narrow, selected electorate. In the election of 1864, only 1,903 Jamaicans were qualified to vote for members of the assembly out of a population of more than 440,000 people.9

Governor Eyre’s antagonist in the Morant Bay incident was George William Gordon. Gordon was the illegitimate son of a Negro slave woman and her white master. His father, Joseph Gordon, had come to

7Semmel, Jamaican Blood, 36-37.  
8Ibid.  
9Ibid., 34.
seeking racial equality and opportunity, roused his anger. As a result Eyre was not able to obtain support neither from planters nor from the populace.\footnote{Semmel, \textit{Jamaican Blood}, 36-37.}

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Governor Eyre's antagonist in the Morant Bay incident was George William Gordon. Gordon was the illegitimate son of a Negro slave woman and her white master. His father, Joseph Gordon, had come to
Jamaica as an attorney for a number of absentee-owned sugar estates. Young Gordon taught himself to read, write and calculate, and, when he was ten years old, went to live with his godfather, James Daly of Black River. Gordon was an intelligent youth and was soon working in Daly's business. He quickly developed a keen interest in politics and religion and possessed a natural gift for public speaking. Brought up as an Anglican he joined the Presbyterians, and later the Baptists. In 1836, he opened a store in Kingston as a produce dealer. He was financially successful; and in 1842 he sent his twin sisters to Europe to be educated, and later on, an older sister as well. In 1845, he married Lucy Shannon, the white daughter of an Irish editor. Gordon was generous with his success and even saved his white planter father from ruin after he had made unwise speculations.10

Gordon's political career started in the 1850's with his election to the House of Assembly as a member of the Town party. This party was largely composed of people of color, who either had been manumitted or had managed to purchase their freedom, and were now officials, merchants, planters or lawyers. This party was concerned mainly with supporting the interests of the colored middle class; but Gordon, leader of the left-wing of the party, was the spokesman for the settlers in the hill country and the impoverished blacks in the towns or still on the sugar estates.11


Gordon was elected to the Kingston Common Council and was also appointed a Justice of the Peace, at intervals, in seven parishes. He owned and leased several properties, mainly in St. Thomas-in-the East. Thus as a planter he came into close touch with the problems of the peasants. He endeavored to help them by dividing up idle land and selling small freeholds, a rather unorthodox way for a landed proprietor to act. These efforts to improve the condition of Jamaica's poor Negroes gained for Gordon the hatred of the island's governing class.

It was inevitable that Governor Eyre and Gordon would clash. Eyre hated Dissenters and mixed only with the white ruling class. He was completely out of touch with the problems of the peasantry. Instead of trying to relieve the unemployment that existed, or the unfair burden of taxation that rested on the poorer classes, he passed bills to provide punishment on the treadmill for certain offenses, and flogging for stealing fruits or foodstuffs. Gordon, on the other hand, was an active reformer and even started his own independent Baptist Church. He built a chapel in Kingston, set up chapels in the country

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12 Black, Jamaica, 173.

13 Semmel, Jamaican Blood, 39.
and selected and ordained deacons. One of these was Paul Bogle of Stony Gut, a small village to the northwest of Morant Bay.\footnote{Black, \textit{Jamaica}, 173-174.}

George William Gordon's attempts at reform soon brought him trouble. He had dared to call Eyre's attention to certain matters which needed correcting - such as the hardships which people awaiting trial had to endure, the lack of medical aid for the sick, and lack of help for the poor. He also complained about the horrible condition of the jail at Morant Bay and reported that he had found a man dying in the latrine there without any help being given him. The sick man had begged for alms from the Rector, Reverend Cooke, who had sent the unfortunate man to the lock-up. Because of Gordon's interference, Governor Eyre removed him from his post as a member of the St. Thomas Vestry and as a Justice of the Peace for the parish.\footnote{Ibid., 151.}

Not to be so easily silenced Gordon ran in the election of 1863 for a seat in the House of Assembly from St. Thomas. He won easily. In the assembly, Gordon was a thorn in the side of Eyre as he

\footnote{Ibid., 175.}
constantly attacked the undertakings of the governor; and soon Eyre regarded him as the leading trouble-maker on the island. 16

Soon after winning the election, Gordon was elected to the St. Thomas Vestry as Churchwarden. However, the Reverend Cooke urged the court to have his election made invalid since as a Baptist he had separated himself from the Established Church. Gordon appealed; but the Custos of the parish, Baron von Ketelhodt (one of Eyre's firm supporters), took the law into his own hands and had the police forcibly carry him out of the Vestry room. This incident served to convince the people of St. Thomas Parish that the authorities were unjust and corrupt. 17

By the beginning of 1865 conditions in the island had become critical. The small planter had difficulty in getting land to cultivate, unemployment was widespread, wages low and irregularly paid, and taxes heavy. A series of droughts had ruined most of the provision crops; and the cost of imported food, such as salt fish and grain on which the peasantry relied, had risen in price largely because of the civil war in the United States. The severity of the droughts which had dried up the productive industries of agriculture added greatly to the discontent present among all classes. Through the failure of sugar


17 Black, Jamaica, 175-176.
cultivation, and the closing of almost four hundred out of seven hundred sugar estates, employment was diminishing. No attempts were made to encourage the cultivation of minor products, such as coffee, cotton, ginger and arrowroot.\textsuperscript{18}

Governor Eyre was cognizant of the dire economic condition of the island. Writing to the Colonial Office on March 2, 1865 he said:

It is undeniable that wages are lower and necessaries are dearer than in former years; therefore, the mere labourer for hire is necessarily poorer....Imported goods, especially clothing materials, have been enhanced greatly in price since the commencement of war in America....Applications for private relief are more numerous than formerly, and there are, no doubt, many instances of extreme poverty and distress....Deterioration, decadence, and decay are everywhere noticeable, and the elements which ought to sustain and improve the national character, and progress of the country, are gradually disappearing.\textsuperscript{19}

Coupled with the dismal economic situation of the peasantry was the widespread denial of justice, especially in the Petty Sessions Courts. The magistrates of these courts were usually managers of estates; and it was practically impossible for estate laborers to get justice, especially when they were robbed of their wages. Warrants of arrest were issued for the slightest reason and in this way the law was made into a weapon to club the people into submission.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid. See Underhill, \textit{Tragedy of Morant Bay}, 10.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., 8-9.

\textsuperscript{20}Jamaica Information Service, \textit{The Morant Bay Rebellion; Face of Jamaica} (Kingston, 1965), 6-7. Hereafter cited as \textit{Morant Bay Rebellion}.
In January 1865 Dr. Edward Underhill, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain, wrote a letter to Edward Cardwell of the Colonial Office drawing attention to the sorrowful economic condition of the island and the unhappy circumstances of the Negro population. Underhill proposed that the Crown overhaul Jamaica's tax system to encourage greater capital investment and that the governor promote the formation of producers' cooperatives among the black freeholders in order to enable them to raise profitably such exportable crops as spices, tobacco, coffee, and cotton. Sugar was omitted because its cultivation was such a hazardous and expensive undertaking. Underhill also protested against the Jamaica Assembly's "unjust taxation of the colored population," its "refusal of just tribunals," and its "denial of political rights to the emancipated Negroes."^1

Underhill's letter was forwarded to Governor Eyre for his reply. Eyre received the letter in February, 1865 and immediately sent copies of the letter attached to a circular to the custodes of the parishes, judges and magistrates, and prominent clergy and ministers of the island. The governor asked them to report on conditions in their parishes. In reply to Underhill's charges they stated that where economic hardships existed, they were due to the laziness of the

^1Semmel, Jamaican Blood, 42. See Edward Underhill's Letter to the Right Honorable Edward Cardwell, M. P. in Appendix I. The letter was taken from Underhill, Tragedy of Morant Bay, xiii-xviii.
blacks. Governor Eyre then published the Underhill letter along with the replies of his officials and had them distributed about the island. Eyre, in a dispatch to Cardwell, reported that in truth the planter had suffered more than the black laborer and that the position of the Jamaican black was superior to that of the peasantry of most European countries. The real cause of the economic depression of Jamaica, ascertained by Eyre, was the laziness of the black and a failure in moral fibre which produced poverty and crime on the island.  

Governor Eyre's attempt to whitewash the pitiful conditions existant in Jamaica and his attempt to discredit the Underhill letter led to the calling of popular protest meetings. These gatherings, soon known as "Underhill Meetings," were mass attempts to influence the governor and legislature to alleviate the distress of the island.

Such meetings were held in Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, Kingston, and Spanish Town. The gathering held in Kingston on May 3, 1865 was of special importance because George William Gordon presided over the meeting. Another meeting of significance was that held in Spanish Town, the capital of Jamaica, on May 16, 1865. This meeting was called by the Honorable Richard Hill, a magistrate of great influence and highly respected. H. Lewis, Esquire,

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22 Semmel, Jamaican Blood, 42-43.

23 Underhill, Tragedy of Morant Bay, 14.
one of the representatives of the parish in the House of Assembly pre­sided. Several resolutions were unanimously adopted by the crown and presented to the governor for transmission to the Colonial Office. These resolutions supported the Underhill letter and revealed the pitiful state of depression prevalent in the island. 24

The Underhill meetings were everywhere largely attended and resolutions praying for an end to the depression were enthusiastically passed. Freedmen and their descendants had never before been afforded the opportunity to express their sentiment or to set forth their grievances. Through these popular meetings the Negro could voice his complaints. 25

Meanwhile, in April, a group of depressed negroes in St. Ann Parish drew up a petition to Queen Victoria which they sent to the governor. Entitled "An Humble Petition of the Poor People of Jamaica and the Parish of St. Ann's," the document related their distress and grievances. It described for the Queen's benefit their daily life, the decayed state of the plantations, the difficulty of finding work and the low wages paid to laborers. They also asked the Crown to grant them some land to cultivate. Of the one hundred and eight names affixed to the petition only twenty-six were signed by the petitioners. The

24Ibid., 19-21. See Appendix II for a copy of the Resolutions passed at the Underhill Meeting held in Spanish Town.

25Ibid., 23.
remainder made a cross to show their approval of the terms of the petition. The tone of the petition was loyal and affectionate.26

In June the humble petitioners received a reply from the Colonial Office. This reply has become known in Jamaican history as the "Queen's Letter." In official and curt language the reply stated that the petition had been laid before the Queen and that her Majesty recommended to the laboring classes hard work and prudence as the solution to their problems. Furthermore, they should look to their own industry and merits for an improvement in their situation.27

Governor Eyre was well pleased with the "Queen's Letter" and had fifty thousand copies printed in poster form and distributed throughout the island. To the peasantry the letter came as a shock and to many all dreams of hope had vanished. Some blacks even feared that slavery was to be re-introduced. Most people realized that the Queen would not have written such a letter unless she had been advised by Eyre and others of his way of thinking. George William Gordon urged the people to continue to press for redress of their grievances and declared that the Queen was "too noble-hearted to say anything unkind even to her most humble subjects."28

26 Ibid., 24-26.
27 See copy of "Queen's Letter" in Appendix III. Taken from Lord Olivier, The Myth of Governor Eyre (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf, 1933), 145-146. This letter written by the Colonial Office was inept to say the least. See Hall, Free Jamaica, 244-245.
28 Black, Jamaica, 177.
Anger and frustration increased throughout the island. The letter was "in truth a challenge provocative of an outbreak, rather than a well considered effort to allay excitement. It sorely aggravated the popular irritation."\(^{29}\)

This anger, frustration and unrest were felt most in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. The parish was run by its Custos, Baron Maximilian Augustus von Ketelhodt, a close friend of Governor Eyre, and by Reverend S. H. Cooke the Rector and his son the Clerk of Courts. Under their rule the magistrates of the parish developed into the worst in the island and the people rapidly lost faith in the magisterial courts.\(^{30}\)

The people of Morant Bay rallied around Paul Bogle, of Stony Gut, the man whom George William Gordon had made a deacon. Bogle was a man of energetic natural ability and dominant personality. Though possessing a limited education he was considered a success among his class of small settlers. Bogle was one of the one hundred and four people eligible to vote in St. Thomas Parish.\(^{31}\) His concern for the welfare of his people and his resistance to injustice and oppression drew the people of St. Thomas to him. Bogle believed that he was destined by God to bring justice to the people. His two main cohorts

\(^{29}\) Underhill, *Tragedy of Morant Bay*, 27.

\(^{30}\) Morant Bay Rebellion, 7.

\(^{31}\) Olivier, *Governor Eyre*, 199.
were his brother Moses, a baker, and James Maclaren, a preacher. Because of the corrupt and unjust local magistrates Bogle and his group set up their own court system rather than present their grievances to the Sessions Court. 32

On Saturday, August 12, 1865, one of the last Underhill meetings was held at Morant Bay. George William Gordon presided over the meeting and a number of resolutions were adopted. These resolutions dealt with the usual complaints: misgovernment of the island, increasing taxation, low wages, oppressive laws, lack of clothing and other necessities, and the arbitrary and illegal conduct of the Custos. A deputation was then sent to Spanish Town to present the resolutions of the meeting. Paul Bogle, Maclaren and others walked forty miles to present their grievances before Governor Eyre; but he refused to listen or admit them to his presence. Bogle and his men returned home bitter at their rebuff. 33

The failure of the deputation was a death blow to the hopes of the people in St. Thomas. Gordon, following a moderate course which was supported by the greater part of the parish, began to collect money to send a deputation to London to personally present a petition to the Queen. Paul Bogle, on the other hand, pursued a more radical course

32 Black, Jamaica, 177. See Underhill, Tragedy of Morant Bay, 56.

33 Ibid., 55-57.
and organized small, secret societies which drilled in secret meeting places in the hills.  

On Saturday, October 7, 1865, trouble erupted at Morant Bay. It was a market day and the Court of Petty Sessions was being held. The presiding magistrate was the Custos, Baron von Ketelhodt. Paul Bogle accompanied by 200 of his men armed with sticks, cutlasses and a few guns marched into town led by a drum and fife band. They had come to watch the trial of one of their neighbors for trespass. An assault case was tried first, brought by a woman against a young boy. He was convicted and fined 4s., with costs, amounting to 12s. 6d. Interrupting the court a Negro, named Geoghegan, loudly shouted for the boy to pay the fine but not the costs. The magistrates ordered the constables to arrest Geoghegan but he managed to fight his way outside of the courthouse where he was rescued by Bogle's men. The trespass case in which Bogle was interested was tried without any further interruptions.

On Monday, October 9, warrants were issued for Paul Bogle and twenty-seven of his men for causing the interruptions of the court on Saturday and for resisting and assaulting the police. On Tuesday six policemen and two rural constables, all Negroes, proceeded to Stony Semmel, *Jamaican Blood*, 45-46.

Gut to serve the warrants and arrest Bogle and his men.\textsuperscript{36} Bogle was in his yard when the policemen arrived. They informed him that they had a warrant for his arrest, and Bogle asked them to read the charge. After the reading of the warrant, one of the policemen started to seize Bogle. He immediately shouted, "Help, here!" At that instant some 300 to 500 men rushed out of the nearby Baptist chapel armed with cutlasses, sticks, and pikes. The police were easily overpowered and beaten. They were trussed up and threatened with death unless they took an oath to stop serving the "Bukra," and "to join their colour," and to "Cleave to the black."\textsuperscript{37} Bogle and his men then released the harrassed policemen and told them that the next day they intended to go to Morant Bay, where a vestry meeting was to take place, "to kill all the white men and all the black men that would not join them."

The frightened policemen hastened to Morant Bay and reported all to the Custos, von Ketelhodt. He immediately sent a letter to Governor Eyre explaining the situation and asking for troops.\textsuperscript{38} Meanwhile, the Custos called out the Bath Volunteers to reinforce those of Morant Bay in case of trouble.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{36}Underhill, \textit{Tragedy of Morant Bay}, 59.

\textsuperscript{37}Semmel, \textit{Jamaican Blood}, 46-47.

\textsuperscript{38}Hall, \textit{Free Jamaica}, 246-247. Governor Eyre received the letter requesting troops at 8:00 on Wednesday morning and immediately dispatched one hundred troops to Morant Bay. However, they did not sail from Port Royal until the following morning, Thursday.

\textsuperscript{39}Black, \textit{Jamaica}, 179.
On October 10, Bogle and his followers forwarded a petition to Governor Eyre. They complained of the "outrageous assault" made upon them on Saturday, by the policemen of the parish and called upon the governor for protection. If refused, they stated that they had no alternative but to put their "shoulders to the wheel." Eyre's reply was that they were "misled by the representations of evil-disposed and designing men." He further stated that he as governor was ready to listen to their complaints but not to any application accompanied by threats, and that it was the governor's determination to vindicate and uphold the law.

On Wednesday, October 11, 1865, at midday, Bogle and his men set out from Stony Gut. Meanwhile, in Morant Bay the vestry, consisting of elected members and the magistrates who were ex-officio members, assembled at noon in the courthouse. Outside the courthouse Captain E. W. Hitchins of the No. 1 Bath Company was in charge of the small number of Volunteers. At about 3:00 in the afternoon the alarm was spread that a number of armed men were approaching the square. With this hint of trouble Captain Hitchins ordered Sergeant McGowan to form the militia of some twenty men in line across the

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40 See Bogle's petition in Appendix IV. Taken from Papers Relating to the Disturbance in Jamaica (London: Harrison and Sons, 1866), 160. See also Underhill, Tragedy of Morant Bay, 60.

41 Ibid., 61.
front of the courthouse. In a few moments the mob of about 400 approached the square. They marched to the loud noise of conch shells, horns, fifes and drums. They were crudely armed with cutlasses, home-made spears, clubs and muskets with fixed bayonets which they had taken from the police station. The muskets were useless as firearms as Bogle's men had neither flints nor cartridges. As the mob advanced toward the small courthouse the Custos and Vestrymen came out on the second story porch. Baron von Ketelhodt shouted to them to keep back and asked them what they wanted, but the crowd was too irrational for calm discussion. The Custos cried "Peace!" but the mob answered, "War! War!" The thin line of militia levelled their rifles and tried to hold back the mob; however, they were driven back as the mob struck at their rifles with sticks and clubs. The Custos then attempted to read the Riot Act but before he could finish the crowd bombarded the militia with stones and bottles. Captain Hitchins was hit by a bottle which cut his head severely. Blood gushing from the wound nearly blinded him. All along the line the men were struck with flying rocks and bottles. One Volunteer, James Ross, fell to the ground from a severe blow in the face which almost knocked an eye out of socket. Hitchins begged the Custos to give him permission to fire. The permission was granted, Hitchins gave the order, and the

42 Morant Bay Rebellion, 15-16.
line fired a solid volley into the mob. Seven fell dead and many more were wounded. The mob instinctively fell back but caught itself and charged forward before the militiamen could reload. The bugler, standing in the rear and guarding a bag of ammunition, was harpooned with a fishing spear. The clubs and cutlasses wielded by the mob easily dispersed the Volunteers. Six militiamen, including the bugler, were quickly killed. The bleeding survivors fled into the ground floor of the courthouse. The survivors, including the Custos, Vestrymen, and Volunteers barricaded the building against the mob. The crowd smashed all the windows and attempted to knock down the door but the Volunteers began firing from the windows and drove the mob to cover. For about an hour only sporadic sniper fire took place. Then at 5:30 Bogle and his men set fire to a neighboring school house and the flames spread to the courthouse. Unable to stand the heat, Baton von Ketelhodt led the survivors to the adjoining "forthouse." However, it soon caught fire also. Desperate, the Custos came out under a flag of truce but was driven back by the mob. By 9:30 p.m. the Custos, Vestrymen and Volunteers could stand the heat and smoke no longer and made a futile dash for safety. As they fled into the open the rioters attacked them in brutal fashion. Paul Bogle himself attacked Baron von Ketelhodt and cut him down with his cutlass. Captain Hitchins, still bleeding from the head, was surrounded and hacked to death. In all, fifteen were killed and about thirty wounded as they fled from the burning forthouse.
Black and colored people were among those killed and wounded by the rioters. Morant Bay was at the mercy of Bogle and his rioters. Some looting took place, the jail was broken open, and the prisoners freed. Paul Bogle then marched his men back to Stony Gut and held a prayer meeting to thank God for his success. Violence spread to other parts of the parish as plantations were destroyed and some of the white proprietors butchered. Meanwhile, Bogle sent messengers to the Maroons at Moore Town and Charles Town asking for aid.

The success at Morant Bay was short lived. Governor Eyre quickly declared martial law in the County of Surrey, except in Kingston, and dispatched the warships Wolverine and Onyx to Morant Bay. Troops were sent from Kingston and the hill-station at Newcastle. The Maroons, whom Bogle had expected to aid him, instead joined forces with the government.

The vengeance came swiftly. Soldiers, sailors, militiamen and Maroons arrested hundreds of Negroes in St. Thomas. The governor

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44 Black, Jamaica, 180.

45 Ibid. The Maroons(53,825),(948,903) originally were the freed or runaway Spanish Negro slaves who had fled to the thickly-wooded interior of Jamaica. Their descendants can be found today in several Maroon villages of Jamaica.
presided in person over the execution of one of the first of Bogle's men. The troops were given a free hand in bringing the rebels to justice and in many instances the rebels consisted of any black that could be caught. The result was a reign of terror in which many negroes were unjustly killed or flogged. The official record shows that 354 people were executed by drumhead court-martials and 85 were shot or hung without a trial of any kind. Six hundred men and women were flogged and the troops for good measure put to the torch 1,000 huts, cottages, houses, and other buildings. Governor Eyre in a letter to the Secretary of State commented, "The retribution has been so prompt and so terrible that it is never likely to be forgotten." It is interesting to note that in the suppression of the so-called rebellion not one government soldier, sailor, or militiaman was killed or injured.\(^{46}\)

Governor Eyre blamed one man for the Morant Bay Riot - George William Gordon, the prominent colored member of the House of Assembly. Eyre secured a warrant for Gordon's arrest and was determined to see him punished as the ringleader of the "black rebellion." When Gordon heard that a warrant had been issued for his arrest he turned himself in to the authorities in Kingston. It seems not to have occurred to Gordon that he might not get a fair trial. Before and during the disturbance at

\(^{46}\)Hall, Free Jamaica, 248. For break-down of number of blacks killed and where they were shot or executed see table in Morant Bay Rebellion, 27.
Morant Bay Gordon had been ill at his home in Kingston. Governor Eyre took charge of Gordon, putting him on board the Wolverine and sending him to St. Thomas where martial law was in force, and where Gordon was sure to be found guilty. When Henry Westmorland, a progressive white planter in the Assembly, heard of this he begged that the governor have Gordon tried by civil law in Kingston; but Eyre had made up his mind and wanted to make sure that Gordon would hang.\textsuperscript{47}

At Morant Bay, George William Gordon was turned over to Provost Marshal Gordon Ramsay; and on October 21, 1865 he was brought before the court-martial presided over by a young naval lieutenant, Herbert Brand. The trial was a sham. Gordon was denied legal aid and was not allowed to testify or to call witnesses. He was found guilty and sentenced to death for fomenting an insurrection. As the next day was Sunday the execution was delayed until Monday, October 23. Gordon was not told the time of his execution until one hour before the sentence was to be carried out. He was not allowed to see any friends but was allowed to write a letter to his wife. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
I did not expect that, not being a rebel, I should have been tried and disposed of in this way. I thought His Excellency the Governor would have allowed me a fair trial, if any charge of sedition or inflammatory language were attributable to me; but I have no power of control. May the Lord be merciful to him.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{47}Black, Jamaica, 181. Gordon was suffering from bronchitis and dysentery. See Abrahams, An Island Mosaic, 114.

\textsuperscript{48}Quoted in Semmel, Jamaican Blood, 114. For entire letter written by Gordon see Olivier, Governor Eyre, 313-315. Gordon was guilty only of seeking to better the conditions under which the blacks lived.
Gordon and eighteen others were hanged on a boom in front of the gutted Morant Bay courthouse. Their bodies were left hanging until the next day when they were thrown into a mass grave behind the courthouse. On the same day that Gordon was hanged, Paul Bogle was captured by a group of Maroons as he walked out of a cane field near Stony Gut. Moses, his brother, and two others were also captured but only after a desperate fight in which Moses was severely wounded. On October 24 Paul Bogle and his brother were placed on trial. The court-martial asked Bogle whether Gordon had incited them to rebellion. He denied that Gordon had told him to kill the white people. They were found guilty and hanged from the center arch of the burnt courthouse and their bodies likewise buried behind the building.\(^{49}\)

The Morant Bay disturbance was not a "rebellion" as it is so often called in writings on the subject. It was a local riot in which the people of one small village expressed themselves against an unjust local

\(^{49}\)See Morant Bay Rebellion, 25–26. Black, Jamaica, 182. Today George William Gordon and Paul Bogle are national heroes in Jamaica. A National memorial to Gordon and Bogle stands in George VI Park in Kingston. In Morant Bay an imposing statue of Paul Bogle with cutlass in hands stands before the courthouse. On June 3, 1965 Ray Fremmer of Green Park, Trelawny excavated the remains of the rebels of the 1865 riot. Six different pits were eventually unearthed revealing seventy-nine skeletons. Today a simple marble monument located behind the restored Morant Bay courthouse marks the burial place of the slain Jamaicans of the Morant Bay riot. The inscription reads, "In remembrance of Paul Bogle, George William Gordon and the 437 Jamaican martyrs of October 1865 who fell because they loved freedom. In Gratitude from the generations who now witness that they did not die in vain."
judiciary and vestry. The Morant Bay riot was magnified out of propor-
tion because it occurred in a year of harsh economic and political con-
ditions, during which the Colonial Office supported an incompet­ent governor.50

The myth that the riot was a "rebellion" was the invention of
Governor Eyre and the white planters who feared a bloodbath such as had
happened in Haiti. Eyre constantly described what had happened in
Morant Bay as an insurrection of the Negro population of the island.51

Likewise the disturbance was not a race conflict of black against
white. This notion, if ever held by some blacks, occurred among only
a few in the days immediately preceding the riot. One must remember
that black and colored people were among those killed and wounded by
the rioters. Moreover, there were black and colored men in the
Volunteers, and in other groups such as the Maroons who were employed
by the government to suppress the rioters. The case for a color conflict
is weakened also when one notes that in the parish of Westmoreland
(when there was fear of the disturbance spreading) sixty-seven Special
Constables were sworn in. Twenty-two of the sixty-seven were white
German settlers from Seaford Town, eighteen were colored men and twenty-
seven were black men.52 The Falmouth Post in February, 1866 reported:

50 Hall, Free Jamaica, 250.
51 See Abrahams, An Island Mosaic, 116. Olivier, Governor Eyre,
282-290.
52 Hall, Free Jamaica, 250-251.
...there are no causes extant for "class feuds", but... on the contrary, there has been during the last quarter of a century, a liberal bestowal of governmental patronage without the slightest regard to creed or colour, and a liberal social reformation, which has utterly annihilated complexional distinctions throughout the length and breadth of the colony.

....in every Public and Parochial Department the "Empire of Colour" has ceased to exist. Who is the Governor's Secretary? Edward Jordan, a man of colour! Who is the Queen's Attorney General? Alexander Heslop, a man of colour! Who is the Registrar in Chancery? Robert Russell, a man of colour! Who is the Speaker of the House of Assembly? Charles Hamilton Jackson, a man of colour! Who are the Clerks of the Supreme Court? William T. March, and Charles Hamilton, both men of colour! Who, besides the Speaker, are the Officers of the Assembly? Every one of them with exception of the Chaplain, is a man of colour! Of six Stipendiary Magistrates, four are men of colour and natives of the colony. There are two men of colour in the Legislative Council and nine in the Assembly! 53

The most important result of the disturbance was the giving up of self-government by the Jamaican Assembly in exchange for the Crown Colony form of government. Governor Eyre had long hoped to bring about an end to the Assembly and thus establish a more centralized government. Eyre was backed in this endeavor by the Colonial Office. The relation between the Home Government and the Colonial Executive in Jamaica was often awkward and strained. The so-called Representative Assembly enjoyed all the independent powers of the House of Commons. As a result the Colonial Office could suggest, but could not enforce its will upon the Jamaican Assembly. Thus the Colonial Office wanted to get rid of the Jamaican Constitution. To accomplish this Governor Eyre

53 Falmouth Post, February 16, 1866.
expertly aroused the fear of imminent widespread rebellion against the white people of Jamaica.\textsuperscript{54} On November 7 he put forth his plan to the Assembly. He said:

The occurrence of a most wicked and unprovoked rebellion, in the eastern division of the island, has brought sorrow and suffering upon the whole community. The valuable lives of many noble and gallant men, who were ornaments to the land, have been sacrificed by a most savage and cruel butchery, only paralleled by the atrocities of the Indian mutiny....

It is my duty to point out to you that satisfactory as it is to know that the rebellion in the eastern districts has been crushed out, the entire colony has long been, still is, on the brink of a volcano, which may any moment burst into fury....

It is necessary to bring these facts before you, in order to convince you how widely spread, and how deeply rooted, the spirit of disaffection is; how daring and determined the intention has been, and still is, to make Jamaica a second Haiti, and how imperative it is upon you, gentlemen, to take such measures, as under God's blessing, may avert such a calamity.\textsuperscript{55}

Continuing, the Governor said,

Those measures may be summed up in a few words. Create a strong government, and then, under a firm hand to guide and direct, much may be accomplished. In order to obtain a strong government there is but one course open to you---that of abolishing the existing Constitution (compensating the officers whose offices are abolished), and establishing one better adapted to the present state and requirements of the colony. I invite you then, Gentlemen, to make a great and generous sacrifice for the sake of your country, and in immolating on the altar of patriotism the two branches of the Legislature, of which you yourselves are the constituent parts, to hand down to posterity a noble example of self-denial and heroism.\textsuperscript{56}


\textsuperscript{55}Quoted in Ibid., 115.

\textsuperscript{56}Quoted in Underhill, Tragedy of Morant Bay, 68.
There was one small group of members of the Assembly, led by Samuel Constantine Burke, who opposed Eyre and the surrender of the Constitution. But the Governor had successfully instilled fear in the minds of the majority and as a result Jamaica's two-hundred year old Constitution was given up in favor of the Crown Colony form of government.\textsuperscript{57}

Though successful in abolishing the Jamaican Constitution, Governor Eyre lost out in the end. The brutal killing of so many Negroes provoked a strong reaction in England. The result was that a Royal Commission was sent to Jamaica to investigate the entire sordid episode of Morant Bay. The Commission was composed of three men; Sir Henry Storks, president; Russell Gurney, Esquire, Recorder of the City of London; J. B. Maule, Esquire, Recorder of Leeds. This investigative body was directed "to prosecute an inquiry into the nature and circumstances of certain disturbances which had occurred in the Island of Jamaica, and with respect to the measures adopted in the course of their suppression."\textsuperscript{58} The three man Commission met over sixty times within a fifty-one day period and heard 730 witnesses including Governor Eyre and his commanders in the field.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{57} Black, \textit{Jamaica}, 183.

\textsuperscript{58} Underhill, \textit{Tragedy of Morant Bay}, 53.

\textsuperscript{59} Semmel, \textit{Jamaican Blood}, 66.
The Royal Commission in its investigation concluded: (1) that the outbreak at St. Thomas had been a planned resistance to authority, that the insurrection had been motivated by Negro distrust of planter-dominated courts, and that some of the conspirators wished to drive the whites from the island; (2) that Governor Eyre acted with skill, promptitude, and vigour in the early stages of the insurrection; (3) that the military and naval operations were prompt and judicious. While these conclusions tended to support the initial actions of Governor Eyre the Royal Commission also concluded: (1) that the enforcement of martial law to its extreme limit deprived the people of their constitutional privileges; (2) that the punishments inflicted upon the people were excessive in that the sentences of death and flogging were brutal and unnecessary, and that the burning of 1,000 houses, cottages and buildings was cruel and wanton. 60

During these investigations Eyre had been suspended and, as a result of the damaging findings of the Royal Commission, he was recalled to England and dismissed from the service. 61

The Morning Journal welcomed the dismissal of Governor Eyre. The day before his departure the newspaper could not restrain from speeding him on his way with a blistering editorial.

60 Ibid., 67-68.

61 Black, Jamaica, 183.
It is not improbable that Mr. Eyre will be a passenger on the steamer which leaves here tomorrow, for England. His Excellency returns with ignominy such as no previous Governor has ever left this Colony with, perhaps, such as no Colonial Governor from any part of the British dominions has ever borne back with him to his native land. But Mr. Eyre is not a retiring Governor. He does not return home flushed with the honest pride which is felt by those who through years in distant countries, in perilous climates, and in arduous duties have served their Queen and country. He cannot console himself with Othello's exclamation, "I have done the State some service, and they know it." He is a Governor dismissed—a Governor disgraced, and he slinks home like an errant school boy with fear and trembling and when the white cliffs of old England home in sight, far different will be his emotions from those which such beacons excite in the breast of the wanderer returning home. There will be no popular welcome prepared for him, and lucky will he be if he is not received with popular execration. Those who still feel indignant at his deeds will point at him, and those who from policy have defended him will feel ashamed at the dishonor he has brought upon the nation, and will not approach him. From Government he has nothing to hope for. He will be allowed to retire to his native hamlet, and spend the remainder of his days in the obscurity in which his early life was passed, and from which it was his greatest misfortune ever to have emerged.

Mr. Eyre is about to leave us. He should have left already, and not have awaited the sentence which deprives him of the last pretensions to respect from those whom he has ruled with such fatal results. His connection with the country has been a fatal one, and it would have been better for it and for him if such a connection had never existed.62

The Journal gave only glancing notice to Eyre's departure. It said: "All the people did was to cheer lustily, as they realized the fact that their arch enemy was leaving the country."63

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63 Ibid., July 25, 1866.
With Eyre's suspension, the management of the island's government was temporarily turned over to Sir Henry Storks who had served as president of the Royal Commission. In England the Crown was concerned with the problem of Eyre's successor. The new governor of Jamaica had to be an exceptional man. He had to be a man who could calm the existing tensions and improve the dire economic condition of the island.

\[64\] *Falmouth Post,* January 12, 1866. The *Post* reported, "The appointment of Sir Henry Storks, is, virtually, a condemnation of the measures that were resorted to for the suppression of one of the most serious outbreaks that has ever occurred in a British Colony..."
CHAPTER II

INAUGURATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Little was accomplished administratively during the temporary governorship of Sir Henry Storks. Everyone seemed to be anxiously awaiting the appointment and arrival of the new, permanent governor. The Falmouth Post, with apprehension, wrote, "Who is to be Governor of Jamaica? This question is asked by everybody who feels interested in the future condition of the country..."\(^1\)

A few weeks earlier the same paper argued for an administration in which there would be an "infusion of new blood—a government with an able, independent man at its head..."\(^2\) Such a government would best consist of "a capable Governor, and two or three capable commissioners," who, being responsible to the Crown, would administer the affairs of the island in such a way as to insure peace and prosperity.\(^3\)

The Morning Journal of Kingston reported that until the new governor arrived nothing would be done towards the inauguration of the new form of government. "All that is known at present is that we

\(^1\)Falmouth Post, May 11, 1866.

\(^2\)Ibid., March 16, 1866.

\(^3\)Ibid., March 20, 1866.
are to have a Nominee Council to be composed of the Governor for the time being, six official members, and six nominees."\(^4\)

Rumors floated about Kingston as people tried to guess who the Crown would appoint governor. Would he be a harsh ruler? Would he side with the planters? Would taxes be raised? Could he check the discontent among many of the poor blacks? Would he rule with justice? These questions were soon to be answered.

The Crown realized that the problems facing Jamaica in 1865 were great and required the most able of administrators. To find such a man the Colonial Office coaxed from retirement a proven civil servant, Sir John Peter Grant.

John Peter Grant was born in London in November 1807. He entered Eton in 1819, and Haileybury in 1825, after a session at Edinburgh University. In 1828 at age twenty-one he joined the Bengal civil service, and in 1829 was sent to the north-western provinces. Among the districts in which he served were Bareilly and Pilibhit in the province of Rohilkand where Henry Boulderson was carrying on the settlement of the land revenue. In such a position Grant was able to acquire an insight into Indian village life and into the principles regulating the assessment and collection of the land revenue. Four years later he was appointed an assistant in the board of revenue at

\(^4\)Morning Journal, July 27, 1866.
Calcutta, and later held various offices at the presidency. One of these was that of secretary to the Indian law commission. Grant made his mark in all of these positions and was regarded as one of the bright stars in the civil service. During these years he took part in a controversy in the public press on the question of resuming rent-free land tenures. His able discussion of the question increased his reputation.

From 1841 to 1844 Grant was absent from India on leave. When he returned he was sent to inquire into the debts of the maharajah of Mysore, and to report upon the agency for the suppression of Meriah, or human sacrifices offered by the Khands in the hill country of Ganjam. He carried out both assignments in a manner which gained him high commendation from the government of India. In 1848, Grant was appointed secretary to the government of Bengal.

Bengal was governed directly by a governor-general; or in his absence by the senior member of the governor-general's council. From 1848 to 1852 the governor-general was absent, and the deputy-governorship fell upon General Sir John Littler, a man unversed in civil affairs. As a result, John Peter Grant, as secretary, was the virtual ruler of the province. He introduced various reforms which improved the administration. In 1853 he became permanent secretary in the home department of the government of India. In this position, which dealt with questions concerning all branches of the domestic
administration except public works, Grant brought about important improvements. In 1854, Grant became a member of the council of the governor-general. He held this office until 1859. As a member of the council he discharged his duties with a thoroughness which has seldom been exceeded. His minutes are outstanding for their lucid statements and logical reasoning. As a member of the legislative council Grant also displayed a capacity for oratory seldom displayed by Indian officials.

In August 1857, Lord Canning appointed Grant lieutenant-governor of the country around Allahābād and Benares. In 1859 he was chosen lieutenant-governor of Bengal. During his administration he employed active measures against dacoity, the system of bond-labour in the rice cultivation of the Sonthal Parganas. This was abolished. Also, he put down by armed force the raids of the Bhutīs on the northern frontier, those of the wild hill tribes of the district of Chittagong and the rebellions of the Khasias and of the Khands. The danger of the recurrence of these troubles was lessened by vigorous administrative reforms. The most important matter with which Grant had to contend was that of the indigo riots in Lower and Central Bengal. Here the system of cultivation in force had given rise to trouble as far back as 1810. In 1861, the dispute between the planters and cultivators reached a critical stage. However, the clear perception, impartiality, and judicious measures of John Peter Grant averted a serious agrarian
uprising. On March 14, 1862 Grant was made Knight Commander of the Bath and in April of the same year he retired from the civil service, after thirty-four years, and left India.5

With regard to his personal appearance John Peter Grant was a large, tall man possessing a full beard. He had confidence in his own decisions but was always ready to hear and consider all sides of a question before making a decision. When once he had decided upon a course to follow he was persistent in carrying it out. In every official act he was guided by a conscientious desire to do justice and to promote the welfare of everyone within the sphere of his government. He was not a man of excitable passions and seldom, if ever, showed anger. When he was faced with a difficult question or unexpected event his only indication of feeling would be a grave expression of countenance. Then, with some humorous utterance, he would put himself calmly to work to consider the proper steps to be taken. He took pleasure in mixing with lively people, younger than himself, and enjoyed participating in their lighthearted banter. Everyone who came into contact with Grant acquired towards him feelings of affection as well as of respect.6

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6 This personal description of Sir John Peter Grant was given by General Mann, Director of Public Works in Jamaica and an intimate friend of Grant. See "Governors of Jamaica; Sir John Peter Grant," Journal of the Institute of Jamaica, vol. 1, (Nov. 1891-Dec. 1893), 239-240.
Sir John Peter Grant arrived in Kingston on August 5, 1866 to assume his duties as Governor of Jamaica. With the sighting of the packet excitement ran through the city. Thousands of citizens of all classes crowded together at the place of debarkation hoping to see the man chosen to guide Jamaica through one of the most critical periods of its history. A guard of honor from the First and Third West India Regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy, was drawn up ready to salute the governor. As Grant came ashore with his private secretary, Mr. W. Plowdon, he was received by Brigadier-General Nelson, Captain O'Connor, Captain Johnson and others of the staff of the Major-General in command of the forces of Jamaica. The governor immediately proceeded to the capital of the island, Spanish Town. He was cheered by the crowd along the whole route from the landing place.7

The next day, Monday August 6, Grant was to be sworn in at one o'clock. Meanwhile Spanish Town was all hustle and bustle and had been since the cannon salute had proclaimed the arrival of the governor. All talk centered about the new executive. On Sunday afternoon he had been seen walking with Sir Henry Storks

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7Morning Journal, August 6, 1866. It was common practice of the Jamaican newspapers to leave out the first name of an individual in the news articles. Thus the reason for the absence of some first names in this thesis.
on the Kingston and New Brighton road. This it seems was a favorite place for Sir Henry's evening exercise.  

By twelve o'clock Monday the square at Spanish Town began to assume a festive air in anticipation of the inauguration ceremony to take place that afternoon. To add to the occasion three light field pieces were set up at the south end of the Assembly building. These were manned by the St. Catherine (Parish) Volunteer Artillery who were to have the honor of firing the salute. As was always the case of such an important occasion, there was a goodly collection of feminine beauty in the gallery. Their "soft beaming eyes and pretty smiling countenances gave a charm to the scene."  

At half-past one o'clock some of the officials and other distinguished gentlemen entered the audience chamber from the inner room. These were Sir Bryan Edwards, Chief Justice; His Reverence Bishop Courtenay of Kingston; Honorable Edward Jordon, C.B., Governor's Secretary; Honorable Dr. Hamilton, Member of the Executive Committee; Honorable Alexander Heslop, Attorney General; Reverend Robert Gordon, Head Master of Wolmer's School. About three minutes later His Excellency Sir Henry Knight Storks, G.C.B.G., C.M.G.  

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8Ibid., August 7, 1866.  

9The details of the inauguration of Sir John Peter Grant as Governor of Jamaica were taken from Ibid.
entered, preceded by Lieutenant Strahan, A.D.C.; Robert Russel, Esquire, Registrar in Chancery, bearing the insignia of the court; E. B. Lynch, Esquire, (as black rod), and followed by Major-General Luke Smythe O'Connor, C.B., Commander of the Forces; Brigadier-General Nelson, Adjutant General; Lieutenant Sinclair; Reverend J. Reese Webb; Inspector Nairne; Captain Delisser and others. His Excellency Sir Henry Storks then entered the Privy Council Chamber, followed by the Privy Councilors, and soon after, His Excellency Sir John Peter Grant.

After a short meeting of the Privy Council His Excellency Sir John Peter Grant and others took their places at a long table in the Audience Chamber. The new governor sat at the head of the table and to his right was seated Sir Henry Storks. The rest of the Privy Council took their seats at the same table. This included the Chief Justice, Sir Bryan Edwards; Bishop Courtenay of Kingston; Honorable John Salmon, Henry Westmorland, William Hosack, Dr. Hamilton, L. F. Mackinnon, Alexander Heslop, H. W. Austin, and William Freeman.

Mr. John C. McGlashan, provisional Secretary of the Executive Committee, read Queen Victoria's Commission appointing Sir John Peter Grant Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica and
Grant took the oath of office, a salute was fired honoring the new governor, and then Governor Grant and other dignitaries retired to the reception room.

After the inauguration of Sir John Peter Grant the people waited anxiously for this stranger to reveal his plans. However, Grant did not want to act with haste in the formulation of much needed governmental reform for Jamaica. This attitude of caution and thoughtfulness was recognized by the press and citizens of the island.

The Falmouth Post commenting on the new governor stated that "Sir John Grant, like his predecessor, maintains a studied prudent silence, and he will continue silent until he can set in motion the machinery with which he is to work."

The editor of the Morning Journal said of the new governor:

...He has to make himself acquainted with the evils of the past, in order that he might adopt the readiest, and at the same time least painful, mode of correcting them; he has to reconcile differences, calm excitement, restore confidence, and, if possible, turn the tide of the island's prospects. All

See Appendix V for copy of document appointing Sir John Peter Grant Governor of Jamaica entitled: Draft of A Commission to be passed under the Great Seal Appointing Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Island of Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon. 16 July 1866. Reprinted with the permission of the Institute of Jamaica, Kingston. This and other Orders in Council are reproduced in this dissertation because of their importance and because of the disintegration of the documents located in the Institute of Jamaica.

Falmouth Post, August 17, 1866.
this requires time, careful personal observation, and the co-operation of all men of influence in the country—a co-operation which we hope and trust will be readily accorded to him by all classes on whatever section of the community their influence may be exercised.\textsuperscript{12}

Four days later the press quoted Governor Grant as saying:

"...nothing could have justified or excused armed insurrection and massacre. It must always be the first object of every government to suppress, on the instant, such commotions as those which have taken place in Jamaica; and exemplary punishment must always be expected to fall upon the most guilty of those concerned...\textsuperscript{13}"

Thus Governor Grant deplored the "rebellion" of Paul Bogle and his men. But the \textit{Journal} was quick to point out that Grant was not to be interpreted as a "planter's partizan" nor a "negro-worshipper." Sir John Peter Grant was dedicated to bring justice to the planter in the protection of his interest but justice also to the Negro so as to advance his miserable situation educationally, economically and socially.\textsuperscript{14}

The citizens of the island, by early September, were becoming impatient and desirous of governmental action to lessen their hardships. Letters to the newspapers grew in volume asking the governor for relief. One such letter was as follows:\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Morning Journal}, August 23, 1866.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, August 27, 1866.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, September 6, 1866.
To His Excellency Sir John Peter Grant,  
Governor of Jamaica

Sir: The dull and stagnant condition of trade in Kingston is a subject of deep regret to all those who take an interest in the welfare of its inhabitants, and might be remedied to some extent by simple legislation...

I remain, Your Excellency's Obedient Servant,  
P. Villamil

During the latter part of September the governor was not to be seen as he spent most of his time at his summer residence in the mountains. It was understood by most that he was formulating the plans of his administration. The Falmouth Post reported that the governor was "engaged in the consideration of measures which...will establish on firm, solid grounds, the future welfare of Jamaica."  

The first sign of the beginning of the new order of things came with the announced dissolution of some of the institutions of the old government. Agencies abolished were the Executive Committee, the Main Road Board and the Board of Works.  

But still the island was concerned with the delay in setting the new government in motion. On September 24, 1866, the Morning Journal, noting that nearly a year had passed since the abolition of the Assembly, stated:

16Falmouth Post, September 14, 1866.
17Morning Journal, September 24, 1866.
It is now nearly a year since the glorious work of immolation was effected, and no one knows what the substitute is to be. Even the Imperial Government, which jumped at the idea of assuming the responsibility of governing the island, seems at a loss what to do and how to begin now that its wish has been gratified.\textsuperscript{18}

However, the period of seeming inaction on the part of Governor Grant was about to end. The \textit{Journal} reported three weeks later that the mystery of the new government was to be made known in a few days. A meeting of the Legislative Council was to be held on October 16 at one o'clock in the afternoon, in the old Legislative Council Hall in Spanish Town. Moreover, Governor Grant had called to his aid three gentlemen to serve on the Council. These men were Louis Mackinnon, Peter Moncrieffe, and James McDowell. The form of the new government was still not known but it was generally held that with the first meeting of the Legislative Council the structure would be known to all.\textsuperscript{19}

On October 16, a few minutes past one o'clock the machinery of the new government of Jamaica was put into motion.\textsuperscript{20} His Excellency Sir John Peter Grant, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, preceded by the Usher of the Black Rod bearing the Mace, and attended by his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Grimble, and his private secretary W. Plowdon,

\textsuperscript{18}See \textit{Ibid.}, October 11, 15, 16, 1866.

\textsuperscript{19}See \textit{Ibid.}, October 11, 15, 16, 1866.

\textsuperscript{20}The following details of the Legislative Council meeting were taken from \textit{Ibid.}, October 17, 1866.
Grant took his seat at the head of the table. The governor was followed by Major-General Luke Smythe O'Connor, Commander of the Forces, accompanied by Lieutenant Lanyon; Honorable Henry Turner Irving, Colonial Secretary, and acting Financial Secretary; Honorable Alexander Heslop, Attorney General; Honorable Louis Mackinnon; Honorable Peter Moncrieffe; Honorable James McDowell; and Alexander Aikman, Esquire, Clerk to the new Legislative Council.

As the first order of business His Excellency Sir John Peter Grant directed the clerk to read Her Majesty's Order in Council dated June 11, 1866.\footnote{See Appendix VI for Order entitled: Order of the Queen in Council for Providing for the Government of the Island of Jamaica, and for establishing a Legislative Council in the said Island. 11 June 1866. Reprinted with permission of the Institute of Jamaica, Kingston.} This Order of the Queen recognized the abolition of the Jamaican Constitution as carried out by the Assembly and established a new government for Jamaica. A Legislative Council was established consisting of the governor and official and unofficial members. Official members were the Senior Military Officer, and the five persons holding the respective offices of Colonial Secretary, Attorney General, Financial Secretary, Director of Roads and Collector of Customs. Unofficial members were appointed by the governor and could be appointed at any time but not to exceed six in number. Unofficial
members of the Council were to be in the minority. The Order of June 11, 1866 provided that the governor, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, was to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the island. There was to be no representative assembly.22

After the reading of this order, the clerk was directed to read the general instructions delivered under the date of July 16, 1866.23 These instructions provided for the appointment of a Privy Council to advise the governor. The Privy Council was to consist of the official members of the Legislative Council and any unofficial members appointed by the Crown or provisionally appointed by the governor. The official members were the Senior Military Officer of the island, Colonial Secretary, Attorney General, Financial Secretary, Director of Roads, and Collector of Customs.24

The Order of July 16, 1866 also provided that the governor was to preside at all meetings of the Privy Council and to consult with the Council except in specified instances. The governor was exempted

22Ibid., 1-3.

23See Appendix VII for instructions entitled: Draft of Instructions under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet to Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Island of Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon. 16 July 1866. Reprinted with permission of the Institute of Jamaica.

24Ibid., 2.
from consulting with the Privy Council when he felt that such consultation would not benefit the Crown, or when the matter was too unimportant to require their advice, or when the matter was too urgent to take time to call the Council together. The governor was also given the power to act in opposition to the advice of the Privy Council when he thought it best for the Crown. Members of the Privy Council who disagreed with the actions of the governor could record their adverse opinions in the Minutes of the Privy Council.25

The Order of July 16, 1866 consisting of general instructions relative to the Privy Council also included instructions pertaining to the Legislative Council. It provided that any member of the Legislative Council could propose any question for debate and, if such proposal was seconded, the question had to be debated and disposed of accordingly. However, no law could be enacted, nor any vote or resolution passed, nor any question admitted to debate which pertained to the revenue of the island. All laws, votes, resolutions or questions relative to revenues had to first be proposed by the governor or expressly allowed or directed by the governor. All laws enacted by the governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council were to be styled "Laws enacted by the Governor of Jamaica with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council thereof."26

25Ibid., 3-4.
26Ibid., 4-5.
After the reading of the general instructions the clerk administered the oath to the several members of the Legislative Council. This included initially Major General O'Connor, Commander of the Forces; Henry Turner Irving, Colonial Secretary; Alexander Heslop, Attorney General; and the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, Louis Mackinnon, Peter Moncrieffe, and James McDowell.

His Excellency, Sir John Peter Grant, President of the Legislative Council, then took the floor and stated that he wanted to make a few observations before the Council proceeded to business. He stated that on former occasions, in opening the sessions of the legislature, there was much formality. For instance, there was a set speech written and delivered by the governor, and then a formal reply was made. However, because of the present situation he was sure that the Council would agree with him that such formality was now out of place. He was sure that it would be more pleasant to him to sit among them informally and spend some time with them in deliberation; and he was sure that he would benefit much from their deliberations. He acknowledged that there was a good deal of work for them to do, but it was their duty to endeavor to accomplish it with as much ability as they could. There were some measures which had to be introduced and passed at once because of the abolition of the former constitution.

Grant went on to say that almost every department in the colony required immediate reform measures, and the legal department
required more than any other because there was no justice for the poor man. The governor then mentioned that there were several laws which were prepared and would be submitted to the Legislative Council but he would only speak with regard to two; one related to the police and the other to the local courts. With regard to the police Grant pointed out that the force was in a deplorable state. Nothing surprised him more than to learn that on the occasion of the Morant Bay outbreak the nearby police authorities knew nothing of preparations being made for the assault. He argued that if there had been anything like a capable police force such a thing never could have happened without some opportunity being afforded for precautionary measures. With regard to the Petty Courts, Grant suggested that they should be made similar to the parochial courts in England.

The governor explained that money would be needed to implement his program; therefore, taxes must be raised to pay for reforms and to meet the deficiencies of the government. Grant promised some retrenchment but not much. He admitted that taxation had never been thought a pleasant thing but because of the present state of the estimates taxation could not be avoided. One measure to increase taxation would be introduced immediately. Grant closed his informal address by asking for the Legislative Council's support in his plans for the island. He then presented the rules and standing orders of the Council.
The Attorney General took the floor and presented a bill to empower the governor to appoint Justices of the Peace and other persons to act as Stipendiary Justices. The Colonial Secretary then presented a bill to raise and secure a revenue from rum. After some debate the measure was approved and the duty on rum was raised from 2s.9d. to 5s. per gallon.27

One of the most important measures passed at the first setting of the Legislative Council was the conferring upon the new government of the powers and functions of the former executive committee and of various other boards, and the abolishment of the elected vestries and road boards of the parishes. It also enabled the governor to nominate persons to serve on municipal boards to carry out the duties formerly discharged by the elected vestries and road boards.28

27 *Morning Journal*, October 17, 1866. See also, *Morning Journal*, October 24, 1866. A Stipendiary Justice was a special salaried magistrate, or justice of the peace, appointed under statutory provision, in contrast to ordinary justices of the peace who served without pay.

28 W. J. Gardner, *A History of Jamaica From Its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Year 1872—Including an Account of Its Trade and Agriculture; Sketches of the Manners, Habits, and Customs of All Classes of Its Inhabitants; and a Narrative of the Progress of Religion and Education in the Island* (London: Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, MCMIX), 494.

The day before the Legislative Council meeting of October 16, 1866 Governor Grant had met with his Privy Council and acquainted them with legislation which he proposed to introduce and enact. These were a bill to re-organize the police and a bill to abolish the Vestries and Parochial Boards created by election. He explained that he intended to establish Municipal Boards to be filled by nomination of the governor. See Privy Council Minutes, 17 May 1860 to 30 December 1881, Meeting of 15 October 1866 (MSS in the Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town).
The reaction of the people of Jamaica to the first official meeting of the new government was generally favorable. On Grant's address to the Legislative Council one paper described it as, "A homely and practical address, replete with good sense and developing a mind well-adapted to grapple with the difficulties of the situation..."29

The Falmouth Post reported:

The first session of the Legislative Council which, under the Presidentship of Sir John Peter Grant, is "to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of this Island," was opened on Tuesday, 16 October, in Spanish Town, without any of the formalities and show of the olden time. There was no booming of cannon, no marching of troops preceded by a Band, to the square in front of the Vice-Regal Mansion, no turning out of patriotic Volunteers...; on the contrary, old La Vega was remarkably quiet on the important occasion; the gentry remained in their houses lamenting the inauguration of a system that will reduce their incomes and influence...30

The new form of government for the island received both favorable and cautious endorsement. The Morning Journal noted that the president of the Legislative Council, Governor Grant, would initiate all legislation and that such measures would of certainty be passed by the official members who formed the majority of the Council. Also, it pointed out that much good could result from such a centralized system of government.31

29 Morning Journal, October 18, 1866.
30 Falmouth Post, October 23, 1866.
31 Morning Journal, October 18, 1866.
In a more cautious mood the Journal said:

The Government is that of a Governor and a Council; but it is after all simply an Autocracy, the Council being designed only to give colour to the acts of the Governor. Such a system is capable of great good but it might also be a source of much evil.... We can only hope for the best.32

The Falmouth Post was more critical of the form of government because the unofficial members of the Legislative Council were a minority and would always be outvoted by the official members of the government. Thus the governor would merely have to say "do this" and it would be done, despite any opposition by the unofficial legislators.33

With the new government installed Governor Grant was ready to proceed with his administrative program which would bring about a complete revolution in the political and legal status of the island. The first step in the program had been realized with the establishment of the Crown Colony form of government. The next step would be the enacting of measures concerned with improving the administration of justice, education of the people, public works, relief of the poor and sick, industry and finance.34

32Ibid.

33Falmouth Post, October 23, 1866.

34Walter Scott Karr, Grant of Rothiemurchus: A Memoir of the Services of Sir John Peter Grant (London: J. Murray, 1899), 87-89.
CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENTAL REFORM AND "PATERNAL DESPOTISM," 1866-68

With two and one-half months remaining in the year 1866 Governor Grant was able to enact only nine laws. The most important of these were: Law 1 of 1866 to raise the revenue from rum; Law 2 to enable the governor to appoint any Justice of the Peace a Stipendiary Justice; Law 3 setting the amount of salaries of the governor (£7,000 per annum), and of the Colonial and Financial Secretaries (£1,500 per annum), and Law 8 of 1866 allowing alterations in the law as granted by Order of the Queen in Council, dated 11 June, 1866. This latter law in effect set up Crown Government. With the introduction of Crown Government into Jamaica and the consequent abolition of the political franchise, it became necessary to provide for the discharge of the duties previously performed by the elected Boards and Corporations. Thus Law 8 of 1866 was passed by the Legislative Council and assented to by the Queen as a part of the new constitutional arrangements of the colony. This law authorized the governor to appoint annually Municipal Boards and Road Boards to take the place of the elected Vestries and the old Commissioners of Highways and Bridges; and also to appoint churchwardens instead of the elected churchwardens.¹

¹Laws of Jamaica, 1866-1869 (Spanish Town, 1869). See also Handbook of Jamaica, 1883 (Kingston: Government Printer Establishment), 67.
On December 10, 1866 Governor Grant presented a bill to the Legislative Council to organize a Constabulary Force. The bill proposed to place the Constabulary on a footing like the Irish Constabulary. The strength of the new police force was to be eight hundred men but it was not obligatory to keep it at that strength. This police bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed. Governor Grant next presented a bill to reduce the number of parishes from twenty-two to fourteen. He gave a statement of the area and population of the parishes. The reason for this reduction was to facilitate the business and simplify the financial arrangements of the country. The revenue department of each parish was to be entrusted to one officer.\(^2\)

In reaction to the proposed Constabulary Force the Morning Journal stated:

It affords us pleasure that the arrangements towards the formation of the new police force are progressing rapidly... The police is a department of the public service in which legislation has been very much at fault in this country, and an efficient force at this time will be one of the best guarantees not only for order, but for the collection of the revenue and the detection of crime.\(^3\)

The presentation of these two pieces of legislation were quickly followed by others. On December 17, the Colonial Secretary, Henry Turner Irving, presented a Sanitary Bill. This legislation would

\(^2\)Morning Journal, December 11, 1866.
\(^3\)Ibid., December 8, 1866.
establish a Central Board of Health and Local Boards of Health. The object of the bill was to improve the sanitary condition of the island and to prevent and prohibit the spread of epidemic diseases. The Local Boards were to be the Municipal Boards of each of the parishes. Each parish was to be divided into sanitary districts and each district was to have a district visitor or committee. The bill also gave the governor power, in case of epidemic, to erect temporary hospitals.4

This bill received quick endorsement of the press, because people were aware of the slow growth rate of the population due to the high death rate. As one newspaper reported; "The stationary rate at which the people have remained during the last quarter of a century, is now a subject to which serious consideration should be given..."5

While Grant was moving as fast as possible in the formation of legislation, the newspapers were quick to point out areas of need. For instance, there was an immediate necessity for legislation that would promote the introduction of capital into the colony and provide protection for the little remaining capital in the island. To facilitate this it was argued that a radical change in the insolvent law had to be effected.6

4Ibid., December 18, 1866.
5Falmouth Post, January 4, 1867.
6Morning Journal, December 18, 1866.
Though Governor Grant could accomplish relatively little in the remaining months of 1866, almost everyone was decidedly optimistic about the new government. Throughout the island a general tone of hopefulness took the place of depression and pessimism. During the bloodshed of 1865 there had been a cry for a strong government. With the inauguration of Sir John Peter Grant as Governor and the establishment of a Crown Colony form of government it was felt that Jamaica was in the hands of a strong man, armed with unusual powers, but a man whose rule was as just as it was strong. It was felt that the government was being conducted for the benefit of all, laborers and planters, and not in the interests of any particular class. This attitude of optimism was instilled by Grant himself and his proposed reforms.

In answer to a letter of support and congratulations from a Baptist congregation meeting at Salter's Hill, Governor Grant wrote an open letter to the press. It read:

To: John E. Henderson,
Chairman

I am sincerely obliged to you for your congratulations on my appointment as Governor of this Island...

It is my one object to promote the good of all classes, and the general prosperity of the colony. Wholly unconnected as I am with past events in Jamaica, it ought not to be beyond my power to keep myself free from the influences of party spirit, if any such spirit still lingers here after the state of things in which it was engendered has passed away.

I have full confidence in your assurance of your grateful and loyal feelings to our Queen. It would, indeed, be unaccountable were such feelings wanted in emancipated Jamaica.

In that submission to the law, which you have been taught as a duty, you will find your own happiness and
security; and if to that duty you add the doing of justice to yourselves, by industry and good conduct, your prosperity is not doubtful.

(signed)

Sir John Peter Grant

Through such assurances of the governor "to promote the good of all classes" the lowliest subject of the Queen in Jamaica was made to feel that he would no longer be at the mercy of a corrupt legislature or irresponsible magistrates. On the contrary, he would be under the protection of laws which governed the British Empire throughout the world.®

The Falmouth Post in evaluating Governor Grant's four month administration of 1866 ranked it as "the most important in the history of Jamaica." The new system of legislation was a great improvement over the Assembly. The proceedings of the Legislative Council, with the governor in control, were regulated in a simple but dignified manner. Bills were introduced, read, sent to committee, reported, and passed, without lengthy, tedious, and worthless debate. No longer could obstacles be thrown into the way by factionists such as was the case with the old Assembly.® Commenting on the new government the Post stated:

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7 Ibid., November 8, 1866.

8 Underhill, Tragedy of Morant Bay, 217.

9 Falmouth Post, January 1, 1867.
...there will be no more main road and tramway swindles; on the contrary there will be vigilant superintendence of every Institution, and the Majesty of Law will be upheld as it should be in a British Colony. These are some of the benefits that will be derived from the working of our new and strong government---a Government having at its head, a gentleman who has distinguished himself in the United Kingdom and in India as a talented servant of the Crown...10

In 1867 Governor Grant instituted reforms that had been previously only talked about. During this period forty-five laws were passed. These laws covered practically all aspects of Jamaican life from the protection of life and property to the expansion of the railroad system.

To prevent any further disturbance like the Morant Bay riot and to protect the citizens of Jamaica the Legislative Council passed Law 8 of 1867, "A Law to Organize a Constabulary Force." The need for such a unified police force as provided by this law was obvious. The old police consisted of twelve Inspectors, forty-one Sergeants, and three hundred and sixty-five privates. The personnel was distributed throughout the island in an unsystematic manner; and the force was not under the command of one officer. Law 8 provided that the new police force would be called the Jamaican Constabulary Force.11 The governor was empowered to appoint an Inspector-General who, subject to the orders of the governor, would have the command and superintendence of the entire

10 Ibid.

police force. In addition the governor had the power to appoint a Deputy Inspector-General, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, non-commissioned officers and Constables. The law also provided that the governor could alter or annul regulations for the discipline, good order and guidance of the Constabulary Force. The Inspectors of Police, when stationed in a particular parish or district, were responsible for the general government, direction and superintendence of the force under his jurisdiction. No person of any rank in the Jamaican Constabulary Force was allowed to hold any other public employment without the consent of the governor. Finally, the law provided that the full strength of the Force was to consist of one Inspector-General, one Deputy Inspector-General, fifteen Inspectors, fifteen Sub-Inspectors, fifteen Sergeants-Majors, thirty-four Sergeants, sixty-eight Corporals, two hundred Constables first-class and six hundred Constables second-class. However, Governor Grant did not find it necessary to raise the whole of this force. The number of personnel actually employed was below the maximum allowed by law both in regards to officers and men.

The new Jamaican Constabulary Force was constituted very much like the Irish Constabulary and it was regulated by a code of rules framed from those of the Irish Constabulary and of the Metropolitan

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12 *Morning Journal*, December 21, 1866.

Police. The men were enlisted for five years and before going on duty had to undergo military training and civil instruction in Spanish Town in the old Military Barracks. On regular duty the personnel carried batons but when emergencies occurred they were armed with firearms.\(^\text{14}\)

Not everyone wholly supported the governor in his creation and control of the Constabulary. The *Falmouth Post* argued that it was "impolitic and wrong to place so much uncontrollable power in the hands of Sir John Peter Grant or any future Representative of Her Majesty in this island."\(^\text{15}\)

The establishment of district courts was another major innovation of the governor in 1867. Laws 35 to 39 of 1867 provided for their establishment. The judges of these courts were to be Barristers or Advocates from the United Kingdom and were to be appointed by the governor.\(^\text{16}\) The provisions of the laws empowered the governor to divide the island into districts, fix the places for holding courts and appoint, in addition to judges, clerks and bailiffs. All were required to reside within their districts. Each judge was to be paid a salary of one thousand pounds per annum and was required to hold a court at least

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\(^{14}\)Ibid.

\(^{15}\) *Falmouth Post*, September 24, 1867.

\(^{16}\) *Report of 1867*, 5.
once a month in each part of his district.\textsuperscript{17} The duty of the clerk was to issue summonses, warrants, and writs of execution, register judgments, and keep an account of all proceedings. Also, he was to pay to the Receiver-General all fees and fines that were received by the court. The clerk was to be paid a salary of not less than two hundred pounds nor more than four hundred pounds per annum. The bailiff of each court was to have a salary of not more than one hundred pounds per annum plus fees for attending the court, serving summonses, executing warrants and performing other duties.\textsuperscript{18}

The new District Courts were given a limited jurisdiction in cases respecting titles to and interests in land but possessed unlimited jurisdiction in cases of unlawful possession of land without title. They also had jurisdiction in civil cases only to the amount of two hundred pounds and had a limited criminal jurisdiction. The courts could try criminal cases and sentence parties, with or without the intervention of a jury, to imprisonment for twelve months. In criminal cases defendants charged before a Magistrate's Court could have the trial moved up to the court of the District Judge. There was then an appeal

\textsuperscript{17}Falmouth Post, October 18, 1867. Governor Grant's reform of the legal system removed many of the grievances of the people of Jamaica. The primary duty of the salaried resident magistrate was the rendering of impartial justice so as to protect the common people against the kind of injustices that precipitated the Morant Bay riot.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., February 5, and October 18, 1867.
from the District Courts to the Supreme Court upon all questions of law.
With the passing of additional laws in 1868 the District Courts became
the Insolvent Courts of the island; and their jurisdiction was extended
to cases of Probate.\textsuperscript{19}

In 1867 Governor Grant established five District Courts. Because
the governor felt that the Supreme Court had an unnecessary number of
judges (four) he appointed one of them to be the Judge of the District
Court of Kingston without an increase in salary. In commenting on the
efficiency of the District Courts Governor Grant said:

\ldots I may say here, with perfect confidence, that this great
judicial reform has been in its practical working completely
successful, and that these new courts are already highly appre­
ciated by the public generally, and even by classes to whom the
constitution of such local tribunals was at first distasteful.\textsuperscript{20}

The \textit{Falmouth Post} in an early approval of the new District Courts
stated:

We are of opinions that litigants will not be the only
persons benefited by the contemplated change which is to
bring justice to the door of the humble and poor as well as
to that of the high-positioned and rich man but that with
increased practice, Attorneys and Barristers will also be
benefited; and that among the latter, the younger members
of the profession will have opportunities of acquiring experi­
ence which will qualify them to practice successfully in the
Supreme and Assyé Courts of the Colony\ldots \textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{19}Report of 1867, 5.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., 6.

\textsuperscript{21}Falmouth Post, February 5, 1867.
However, with regard to the distribution of patronage the Post declared that the policy of excluding natives of the colony from offices of emolument to be ungenerous and unjust. It said, "the District Courts will cost upwards of £6,000 for six professional strangers!"22

Another important area in which Governor Grant directed his attention was the financial condition of the island. In 1866 in his report to the Crown concerning the financial state of Jamaica Grant reported:

On the whole it may be stated as a sufficiently close approximation to the truth for practical purposes, that the revenue due to the taxation of the year fell short of the ordinary expenditure of the year by more than £60,000.23

The ordinary expenditure for the year 1865-66 was £343,297 14s. 1d. This expenditure did not include extraordinary expenditures such as monies spent for the suppression of the riot at Morant Bay, the construction of public works provided for by special loans, nor Immigration charges. Thus the first full year of Grant's administration (1867) opened with the new government facing a heavy deficit. The governor, in order to make the government solvent, sought to erase this deficit by instituting two remedies. First, Governor Grant sought to reduce all expenditures for purposes not of vital importance; and,

22Ibid., December 17, 1867.
secondly, he increased the revenue by the imposition of new taxes. By reducing all expenditures which the governor deemed of little importance the government realized a saving at the annual rate of L27,055 within the financial year 1866-67.24 (See Table I, Annual Rate of Reductions Effected in 1866-67.)

The new taxes levied by Governor Grant and the Legislative Council during the financial year 1866-67 were: (1) an increase of the tax on rum from 2s. 8d. to 5s. a gallon, (2) a tax for one year of one penny an acre of land, (3) a tax on trade licenses, and (4) an extension of the old house tax and the levying of a new petty house tax. The governor's object in levying the last three taxes was to bring under taxation all classes of people.25

Law 10 of 1867 provided for the new land tax and the taxing of previously exempted houses. This law, limited to one year duration, placed a registration tax of one penny an acre on all land; and it brought under the house tax of 1s. 6d. in the pound upon houses of the annual value of twelve pounds and upwards, houses of this class on sugar estates and cattle pens which had been previously exempted from all house taxes. Law 10 also levied a petty house tax, from 2s. to 6s., on houses of less annual value than twelve pounds. Laborer's houses located on plantations were exempt.26

24Ibid.
25Ibid., 8.
26Ibid., 3.
Table I

**Annual Rate of Reductions Effected in 1866-67.**

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By the abolition of the late Constitution</td>
<td>10,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By providing for certain Parochial charges in the Ecclesiastical department by means of the voluntary contributions of the congregations</td>
<td>6,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By vacancies from death and retirement amongst the Clergy not filled up</td>
<td>5,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By retrenchments consequent on the reduction of the number of Parishes from 22 to 14</td>
<td>2,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By amalgamations of the Surry and Middlesex County Jails, and abolition of Montego Bay Female Prison</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By stoppage of subsidy for a Steam communication with New York</td>
<td>4,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By saving charges for Main roads in excess of the revenue of the Main Road Fund</td>
<td>4,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By saving charges on the Perpetual Annuity</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By reductions on annual grants</td>
<td>2,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By saving on the old Police, in course of abolition</td>
<td>3,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By miscellaneous offices reduced and abolished</td>
<td>2,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total reductions</strong></td>
<td><strong>46,163</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deduct annual rate of new charges incurred---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By officers under the new Constitution</td>
<td>12,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Curates at reduced pay, and catechists, substituted for clergymen, on the establishment, deceased or resigned</td>
<td>1,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By miscellaneous new offices and increases of salary</td>
<td>2,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Pensions</td>
<td>2,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total increase</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,108</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rate of annual net reductions**                                         **27,055**

Governor Grant reported that the petty house tax, imposed on the poorest of the islanders, was paid "with remarkable cheerfulness." The government carefully explained to everyone that because of the poor financial condition of the island new taxes were unavoidable; and that justice required all classes, landed proprietors, traders, and small settlers to be taxed in fair proportions.\(^{27}\)

Law 18 of 1867 imposed a tax or license duty, varying from twenty-five pounds to one pound, on merchants and dealers. This duty was regulated by the value of the premises on which the business was carried out. As Law 10 of 1867 levied a new direct tax upon large landed proprietors and small settlers Governor Grant felt that a duty on licenses was necessary in order to bring the trading classes of the island under the responsibility of supporting their government.\(^{28}\)

These new taxes were insufficient to meet the expenditures of 1867 and a deficit of over sixty-three thousand pounds was recorded for that year. The three new taxes levied on land, licenses, and houses amounted to L24,349 17s. 8d. The increased tax on rum failed to bring an increase in the revenue for 1866-67 because the dealers, anticipating the higher duty, took large stocks of the rum out of bond before the enforcement of the new tax.\(^{29}\)

\(^{27}\)Ibid., 3.

\(^{28}\)Ibid., 4.

\(^{29}\)Ibid., 8.
Governor Grant's imposition of new taxes brought about the usual complaints of the public and the press. The *Falmouth Post* did not totally condemn the policy of the governor but argued for economy and retrenchment in the government. In an editorial entitled, "The Governor, The Legislature, and Taxation," the *Post* said:

We do not censure or condemn levying of additional legitimate tax on the general commerce of the country, for common sense assures us of the necessity of making adequate provision to meet the expenditure that is to be incurred for the protection of life and property, and for the improved management of public and parochial institutions; but we contend...that it will be both unwise and impolitic to resort to a system which will have the effects of cramping energy, limiting enterprise, obstructing the industry of the people...We have shown in previous articles that by the abolition of certain appointments, and by the lessening of renumeration which is now given to persons who are employed in several Departments of the Public Service, there might be a yearly saving of L30,000 at least, and that this saving would enable the Government to carry out many of its contemplated projects, without placing heavier burdens on the shoulders of an impoverished and long-suffering population.30

Popular feeling against the taxes imposed by the new government took the form of public meetings. On Saturday May 25, 1867 one such protest meeting took place at the Court House in the Parish of Trelawny. The Honorable Robert Nunes, Custos of the parish, convened the meeting. He said that he appreciated the compliment of having been unanimously chosen to preside over the meeting and he was sure that the meeting

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30 *Falmouth Post*, February 22, 1867. See also *Ibid.*, March 1, 1867. "...the best way of dealing with the subject of deficient revenue, is that of abolishing useless offices, and reducing the extravagant salaries of official functionaries."
"would be conducted with that strict regard to propriety for which the parish of Trelawny had always been distinguished." Mr. James W. Fisher then proposed the following resolution:

That the financial and other measures of the present Legislature, are calculated seriously to aggravate the distressed condition of the colony, and betray a defective acquaintance with its capabilities and resources, and an absence of appreciation of the difficulties of its position by the government, which cannot but inspire those subjected to its rule with the gravest apprehensions for their future.

The above resolution was unanimously adopted. Mr. Purchas then proposed a second resolution which also passed. It stated: "that the tax imposed upon the dwellings of the peasantry, is in the highest degree objectionable, as calculated to lower the standard of living and comfort among a population..." These and other resolutions were drawn up and forwarded to Governor Grant.

Not one of the speakers who addressed the gathering at Trelawny exhibited the slightest feeling of antagonism toward the personnel of the new government. All generally agreed that Governor Grant and his advisers should be given credit for their good intentions but that they had caused unworkable laws to be hastily enacted. The dissenting speakers of the Trelawny meeting felt that the governor and his advisers

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31 Ibid., March 28, 1867.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
would have pursued a more successful policy if they had travelled through the several parishes and made themselves personally acquainted with the condition and prospects of all classes of the population before they began to legislate.\textsuperscript{34}

The \textit{Falmouth Post} argued that Governor Grant should lessen taxation instead of aggravating existing evils by increasing taxes. By lowering taxes the \textit{Post} felt that the proprietary and mercantile classes would be induced to keep their money in the island and aid in the development of Jamaica's innumerable resources.\textsuperscript{35}

A second public meeting protesting the new taxes of the governor was held on Saturday June 15, 1867 at St. Ann's Bay. The Honorable Charles Royes, Custos, presided over the small gathering. In addition to the well-to-do several of the local peasantry were present. Resolutions were read and passed expressing the feelings of those present against increased taxation and against the creation of new offices such as the Director of Roads and Inspector-General of Police.\textsuperscript{36}

Governor John Peter Grant received the resolutions presented by the two groups which had met in Trelawny and St. Ann's Bay. He forwarded the memorials to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., May 31, 1867.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., June 18, 1867.
laid before the Legislative Council an ably written Minute in which he dealt with the objections put forth in the memorials. Grant said:

...though it is his duty to point out mistakes in matters of fact which have been fallen into, and to show why, in his judgement, the complaints made are unfounded, that it will be believed he does so in the same good feeling as that by which the memorialists have been actuated...It will be observed that in neither memorial is any public department specified as being one in which reduction is feasible; nevertheless, I can assure the Council, that the field for reductions is not exhausted.37

The Post was encouraged at Grant's reply in his Minute as it illustrated that Grant was not indifferent to public opinion nor "unwilling to lend his ear to temperate and respectful remonstrances against his policy of government."38

To stimulate the growth of industry on the island Governor Grant passed Law 11 of 1867. This law was concerned with duties on imports, exports and the tonnage of vessels. It was a consolidation of the customs laws and made little change in the general tariff. It abolished the four per-cent duty on many imported goods such as galvanized iron, marble, machines, mills, pans for boiling sugar, pipes, ploughs, harrows, steam engines, stills and other agricultural tools. It also abolished export duties on some minor export articles such as Beeswax, arrowroot, cocoanuts and honey. Law 11 retained the export duty on sugar, rum, coffee, pimento, dye-woods, and ginger.39

38 *Ibid*.
To improve the health conditions of Jamaica Law 6 of 1867 was passed to establish Boards of Health. This law empowered Governor Grant to appoint a Central Board of Health. The municipal boards of the parishes were made local boards of health and were responsible to the Central Board. The local boards had power to appoint local commissioners of health and inspectors. The Central Board was to be composed of the principal medical officers of Her Majesty's Army and Navy, the Medical Superintendent of the Public Hospital, the Inspector-General of the Constabulary, and Dr. Cambell, a physician living in Kingston.\(^40\)

In 1867 a bill introduced in 1866 by Governor Grant to reduce the number of parishes was enacted as Law 20 of 1867. Jamaica was originally divided into fifteen parishes. However, new parishes were created from time to time until the number reached twenty-two in 1866. This was done haphazardly with the result that a disparity existed in size and population of the parishes. One half of the island was divided into seven parishes of unmanageable size, while the other half nearest Spanish Town was divided into fifteen parishes. For instance, the parish of St. Elizabeth had an area of 448 square miles, and a population of 37,777 in 1861; while, St. David Parish had an area of 76.5 square miles and a population of 6,452 in 1861. Law 20 of 1867

\(^{40}\)Ibid., 1-2.
reduced the fifteen parishes around Spanish Town to seven and left the seven old large parishes untouched. Thus the island was reduced to fourteen parishes. Governor Grant's object was "to make each parish a complete system in itself, in the judicial, revenue, police, immigration, pauper, and medical departments, in its system of parochial roads, and eventually in its ecclesiastical establishment." With few parishes reforms could be more easily carried out. Such a reduction would tend to facilitate the business, and simplify the financial arrangements of the country, since the revenue department of each parish would be entrusted to one officer. The fourteen parishes were Kingston, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. George, St. Mary, St. Ann, St. Catherine, Clarendon, Manchester, St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, and Trelawny.

In the area of public works no improvements were undertaken of any importance in 1867 and only £2,282 was spent in this category. The Court House at Morant Bay, destroyed during the riot, was rebuilt and paid for by a loan from the Crown. Governor Grant appointed Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. Mann of the Royal Engineers as Director

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41 Ibid., 4. See Jamaica Legislative Council, Bill to Reduce the Number of Parishes (Spanish Town; G. Henderson, 1867).

42 Morning Journal, December 11, 1866.
of Road and Surveyor General and Superintendent of Public Works.\textsuperscript{43}

On the appointment of Col. Mann to this important position the County Union said:

\ldots there is no Cabinet appointment more important to the Colony than that which this gentleman holds. It more concerns the active industry of our people -- their ability to bring their produce to market -- their advancement as producers -- their prosperity as cultivators of those vast tracts at present lying impractically idle through the expense and impossibility of carriage.\ldots Under the late government an enormous sum of money was expended in putting the Main roads in order; but the interior roads, which are the arteries leading to the heart of industry among the praedial classes, were utterly neglected and left in the impassable condition they were from time of old. This is one of the errors of a system to the correction of which we hope the appointment of a professional gentleman to the Directorship of Roads will directly lead.\ldots \textsuperscript{44}

To aid the Jamaican sugar industry Governor Grant resumed the immigration of laborers after an interval of four years. A direct result of the emancipation of Negro slaves had been the rise of independent Negro free-holders. These newly freed Negroes refused to hire themselves cheaply on the sugar estates and confined their labors to their own small holdings. Thus a cheap source of labor for the large sugar plantations quickly disappeared. The planters attempted to cope with this difficulty by the importation of East Indian and African laborers. Because of the planters harsh treatment of the immigrant workers, many

\textsuperscript{43}Report of 1867, 13.

\textsuperscript{44}Quoted in Falmouth Post, February 5, 1867.
of them deserted or died through over working. In 1867, Governor John Peter Grant came to the rescue of the Jamaican sugar industry. He devised a system of East Indian immigration which contributed materially in saving the sugar industry of Jamaica. In 1867, as a result of Grant's efforts, 1,625 East Indian immigrants (Coolies) and 11 Africans arrived in Jamaica. This resumption of immigration caused an expenditure of L41,801; but the collection of revenues applicable to immigration in 1866-67 amounted only to L25,404. This revenue resulted from export duties and capitation fees. The total number of immigrants under indenture in 1867 was 2,120; of these, 1,805 were Coolies and 315 were Africans.45

Governor Grant also made dramatic improvements in the educational system of Jamaica. In 1867, a code was adopted to regulate the grants-in-aid to elementary schools. Jamaica had three hundred and seventy-nine elementary schools in 1866. Two hundred and twenty-six received government grants amounting to L2,600. These grants were disbursed according to the recommendation of the Inspector of Schools and were granted without any precise or fixed regulations. Also, no particular educational standard was required for these grants. To correct these defects and to improve the educational system, Governor Grant adopted a code of rules to

regulate the grant of aid to schools. Under these new rules the elementary schools were divided into three classes. The classification was determined by the efficiency of the school as tested by the annual examination of the Inspector of Schools. A grant-in-aid was then allowed on a graduated scale according to the class in which the school was placed. The financial grant consisted partly of a capitation payment on the number of pupils in attendance and partly of an allowance to the head master. Before a school could receive a grant the Inspector had to report that the school was deserving of support and had achieved a particular standard of efficiency. Moreover, the average attendance of students could not fall below twenty for each day the school had been open during the year; and the school had to be open for one hundred and eighty days within the year. No grant was made to a school unless fees were required from the parents or friends of the students.46

In addition to the three hundred and seventy-nine elementary schools mentioned above there were twenty-five elementary schools classified as Vestry Schools. These schools were found to be inefficient and were abolished. With the money saved from the abolition of these schools Governor Grant sought to establish a Model School in each of the four parishes not provided with endowed schools. In

46 Ibid., 16.
1867 two had been established, one at Bath in the parish of St. Thomas, and one at Falmouth in Trelawny Parish. Head masters for these model schools were brought from England. Twenty-nine endowed schools such as Wolmer's School in Kingston and the Jamaica Free School in St. Ann's were in operation in 1867. These schools were supported by private endowments. The government took steps to improve the efficiency of these schools also. Wolmer's School was completely reformed after two trained masters were brought from England to improve it. As a result both the Boy's and Girl's Departments were much improved. 47

Law 34 of 1867 authorized the Jamaica Railway Company to extend its line to a distance of about thirteen miles from the terminus, Spanish Town, to Old Harbour and to raise additional capital for the necessary construction. The length of the railway from Kingston to Spanish Town was twelve miles. Law 34 in effect doubled the length of the railway system in Jamaica. The work was expected to be completed by 1869. 48

Enforcement of the above legislation revealed Sir John Peter Grant to be a strong, active governor who fully intended to utilize the powers given him by the Crown. His numerous reform measures quickly drew both praise and condemnation from the people and the press.

47 Ibid., 16-17.
48 Ibid., 5.
"Paternal Despotism" was the name and character often given to the new government of Governor Grant. The Falmouth Post commenting on the legislation of the government pointed out that no benefit could be derived from the new Legislative Council. It stated:

The Governor has shown that his will is paramount and absolute, and that he does not set up that will against Law, but that on the contrary, he is justified by Law, to do certain things which his predecessor could not have done without the aid of legislative enactments....the meaning of this is that every proposition which emanates from the Government must and will be passed by a Legislative Council, the majority of which consists of the Governor, with two votes, the Commander of the Forces, the Attorney-General, the Financial and Colonial Secretaries, the Director of Roads, and the Collector of Customs. Thus, on all occasions, there will be a formidable array of eight official, against three unofficial votes, consequently, officialism must invariably be ascendant and triumphant, and non-officialism be nothing...

Thus the Post visualized the Legislative Council as a sham and argued for its abolition. The governor was all powerful and the unofficial members of the Council were powerless. Realizing the unimportance and impotence of his position, the Honorable Peter Moncrieffe, unofficial member of the Legislative Council, asked, "What is the use of dividing?" He realized the futility of any opposition of the unofficial members of the Council to the governor. Because of this Mr. Louis McKinnon and Mr. Peter Moncrieffe often kept away from the

49 Falmouth Post, February 1, 1867.

50 Ibid., March 19, 1867.
Legislative Council meetings leaving only Mr. James McDowell as the lone unofficial member to attend. The Post did not regret the abolition of the corrupt Assembly in 1865, nor was it opposed to the person of Sir John Peter Grant. In fact it believed that a mild, equitable "Paternal Despotism" was the type of government best adapted to the conditions then existant in Jamaica. One objection was the existence of the Legislative Council "the majority of whose members will assuredly become unenviably notorious, as the common creatures of court patronage, or the instruments of despotism."\(^{52}\)

The Post in evaluating the first full year of Governor Grant's administration (1867) saw "no apparent improvement in the condition of the island." The primary error was "that the immense power rarely put into the hands of any single man was conferred upon Sir John Peter Grant," and his Excellency had used such power without first making sure that he knew how to employ it for the best advantage of the island.\(^{53}\) The taxes imposed by Governor Grant also received special condemnation. The Post stated:

...the paternal despotism to which the colonists are subjected, is complained of by the middling and lower as well as by the upper and dominant classes of the population. All complain of increased and excessive taxation for the maintenance of Institutions that should not have been created and

\(^{51}\)Ibid., September 4, 1868.

\(^{52}\)Ibid., March 19, 1867.

\(^{53}\)Ibid., December 3, 1867.
established until the financial circumstances of the Country were changed for the better...54

The Press as a whole, however, did not condemn the administration of Governor Grant. The editor of the Gleaner, in writing on the political condition of Jamaica, was more optimistic in the outlook for the island and called for public support of the new government. He said:

The present condition of the island gives augury of vast improvements. In financial matters, we are not, and cannot now expect to be, in a healthy state; but with patience and forbearance, we have every hope of a favorable turn in our affairs. The Government requires support out of doors; and if the intelligence, the wealth (for we have wealth still among us) and the respectable portion of the community but hopefully rely on the Government, cheerfully responding to the calls made upon them, the result must be beneficial to us all...

It is preposterous for anyone to imagine that the Governor would recklessly extort money from the pockets of an almost pauperised yet prolific country, to spend it lavishly. Time, patience, and most of all, forbearance, are all that the country require; and it behoves everyone to yield to the emergency! ...the time is not far distant when Jamaica will "hold up her head" among her sister Colonies at least!!55

The adverse criticism levelled at the administration of Sir John Peter Grant did not deter him from his goal of helping Jamaica "to lift up her head." The result being that in 1868 the finances of the colony, for the first time in many years, showed a surplus of revenue over expenditure. Governor Grant stated:

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54 Ibid.

55 The Gleaner and Decordova's Advertising Sheet, Kingston, February 12, 1868.
...this gratifying result was attained by a reduction of avoidable expenditure, by a slight increase of indirect taxation, by the increased productiveness of the rum duty, and in some degree by the partial recovery of trade from its most extreme state of prostration.\textsuperscript{56}

In 1868, the additional penny per acre tax on all lands levied for the year 1866–67 was removed. A registration tax of three pence an acre on cultivated land, one and one-half pence per acre on common pasture, and one-fourth pence per acre on ruinate or wood lands was substituted. A small tax was also levied on dogs kept in towns. The receipts from these and the other sources of general and parochial revenue amounted to £349,277, general and parochial expenditure totalled £343,678, and a surplus remained of £5,599. Governor Grant said that, "this was the first year in the history of the colony for an indefinite period in which there was not a deficit." This increase in the amount of revenue collected was attributable to the resumption of the rum trade as a result of the consumption of the accumulated stock in 1866, and to the fact that the taxes were more carefully collected by the officers of the new Revenue Department which had been established in the early part of 1868. In 1868, the rum duties yielded £62,134 as compared with £32,362 in 1867. The new taxes levied in 1867 produced £11,595. The table below shows the gross

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Handbook of Jamaica}, 1883, 53.
excess of expenditure over revenue during the five years preceding the new form of government.\(^{57}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-62</td>
<td>34,696 (pounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-63</td>
<td>41,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-64</td>
<td>39,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>45,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>68,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>229,334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annual Average Deficit.. 45,807

The revenue for immigration purposes in 1868 was derived from export duties and indenture fees. This amounted to L24,000. However, the expenditure was only L15,118 due to the non-arrival of three hundred and fifty immigrants from India. The balance was held for the purposes of immigration for the next year.\(^{58}\)

In 1868 public welfare legislation that had been passed the previous year was put into operation. One result was the establishment of the Medical Department. Medical services available to the people of the island were in a deplorable state until 1868 when Governor Grant made three thousand pounds available for such aid. On December 1, 1868 the governor appointed fifteen medical practitioners as Government Medical Officers at salaries ranging from two hundred

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\(^{57}\)Ibid., 293.

\(^{58}\)Ibid.
to three hundred pounds per annum. Their salaries were chargeable partly to the poor rates and partly to the general revenue. By the close of 1868 there were forty medical districts defined throughout the island and manned by thirty-five medical officers. Five were vacant as no eligible medical doctors were available.\(^5^9\)

The first inspection under the Education Code of 1867 took place in 1868 when two hundred and eighty-six schools were inspected. It was found that only ninety-six measured up to the government standard. Of the ninety-six, only one was placed in the first class, six were placed in the second class and the remaining eighty-nine were placed in the third class. Thus a large proportion of the schools failed to attain the standard set by the government. However, vast improvements were soon realized in the Jamaica school system.\(^6^0\)

In this same year Sir John Peter Grant opened the Cinchona Plantations and placed them under the direction of Mr. Thompson who was Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. These plantations were located 4,500' to 6,300' above sea-level on the southern slopes of the Blue Mountains. They were twenty-three miles from Kingston in the parish of St. Andrew.\(^6^1\)

\(^{59}\)Ibid., 114.

\(^{60}\)Ibid., 128.

\(^{61}\)Ibid., 113.
Another important innovation was brought about by Law 5 of 1868. As a result of this law the house tax was made a poor-rate and appropriated exclusively for parochial pauper purposes. The law provided that on every house of the annual value of eight pounds a tax be imposed. Dwellings of laborers located on estates were exempted from the tax. Houses were taxed according to the classification given by the government. Class I houses were taxed two shillings. This class consisted of houses thatched or shingled, but without flooring, and without land, or with land amounting to less than one acre. Class II houses were taxed four shillings. Class II houses were those thatched or shingled, with flooring, and without land, or with land amounting to less than one acre. Class III houses were taxed six shillings. This class included houses thatched or shingled, with or without flooring, if the owner or occupier possessed land in the same parish, either attached to, or detached from the house, and amounting to one acre or more. 62

Governor Grant made a tour of the island in 1868 to bolster confidence in his administration and to gain first hand information about the island. In an address made at Montego Bay on April 4, 1868 Grant said:

It is too true that it has been my fate to have come amongst you at a time when the great industry of the colony had been for

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62 Blue Book. Island of Jamaica, 1868 (Spanish Town: George Henderson, 1869), A-4.
many long years in a state of great and constant depression, and when the public administration had become involved in extraordinary difficulties of alarming magnitude.

I regard these peculiar difficulties as already, in the main, surmounted, and with you, I trust in a gradual development of the resources with which this fertile land has been endowed by Nature.

I have not a doubt that such a development at some future time, is in store for Jamaica. At all events, Gentlemen, I am sure of this -- that such progress as we all desire is more likely to be advanced by such a hopeful spirit as is shewn in your address, than by one which wastes time in perpetual lamentations and exaggerated complaints, which can be effective only in deterring capital and enterprise from our shores....

I can honestly assure you that my best exertions in assisting the agricultural and commercial interests of the colony shall not be wanting...63

On October 3, 1868 Governor Grant addressed the Magistrates of the parish of St. Mary at Port Maria and called for "self-help" as the way to ensure prosperity for the colony. He said:

There can be no real prosperity in any country where there is no self-help or self-reliance. We must not be desponding -- but putting our shoulders to the wheel, face difficulties and overcome them -- and the overcoming of these difficulties will give us more confidence in ourselves, and make us less dependent upon the help of others.

I have good reason to believe from the latest returns, that the finances of the colony have now recovered from the alarming state of depression into which they had fallen at the time when the government was entrusted to me...

I do not think that a careful comparison of the general state of the affairs of this colony now, with what was the general state of its affairs at any time for many years back, will show any ground for taking a gloomy view of our present position.64

63 *Falmouth Post*, April 7, 1868.

In the latter part of 1868 even the *Falmouth Post*, often a critic of Grant's administration, could not deny the apparent success of the new government. It stated:

Justice requires the admission, that there is in the administration of Sir John Grant's the valuable element of enlightened government. His Excellency not only sees that it is necessary to effect great changes and that measure must be taken for their accomplishment, however distasteful they may be to the parties affected by them, but he knows that in order to promote the well being of the body-politic, the education of the People must be encouraged...  

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CHAPTER IV

JAMAICA LIFTS UP HER HEAD 1869-1871

Jamaica was set on a course of financial and political stability when Governor Grant began the third year of his administration. The Guardian echoed the feelings of many Jamaicans. The editor said:

We are glad to notice the very hopeful view which is taken of our prospects during the year now commenced. The simple fact is, the tide has turned; the better days have begun; confidence is now partially and will soon entirely be restored. The men who have cried "ruin, ruin" will do well to be silent, or if they will still cry out they must be allowed to remain unnoticed.¹

Governor Grant exhibited the same optimism in a speech delivered at Trelawny. He said, "the restoration of the financial condition of the colony which not long ago was dangerous in the extreme, I may say with safety, is now complete -- Jamaica is solvent."²

The occasion for these remarks was a tour of the island by Grant in April of 1869. The purpose of such a tour was to enable the governor to see for himself the progress brought about by his administration and to meet with all classes of the population. Commenting on the tour of the governor the Journal stated:

¹Jamaica Guardian. (Kingston), January 21, 1869.
²Ibid., April 24, 1869.
We confess that we are pleased at this idea of Sir John Peter Grant, of entering on the progress round the island, which he has so well commenced. We opine that in this journey, Sir John Peter Grant will combine business with pleasure; and thus gather and store up hints for his future guidance. Let him but keep both eyes open...  

Governor Grant visited Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James and Trelawny. Everywhere he was met with applause and friendship by blacks and whites alike. He was so received because the people looked upon Grant as the truest friend Jamaica had in the Empire. 

At Savanna-la-Mar a group of Coolie laborers sought and were granted an audience with the governor. They addressed Governor Grant in English but he replied to them in the Madras tongue. They were overjoyed by this show of familiarity and friendship. At Lucea some of the prominent black members of the population were presented to the governor. As each black man passed before his Excellency each

\[3\] Morning Journal, April 20, 1869.

\[4\] Jamaica Guardian, April 24, 1869. See C.S. 102/24, no. 99, 8 May 1869, vol. 29, 187. Governor Grant to the Right Honorable Earl Granville, "I met everywhere with the most cordial reception from all (classes) and I am sure your Lordship will be gratified at the tone of these several addresses, manifesting as they all do a far healthier state of affairs than has been known for many a year in the island." These are Jamaican Despatches from the Governor of Jamaica to the Colonial Secretary. The despatches used in this dissertation are deposited in the Archives of Jamaica at Spanish Town. They were used by this writer with the permission of the Government Archivist, Mr. Clinton V. Black.
received a kind word of recognition and friendship. The assembled population expressed their sense of gratitude and pleasure by cheering the governor again and again. The correspondent viewing the spectacle reported:

There is a general feeling of confidence in Sir John Peter Grant, not only in his ability, which is undoubted, but also in his desire to obtain needful information from all quarters, and so to govern the island as to promote its true and lasting prosperity.\(^5\)

In Falmouth Governor Grant was welcomed by the leading public officials who expressed their approval of the governor's administration. Governor Grant in return made a short reply to the gathering. He said:

I am grateful for the consideration you have shown for the peculiar difficulties of the position of the colony...

Your approval of the general policy of the measures of the Legislature and of the administration is most encouraging to all who have had a share in them.

No testimony can be more important than yours, in regard to the condition and sentiments of the labouring class generally; and, that you are able to testify, that you have noticed, of late, a considerable improvement among them, must be truly gratifying to all who recognise the special responsibilities in respect to them, of those whose ancestors tore their ancestors from their home beyond the sea, and fixed them in these islands...\(^6\)

In 1869 Governor Grant and the Legislative Council passed forty-nine new laws. An examination of this legislation reveals that the governor was determined to improve even more the economic state of Jamaica and the condition of the people. Thus the reform program initiated in 1866 by Governor Grant continued in full stride.

\(^5\) *Jamaican Guardian*, April 24, 1869.
\(^6\) *Morning Journal*, April 26, 1869.
To improve the collection of revenue Grant passed Law 4 of 1869. This act created the office of Collector-General. All officers in the Departments of Customs, Excise and Internal Revenue were placed under the Collector-General. This law abolished the old offices of Collector and Controller of Customs and brought the Customs' officers of all the ports within the new Revenue Service. Formerly the internal revenue was collected by officers called Collectors of Dues. These collectors were paid by commissions which did not appear in the public accounts. These officers were not expected to devote their whole time to their office and certainly they did no more than was expected of them. They were under no departmental supervision whatsoever and they claimed their office for life. Law 4 remedied this and substituted an efficient for a very inefficient system of collecting the revenue.

Law 7 of 1869 provided for the erection of new markets, and the purchase of land for the extension of the existing markets in Kingston. This was to be accomplished by a loan not exceeding L20,000. The interest on the loan debentures and their eventual redemption was secured by the rents and dues of the markets, and on the land purchased for them. In 1869 there were then two markets in Kingston.

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8 Handbook of 1883, 75.
The principal market was located on King Street on the harbor; and the other, called the Solas Market, was a short distance away. Law 7 was of great benefit to the many small fruit and vegetable producers who brought their goods to Kingston to sell.9

Law 12 of 1869 re-organized the Public Hospital in Kingston. This hospital was originally under the management of members of the House of Assembly who formed unpaid Boards of Commissioners. These Commissioners were formerly selected by the entire Assembly and later nominated by the governor. In 1859 the Board of Management was abolished, and an unprofessional salaried Inspector and Director was installed. However, there was little improvement and the medical and surgical department was in poor shape. A commission appointed in 1861 disclosed a sordid state of affairs at the hospital; and as a result of this investigation the medical officer, matron, and nurses, were all dismissed. The Inspector and Director was censured and a new law was passed creating a Board of Visitors and giving the governor power to appoint the medical staff. However, the hospital continued to be a disgrace until 1865 when Governor Eyre adopted the simple plan of appointing an able professional man to become the permanent head of the Medical Department of the hospital. Dr. Stevenson took charge of the office in 1866 and as a result the hospital became a credit to the

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9Report of 1869, 1. See also, C.S. 102/24, no. 80, 8 April 1869, vol. 29, 174. Letter transmitting copy of Law 7 of 1869 to the Colonial Secretary.
colony. Because of the good results of the concentration of power in the hands of one qualified man Governor Grant enacted Law 12 of 1869. This law placed the entire management of the institution in the Chief Medical Officer, who was designated as Chief Medical Officer and Director. The new law of 1869 also gave the governor power to make regulations for the administration of the hospital so that defects could be readily corrected without delay.10

To improve the enforcement of law and order and to aid the Jamaican Constabulary the governor enacted Law 28 of 1869 which created a Rural Police. The old Rural Constabulary was under no discipline and was a thoroughly inefficient body. It was abolished in 1867 as an incumbrance. The new Jamaican Constabulary replaced the old regular Police Force, but not the old Rural Constables. With the creation of the new Jamaican Constabulary Force it was intended also to create a body of parochial police to be associated with the J.C.F. The Rural Police were to supplement the activities of the Constabulary Force and to connect the main police system with the more remote areas of the island. The parochial Rural Police would be a great aid to the J.C.F. as the members of the Rural Police would be completely familiar with the geography of their home areas and many of the unruly elements living within their jurisdiction. Law 28 of 1869 provided that resident householders were to be appointed

10Report of 1869, 2.
Rural Headmen of Police. These individuals would receive monthly pay, and have the power of Constables. They would wear a scarf or badge of office and a small flag would be hoisted at their home. The Rural Headmen were subordinate to the Inspector of Police of their parish.

Under each headman the Custos of the parish had the power to appoint four resident householders as rural policemen. The headman could call out for duty, for one or more days, any or all of these rural policemen.

The creation of the Rural Police to aid the J.C.F. in the enforcement of law and order was well received by the newspapers and citizens of the island. The Journal reported:

The Government have at length undertaken to provide a force of rural constabulary for the country. We have several times written on the subject, and urged upon the Government our opinion of the great value such a force would be to the country...We are glad to see that the Government at length see their way towards putting such a force into operation.

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11Ibid., 2-3. C.S. 102/24, no. 40, 15 February 1869, vol. 29, 134. Letter from Governor Grant to the Colonial Secretary transmitting papers relating to the organization of a Rural Police.

See also Minutes of the Legislative Council of Jamaica, 1868-1869 (Printed by George Henderson, St. Jago De La Vega, 1869). 4 Nov. 1868, Appendix no. 1. Governor Grant was sincerely concerned with the increase in the stealing of crops and stock from the peasantry of the island. He believed that a Rural Police could help to eliminate this evil. He said "the evil to be met is one of great magnitude; the larceny of growing crops and small stock, by which the community in general, and the better classes of small settlers especially, the cream of our peasantry, suffer very severely."

12Morning Journal, April 9, 1869.
Other laws of importance passed in 1869 were Law 30 which amalgamated two endowed schools in Spanish Town, the Free School of Saint Jago de la Vega and Smith's Charity School; and Law 31 which provided for the care of children by their parents or step-parents. This law applied to all children whether legitimate or illegitimate.13

The third year of Sir John Peter Grant's administration was probably most significant for the dramatic improvement of the island's financial situation. Once again the government realized a surplus in the treasury. The surplus for the financial year 1868-69 was L58,896. This was after the deduction of L14,930 paid to the sinking fund for the eventual redemption of debt and the deduction of L6,800 paid within the year in actual extinction of debt. In explaining this large amount of surplus Governor Grant pointed out that most of it must be attributed to the increase in general prosperity and to the better collection of revenues which resulted from the new Revenue Service. The general revenue for the year amounted to L414,826 and expenditure was L355,247. The difference was L59,579. From the last sum was deducted a sum of L683 for expenditure within the year, which had not been brought to account before the close of the year's books, leaving a real surplus of L58,896. The immigration fund account is not included in the above figure. Its revenue for 1869 was L27,612 while expenditure was L32,476. This excess of expenditure over revenue amounting

13Report of 1869, 4-5.
to L4,864 was met from the monies in the chest at the beginning of
the year belonging to the Immigration Fund. The amount of expendi­
ture for the year 1869 exceeded that of 1868 by more than L11,000.
This increase was due primarily to improvements on roads, buildings,
and other public works. 14

The repair and construction of roads on the island proceeded
rapidly under the direction of the Director of Roads, Colonel James
Mann. Not only were the roads vastly improved but the cost of
repair per mile was substantially lowered. For the two years previous
to Grant's administration the expense of the repairs and maintenance
of the Main Roads, excluding all permanent improvements, averaged
L26 4s. per mile, per annum. The corresponding average cost from
1866 to September 1869, including the extra repairs and in some places
the reconstruction made necessary by an extraordinary flood in 1867,
was L19 15s. 7d. per mile. This saving of six pounds per mile was
equal to nearly twenty-five per cent of the previous maintenance
costs. Governor Grant attributed this saving to the good manage­
ment and efficient supervision of Colonel Mann who corrected and
eliminated the abuses of the old government. 15

In 1869 several important road programs were completed. A
new road between Port Maria and Annotto Bay was commenced and

14 Ibid., 8-10.
15 Ibid., 13.
finished. This stretch completed the line of coast road around the island. Also completed was a long unfinished stretch of the Annotto Bay Junction Road which was begun in 1856 and which ran across the island. The completion of this road provided a direct carriage road passable in rainy weather from Kingston to the north-side of the island. An iron-girder bridge over the Flint River, on the Main Road between Montego Bay and Lucea, was also completed. The girder for this bridge had for some time been lying useless in Kingston. These improvements did not go unnoticed in the press of the island. One newspaper reported:

It has been said that one of the best tests of the civilization of a country is to be found in the state of its roads. If so, Jamaica is improving, the roads are a great deal better than they used to be. We refer more particularly to the main roads, and we are glad to find that it is the intention of the Government to direct special attention to some of the more important roads used by the peasantry in the more densely populated districts of the island.17

In the course of the financial year 1868-69 the government expended £6,583 on repairs of works other than roads and bridges; and £5,136 on new works of various types. For instance, buildings for the new Lepers' Home at Healthshire, capable of housing about eighty patients were erected; three Union Hospitals for Coolies were erected and furnished. The barracks and officers quarters at Stony Hill, which had been standing useless, were repaired and refitted so as to be

16 Ibid.
17 Jamaica Guardian, February 3, 1869.
transformed partly into a large Government Reformatory for Boys and Girls; and partly into a Government Training School for the education of Schoolmasters. A house for the residence of the Superintendent of the Cinchona Plantation on Blue Mountain was built. The Lunatic Asylum was completed with the construction of two separate systems of cells; one for males, and the other for females. Also of importance was the acquisition of a site for the proposed new market in Kingston and the Improvement of Falmouth Harbor on the north coast by the removal of a dangerous rock at the entrance of the harbor.  

In the course of the year the establishment of the new District Courts throughout the entire island was completed. Three more courts were established bringing the total number to eight District Courts.  

Coupled with Governor Grant's desire to improve the political situation and living conditions of the people of Jamaica was his interest in improving the vegetation of the island. As a result of this interest the young Botanic Garden at Castleton received many new and valuable plants. Most of these plants were imported from the Royal Gardens, Kew. The total number of species and varieties imported was about four hundred. Grant advocated the introduction, propagation, and dissemination of such a great number of tropical plants and trees to

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19 Ibid., 15.
Jamaica because he felt that eventually the island would benefit from the various plants brought from all tropical climates. In 1869 alone the superintendent of Castleton listed the following new species; King Cocoanuts, Brazil Nuts, Malacca beans, Croton oil, Cocoa, Winter's bark, Tonquin beans, Teak, Sandal-Wood, Sateen-Wood, (India) Gum-Trees, Tallow-Tree, South-sea arrowroot, Doom-palm, Dragon-tree, and many others. A plot of Latakia tobacco was grown and a sample was forwarded to a London authority on the subject. The expert reported that the quality was very favorable and that after some improvements in its preparation for the market it should be encouraged in Jamaica.

The Cinchona Plantations had made great progress by 1869. Fifteen months after the first permanent planting of the Cinchonas in the Blue Mountain Plantation, forty acres were filled with thriving plants. Two years later ninety acres were cultivated with the plants and ninety more acres were cleared and ready for planting. Some of the trees were already ten feet high, an excellent rate of growth as the superintendent considered an annual growth of three feet a fair average. Some of the trees at the close of 1869 had stems five and six inches in circumference, a rate of growth unequalled elsewhere.

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\(^{20}\text{Ibid.}, 16.\) Grant is also credited with introducing the Bombay Mango which is today found in abundance in Jamaica.

\(^{21}\text{Ibid.}\)
To further stimulate agriculture Governor Grant attempted to cultivate cocoanuts on the Palisadoes. The Palisadoes was, and still is, a narrow spit of sand which separates Kingston harbor from the sea. The length of the spit, at the extremity of which is Port Royal, is about eight miles. Governor Grant had an extensive area of the spit cleared of weeds and low bushes and about two hundred and twenty-five acres of this waste were planted with 9,000 cocanut trees. The clearing and planting was carried out by penitentiary prisoners. The governor estimated that the value of the produce of an acre of cocanut trees in bearing was from L8 to L10. Located on the sea shore the trees would begin to bear in six or seven years. The object of Governor Grant in creating a government cocoanut plantation on the Palisadoes, besides the conversion of an unsightly and worthless sand spit into a valuable and handsome grove, was to show the people on the coast how, at small cost, the waste and sandy shores of the island could be converted into land yielding a very high rate of annual profit.  

Upon hearing of Governor Grant's plan the Morning Journal stated, "So feasible is the plan that has been proposed, for the government to plant with cocoanuts the Palisadoes that the only subject for wonder is that the idea never occurred to anyone before."  

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22 Ibid.

23 Morning Journal, March 20, 1869.
Grant's interest in trees and plants is also seen in his desire to make Kingston a more healthful and beautiful city. Thus he proposed to enclose the entire area of the Parade to provide a comfortable walking and resting garden for the city dwellers and visitors to Kingston. This proposal to create a park in the center of the city was generally endorsed by everyone.\textsuperscript{24}

We know of nothing better calculated to beautify the central spot of this city, and convert a wild sandy desert into a pleasant garden, and thereby to improve the health of the inhabitants than this method of producing urban lungs for the inhalation of fresh air, as illustrated by the future "Park" now scarcely advanced beyond an inchoate condition...\textsuperscript{25}

In the field of education much improvement was realized in 1869. Of the two hundred and seventy schools on the Inspector's list in 1869, eight eventually declined inspection, and two hundred and sixty-two were inspected by the Inspector and his assistants. This number was twenty-four less than the number of schools inspected the previous year. Governor Grant believed that this decrease was caused by the knowledge that it was useless for a very inefficient school to apply for aid. Thirty-two schools which applied for inspection in 1869 did so for the first time. In 1868 one hundred and two inspected schools failed while in 1869 only forty-five failed. Also in 1868 only one school was rated in the first class, six in the second class, and

\textsuperscript{24}The proposal to beautify the Parade was not carried out until 1871. See Chapter IV.

\textsuperscript{25}\textit{Morning Journal}, September 3, 1869.
eighty-nine in the third class; but in 1869 three were rated in the first class, twenty in the second class, and one hundred and seventy-three in the third class. In 1869 the grants-in-aid exceeded those of the year before by about fifty per cent; £2,978 being granted in 1868, and £4,461 being granted in 1869. The number of students attending the two hundred and sixty-two inspected schools was 20,439. The Inspector in his report of the schools of the island found much progress and improvement. 26

However the need for qualified schoolmasters was still a problem. The experimental scheme of importing Government Model Schoolmasters from England failed, largely because of weaknesses of the individuals concerned. Five such schoolmasters were imported, only one did his work satisfactorily, one got into debt and left the island, two were drunkards, and one completely failed as a schoolmaster. 27

In 1869 Governor Grant initiated a system of opening grants to encourage and aid the opening of new schools. These grants were primarily designed to encourage new schools in the remote areas of the island where schools were totally lacking. The governor also sought to introduce manual labor and the teaching of skills in the elementary schools. The planters were in favor of such an innovation as it would provide a source of much needed labor. Progress was

27 Ibid.
slow however and not entirely satisfactory. The chief difficulty was the objection of parents to the employment of their children in field work which reminded them of the old days of slavery. Nevertheless, an Industrial School combining school lessons with manual labor was established in St. Elizabeth by Reverend E. Basset Key. A carpenter, mason, and cooper were employed to instruct the boys in their respective trades. A Government Industrial School was also established at Port Antonio.  

To improve the labor situation for the planters Governor Grant appointed an agent in India, Mr. William Anderson, to represent Jamaica and to carefully select able-bodied Coolie immigrants. This appointment soon brought results as three ships arrived from Calcutta carrying laborers for the sugar plantations of Jamaica. The total number was 1,389; 935 males, 394 females, and 60 infants. These individuals were carefully selected by the Indian agent and were admitted to have been the healthiest, strongest and best Coolie laborers ever imported into Jamaica. The number of immigrants serving the five year indenture period at the close of 1869 was 2,627. Fifty of these were Africans, the rest Coolies. The number of Indian immigrants who had worked out their five year indenture term but had not completed their term of ten years industrial residence was 3,130.  

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Governor Grant was concerned for the welfare of the Coolies and realized the economic necessity of caring for these immigrant laborers. As a result of this concern the governor passed legislation to improve the working and living conditions of the Coolies. One important change was the order given by Governor Grant that no adult Coolie could receive less than 3s. 6d. a week. This sum was considered the lowest amount upon which a Coolie could maintain himself in health. The planters responded to this order as they realized the necessity in having their laborers in good health. This order applied to Coolies imported before 1869, under the old laws and system. Most important however was Law 34 of 1869 which amended the existing immigration enactments and improved the system. The most important changes introduced by this law related to questions of rations, wages, and medical treatment. The employers were required to supply daily rations to every Indian immigrant during the whole of his indentured service. This was to be done according to a scale and price decided upon by the Governor in Privy Council. Provision was made that on the application of the immigrant and subject to such instruction as the governor might give the immigrant could receive the whole of his wages in money, payable weekly. Every male immigrant over sixteen years of age was declared entitled to a rate of wages of not less than one shilling per day, and every female and male under sixteen years of age, was made similarly entitled to a rate of not less than nine pence per day. By mutual
agreement, between employer and immigrant, sanctioned by the Agent-general, an immigrant could do task work if he could earn one shilling or more per day. Every employer was declared bound to find work for, or at least to pay, every immigrant for six days in each week. The working period was fixed at nine hours per day. With regard to medical aid the government was empowered by the law to appoint, pay and remove medical attendants for immigrants; and to establish Union Hospitals for the better treatment of the sick. The government was also empowered to establish a depot in Spanish Town as an asylum for indentured Coolies who became disabled and incapable of work, a temporary home for deserters until they could be returned to their employers, and a hospital for such sick Coolies who had served their term of indenture but had not completed the industrial residence of five additional years to entitle them to a return passage to India. The new law also repealed the twenty shillings per year on each Coolie paid from the general revenue for the purpose of immigration. Governor Grant had this repealed because he felt "that the cost of immigration should be borne exclusively by the planters and by a duty on products other than those produced by the small settlers." Finally, to encourage the immigrants to remain in Jamaica the bounty for colonization instead of a return passage to India was increased from £10 per head to £12 for each adult and half that sum for each child between the ages of three and sixteen. Under this new legislation
immigration became regular and the Agent-general was able to report to the governor that "vagrancy and desertion were almost unknown, and that there was less sickness and malingering than ever there was." 30

Commenting on the arrival of new immigrants to Jamaica and the new legislation enacted by Governor Grant the Journal stated:

...the Coolies that have arrived recently on the North-side of the island are a fine lot, and are very superior to the generality of Coolies that we have had in the country hitherto.

His Excellency the Governor appears determined that the immigrant laws shall be worked fairly, on behalf of the stranger—which we are glad to see—it cannot be denied that in numerous cases they were the victims of gross illtreatment and oppression. 31

In his 1869 report to the Colonial Office Governor Grant was able to provide statistical data relative to land use in Jamaica. This data was gathered for the government by the newly formed Revenue Department. It found the area of the island to be about 2,720,000 acres of which 492,246 acres were cultivated. Table III below illustrates the land use pattern of cultivated land in 1869.


31 Morning Journal, July 5, 1869.
## Table III

### Land Use Pattern of Cultivated Land - 1869

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cane</td>
<td>47,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground provisions and</td>
<td>39,224.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garden vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>16,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimento</td>
<td>5,851.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>150.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>91.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowroot</td>
<td>65.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea Grass</td>
<td>110,705.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural pasture</td>
<td>222,790.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural pasture and pimento</td>
<td>48,501.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>492,246.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department of Revenue also determined that livestock numbered 74,157 horses, mules, and asses; 121,643 horned cattle; and 21,761 sheep. Also the number of swine was very large as pork was the favorite animal food of the Negro.\(^{32}\)

The principal event of 1869 was the opening of the railway from Spanish Town to Old Harbor. This extension brought the entire length of the railway to twenty-three miles. Though relatively short in length the line carried a great deal of traffic. During the year the railway carried 109,793 passengers, 398 horses, 178 carriages, 469 cattle, 231 sheep, 319,962 bundles of 28 lbs. of Guinea Grass, 302,255

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\(^{32}\)Table III and data taken from Report of 1869, 22.
bundles of 12 lbs. of wood and 18,277 tons of merchandise. The official opening of the new extension of track took place on Thursday, July 1, 1869. Governor Grant at a dinner celebrating the opening stated that it gave him pleasure to support the extension of the line and that he would do all in his power to further such undertakings. He hoped the time would come when he would be asked for another guarantee for a similar purpose as he would be most happy to use his influence to obtain it.\(^{33}\)

In evaluating the legislation of 1869 the *Guardian* reported:

> We firmly believe that these, and other improvements are only precursors of that which is yet to come, the commencement of a really high principled order of legislation has been made...we assert that the government of the island has been instrumental in arresting the process of decay, and inaugurating an era of progress.\(^{34}\)

Dissent with regard to Grant's policy of taxation and the form of government was still evident. The *Journal* in an editorial denying that any progress had been achieved in the island stated:

> Taxation without representation is tyranny. We are taxed on everything, and on everything we are taxed heavily, but we have no voice whatever in the disposal of the means that we thus contribute to afford the government a revenue for conducting public affairs. We lie like slaves, bound in every limb of our body at the feet of our conqueror...\(^{35}\)


\(^{34}\) *Jamaica Guardian*, December 15, 1869.

\(^{35}\) *Morning Journal*, May 10, 1869.
The Guardian answered such negative attitudes at the close of 1869 with an editorial enumerating the many constructive changes brought about by Governor Grant. It reviewed the reforms made in the court system, police, road construction, and hinted that the question of disestablishment of the Church of England in Jamaica would soon come to the governor’s attention. The editorial read in part:

We unhesitatingly assign the improvement mainly to the restoration of confidence, to the honest collection of duties and taxes, and to the general wisdom of the changes made by the Governor and his Council in the objects and incidence of taxation. The members and friends of the oligarchy are very much disgusted with the new state of things. They deny improvement in either public or private interests; they find fault with the new taxes, and are greatly exercised by this troublesome surplus. The witty editor of the County Union put their case in the following amusing parody:

Any taxation is vexation,
Trade licenses are as bad:
Much that I see, it troubles me,
But the surplus drives me mad. 36

Sir John Peter Grant’s success in rebuilding Jamaica did not escape the notice of foreign observers. Horace Greely editor of the New York Tribune wrote, “Jamaica is reviving...A change from the distressed and almost desparate condition in which Sir John Grant found the island, when he assumed the government two years and a half ago, speaks volumes for his administration.” 37

36 Jamaica Guardian, December 24, 1869.
37 Quoted in Ibid., July 9, 1869.
The editor of the *Nassau Times* wrote:

He has placed justice within the reach of all. Now confidence has returned, confidence in the government, confidence in the future of the island. New articles of commerce have been brought into cultivation, trade is reviving, the wealth of the colony is slowly increasing and the interest of the people in religion is returning. All this Sir John Peter Grant has done by legislating for the many instead of the few.  

In 1870 Sir John Peter Grant received a six months leave of absence and returned to England for a holiday. This leave extended from April 25 to October 25, 1870. Learning of his departure from Jamaica the *Guardian* wrote:

...we only echo the sentiments of nineteen twentieth's of the people of Jamaica, when we say, we hope Sir John Peter Grant may come back, to watch over and direct for some years to come, the many important reforms effected since his arrival in Jamaica. His Excellency has had able assistance in legislation and administration, who will, during the Governor's absence, steadily carry out the policy so happily established...  

Similar expressions of confidence came from other sources also. In a memorial addressed to Governor Grant a group of Baptist ministers stated:

We the undersigned Ministers of the Gospel, Representatives of Baptist congregations in Spanish Town, Kingston, Port Royal and the several districts of the Parishes of St. Andrew, St. David, St. Catherine, Clarendon, Manchester, etc., comprehending the southern portion of the Island Freeholders and other inhabitants of the same hereby request

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38 Quoted in *Ibid.*, July 8, 1869.

permission to declare, the profound respect with which we regard your Excellency as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen in this Island and its dependencies; and at the same time express our unfeigned regret in the prospect of your Excellency's approaching departure from amongst us though only for a period of short duration. Short, however, as that period may be, we cannot allow your Excellency to leave our shores without recording our high esteem for your Excellency's person, and our sincere gratitude for the very efficient manner in which your Excellency has discharged your high and responsible duties as our chief Magistrate and ruler....

Your Excellency, moreover, has facilitated such an extensive development of the resources of the country, and so promoted the peace, contentment and happiness, of the generality of the population as to excite our admiration and gratitude.

Finally, we trust that by the respite that will be afforded to your Excellency from incessant mental anxiety and labour by a visit to Europe,...you may be permitted by the Allwise and Gracious Disposer of events, to resume practically the duties of your high and important station as our Governor;... and be assured the most cordial welcome will await your Excellency's return.40

Although absent for six months in 1870 Governor Grant accomplished a great deal during the year. Two significant areas of accomplishment were; (1) the creation of a Government Savings Bank and; (2) the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Jamaica.

Law 20 of 1870 established a Government Savings Bank on the principle of the Imperial Post Office Saving Bank. A branch bank was opened at each Parochial Treasury, and at a few out-stations in some

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40Ibid., April 27, 1870. The memorial was signed by James M. Phillippo, John Clarke, D. J. East, Edwin Palmer, J. Seed Roberts, J. C. Phillippo, and George O'Meally.
of the larger parishes. Moneys were received into and paid out at these branch offices under regulations prescribed by the Governor, in Privy Council. No private depositor could deposit more than £200 in any one year, nor more than £400 in all. This restriction did not apply to public departments and judicial deposits, nor did it apply to certain charitable associations. Interest was allowed on deposits at the rate of four per cent per annum. The practical operations of this law was to substitute seventeen stations at each of which there would be a branch of the Government Savings Bank for the seven formerly private Savings Banks. Thus a Savings Bank would be placed within easy reach of persons in all parts of the island; and all depositors would have the security of the government, for the due re-payment of the moneys deposited. The newly formed Government Savings Bank did not go into full operation until the close of 1870 when interest ceased to be allowed on the balance of the private Savings Banks.  

The establishment of the new Government Savings Bank was readily approved by the newspapers of the island. The primary reason for this widespread support was the failure of two private Savings Banks which destroyed the savings of many depositors. The Trelawny Savings Bank failed in 1867 and the St. Mary's Savings Bank ceased to do business in 1869. The Post said, "the bill for the establishment of a

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Savings Bank in every parish of the Island under governmental super-
vision and responsibility will be thankfully received by all classes
of the population."\(^{42}\)

The most significant reform of 1870 and possibly of Governor
Grant's entire administration was the disestablishment and disendow-
ment of the Church of England in Jamaica. The Church of England was
introduced into Jamaica in the second year after the Restoration of
Charles II in 1660. The Church was started under the auspices of the
civil government established in the colony by that monarch. It grew
side by side with the island government and formed part of it. Laws
were made by the Assembly for the management and discipline of the
Church. The government paid Church expenses and was responsible for
the bulk of its financial burdens. When Governor Grant arrived in
August, 1866 he found that the governmental expenditure for the support
of the established Church was a great burden on the island government.
The government was liable for nearly £40,000 per annum for the main-
tenance of the ecclesiastical establishment. Grant also discovered
that while the Church obtained such a large expenditure from the
treasury the Church of England was administering to less than one-
fourth of the population of the island. This was an expenditure that
Governor Grant felt could be eliminated for the betterment of the entire

island. The law under which the government was held responsible for the maintenance of the Church was the Clergy Act of 1858. This act was due to expire on December 31, 1869. Thus Grant saw an easy opportunity for retrenchment and he took advantage of it by letting the law expire. Meanwhile during the years 1867-68 the governor had already begun to work toward disestablishment by leaving vacancies among the clergy unfilled and by discontinuing payments by the government to organists, clerks, and other sub-officers of the Church.  

The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Jamaica was also sought by the "non-conformists" of the island, namely the Baptists. Meetings were held and petitions were presented to Governor Grant urging an end to state support of the Church. One such "Anti-State Church" meeting was held at the Baptist Chapel in the town of Lucea on Monday, May 25, 1868. The chair was taken by the Reverend Thomas Lea and three Baptist Missionaries joined him on the platform -- Messrs. Dendy, John E. Henderson, and Caleb Randall. All spoke on what they called "an unrighteous and grievous

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43 John Graham, "Disestablishment of the Church," *Daily Gleaner* Centenary Number, (Kingston), September 13, 1934, p. 17. See also, C.S. 102/24, no. 180, 23 July 1869, vol. 29, 250-76. In this despatch Grant expressed his views to the Colonial Secretary with regard to the Church Establishment of Jamaica. He pointed out that less than one third of those who belonged to any Christian Communion were attached to the Church of England while two-fifths never attended any church. Also he stated that upon arriving in Jamaica he found an excessive proportion of the revenues being appropriated to the support of the Established Church.
exaction in support of an Institution—the Established Church—from which three fourths of the population of the country do not derive any benefit." A memorial was drawn up and presented to the governor stating their case for disestablishment and asking for voluntary support of the Church. The memorial was read at the Legislative Council meeting of June 2, 1868.

It stated:

To his Excellency Sir John Peter Grant K.C.B. President and others the Members of the Legislative Council of Jamaica.

The petition of the Members and adherents of the Churches of Christ assembling in the Baptist Chapels at Lucea, Fletcher's Grove, and Green Island; and unanimously adopted at a public meeting, held in the town of Lucea, on Monday evening, May 25, 1868.

Sheweth—

That your petitioners are Protestant Dissenters, and as such believe that the Church of Christ is Spiritual, and is governed by the authority and laws of Jesus Christ alone, and, therefore, a National Church, governed by secular laws, is an impossibility; consequently, they maintain that such church should be supported by the free-will offerings of its adherents, and that every attempt to sustain or propagate religion of any creed by enforced taxation is at variance with the character of Christ's Kingdom, the precepts of Holy Scripture, an infringement of religious liberty, and a violation of civil rights.

(signed)

Thomas Lea,
Pastor of the Churches, and Chairman of the Meeting.45

44Palmouth Post, June 5, 1868.

While the Falmouth Post condemned the Baptist ministers and missionaries for "exciting the minds of the ignorant peasantry" and defended the Established Church, the Jamaica Guardian argued for disestablishment. The editor of the Guardian wrote:

If the Irish Church is to be disestablished much more ought the Jamaican Church. The Episcopalians in the island are said to represent only one-ninth of its population; certainly, of the attendants at public worship three-fourths go elsewhere. According to the returns of the Jamaica Blue Book for 1865, the Nonconformists had provided 261 chapels or churches; the Church of England, 87; and according to the returns of 1866 the Nonconformist places of worship will contain only 68,824, while 25,000 must be added in the correction of the number returned under the denomination "Baptist," making a total of 138,550, compared with 68,824. The Church of England, therefore, with all the resources of the Public Treasury at command, has not accomplished, in this respect, one-third of what has been effected by voluntaryism. There is ground for believing that Sir John Peter Grant is convinced of the necessity of applying the disestablishment policy to Jamaica.

Such was to be the case. Governor Grant addressed a letter to the Bishop of Kingston dated December 7, 1869 informing him that the Clergy Act of 1858, making the Government of Jamaica responsible for the maintenance of the Church, would expire by non-renewal of the act on December 31, 1869. Thus the Church of England in Jamaica was

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46 Ibid., June 5, 1868.


48 See Letter of Governor Grant to Bishop of Kingston, Appendix VIII. Taken from Jamaica Legislative Council, Correspondence in Connexion with Previous Correspondence Laid Before the Council, Conveying the Decision of Her Majesty's Government in Regard to the Church of England, As Established in this Island (G. Henderson; Spanish Town, 1869).
automatically disestablished and disendowed after a union with the Government of Jamaica of more than two hundred years.

Dr. Courtenay, co-Auditor Bishop and acting in the absence of the Bishop of Kingston, acquiesced in the action of the governor. Dr. Courtenay, hoping to reorganize the Church, called a meeting of the clergy and leading laity. These met in a Synod held in Kingston beginning on January 13, 1870. The Synod prepared a statement of principles and laid down the basis of a constitution for the continuance of the Church in Jamaica. It also provided for the holding of annual Synods and a system of finance for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical institution. A statement of the discussions and conclusions of the Synod was then laid before Governor Grant. But, to their disappointment, the governor refused to recognize the assembly as legally representative of the whole Church of England in Jamaica. Grant felt that the members had not been selected by the entire Church membership and therefore he could not turn over to such a body the property belonging to the Church. The disestablishment had come so hurriedly that no arrangements had been made for the separation of the Church from the State and no law had been enacted for the Church's continuance after the separation. Thus it became apparent that a special law was necessary to regulate the details of the transition. The necessary law was prepared and passed and was designated Law 30 of 1870. This enabling legislation gave the Church legal authority to hold Synods, to frame a constitution for the
future government of the Church of England in Jamaica on the voluntary
principle and to adopt regulations for the management of the Church.
It also made binding the Ecclesiastical Law, Patents, Articles,
Doctrines, Ordinances, Rules, and Discipline that were in force at
the end of 1869. In addition it provided for a "Lay Corporate Body"
in which could be vested all property belonging to the Church and
gave it power to sell, or otherwise dispose, of such property so long
as the moneys accruing from such sale or disposal would be invested
for the sole use and benefit of the parish to which it belonged. Finally,
the law guaranteed to the clergy their stipends and other emoluments
so long as they were engaged in their duties.49

Under Law 30 of 1870 a second Synod was called and met in
St. George's Schoolroom, Kingston on September 29, 1870. This
meeting has since become known as the First Synod under Law 30 of
1870. The Synod immediately appointed a "Lay Corporate Body"
which was legally capable of holding the property and the funds of
the Church. The religious assembly then confirmed all the decisions
of the meeting of January 13, 1870, and by this act legalized them.
The disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in
Jamaica was then complete and final.50

50 Daily Gleaner, September 13, 1934.
The financial year 1869-70 again showed a sizable surplus in the government treasury. The general revenues amounted to L414,418 and expenditures totaled L374,480. The surplus was L39,938. No new taxation was imposed during the year. In fact, Governor Grant was able to abandon the levying of some taxes. These were the Additional Import Duty, the Tonnage Dues and the Breeding Stock Tax. The governor was able to do this in 1870 because of the healthy condition of finances in the island. Grant attributed this financial soundness to the revival of trade and to the general advancement in prosperity of the colony.\footnote{Report of 1870, 6.}

The value of both exports and imports for 1870 was more than L100,000 above the previous year. While the export of sugar was below average amounting to 30,747 hhds. (hogsheads) the export of coffee greatly increased. This increase in the coffee export was due to the steadily increasing cultivation of coffee by small settlers. During the year 9,047,284 lbs. of coffee were exported.\footnote{Ibid., 20-21. Other principal export staples for 1870 were Rum, 16,897 phns. (puncheons); pimento, 5,243,109 lbs.; Dyewoods (Fustic and Logwood), 84,744 tons; Ginger, 680,492 lbs.; Arrowroot, 6,343 lbs.}

Of great importance to the commerce of the island was the opening up of new trade with North America in fruits and yams. These products were conveyed in small American schooners chiefly from Port
Antonio. Bananas, cocoanuts and oranges were the fruits chiefly exported. The value of this new trade amounted in 1870 to £1,985; and the return trade in imports was valued at £1,625 yielding as the Collector-General said, "to the island, in custom revenue, the sum of £304 9s. 2d. at a small insignificant port, which had for many years ceased to be of any financial account to the Colony."\(^5\)

Governor Grant was very optimistic in the development of this new market for the plentiful tropical fruits of Jamaica. He saw the northern part of the United States as an unlimited market and believed that Jamaica could in a very short time support an export fruit trade of immense value.\(^5\)

Education continued to make progress under the administration of Sir John Peter Grant. In 1870 three hundred and seventy-one schools were on the list for inspection. This was an increase of one hundred and one schools over the previous year. This large increase was

\(^{53}\)Ibid., 21-22. See Black, Jamaica, 192-93. In 1866 Captain George Busch transported a small load of bananas to Boston which he had purchased at Oracabessa and Port Antonio. However the real beginning of the banana export trade in Jamaica began in 1870. Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker master of an 85-ton sailing ship took on a small cargo of bananas at Port Morant and sold them for a profit in New York. Baker was most successful and bought out smaller fruit companies to reorganize the Boston Fruit Company. The B.F.C. was bought out in 1899 by the United Fruit Company.

\(^{54}\)Report of 1870, 22. C.S. 102/25, no. 3, 6 January 1871, vol. 30, 291-99. Grant wrote to the Earl of Kimberley, "It is expected that a large quantity of fruit will be carried from Kingston to New York..."
caused by the liberal encouragement offered to the schools by the
government in the form of financial aid. At inspection time only
three hundred and twenty-nine of the above schools were inspected
as forty-two were found not ready for inspection. The reason for
this was the difficulty in procuring competent teachers. To ease
this situation the government took measures to train additional
teachers at the Mico Institution. Also, the Government Training
College at Stony Hill was established under the direction of the
Reverend Melville, Manager of the Reformatory at the same place.
The number of students at Stony Hill was limited to fifteen because of
lack of space. Candidates for admission had to be between eighteen
and twenty-four years of age. They were required to produce a certifi­
cate of good health and of good moral character. Also they had to be
well acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Candi­
dates were admitted on passing a competitive examination in arithmetic,
grammar, geography, and natural science. The college course required
two years but in special cases of excellence a certificate could be
given earlier. There were two terms in the year and an examination
was required at the end of each. Any student who did poorly was
required to leave. Board and lodging at the College were paid by the
government, however students were required to pay a fee of three
pounds at the beginning of the first year and two pounds at the beginning
of the second. A school for the children of the neighborhood was
attached to the College with two students of the College working daily with the children. This provided practical experience in teaching and management for the prospective schoolmasters.\textsuperscript{55}

As a result of the yearly inspection thirty-one schools failed to come up to the lowest government standard. Four schools were placed in the first class, thirty-five schools in the second and two hundred and six in the third class. This was a decided improvement over the previous year as the total number of schools passed increased by forty-nine. The number of second class schools almost doubled and represented ten per cent of all schools inspected. The total amount of grants-in-aid made in 1870 increased to L5,857 from L4,461 in 1869. There were fifty-three schools which received half grants. Although these did not quite come up to the government requirements it was felt that such grants were justified by peculiar circumstances and would

\textsuperscript{55}Report of 1870, 15. Also see Sir John Peter Grant, "Report on the Jamaica Blue Book for 1871," Governor's Report on Blue Book, 1869-1881. (Jamaica), 17. Afterwards cited as Report of 1871. The Mico College was established through the Mico Trust. Lady Mico in July 1670 left all her plate and one thousand pounds to her nephew on condition that he marry any one of her six nieces. The nephew failed to marry and as required by the will the L1,000 was given instead to ransome Christians captured by Algerian pirates. However, in the late 18th and early 19th century the Mediterranean was cleared of pirates. With no more Christians to ransome the Lady Mico bequest was invested and left to accumulate until by 1827 it amounted to L120,000. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a staunch abolitionist, suggested that the money be used for education in the British Colonies. This idea was accepted and schools were opened in various islands and teachers' training colleges were founded in Jamaica and Antigua. Thus the Mico College came into being. See Black, Jamaica, 188-189.
serve as an encouragement to the schools to improve themselves. Governor Grant also continued the practice of giving opening grants in 1870. The purpose of these grants was to enable teachers to establish new schools in areas lacking such facilities. These opening grants were paid in two installments, the first being for building and appliances, and the second for the teachers allowance. As a result of this incentive sixty-four applications for such aid were made. The total sum granted was L1,200. This aid enabled twenty-four new schools to open and come under inspection in 1870. Of the schools inspected during the year there were 119 associated with the Church of England, 53 Wesleyan, 34 Moravian, 58 Baptist, 13 Undenominational, 21 Presbyterian, 9 United Methodist, 4 American Missionary, 11 London Missionary, 1 American Christian, 1 Roman Catholic, and 1 Hebrew National. The Church of England Schools earned L2,115; the Wesleyan L989; the Baptist L892; the Moravian L703; the Presbyterian L388. The lesser denominational schools generally received grants-in-aid larger than the previous year.56

Sir John Peter Grant's emphasis upon education can readily be seen in the total sum expended upon the Department of Education for a five year period as illustrated by the following table:57

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57Table IV taken from Report of 1870, 17.
Table IV

Department of Education Expenditure, 1866-70.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>3,445 (pounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>3,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>4,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>6,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>9,190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The importation of Coolie indentured laborers continued in 1870 as a means of supplying labor for the planters. In that year nine hundred and six Coolies were introduced into the island bringing the number of indentured Coolies and those who had not served their ten years industrial residence to 6,373. The following data may give some indication as to the Coolie's situation in Jamaica. Of the five hundred and ninety-two who arrived in 1860, there were at the termination of ten years residence; 363 alive and eligible for return passages or bounty; 108 missing or deserters; 123 deaths' and 122 births. Grant reported that when the small proportion of women to men is considered these figures speak well for the conditions under which the Coolies labored. Of the 363 immigrants eligible for return passage to India, 261 chose to remain in Jamaica and were paid the bounty required by law. The rest returned to India at government expense. By the end of 1870 Governor Grant had brought into operation seven Union Hospitals as empowered to do by
Law 34 of 1869. These hospitals built for the care of Coolie immigrants were as follows: 58

Table V

Union Hospitals for Coolie Immigrants - 1870

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>No. of Coolies Located</th>
<th>No. of Beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Golden Grove</td>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylors' Caymanas</td>
<td>St. Catherine</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>Trelawny</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savanna-la-Mar</td>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linstead</td>
<td>St. Catherine</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry River</td>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lionel Town</td>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Improvement and construction of roads, bridges and public buildings continued under Governor Grant. In 1870, over L40,000 was spent on roads alone, an increase of more than L8,000 over the previous year. Eighteen thousand pounds of this sum was expended for maintenance. This was a higher expenditure than in previous years because of heavy rains that fell from May until the end of the year and the great increase in the transportation of logwood. During the rainy season the heavily loaded carts caused much damage to the roads. New road construction continued at a steady pace. The road to connect Annotto Bay with Port Maria was completed and the road from Kingston to Morant Bay was diverted to avoid a steep cliff near White Horses. Many new road

58Table V taken from Ibid., 18.
projects were started during the year the most important being the construction of the Rio Minho or Dry River Bridge on the Main Road from Kingston to the west. ⁵⁹

During the year 1870 more than £38,000 was spent in the repair or construction of works other than roads and bridges. The Public Hospital in Kingston was enlarged with the addition of a new Surgical Hospital, containing an operating room, two wards, and a matron's quarters. The new quarters for patients at the Lunatic Asylum, begun in 1869, were completed. Improvements were made at the Middlesex and Surry County jails and a wharf was erected at the General Penitentiary in Kingston to facilitate the landing and shipping of supplies. The old Treasury building on Harbour Street, Kingston, was repaired, altered and fitted up as convenient offices for the Treasury and Audit Departments. ⁶⁰

Of utmost importance and benefit to the citizens of Spanish Town was the purchase by the government of the Sligo Water Works Company. This company had fallen into financial troubles and had ceased to supply water to the capital. With the government purchase of this vital service the citizens were insured an adequate supply of drinking water. New machinery was ordered from England and construction of a new reservoir was begun. ⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid., 11-12.
⁶⁰ Ibid., 12-13.
⁶¹ Ibid., 14.
In concluding his report to the Colonial Secretary for 1870 Governor Grant stated that the most interesting event of the year was the laying of a telegraphic cable between Havanna and Jamaica. This enabled the island to have instant communication with Cuba, the United States, and Europe. The cable was laid by the West India and Panama Telegraph Company. It was landed at Holland Bay, in the parish of St. Thomas, and from there a land line was installed to Kingston.62

While in England for his holiday Governor Grant secured the services of Mr. Hutchins, a Civil Engineer, who had acquired experience on the vast irrigation works of India. Grant for some time had entertained the idea of utilizing the resources of the Rio Cobre for the irrigation of the semi-arid St. Catherine Plain. The newly acquired engineer was to make a survey, plans, and estimate for an irrigation system from the Rio Cobre through the Spanish Town and Old Harbour Savannahs.63

Even though Governor Grant was away from the island for six months in 1870 his administration accomplished a great deal. On his return to the island aboard the steamer Shannon the governor was "given a most cordial and enthusiastic reception."64

62Ibid., 26.
64Jamaica Guardian, November 5, 1870.
The Post, admitting that it had not been an out and out supporter of Grant's administration, conceded that:

Whatever be the sins of commission and omission with which the present government of the Island is chargeable, it cannot be truthfully denied that it is an honest and principled government... There is more good effected in a single session of the new Legislative Council, than could possibly have been effected in three or more sessions of the extinct House of Assembly, the majority of whose members consisted of men accustomed to sell their votes "to the highest and best bidder"...65

Also it was generally conceded that there was real improvement in the social and moral condition of the people and that much benefit had been derived from Crown Government. Trade was in a more healthy state than it had been for the past twenty-five years, the administration of justice was greatly improved, revenue was actively collected and accounted for, and the surplus was being used by the government for purposes that were never thought of by previous governors or public officials. But most important, in every town and village the people were law-abiding and content and acknowledged the legitimate exercise of the functions of government. This is an essential factor in the peaceful growth and development of any community.66

However, cries of "tyranny" and "paternal despotism" were still being shouted by a minority of the population who objected to the form of government. The Journal warned:

65 Falmouth Post, September 27, 1870.
66 Ibid., April 29, 1870.
Little by little, the franchises of the people of this island are being swept away by the prevailing current of despotism, drawing us into the vortex to be finally engulfed in the Maelstrom of Paternal Government, perhaps to find ourselves finally committed to the tender mercies of martial law...67

Such criticism accomplished nothing however as Governor Grant had the support of the majority of the population. His many innovations were evidence in themselves of his administrative responsibility. Thus Grant continued to push forward legislation that laid the basis for modern Jamaica.

In 1871 Sir John Peter Grant began the task of moving the island capital from Spanish Town to Kingston. Law 2 of 1871 provided for the removal to Kingston of the Supreme Court and the offices of the Registrar and Clerk of the Courts and Crown. This step was taken because Grant and many others felt that the law courts and eventually all government offices should be located in the primary city of the island. Kingston had been the commercial center of Jamaica ever since the great earthquake of 1692 which destroyed Port Royal and it was the most important city of the island.68 Even the Journal had to agree with Grant and stated that, "Kingston is far better adapted to be the capital of the island than the more inland and far less extensive and populous town."69

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67 Morning Journal, June 20, 1871. See also Ibid., January 7, May 27, 1871.


69 Morning Journal, January 19, 1871.
Governor Grant's intention and decision to move the capital to Kingston was made evident in a dispatch to the Earl of Kimberley the Colonial Secretary. Grant wrote:

The removal of the law courts from Spanish Town to Kingston has already been decided on, and there is no doubt but that the removal of all the other Government Offices will follow shortly -- and the sooner the Colonial Government can acquire premises sufficient to accommodate the Secretariat and the Governor's Public Office, the sooner shall I be enabled to set on foot a project for a large Collegiate Institution, for which the Government buildings in Spanish Town are admirably adapted; which project I am about very soon to submit for your Lordships sanction.70

Closely associated with Law 2 of 1871 was Law 15 of the same year. Law 15 provided for the purchase and transfer to the government of the Kingston and Liguana Water Works Company. This law was a result of Governor Grant's desire to make Kingston the capital of Jamaica. Thus he set out to bring about much needed public improvements in Kingston. The water supply for some time had been inadequate for the population of the city. In 1871 many people still carried their water from the old wells and from the stream that then flowed across Harbour Street and through the land that is now the Myrtle Bank Hotel property. The Kingston and Liguana Water Works Company had piped water from the Hope River. This water was unfiltered and insufficient for the city. Also the flow was not continuous but limited to certain

hours of each day and the risk of fire destroying the city was always present. Thus in 1871 the government bought the company’s rights for fifty-one thousand two hundred pounds. Grant then appointed Commissioners to take charge and expand the water works. This they did by purchasing property and building reservoirs on the Marescaux Road. These reservoirs were connected by a concrete culvert to those at Hope. The total cost was L87,000 including replacement of the worn-out mains. This new water system for Kingston was not completed until 1876, two years after Governor Grant left Jamaica.71

The purchase of the privately owned Kingston water system by the government was well received. The Falmouth Post endorsed the expenditure by stating:

The Government has conferred a substantial benefit on the citizens of Kingston by purchasing all the shares, plant, property, rights and privileges of the Kingston and Liguanea Water Company. The householders will be relieved of oppressive taxation to which they have been subjected for several years; the poor will not be made poorer by the illegal exactions of dishonest and merciless rate-collectors; and the adequate protection of property will enable the owners of valuable buildings and of large stocks of merchandise to effect insurances on more reasonable terms than those with which they have hitherto been obliged to comply for their own safety and for the safety of their agents in England and other parts of the world.72

71Sunday Gleaner, September 30, 1956. Governor Grant also passed legislation in 1871 establishing the Kingston Fire Brigade. Six fire stations were set up and equipped with the same type equipment used in England. The station of the night-watch was at the police headquarters on Sutton Street.

72Falmouth Post, February 3, 1871.
Another public improvement for Kingston carried out by Governor Grant was the development of the Parade Gardens. Previously this area consisted of a piece of open ground about eight acres in area and located in the center of Kingston. The Parade, as its name denotes, was used for military exercises and barracks for the soldiers stood at the northern end. Forming a square the Parade also provided a place for citizens to collect and discuss public affairs of the day. It was also a market place, a social promenade and occasionally persons condemned to death were hanged here. The Parade, however, was an eye sore. In dry weather it was dusty because of the lack of grass and vegetation and in wet weather it became a mass of mud. Governor Grant corrected this by having the area enclosed with an ornamental iron rail fence imported from England. Then fertile soil and manure were brought in and trees, grass and shrubs were planted. Thus it was converted into an "ornamental town garden."  

In 1866 Governor Grant in an effort to cut expenses of the government stopped the subsidy which provided for steamship

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Report of 1871, 15. See also Sunday Gleaner, September 30, 1956. Today the Parade is known as Victoria Park and stands as a tribute to Sir John Peter Grant. It is well kept and its shade trees offer a respite from the heat. However, Grant would be dismayed by the large number of buses which block the park from one's view and clutter the roadway running through the center of the park. See Plate I photograph of walkway through Victoria Park. Plate II photograph of South Parade of Victoria Park, statue of Queen Victoria. Taken by author with 35 mm. Argus on July 24, 1966.
Plate I

Walkway through Victoria Park (Parade)
Plate II

Victoria Park - South Parade
communication between Kingston and New York. In February 1871 a memorial was presented to the governor from a large number of merchants and other influential gentlemen pointing out the advantages that would result from the resumption of such communication. Moved by this request the governor made a temporary arrangement for paying a subsidy at a rate of £5,000 per annum to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. By this arrangement a steamer would touch at Kingston regularly two times a month. The voyage one way took six days.  

Grant, in explaining his motives for resuming this communication, stated that:

"It would tend more than anything else to make this colony known to the wealthier classes of the United States; which I regard as an object of the greatest importance. . .  
It is expected that a large quantity of fruit will be carried from Kingston to New York. A not inconsiderable fruit trade has already sprung up between Port Antonio, Jamaica and Boston carried on in Schooners."  

The economy of Jamaica continued to grow through the year 1871. The steady increase in the importation of imported articles (free of duty since 1867) for agricultural or other industrial enterprises illustrates the improved prospects of the industries which they served. The following table shows the value of articles imported from 1866-71:

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76Table VI taken from Report of 1871, 23.
Table VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1867</th>
<th>1868</th>
<th>1869</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1871</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steam Engines</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>3,046</td>
<td>6,904</td>
<td>5,460</td>
<td>4,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>1,072</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>3,822</td>
<td>3,434</td>
<td>9,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Machinery</td>
<td>5,186</td>
<td>6,879</td>
<td>8,023</td>
<td>6,644</td>
<td>7,844</td>
<td>11,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pans for boiling</td>
<td>1,427</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>2,409</td>
<td>4,676</td>
<td>4,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipes for fluids</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>1,331</td>
<td>1,202</td>
<td>2,493</td>
<td>2,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stills</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>2,977</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>1,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staves</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>5,587</td>
<td>6,418</td>
<td>3,847</td>
<td>3,823</td>
<td>5,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood Hoops</td>
<td>2,346</td>
<td>1,225</td>
<td>2,773</td>
<td>2,264</td>
<td>2,981</td>
<td>3,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron, galvanized</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>1,238</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>1,902</td>
<td>3,142</td>
<td>3,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto, other</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>3,184</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>1,933</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooks</td>
<td>23,580</td>
<td>18,023</td>
<td>19,479</td>
<td>17,362</td>
<td>12,180</td>
<td>13,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>2,719</td>
<td>2,004</td>
<td>3,348</td>
<td>2,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37,694</td>
<td>39,703</td>
<td>50,988</td>
<td>52,552</td>
<td>53,012</td>
<td>63,073</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The export of the principal staples also continued steady for 1871.

The export of sugar, amounting to 37,010 hogsheads, was larger than it had been for nineteen years. Rum also increased in volume exported, as did pimento. The cultivation of tobacco was started on a respectable scale with success in the parish of St. Andrew. This was achieved through the use of Cuban laborers who were accustomed to the cultivation of the plant and the manufacture of cigars. Several small settlers from Cuba were successful in tobacco cultivation and Governor Grant reported that in a short while tobacco of fine quality would be a staple export of the island. The fruit trade with America continued to grow also. Besides the facilities for transport which were provided by regular steamship from Kingston to New York, the sailing ship trade
on the north coast increased. The value of bananas, oranges and other fruits exported in 1870 was L901; in 1871 it increased to L2,736.77

To further encourage economic growth and development on the island Governor Grant passed Laws 16 and 25 of 1871. Law 16 entitled "A Law To Amend the Law Relating To Aliens" gave to aliens in Jamaica the same power of holding real and personal property that natural born British subjects enjoyed. Law 25 entitled "A Law Relating to Bankruptcy" introduced into the island the new English Bankruptcy Law, replacing the old Jamaica Insolvency Law. Law 16 had a direct effect upon the economy of the island as it led to the development by Americans of the banana export trade, and by Cubans of the tobacco industry.78

The most controversial act of Governor Grant in 1871 was the abolishment of grand juries. This was accomplished by Law 21 of 1871. Before securing passage of this law Grant consulted the judges of the Supreme Court. They agreed that grand juries might be abolished without any injury to the administration of criminal justice. The Attorney-General and his two assistants took the place of the abolished institution. The Post readily endorsed the new law while the Standard

77Ibid., 24.

78Ibid., 2, 4. Black, Jamaica, 185.
and the Gleaner deplored the act as an "outrage" upon the rights of the people.\textsuperscript{79}

A steady and rapid improvement of the elementary schools in Jamaica continued under Grant's administration. Whereas three hundred and twenty-nine schools were inspected in 1870; four hundred and eight were inspected in 1871. The daily average attendance of these schools was 19,644 students. Three hundred and thirteen schools passed the inspection in 1871 with six being placed in the first class, sixty-eight in the second class, and two hundred and thirty-nine in the third class. As the number of schools increased so did the governmental expenditure. In 1871 this amounted to L11,778. By 1871 Grant felt that the practice of introducing some industrial training to the school curriculum as first attempted in 1869 might be successful. He based this belief on the ability of the Industrial School established by Reverend Key in St. Elizabeth to overcome most parental opposition to the idea. Grant attributed this to the perseverence of Mr. Key. Carpentering, coopering, and bricklaying were taught by skilled artisans in addition to agricultural work. Because of this success the governor gave the school a special grant of L348.\textsuperscript{80}

The governor, desiring to know the number of inhabitants on the island, had a census taken of the population on June 5, 1871. The

\textsuperscript{79}Falmouth Post, June 16, 1871.

\textsuperscript{80}Report of 1871, 18-20.
previous census had been taken in 1861, and one before it in 1844. The population for each of these years is illustrated by the table below:  

Table VII:

Population of Jamaica, 1844, 1861, 1871

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1844</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>181,633</td>
<td>213,521</td>
<td>246,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>195,800</td>
<td>227,743</td>
<td>259,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>377,433</td>
<td>441,264</td>
<td>506,154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those counted in the 1871 census there were: 13,101 whites; 100,346 coloured; and 392,708 blacks. The census reported 7,793 Indian immigrants on the island but Grant felt that there were more than that number, perhaps as many as 9,000.  

By 1871 the Government Savings Bank was in full operation. The private banks had closed and transferred most of their balances to the Government Savings Bank. In 1870 the Government Bank had 469 depositors with a total deposit of L16,200. In 1871 this number of depositors had increased to 2,044 and the total deposit to L93,776. In addition to the head office of the Government Savings Bank in Kingston and twelve branches at the Parochial Treasuries, nine out-stations were opened for the convenience of persons living long

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81 Table VII taken from Ibid., 27.

82 See tables in Ibid., 21, 28.
distances from the Parochial Treasuries. Officers of the Government
Savings Bank appeared at these stations at specific times during the
month to take deposits and pay withdrawals. 83

The most important of all public works initiated by Sir John Peter
Grant began to take shape in 1871. Mr. Hutchins, the irrigation
expert brought from England, had completed his plans, surveys and
estimates for the Rio Cobre Irrigation project. According to the plan
the irrigation project would consist of a large dam; a main channel of
about three miles in length which was to come out above the upper part
of the plain above Spanish Town, and four separate branches. The first
and northernmost branch was to run westerly, along the higher part of
the plain, past the sugar estates of St. Dorothy, to Old Harbor Market.
The second and easternmost branch would run around Spanish Town
and crossing the river by an aqueduct a little below that place, would
irrigate the three sugar estates called the Caymanas and a large area
of semi-arid land which as a result would become profitable sugar cane
land. The third and fourth branches were to run southerly to the sea at
Port Henderson and the Great Salt Pond, respectively. The dam, main
line, and Caymanas branch were to be the first part of the project to be
constructed. The main canal was to carry 45,000 cubic yards of water
an hour and would have a bottom width of twenty-two feet and a depth

83 Ibid., 22.
of six feet. The dam when completed was to be three hundred and twenty feet long and forty-eight feet above the bed of the river. The base was to be twenty-six feet wide and the top thirteen feet. The dam would contain 238,000 cubic feet of masonry besides a mass of concrete. The cost of the entire Rio Cobre Irrigation project was estimated to be L60,000.84

The entire Rio Cobre Irrigation project was calculated to irrigate 43,000 acres of previously semi-arid, unproductive land. Planters utilizing the water from the project had to pay one pound per acre of sugar cane irrigated, five shillings per acre for Guinea Grass and one shilling per acre for the irrigation of common grass. It was expected that this revenue would amount to L13,850 per annum and would defray the cost of construction of the irrigation project.85

The need for and the benefit to be derived from the Rio Cobre project was generally realized by everyone. The Journal said, "we are glad that the Governor is about to take this matter of Irrigation in hand; for despite the wealth of water in the island as a whole, there are certain districts in it entirely destitute in this respect..."86


85Falmouth Post, March 1, 1872.

86Morning Journal, July 15, 1871.
Plate III

Rio Cobre Dam
The construction of the Rio Cobre project was authorized by Law 27 of 1872. Actual construction work began in the latter part of 1872. It was not completed and put into operation until June, 1876, two years after Governor Grant had retired as governor. Nevertheless, this far-sighted project stands as a testimony to Grant's concern for the development of Jamaica.  

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87 Handbook of 1883, 231. The success of this project is evident today. It "has increased the value of property on the St. Catherine Plain to an almost priceless extent." See Sunday Gleaner, March 20, 1949. Also H. S. Burns, "Rio Cobre Canal—Dream that Came True and Made Money," Daily Gleaner, June 2, 1951.
CHAPTER V

THE LAST YEARS - 1872-1873

The concluding two years of Sir John Peter Grant's administration were distinguished by the completion of several important projects initiated by the governor. In 1872 these included the opening of the Kingston Market and Landing Place, and the transfer of the capital from Spanish Town to Kingston.

The site selected for the Kingston Market was on the shore of the harbor at the end of King Street, the primary thoroughfare of the city. King Street runs north and south through the center of the city and is perpendicular to the shore of the harbor. The new market place was constructed on the east side of King Street and was adjacent to the new public landing place. The market complex consisted of the main market building, a clock tower and market offices. The market building was constructed of iron whereas the clock tower and market offices were constructed of brick. The market building was erected within a rectangular space which was enclosed by an iron fence set on a brick wall. The dimensions of the enclosure were 306' north to south and 159' east to west. In the center of each of the four sides were placed entrance gates. The principal entrance was located on the west side facing King Street. This primary entrance was through
an arched way surmounted by a clock tower and having two rooms on either side at ground level which served as offices for the market. An uncovered court with an ornamental fountain was immediately opposite the main entrance, and the market building was arranged around three sides of this court. The building was supported by forty cast iron columns fifteen feet in height and octagonal in shape. They were placed forty-five feet apart from north to south and twenty-four feet nine inches from east to west. The roof trusses were forty-five feet long and were eight feet three inches apart. The roof covering was galvanized corrugated iron. The building provided 48,960 square feet, of which 33,568 square feet were under cover. Ninety-two benches or stalls twenty feet long and four feet wide were provided for the vendors. On the south side of the market entrance a covered iron pier was built as a public landing place. It was sixty feet in length and twenty-one feet in width with wooden flooring and stone steps. To one side of this landing a smaller iron pier was built to accommodate the market boats. The total cost of the market and land was L22,778. The public landing place cost L2,238. ¹

Sir John Peter Grant formally opened the Market on Thursday, May 24, 1872, the Queen's birthday. Eight thousand people were present in the building while many more lined the streets. Among

¹C.S. 102/27, no. 130, vol. 32, 22 June 1872. Governor Grant to the Earl of Kimberley. Handbook of 1883, 244.
those assembled in the Market building were fifteen hundred school children; and when Governor Grant entered the building for the ceremony, the children sang "God Save the Queen." Sir John Grant named the new Market "The Victoria Market" in honor of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.  

The governor in reporting the opening of the Victoria Market said, "Kingston has now got a Market and a public landing place which would be creditable to any Town. In former years there was no practicable public landing place and the Markets were a public disgrace."  

In 1867 Governor Grant had objected to the moving of the capital because the island was in a pitiful financial situation and the move

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2C.S. 102/27, no. 130.

3Sir John Peter Grant, "Report on the Jamaica Blue Book for 1872," Governor's Report on Blue Book, 1869-1881 (Jamaica), 16. Afterwards cited as Report of 1872. Today the Market is no longer utilized for the sale of fruits and vegetables. It is a gay, colorful tourist attraction known as the Victoria Crafts Market. Native handicrafts and manufactures such as straw goods, bags, rum, and Jamaican Cigars are offered for sale. These goods are still sold from individual stalls by Jamaicans. See Plate IV, photograph of main entrance to Victoria Crafts Market as is today and as constructed in 1872. Note Clock Tower, small market office to left of entrance and ornamental iron fence surmounted on brick wall. Plate V shows north side entrance to market and main market building. Note corrugated iron roof. The author is indebted to Mr. A. L. Johnson, manager of the Victoria Crafts Market, who took time to show the author around the building.
Plate IV

Victoria Market – Main Entrance
Plate V

North View of Market Building
would have made necessary "a considerable outlay for new buildings in or near Kingston," and "would have rendered useless a fine set of buildings existing in Spanish Town and would have involved a waste of money...". However, by 1872 Jamaica was financially sound and Governor Grant was entertaining the idea of utilizing the Spanish Town Government buildings for a public College. Thus the buildings would not lie idle but would be put to good use.⁴

To facilitate and complete the transfer of the capital to Kingston, Governor Grant purchased Headquarter House from the War Office for £5,000. This building located at the southwestern corner of Duke and Beeston Streets was formerly the residence of the Senior Military Office, but now the Legislative Council, the Privy Council and the Colonial Secretariat were to be housed in it. For the new Governor's residence in Kingston the government purchased Bishop's Lodge on Hope Road from the Church of England.⁵

In deciding upon this site Grant said:

For the site of the new Government House, there could not, I think, be a better selection than the grounds belonging to the Bishop's Lodge, about three or four miles out of Kingston; whilst the house would be useful as a temporary residence during the erection of a suitable building for future governors.

⁴C.S. 102/26, no. 22, 1872. This dispatch was found by Miss Magnus among the Colonial Dispatches in Spanish Town in June, 1959 and a typed copy is now located in the Biographical File of Sir John Peter Grant at the Institute of Jamaica.

⁵Sunday Gleaner, September 23, 1956.
The property consists of a good but not large dwelling House, for a private gentleman, and about one hundred and ninety acres of land. It is at a convenient distance from the town of Kingston; and it is healthily situated upon high lying ground. A more convenient arrangement than would be afforded by the purchase of this property could scarcely be made.⁶

On April 4, 1872 the Legislative Council held its last meeting in Spanish Town. Upon the close of the meeting Sir John Peter Grant made the following resolution:

It having been deemed expedient to remove the seat of Government, and the Office of the Colonial Secretary to Kingston, it has become necessary that the meetings of the Legislative Council be held in Kingston.

Resolved, That after this meeting all further meetings of the Legislative Council be held in Kingston.⁷

The motion was seconded and the resolution was passed accordingly. The first Legislative Council meeting in Kingston was held in the Council Chamber at Headquarter House on Thursday, April 11, 1872 at 1:00 p.m.⁸

Governor Grant also removed from Spanish Town the statues of Admiral Rodney, hero of the Battle of the Saintes (1782), and Sir Charles Metcalfe, governor of Jamaica 1839-42. Rodney's statue

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⁶C.S. 102/26, no. 22, 1872. See Plate VI, photograph of land purchased by Grant for governor's residence formerly called Bishop's Lodge and now occupied by King's House, the official residence of Sir Clifford Campbell, Governor-General of Jamaica.

⁷Jamaica Gazette, Supplement, no. 14, 1872.

⁸Ibid., no. 15, 1872, 91.
Plate VI

Grounds of King's House - Formerly Bishop's Lodge
was erected at the foot of King Street and Metcalfe's statue was placed in the South Parade. The only public establishments that remained in Spanish Town were the Government Archives and the gallows.\(^9\)

The citizens of Spanish Town resented the removal of the capital to Kingston but their objections were ignored. For them, insult was added to injury with the removal of Rodney's statue; and the citizens of Spanish Town expressed their disapproval in a memorial to the governor. Grant replied to these citizens in a minute published in the newspapers. It read:

\[\text{I find from the memorial that the inhabitants of Spanish Town feel agrieved at the statue of Lord Rodney, which was formerly before the door of the Legislative Council in what was the Government Square of Spanish Town, having been transferred to Kingston, along with the Legislative Council and the other Government Offices, formerly housed in that Square.}\]

\[\text{I must observe that, as the intention to transfer the statue has been perfectly well known for a long time past, having, if I rightly remember, been publicly alluded to in May, 1872, at the opening of the Victoria Market in Kingston, and as the necessary pedestal on which to place it near that Market and the new public Landing Place has been really in course of construction since the month of October, 1872, the memorialists are late in the field. The memorial was not received until after the statue had been actually removed from Spanish Town to the place in Kingston where it is to stand.}\(^10\)


\(^{10}\)\textit{Morning Journal}, July 14, 24, 1873. The Journal had little patience with the angry citizens of Spanish Town and stated flatly that "the statue belongs to the whole island not just Spanish Town." The citizens of Spanish Town were not pacified however, and in 1889 Admiral Rodney's statue was returned to the former capital. Today it still dominates the beautiful, well kept Government Square of Spanish Town.

In 1898 Governor Metcalfe's statue was moved to the foot of King Street to make room for a statue of Queen Victoria in the South Parade. It is still there today.
Forty-eight laws were passed during the year 1872. Some of these, because of their importance, deserve special mention. Law 18 of 1872 reduced the number of Judges of the Supreme Court. When Jamaica became a Crown Colony four judges comprised the Supreme Court. Grant thought that this number was far too large for the judicial requirements of the island, so in 1870 one of these positions was abolished with the voluntary retirement of one of the members. In 1872 one of the three judges died and Grant took the opportunity to reduce the number to two, a Chief Justice and a Puisne Judge (junior). Grant reported that "the Supreme Court is now upon a much more reasonable and a more economical footing than formerly, whilst its Judges are in a more suitable position than they were in before."\(^\text{11}\)

Law 31 of 1872 provided for the erection and management of Gas Works for the city of Kingston.\(^\text{12}\) The subject of providing gas lighting for Kingston was first noted in 1866; however, nothing was done until 1870 when Mr. W. Climie applied to the governor, on behalf of some businessmen in England, for a concession to erect gas works for the city. He sought a concession for a period of thirty years and proposed that the maximum price should be eighteen shillings per one thousand cubic feet, that the gas should be used for lighting the streets and all public buildings, and that all imported materials should

\(^{11}\text{Report of 1872, 2.}\)

\(^{12}\text{Ibid.}\)
be imported duty free. Governor Grant turned down this proposal because he considered that such a concession would place the use of gas out of reach of the inhabitants of the city. A second request for a concession was asked by Mr. T. L. Harvey who applied in 1871. It also was turned down, and Governor Grant remarked that if gas were to be provided he would recommend that government gas works be established thereby avoiding the granting of long-term monopolies to private parties. He also argued that the government could furnish gas at a far cheaper rate than private companies. Grant submitted his proposal for a government gas works to the Kingston Municipal Board. They welcomed the proposal but the objection was raised that lighting the streets of the city would increase crime on the streets. The reasoning behind this objection was that the "unscientific and ignorant depredating class of the community" had great fear of darkness, and generally took advantage of the light of the moon for their unlawful operations. Thus the argument against lighting the streets of Kingston was that crime would increase and this would cause an additional expenditure for more policemen to patrol the streets at night.\(^{13}\)

Governor Grant thought this objection to be foolish and was determined to overcome it. He ordered Inspector-General of Police Major Prenderville to furnish him with a record of crimes so it could

\(^{13}\)Handbook of 1883, 233.
be determined whether more crimes were committed in Kingston on moonlight nights than on dark nights. Also, the police officers stationed in Kingston were asked for their opinions as to whether or not lighting the streets with gas would promote crimes. The report given to Governor Grant showed that of the burglaries and larcenies committed between January 1870 and September 1871, only eighteen were committed on one hundred and eighty-five moonlight nights, while seventy-seven burglaries were committed on one hundred and ninety-nine dark nights. The report also showed that it was the unanimous opinion of the police that the street lighting would be a help to the Constabulary and a hinderance to the prospective thief. Major Prenderville endorsed the report, and quoting from the writings of St. John said, "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light and cometh not to light, that his works may not be reproved."  

Governor Grant, strengthened by these findings and opinions and determined to bring the most modern conveniences to Kingston, caused Law 31 of 1872 to be passed by the Legislative Council. This law provided that the gas works were to be erected by the Public Works Department and provided for the appointment of five Gas Commissioners as follows: the Colonial Secretary, Director of Public Works, Auditor-General, Custos of Kingston, and the Custos of St.

\[^{14}\text{Ibid.}, 234.\]
Andrew. These Commissioners were empowered to raise by debentures the sum of L30,000 for constructing the Government Gas Works.\textsuperscript{15}

Other laws of importance enacted in 1872 were Laws 33, 37, and 44. Law 33 provided for the erection of a public wharf and public bonding warehouse for the city of Kingston. The wharf was built for the use of steamships which were arriving in Kingston harbor in increasing numbers.\textsuperscript{16} Law 37 provided for the erection and management of a public slaughter house for Kingston. Until the passage of this law cattle and goats were slaughtered in different parts of the city at private-licensed slaughter houses, the stock was not inspected by any government authority, and the many small slaughter houses were ill-equipped and unsanitary. To correct this Governor Grant passed Law 37 which, in effect, abolished private slaughter houses and instituted government control. All slaughter houses within the city were closed and the owners were compensated by the government. A site was selected on the outskirts of Kingston near the seaside and to leeward for a public abattoir, but it was not completed until 1876.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Sunday Gleaner, September 30, 1956. Report of 1872, 1-2. Handbook of 1883, 234. See also C.S. 102/27, no. 147, vol. 32, 23 July 1872. Transmittal of Law 31 of 1872 to provide for the erection and management of Gas Works for the city of Kingston for street lighting. Construction on the Government Gas Works was begun in 1875 and completed in 1877. Kingston was lighted with gas for the first time on May 10, 1877. Gas was supplied for both private and public use until the end of 1952.}

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid., no. 153.}
when the Kingston Slaughter House was opened. Law 44 established a Fire Brigade in the parish of Kingston.¹⁷

The year 1872 was a sound financial period, and the administration of Sir John Peter Grant again realized a large surplus. The general revenues amounted to L405,227, and since the general expenditure was L380,982, a surplus of L24,245 was available for any general spending the governor might choose. In addition there was the unexpended balance of surplus revenues of former years which amounted to L26,674. Therefore in 1872 the government had a total surplus of L50,919.¹⁸

Governor Grant in reporting on the finances of the year stated:

This continuing surplus accrues from no increase of taxation, and is in the face of a large expenditure on public works of utility and importance, of a largely increasing expenditure on such departments as those of education and medicine, and of some increase of expenditure in those administrative and revenue departments which necessarily require development as the population and wealth of the colony become developed.¹⁹

The most lucrative taxes levied by the government were the import duties and fees, L224,077; the rum and still duty, L86,171; the stamp tax, L13,528; the poor rate house tax, L24,912; the parochial road tax on horses and wheels, L24,821; and the post office

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¹⁸Ibid., 8–9.
¹⁹Quoted in Handbook of 1883, 296.
revenue, L13,887. These six sources of revenue alone amounted to more than the general expenditure of 1872. 20

Commenting on the amount of revenue collected by the government Sir John Peter Grant said in his report:

The very great increase in the amount received for Import Duties is due to the renewed improvement in trade manifested in the year under report...
The increase under the heads of Rum Duty and Spirit Licenses is also remarkable; and now at last the expectations which I ventured to hold out in 1866, as a distant prospect, when the Rum Duty was raised from 2s. 9d. to 5s. per gallon, have been justified and much more than justified. 21

In 1872 the District Courts were again reorganized by Governor Grant. One of the eight courts was abolished; and a rearrangement of the remaining seven was made when the governor divided the island into seven districts, each containing two complete parishes. During the year 1872 there were 2,473 criminal trials and 15 equity cases. During the same year there were eight appeals from the decisions of the District Courts; four were criminal and four were civil cases. The Supreme Court reversed the decision in one criminal case and confirmed the decisions in all others. 22

By 1872 Governor Grant had formalized his plans for the establishment of a public college for the island in Spanish Town. The

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21 Ibid., 9-10.
22 Ibid., 16.
government buildings in Spanish Town were vacated by the transfer of the government to Kingston, but the college was not opened until September of 1873.  

Meanwhile the Government Training School established at Stony Hill had completed its second year. Twenty resident students were enrolled in 1872; and of these, five received certificates of qualifications as Schoolmasters during that year. Governor Grant hoped that the school would produce at least ten qualified Schoolmasters annually. The Superintendent of the Government School complained of the low standard in achievements of the competitors for admission. However, it was readily admitted that a serious educational gap existed between the best elementary schools of the island and a college-level institution such as the Government Training School. In addition to the twenty men in training at Stony Hill there were six government students undergoing similar training in the Government Model Industrial School at Port Antonio; and nine men were supported by the government at the Mico Normal School in Kingston. Thus the government in 1872 supported thirty-five young men in training colleges studying to become Schoolmasters. In addition to the government supported students there were five private training Institutions maintaining, without government aid, about seventy-eight pupils. As a

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23C.S. 102/27, no. 133, vol. 32, 8 July 1872.
result of this emphasis upon the training of Schoolmasters the lack of such trained personnel was slowly being corrected, as is demonstrated by the fact that in 1868, the first year of governmental inspection of schools, there were 136 trained teachers and 152 untrained. In 1872, there were 285 trained teachers and 202 untrained.\textsuperscript{24}

The year 1872 was the fifth year since Governor Grant had revised the grant-in-aid program for elementary schools. Every year since the beginning of the newly inaugurated inspection program there had been an increase in the number and efficiency of the elementary schools. The following table illustrates the number and efficiency of schools from 1868-1872.\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Number and Efficiency of Schools 1868-1872}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
         & 1868 & 1869 & 1870 & 1871 & 1872 \\
\hline
First Class& 1    & 3    & 4    & 6    & 7    \\
Second Class& 6    & 20   & 35   & 68   & 94   \\
Third Class& 89   & 173  & 206  & 239  & 268  \\
Exceptional & 88   & 21   & 53   & 47   & 35   \\
(half-grants) &       &       &       &       &       \\
Total Aided & 184  & 217  & 298  & 360  & 404  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

The average daily attendance of children attending school in 1872 was 22,435, an increase of 2,791 over the previous year. The number

\textsuperscript{24}Report of 1872, 19.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid.
of pupils on the rolls in 1872 was 38,006, an increase of 4,663 over the previous year. This figure (38,006) does not show the total number of children who attended schools in the island, because a number of schoolmasters did not place their schools under government inspection. Governor Grant estimated in his report that there were about one hundred and fifty private schools not on the inspection list with an attendance of 3,822 students. Thus there were more than 40,000 children attending school in 1872. However, this was only one-third of the children between the ages of five and fifteen eligible to attend school. The census of 1871 stated that there were 128,824 children five to fifteen years of age on the island. Grant realizing this deficiency stated:

This shows how much remains to be done here in the cause of education. But I am convinced that the growth of the system of elementary education, since the new scheme, has been as rapid as was consistent with healthy growth, such as we now see. It is not the mere increase of schools, but still more the increase of good schools for which educationists here deserve praise.  

The distribution of grants to the 369 schools which passed inspection in 1872 amounted to L9,404. Several new schools which were exceptional received L340, and twenty-two schools received advanced aid to the amount of L153. Thus the total sum distributed in grants-in-aid was L9,897. Opening grants to aid the establishment

26Ibid., 20. See Handbook of 1883, 129.
of twenty-nine new schools in remote areas amounted to £1,500.
The fact that one first class school, four second class schools, and
sixty-three third class schools were begun with the aid of this grant
shows that the system of opening grants was functional. The total
expenditure in the Educational Department for the year 1872 amounted
to £14,573, a dramatic increase over the £4,622 spent in 1867.27

In proof of the progress made in education during his administra-
tion Sir John Peter Grant included in his report to the Colonial Secretary
the report of the Inspector of Schools, Mr. Savage. The inspector said:

In reviewing the whole work of elementary education
under the influence of the Government system of regulations
that came in force in 1868, it is gratifying now to find at
the end of five years that notwithstanding some opposition
at first, and a good many difficulties that had to be en-
countered, we are enabled to report a very marked and
decided advance, both in the number and condition of the
schools generally, the system still working smoothly and
giving general satisfaction to all the true friends of educa-
tion. The schools of every religious denomination, without
exception, are on the Government list, and under regular
inspection. The amount of the annual grants earned by the
schools and paid by the Government is more than three times
as much as in the first year (1868). A real interest is awakened
among the people of all classes on the subject of education.
Trade is evidently beginning to feel an upward tendency, a
start has been given to the enlightening and elevating influ-
ences of education, as to afford the cheering prospect of
Jamaica becoming in time a highly civilized and prosperous
country.28

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28 Ibid., 22.
In 1872 the administration-supported immigration policy continued. A total of 1,188 East Indian immigrants arrived from Calcutta, 1,599 Coolies completed their term of service, and only 420 chose to return to India. The remainder elected to accept the bounty offered by the government and became free settlers in Jamaica. At the close of 1872 the number of Indian immigrants serving five years' indenture was 4,452; the number who had served five years, but who had not completed their ten years' industrial residence, was 2,156; and the number of Coolies who had become permanent settlers was estimated at 4,380. Thus the number of East Indians in Jamaica in 1872 was about 11,000.29

The growth of the Jamaican economy continued through 1872. The value of imports rose to L1,559,602 with the value of agricultural and other industrial items amounting to L89,031, an increase of L25,000 over the previous year. The value of exports also showed an increase over the previous year and amounted to L1,418,443.30

The cultivation of tobacco increased from ninety-one acres to three hundred and one in 1872. The increase was principally in the parish of St. Andrew where the cultivation was carried on by Jamaican owners; and in the parishes of St. Catherine, St. Thomas, Portland, and St. Mary, where tobacco was grown mostly by Cubans who became property owners in Jamaica. In the cultivation of tobacco both Cuban

29Ibid., 23.
and Jamaican labor were used but in the manufacturing process only Cuban labor was used. The island-grown tobacco was for the most part made into cigars and snuff for Jamaican consumption. However, cigars sent to London received good acceptance and Governor Grant reported, "I have not the least doubt that tobacco will very soon be a great stable of export, and that the quality will be very good. There is nothing to prevent Jamaica Cigars equalling those exported from Havanna."  

Still in 1872 the government of Jamaica was described by a minority of critics as a "paternal despotism." The Post stated:  

There is necessity—immediate necessity—for the establishment of an efficient representative legislature, and an efficient responsible Government, the head of which will not be authorized and empowered to direct the adoption and carrying out of any measure which is not sanctioned by the elected Guardians of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants.  

A few days later the same newspaper made it clear that it was not finding fault with Sir John Peter Grant, but that there was "cause to find fault with the continuance of a Constitution which is in every respect Un-English and unsatisfactory."  

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31 Ibid. The value of fruit exported more than doubled in 1872 over the previous year. In 1872 it amounted to £5,855. See Ibid., 27.  

32 Falmouth Post, February 2, 1872.  

33 Ibid., February 16, 1872.
Grant answered such critics by pointing out the reforms and improvements accomplished by his government. In reply to Mr. George Solomon's idea for a new constitution, Governor Grant stated that "his only concern with the Constitution of the colony is to administer the affairs of the colony to the best of his ability." He further stated that "he gave Paternal Despotism credit for the wonderful improvement in social feeling amongst all classes, ranks, colours, and creeds, that has certainly taken place in six years"; and finally, he stated that he thought it advisable and right to leave the form of government alone.34

In September of 1872 Grant began a four-month leave of absence in England; and while there, members of the Anti-Slavery Society presented a memorial congratulating him on his successful administration of the government of the island. They also assured him of their appreciation of the benefits that had accrued to Jamaica under his rule which they believed to be due "to His Excellency's firm, impartial, and wise policy, legislative and administrative." The members of the Anti-Slavery Society concluded their address by expressing their regret at Grant's intention to retire. Sir John Peter Grant answered in reply:

...my service in Jamaica has reached the usual term already, and it is likely to be prolonged for another year, in which time I hope, if I be spared, to see one scheme towards which I have been long working, fairly started. I mean the Spanish Town College, an Institution, which, if

34 Ibid., May 17, 1872.
successful, may be the beginning of a change to which no man can assign a limit; doing for the superior classes what the new elementary school system is actually at work upon successfully with the lower classes.\(^{35}\)

Upon his return to Jamaica in January, 1873 an address was presented by the supporters of Sir John Grant to Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, begging the retention of Grant as the governor of Jamaica. This memorial was prompted by the numerous rumors which floated about that Grant was soon to retire from office. The memorial read:

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Humble Memorial of the undersigned Clergymen, Magistrates, Proprietors, Merchants, Planters, and Others, inhabitants of the island of Jamaica,

Sheweth,---

That we learn, with much regret that the term of office of our Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, is about to expire.

That the general welfare of this island has been materially promoted by his able administration;

That many of his Excellency's schemes relating to Education, the Administration of Justice, the Establishment of Irrigation, and other important Works, designed for our advancement and prosperity, are still incomplete; and we believe there is no one so competent to bring them to a successful issue, as their originater;

That the Institutions of this Colony have recently undergone most important modifications under the experience of Sir John Peter Grant, and we are of opinion that his retirement would at this juncture, prove highly detrimental.

That we are confident the continued Administrations of his Excellency Sir John Peter Grant will not only increase our prosperity, but bring happiness and contentment to all classes.

Your Memorialists therefore pray that your Lordship will be pleased to submit to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen,

\(^{35}\)Ibid., November 1, 1872.
the expediency of continuing Sir John Peter Grant in the Government of Her Ancient and Loyal Colony of Jamaica, for such further time as Her Majesty may see fit. And your Memorialists will ever pray.\textsuperscript{36}

The \textit{Journal} believed that the address to the Earl of Kimberley requesting the retention of Grant as governor was done with the full knowledge of the governor, since he did not want to leave Jamaica. The newspaper refused to endorse the memorial because of Grant's statement that the Crown Colony form of government was best for the island, and because of his refusal to move for a new constitution allowing legislative representation.\textsuperscript{37}

Nevertheless the rumors of Governor Grant's impending resignation were soon to prove true, and 1873 was his last year in office. It was as successful as the previous years. Additional legislation was enacted, the economy was strong, social tensions were relaxed, and Grant's dream of a government College at Spanish Town was realized.

The stability of the financial condition of the island made possible the passage of Law 9 of 1873 which reduced by one half the Trade License Duty enacted in 1867. The remaining duty collected was earmarked for sanitary purposes or other useful local purposes

\textsuperscript{36}\textit{Morning Journal}, January 24, 1873.

\textsuperscript{37}\textit{Ibid.}, January 13, 1873.
for the benefit of the parish in which the duty was collected. 38

Law 25 of 1873 set apart the Public Square in Spanish Town, with the public buildings and public lands in and around the square, for the purposes of a College. The buildings were those formerly used as the official residence of the governor and the chambers of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly under the old constitution, and also those formerly used by the Supreme Court and by the government secretariat. 39

Other laws of importance passed during 1873 were Laws 24, 34, and 37. Law 24 provided for a public supply of water in parishes where it was needed. This law enabled the Municipal Board of any parish with approval of the governor to construct public tanks, to sink wells, to make water-ways, and to alter or regulate the course of any non-navigable river, stream or water-course. In addition the governor was authorized to advance money from the general revenue for the construction of such works. Law 34 created the office of Administrator General to take charge of the property of persons who had died either intestate

38 Sir William Grey, "Report on the Jamaica Blue Book for 1873," Governor's Report on Blue Book, 1869-1881 (Jamaica), 2. Afterwards cited as Report of 1873. This report covers Sir John Peter Grant's last year in office. Governor Grey succeeded Grant in office in 1874. See also C.S. 102/27, no. 73, vol. 32, 30 April 1873. Grant stated, "this duty was always unpopular, though I think it was a justifiable impost."

or without leaving executors who would act in their behalf or who had died without leaving any relatives in Jamaica. Law 37 regulated the introduction into Jamaica of immigrants from the island of Malta. It provided that Maltese immigrants on arrival would be indentured for five years and would be entitled to a return passage home after seven year's residence. The right to a return passage could be exchanged for a money payment or a grant of land or both. After two years' service under indenture any Maltese immigrant could release himself from further liability to serve by paying to the Agent General of Immigration four pounds, but he forfeited his right to a return passage. After three years' indentured service he could commute the remaining period of his indentured service by a money payment of eight pounds, and after four years' indentured service he could commute it by a money payment of four pounds, without forfeiting his right to a return passage after seven years' residence. While under indenture the Maltese immigrants were to receive wages of not less than one shilling and three pence per day and they were to be provided with cottages. Also a cottage for a chapel had to be set apart by the employer for the use of the immigrants and the employers of these immigrants were required to pay a small additional capitation tax to support the Roman Catholic Priests who served the laborers. 40

40 Ibid., 5, 7, 9.
The last year of Grant's administration was the sixth consecutive year in which a surplus of revenue over expenditure existed. Table IX below illustrates the source and amount of revenue collected in 1873.\textsuperscript{41}

Table IX

Treasury Receipts - 1873

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Import Duties and Fees</td>
<td>241,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonnage Light Dues</td>
<td>2,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excise Rum Duties</td>
<td>90,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirit Licenses</td>
<td>15,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Licenses, Old</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Licenses, New</td>
<td>3,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Tax, Old</td>
<td>8,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Property Tax</td>
<td>4,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Rate, House Tax</td>
<td>23,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parochial Road Tax, Horse and Wheels.</td>
<td>24,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog Tax</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office</td>
<td>13,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>29,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamps</td>
<td>15,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on Securities</td>
<td>5,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Revenue</td>
<td>480,954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table X below shows the treasury expenditures for 1873.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{41}Table IX taken from \textit{Ibid.}, 11.

\textsuperscript{42}Table X taken from \textit{Ibid.}, 12.
Table X

Treasury Disbursements - 1873

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil</td>
<td>23,630 (pounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td>18,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Courts</td>
<td>13,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>36,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Gardens and Plantations.</td>
<td>2,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office</td>
<td>14,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastical</td>
<td>17,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>33,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constabulary</td>
<td>48,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisons, Penitentiary, and Reformatory</td>
<td>26,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>19,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>11,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization of Immigrants</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>4,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>49,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings</td>
<td>39,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Expenses</td>
<td>1,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>13,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Houses</td>
<td>1,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbour Masters</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parochial Expenditure</td>
<td>29,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam Communication with New York</td>
<td>3,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest, etc., on Debt</td>
<td>40,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Expenditure</strong></td>
<td><strong>454,198</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The surplus in 1873 amounted to L26,756, but L16,662 was deducted from this as investment in securities and actual repayment for redemption of debt. Thus a total surplus of L10,094 remained in 1873. The entire governmental surplus in 1873 amounted to L52,793. This sum had accumulated from the unexpended balance of surplus revenues of the previous years.\(^\text{43}\)

\(^{43}\)Ibid., 10.
The new Queen's College of Spanish Town founded by Sir John Peter Grant opened September 22, 1873. The principal appointed by the government was Mr. William Chadwick and the first professor to be appointed was Mr. Grant Allan. Both scholars were from Oxford University. Students could attend the College either as regular or occasional students, and regular students were classified either as resident or non-resident. The non-resident College fee was twelve pounds a year and the resident fee was forty-eight pounds a year. Students intended for the ministry placed in the College by religious denominations for secular education would be received as resident students. The College fee payable by such denominational students was fixed at thirty pounds a year. A special compartment of the College was appropriated for this class of students and they were to have their own table and be under special regulations.

Young men wishing to enter the College had to be more than fifteen years of age and had to pass an entrance examination conducted by the faculty. The applicant had to obtain a certificate of competency in one of the following subjects: English, Outlines of General History, Outlines of Geography, or Arithmetic.

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44 Morning Journal, June 26, 1873.
45 Gall's News Letter (Kingston), July 29, 1873. "The Queens's College will be a better monument to the memory of Sir John Peter Grant than could be raised in marble of ever so costly a nature." See Report of 1873, 18.
46 Ibid.
Lecture classes met between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. Monday through Saturday and were divided into three branches: a compulsory branch, a first alternative branch and a second alternative branch. The compulsory branch consisted of English Literature, Composition, History, Latin, Greek or Hebrew, Arithmetic, and Geography. The first alternative branch consisted of geometry, algebra, and natural philosophy. The second alternative branch consisted of moral philosophy, mental philosophy, logic, and political economy. Special lectures were to be given to students requiring them in calculus, modern foreign languages, surveying and chemistry. Of the above categories all students had to attend each of the compulsory subjects and then choose one of the alternative branches and attend all lectures of each subject within that selected group. Three terms made up an academic year and the ordinary College course consisted of nine terms.\textsuperscript{47}

When the College opened for students only four candidates presented themselves for examination. The \textit{Journal} noting the small turn out stated in a pessimistic tone, "there are no other applications. What will be done?"\textsuperscript{48} The four candidates were examined but only one passed his examination and he was admitted as a non-resident student. Shortly thereafter two other applications were made, both

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., 18-19.

\textsuperscript{48}Morning \textit{Journal}, September 25, 1873.
candidates passed, and they were admitted as resident denominational students. With three students enrolled, lecture classes were started on Tuesday, September 23, 1873.49

Meanwhile in 1873 three students completed their course of studies at the Government Training College at Stony Hill. One of them passed with exceptional performance and obtained a first-class certificate. He was immediately placed in charge of a school in the parish of St. Andrew. The second student obtained a second-class certificate and secured an appointment as a schoolmaster. The third student failed to obtain a certificate.50

The elementary schools continued to grow in number and efficiency in 1873. Four hundred and ten schools passed the government inspection that year. Eleven schools were placed in the first class, one hundred and twenty-five in the second class, and two hundred and seventy-four were placed in the third class. All of these schools were awarded grants-in-aid and sixteen schools were given exceptional half-grants. The Inspector of Schools reported to the governor that the number of schools which obtained grants would have been larger but because of whooping cough, smallpox, drought and the

49 Jamaica Gazette, Supplement, 1873, 284. Report of Mr. Chadwick to the Colonial Secretary.

50 Report of 1873, 19.
lack of teachers, twenty-seven schools were not ready for inspection at the appointed time.51

The average daily attendance of children decreased in 1873 because of the whooping cough and smallpox that swept many parts of the island. However, while the attendance declined the amount of grants earned was larger than the amount of the previous year by L1,085. This increase was caused by a larger number of schools having risen from the lower to the higher classes than was the case in the preceding year.52

The Morning Journal in an editorial concerning the annual inspection of schools stated:

We have in many instances differed from the policy of the Government of Sir John Peter Grant, but we would not withhold from his Excellency and his Government, the praise that we feel is justly due to them for the good that has been effected in the country under their administration in matters of education...we are free to say that the country now, and for the future, will be under deep obligations to the present Government for the impulse they have given to the cause of education, and the mental and moral improvement of the people.53

Governor Grant's emphasis on education for all classes is clearly illustrated by examining the following table of total expenditure on education from the last year of Governor Eyre's administration through the entire administration of Governor Grant:54

51Ibid., 19-20.
52Ibid.
53Morning Journal, March 27, 1873.
Table XI

Total Educational Expenditure - 1866-1873

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure (pounds)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>3,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>4,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>4,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>6,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>9,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>11,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>14,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>16,266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The influx of new Coolie immigrants from Calcutta to provide labor for the planters of the island continued in 1873 with the arrival of 1,518 East Indians in that year. In addition, 375 who had arrived in 1863 had completed their term of industrial residence and were entitled to a return passage to India; but all of these chose to accept the bounty offered by the government, and remained in Jamaica. The total East Indian population on the island in 1873 was 12,455. Five thousand one hundred and fifty-seven of these were free colonists.  

The East Indian immigrants who remained in Jamaica did very well for themselves economically, as is shown in the following extract from the report of the Agent General:

The time expired immigrants in Jamaica may be described as a most thriving class, and I may mention, as an instance of the success to which an industrious Coolie can attain in this country, the case of Seepersunsing who arrived here in the ship Themis in 1860. This man recently became the proprietor of Briens Pen in the parish.

55 Ibid., 21.
of Hanover, for which he paid £600 and subsequently has purchased another run of land for £200. This is not a solitary case, for everywhere throughout the country the time expired Coolie may be found in comparatively affluent circumstances.56

Governor Grant added that "this statement of the Agent General is supported by two significant facts, the increasing number of those who elect to become settlers and the return to Jamaica of several Coolies who had taken the back passage to India after completing their industrial residence."57

In 1873 there were fourteen appeals from the decisions of the District Courts to the Supreme Court. Ten of these cases were civil and four were criminal. The Supreme Court reversed the judgments in two civil and two criminal cases and confirmed all others. Governor Grant's reduction of the number of judges on the Supreme Court from four to two was justified by the few number of cases that were appealed from the lower courts. The business transacted by the District Courts during their six years of existence is shown in the following table.58

56 Ibid., 22.
57 Ibid.
58 Table XII compiled from Report of 1872, 16 and Report of 1873, 16.
Table XII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Transacted by District Courts 1868-1873</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Trials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Causes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgment Summons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equity Cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases under the Land Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankruptcy Cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probate Cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount Claimed (pounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judgment Obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court Fees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the approaching end of 1873 it was generally believed that Sir John Peter Grant was about to retire. The Journal reported in August that "his Excellency the Governor, after consulting his medical men, has determined to relinquish the Government of the island." Since he was about to leave the island, some of the newspapers delighted in picturing his seven year administration as a dismal failure. The Journal stated in a caustic editorial:

"A great many people who held the Governor in considerable esteem on account of the exceeding large hopes they entertained--have had their ardour cooled down--They have seen works undertaken, and large sums of money squandered; squandered like water before their eyes, and they look at those works, and see them very far from..."

59Morning Journal, August 14, 1873. See also Ibid., November 28, 1873. "The rumour of Sir John Peter Grant's departure from the Government of this island, at an early period in the next year, is in everybody's mouth."
completion, while the squandering of money on them goes on as recklessly as ever.®®

The *Falmouth Post* in an even more disparaging editorial wrote:

Sir John Peter Grant's administration of despotic government will end in the course of a few weeks, and his Excellency will leave the Island without having succeeded in carrying out measures that were conceived with the view of restoring prosperity to all classes of the population. Immense sums of money have been raised by every year increasing taxation, but neither in the city of Kingston nor in any of the towns in the three counties of Surry, Middlesex, and Cornwall, is there the slightest evidence of the fulfilment of the promise of the Right Honorable Edward Cardwell, "that by placing the new form of Government in New Hands, there would be established on firm, solid grounds, the future welfare of Jamaica." Paternal Despotism has had a trial of more than seven years; the Colonists have submitted patiently and enduringly to the heavy imposts that have been levied by a Ruler, with the assurance that there would soon be a "lifting up of the head," of the long suffering country; but, notwithstanding the lavish, outrageously extravagant expenditure of money, there is, throughout the length and breadth of the Land, a lamentable amount of poverty, destitution, and misery, of which Sir John Peter Grant cannot be ignorant...®®

Several days later the *Post* called for an end to the form of government imposed upon the people of Jamaica, and demanded a "restoration

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®® *Falmouth Post*, January 16, 1874.

of institutions by which loyal British Subjects should be governed."

On Thursday, January 22, 1874 Governor John Peter Grant presided for the last time over the Legislative Council. At the close of business the Honorable Mr. Nunes, unofficial member of the Council, made the following resolution and it was seconded by the Honorable Mr. James Gibb and placed in the Minutes:

The Council cannot rise on this the last occasion on which they will be presided over by Sir John Peter Grant, Governor of the Colony, without expressing the satisfaction which has always resulted from their official relations with his Excellency, and the regret with which they separate from an estimable man, and a wise, benevolent and able ruler.

Governor Grant then took the floor and expressed the strong feeling of gratification with which he received the flattering resolution. He assured the Legislative Council that, among the many sources of regret which he felt in leaving the island, one of the strongest was

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62Ibid., January 30, 1874. These editorials attempting to portray a poor economic state in Jamaica were written in hopes of stirring up the populace to agitate for a new Jamaican Constitution. The hope was that with Grant's resignation the English Government would allow the people to choose their own elected representatives. However, such was not to be the case and Jamaica was ruled by a pure Crown Colony form of government until 1884. From 1884 until 1944 the island had a semi-representative government. The legislature was partly elected and partly nominated but it was still a form of Crown Colony administration. In 1944 Jamaica received a new constitution with full adult suffrage and began the road to self-government. On August 6, 1962 Jamaica became an independent nation. See Black, Jamaica, 204-231.

63Daily Gleaner, January 24, 1874.
the separation from the Council, the members of which had always
done their duty to the colony and assisted him during his administra-
tion with honor and credit to themselves.64

On January 24, 1874 an address was read to Governor Grant by
the Honorable Mr. L. F. McKinnon member of the Legislative Council.
Mr. McKinnon explained that due to the unexpected and hurried
departure of his Excellency that only one thousand persons were able
to sign the memorial. The address stated their respect and esteem for
the governor and their assurance that Governor Grant had, during his
administration, promoted the interests of all classes in the island.
Governor Grant made the following reply:

I am greatly obliged and gratified by this kind address
which you have been so good as to present to me on my
approaching departure from the colony.

I can with all sincerity assure you that the feeling which
you have expressed of regret at our separation and good will
toward myself personally are reciprocal.

I feel that I am leaving behind me many real friends. Some
I may hope to see again in my own country, but none will ever
be absent from my memory. Nothing could be more grateful to
me than your assurance that you believe that I have endeavored
to promote the interests of all classes in this colony. This has
been my one paramount object, from the time of my landing in
this island to the present moment. I have never allowed any
other consideration to interfere with that one paramount object;
and of this I am sure, that whatever may have been my short-
coming, I am leaving a colony the prosperity of all classes,
within which is now under Providence, in their own hands.

I cannot deny that I should have been glad if some one of
the three great works now in progress had been completely

64 Ibid.
finished, before I left the island. But I have not had experience in great works of this sort, not to know that however well they may answer expectations when completed, they rarely fulfil the expectations of those who take most interest in them, in respect of the time which it takes to complete them.

I thank you heartily for your good wishes towards myself and my family, and I take my leave of you, with a lasting sense of the kindness we have experienced in Jamaica.\(^6\)

It was generally known in Kingston and the rest of the island that Sir John Peter Grant and his family would sail on Monday, January 26, 1874. Shortly before the hour of departure the lower part of Duke Street was crowded with sightseers and well-wishers. A guard of honor was posted on the wharf together with a file of Jamaican Constabulary. The guard of honor consisted of fifty rank and file, and about four officers of the 98th Regiment, accompanied by the band of the First West India Regiment. The usual heads of the military and civil departments of the government were present to receive the governor. His Excellency, Lady Grant, Miss Grant, and Mr. Llewellyn, his private secretary, arrived on the wharf in the governor's carriage shortly before 9:00 a.m. With the arrival of Governor Grant the band struck up the National Anthem. His Excellency raised his hat in salute. He and his family immediately boarded the steamer accompanied by the Honorable William Young, acting Colonial Secretary,

\(^{65}\) *Morning Journal*, January 27, 1874.
who remained with the governor until it was time for the vessel to depart. At 9:30 a.m. the steamer Nile left the wharf and sailed for England.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{66}Ibid. Sir John Peter Grant died January 11, 1893 at the age of 86. See obituary in the Jamaica Post, January 12, 1893.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

Today no monument exists to the memory of Sir John Peter Grant in Jamaica. But, perhaps none is needed as Grant's tenure as governor from 1866-1874 left an indelible mark throughout the island. Evidence of this is seen in the many innovations and reforms initiated by Governor Grant.

In reviewing the events of Grant's seven year administration it is clear that a marked improvement was achieved in the economic, political and social well being of the inhabitants. The discontent which characterized the black population in 1865 was removed, and the governor took immediate steps to enact corrective legislation.

The Order in Council of June 11, 1866 established in Jamaica a pure Crown Colony form of government with a Legislative Council consisting of the governor and official and unofficial members. By this order and others Governor Grant was given plenary authority; and the new system of government enabled the governor to act efficiently and quickly.

On October 16, 1866 Sir John Peter Grant presided over the first meeting of the new Legislative Council. He immediately initiated remedial measures to enable the new administration to...
function effectively. The powers that were formerly exercised by the Executive Committee plus the powers of various other boards were vested in the governor in Privy Council. The Vestries and the Road Boards of the parishes, all of which had been elected by a narrow franchise, were abolished; and the governor was empowered to nominate municipal boards to perform the functions of these bodies.

Jamaica was financially bankrupt when Grant assumed the governorship. To correct this situation and to make the government solvent Grant reduced all unnecessary expenditures and increased the revenue by imposing new taxes on all classes of persons. Such measures proved beneficial, and a small surplus was realized by the government in 1868, the first year in many in which there was not a deficit. Grant also established a well organized Revenue Department which collected the revenue more impartially than ever before. As a result of these efforts the financial condition of Jamaica remained solvent throughout Grant's administration and by 1870 Grant was able to abandon the levying of some taxes.

More important was the fact that the effective collection of revenue enabled the government to carry out much needed public improvements. One of the first dealt with Jamaica's legal procedure. Grant's reform of the legal and judicial system removed many of the grievances of the blacks of the island. District Courts were established on the model of the English County Courts with a Resident Magistrate
presiding. This judge was a salaried official whose primary duty was to render impartial justice, thus protecting the common people from the kind of injustices that had precipitated the Morant Bay Riot. Governor Grant also introduced fixed salaries for Clerks of Courts instead of requiring them to live on fees.

Another important reform was the abolition of imprisonment for debt, except by a competent court of law, and then only in cases of dishonesty. The introduction of the English Bankruptcy Law was a further aid to the measures which gave the District Courts jurisdiction in cases of insolvency. The governor also abolished grand juries because he felt that they had not impartially executed their duty of deciding whether indictments should be proceeded with in important cases. These reforms made the whole system of justice simpler, cheaper and easier for the common man to understand, and brought about public confidence in legal decisions.

Grant recognized that an efficient and trustworthy police force was necessary to maintain this confidence, for which reason he established the Jamaican Constabulary Force. The law which created this new police force (Law 8 of 1867) authorized a maximum force of 950 men. Actually Grant never had more than 650 policemen on duty throughout the entire island. This force was regulated by a code of rules framed from those of the Irish Constabulary and from those of the Metropolitan Police. The men enlisted for five years, received
military and civil instruction, and carried firearms only when called out on special duty in case of riot or other disorders. Governor Grant later established a Rural Police to supplement and support the Jamaican Constabulary Force.

To achieve better administration throughout the island Grant enacted a bill in 1867 to reduce the number of parishes from twenty-two to fourteen. With fewer parishes, reforms were more easily carried out and the business of government was simplified.

Grant also had a sincere desire to develop the vegetation of Jamaica, and he advocated the introduction, propagation, and dissemination of many new tropical plants and trees throughout the island. He started the botanical gardens at Castleton and is credited with the introduction of the Bombay Mango on the island. Also he developed the Cinchona Plantations (Quinine) a few miles from Kingston and attempted to cultivate cocoanuts on the Palisadoes.

To aid the Jamaican sugar planters Governor Grant resumed the policy of importing labor. His 1867 system of East Indian immigration saved the sugar industry from ruin in Jamaica. A by-product of this system was the retention of industrious East Indians who became valuable Jamaican citizens. Grant also made sure that the immigrant laborers worked under the best possible conditions. Law 34 of 1869 provided a minimum standard of rations, wages, and medical treatment to be provided during the period of indentured service. Hospitals were also built to care for sick Coolies throughout the island.
Grant improved medical services for Jamaicans by passing a law in 1867 which set up a Central Board of Health. Municipal Boards were made local boards of health, and for the first time in the history of Jamaica machinery was provided for fighting epidemics and for enforcing preventive measures. The medical services were further improved in 1868 when the island was divided into forty districts, and thirty-five medical officers were appointed to supervise these districts. Hospitals were also improved and medicine was placed within the reach of most of the population.

Governor Grant succeeded in establishing the educational system on a sound basis. He introduced the inspection of schools, and greatly increased the amount of grants-in-aid to the schools. He also began a system of opening grants as an inducement to the opening of new schools in remote reaches of the island. To help relieve the shortage of trained teachers Governor Grant established a Government Training School at Stony Hill, and supported the education of potential Schoolmasters at the Mico College in Kingston. In 1873 a long time dream of Grant's became a reality with the opening of Queen's College in Spanish Town.

In 1870 Governor Grant carried out the most revolutionary of all his reforms, the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Jamaica. Grant was motivated in this action by a desire to lessen the strain of church support on an already overburdened treasury.
This was accomplished by the governor letting the Clergy Act expire in 1870. Subsequently, Law 30 of 1870, an enabling statute, was passed. This law regulated the disestablishment and the gradual disendowment of the Church of England in Jamaica.

Also in 1870 Grant established the Government Savings Bank and actively encouraged small settlers to be thrifty. By Law 16 of 1871 he encouraged foreign investments in Jamaica by allowing aliens to hold real and personal property in the island on the same basis as British subjects. This encouraged Yankees to develop the banana export trade, and Cubans to develop the tobacco industry. In 1871 Grant resumed steamship trade between the United States of America and Kingston.

For some time Governor Grant had entertained the idea of moving the capital of the island from Spanish Town to Kingston. However, Kingston was noted for its unhealthy and dirty atmosphere. In order to make Kingston a modern capital city, he initiated a number of public improvements in 1871 and 1872. Those for 1871 were: (1) the purchase and improvement of the Kingston and Liguanea Water Works; (2) establishment of a fire brigade for Kingston and the setting up of the necessary fire stations about the city; (3) enacting of legislation to construct a government wharf and bonding warehouse; (4) conversion of the arid, dusty Parade in the center of Kingston into a beautiful garden. Those for 1872 were: (1) the enacting of legislation appointing Gas
Commissioners who were authorized to issue bonds and construct a government owned gas works to light the streets of Kingston; (2) the opening of the Victoria Market and Landing Place on King Street to provide a clean, suitable market for the local vendors to sell their produce; (3) the enacting of legislation abolishing all private slaughter houses and instituting government control over the slaughter of cattle and small stock. The capital of Jamaica was moved from Spanish Town to Kingston in 1872.

Governor Grant realized the necessity of good roads and transportation facilities. He encouraged the privately owned railway to expand from Spanish Town to Old Harbour; and he constructed many new roads and bridges, and appointed a competent engineer, Colonel James Mann, as director of roads and superintendent of public works. The most important of all the public works begun by Grant was the Rio Cobre Irrigation Works. Even though this project was not completed during Grant's administration, it stands today as a tribute to the man; and its value is fully realized today.

When Sir John Peter Grant assumed the governorship of Jamaica, he found the island in a deplorable, chaotic, and bankrupt state. However, through his far-sighted programs of reform and reorganization, he changed Jamaica into a vigorous and enterprising Crown Colony. His policies reconciled classes and colors and made the government respected by most of the people. Grant was able to lay the foundations
of modern Jamaica because he was guided by a true concern for the islanders, and because he exercised administrative responsibility. His many achievements, most of which are still evident today, stand as memorials to his successful governorship, and have won for him the title "Architect of modern Jamaica."
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APPENDIX I

E. B. Underhill Letter to the Right Honorable Edward Cardwell, M.P.
DEAR SIR,—I venture to ask your kind consideration of a few observations on the present condition of the Island of Jamaica.

For several months past, every mail has brought letters informing me of the continually increasing distress of the coloured population. As a sufficient illustration I quote the following brief passage from one of them:

"Crime has fearfully increased. The number of prisoners in the penitentiary and gaols is considerably more than double the average, and nearly all for one crime—larceny. Summonses for petty debts disclose an amount of pecuniary difficulty which has never before been experienced, and applications for parochial and private relief prove that multitudes are suffering from want little removed from starvation."

The immediate cause of this distress would seem to be the drought of the last two years; but, in fact, this has only given intensity to suffering previously existing. All accounts, both public and private, concur in affirming the alarming increase of crime, chiefly of larceny and petty theft. This arises from the extreme poverty of the people. That this is its true origin is made evident by the ragged and even naked condition of vast numbers of them; so contrary to the taste for dress they usually exhibit. They cannot purchase clothing, partly from its greatly increased cost, which is unduly enhanced by the duty (said to be thirty-eight per cent, by the Honourable Mr. Whitelock), which it now pays, and partly from the want of employment and the consequent absence of wages.

The people, then, are starving, and the causes of this are not far to seek. No doubt the taxation of the island is too heavy for its present resources, and must necessarily render the cost of producing the staples higher than they can bear to meet competition in the markets of the world. No doubt much of the sugar-land of the island is worn out, or can only be made productive by an outlay which would destroy all hope of profitable return. No doubt, too, a large part of the island is uncultivated, and might be made to support a vastly greater population than is now existing upon it.

But the simple fact is, there is not sufficient employment for the people; there is neither work for them, nor the capital to employ them.

The labouring class is too numerous for the work to be done. Sugar cultivation on the estates does not absorb more than 30,000 of
the people, and every other species of cultivation (apart from provision growing) cannot give employment to more than another 30,000. But the agricultural population of the island is over 400,000, so that there are at least 340,000 persons whose livelihood depends on employment other than that devoted to the staple cultivation of the island. Of these 340,000 certainly not less than 130,000 are adults and capable of labour. For subsistence they must be entirely dependent on the provisions grown on their little freeholds, a portion of which is sold to those who find employment on the estates, or, perhaps, in a slight degree, on such produce as they are able to raise for exportation. But those who grow produce for exportation are very few, and they meet with every kind of discouragement to prosecute a means of support which is as advantageous to the island as to themselves. If their provisions fail, as has been the case, from drought, they must steal or starve. And this is their present condition.

"The same result follows in this country, when employment ceases or wages fail. The great decrease of coin in circulation in Jamaica is a further proof that less money is spent in wages through the decline of employment. Were Jamaica prosperous, silver would flow into it, or its equivalent in English manufactures, instead of the exportation of silver, which now regularly takes place. And if, as stated in the Governor's speech, the Customs revenue in the year gone by has been equal to former years, this has arisen, not from an increase in the quantities imported, but from the increased value of the imports, duty being levied at an *ad valorem* charge of 12 1/2 per cent. on articles, such as cotton goods, which have, within the last year or two, greatly risen in price.

"I shall say nothing of the course taken by the Jamaica Legislature; of their abortive Immigration Bills; of their unjust taxation of the coloured population; of their refusal of just tribunals; of their denial of political rights to the emancipated negroes. Could the people find remunerative employment, these evils would, in time, be remedied from their growing strength and intelligence. The worse evil consequent on the proceedings of the Legislature is the distrust awakened in the mind of capitalists, and the avoidance of Jamaica, with its manifold advantages, by all who possess the means to benefit it by their expenditure. Unless means can be found to encourage the outlay of capital in Jamaica in the growth of those numerous products which can be profitably exported, so that employment can be given to its starving people, I see no other result than the entire failure of the island, and the destruction of the hopes that the Legislature and the people of Great Britain have cherished with regard to the well-being of its emancipated population.

"With your kind permission, I will venture to make two or three suggestions which, if carried out, may assist to avert so painful a result.
"1. A searching inquiry into the legislation of the island since emancipation—its taxation, its economical and material condition—would go far to bring to light the causes of the existing evils, and, by convincing the ruling class of the mistakes of the past, lead to their removal. Such an inquiry seems also due to this country, that it may be seen whether the emancipated peasantry have gained those advantages which were sought to be secured to them by their enfranchisement.

"2. The Governor might be instructed to encourage by his personal approval and urgent recommendation the growth of exportable produce by the people on the very numerous freeholds they possess. This might be done by the formation of associations for shipping their produce in considerable quantities; by equalising duties on the produce of the people and that of the planting interests; by instructing the native growers of produce in the best methods of cultivation, and by pointing out the articles which would find a ready sale in the markets of the world; by opening channels for direct transmission of produce, without the intervention of agents, from whose extortions and frauds the people now frequently suffer and are greatly discouraged. The cultivation of sugar by the peasantry should, in my judgment, be discouraged. At the best, with all the scientific appliances the planters can bring to it, both of capital and machinery, sugar manufacturing is a hazardous thing. Much more must it become so in the hands of the people, with their rude mills and imperfect methods. But the minor products of the island, such as spices, tobacco, farinaceous foods, coffee, and cotton, are quite within their reach, and always fetch a fair and remunerative price where not burdened by extravagant charges and local taxation.

"3. With just laws and light taxation, capitalists would be encouraged to settle in Jamaica, and employ themselves in the production of the more important staples, such as sugar, coffee, and cotton. Thus the people would be employed, and the present starvation rate of wages be improved.

"In conclusion, I have to apologise for troubling you with this communication; but since my visit to the island in 1859-60, I have felt the greatest interest in its prosperity, and deeply grieve over the sufferings of its coloured population. It is more than time that the unwisdom—to use the gentlest term—that has governed Jamaica since emancipation should be brought to an end; a course of action which, while it incalculably aggravates the misery arising from natural, and, therefore, unavoidable, causes, renders certain the ultimate ruin of every class—planter and peasant, European and creole.

"Should you, dear Sir, desire such information as it may be in my power to furnish, or to see me on the matter, I shall be most happy either to forward whatever facts I may possess or wait upon you at any time that you may appoint.

"I have, etc.,

(Signed) "EDWARD B. UNDERHILL"
APPENDIX II

Resolutions Passed by the Spanish Town "Underhill Meeting."
Resolved—

1. "That this meeting deeply deplores the present depressed state of the inhabitants of this Colony, and takes this opportunity of expressing its sentiments, especially at this period, when the philanthropists of England are trying to alleviate those distresses by bringing the same before the British Government".

2. "That this meeting views with alarm the distressed condition of nearly all classes of the people of this Colony from the want of employment, in consequence of the abandonment of a large number of estates, and the staple of the country being no longer remunerative, caused by being brought into unequal competition with slave-grown products."

3. "That this meeting feels seriously the distressed state of the mechanics of this country, who are suffering from the injustice done to them, by the Legislature having imposed the same import duty of 12 1/2 per cent. on the raw materials as on the manufactured articles imported into this island, not only from the mother country, but also from the United States, thus paralysing the industry and crippling the energies of the tradespeople of this country."

4. "That, in consequence of such distress, from no work being obtainable, many of the inhabitants, chiefly tradespeople, have been compelled to leave their homes to seek employment in foreign climes, and many others are only deterred from doing so, because they do not know what is to become of their families in their absence."

5. "That, as an illustration of the general distress, this meeting gives as an example that there are in Spanish Town, the capital of the island, nearly 150 carpenters, 60 masons, 91 shoemakers, 127 tailors, 772 seamstresses, and 800 servants, amounting in all to about 1,900 individuals, out of an adult population of 3,124 of all classes, many of whom are without knowing where to obtain their daily bread, and all of whom are suffering more or less from the high prices of food and raiment, and excessive taxation."

6. "That, whilst recent legislation has been directed to endeavour to reduce crime by increasing the severity of punishment, no attention whatever has been given by the Legislature to the establishment of proper reformation, and a sound system of education."

7. "That, in reference to the letter of Dr. Underhill, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, we, Her Most Gracious Majesty's loyal subjects, assembled this day, do corroborate the statements made by that gentleman, and do most cordially record our grateful thanks to him for the warm sympathy he has evinced towards suffering humanity in this island."

8. "That a copy of the resolutions of this meeting be respectfully presented by a deputation appointed by the Chairman to his
Excellency the Governor, to be by him transmitted to the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that a copy be forwarded to Dr. Underhill, and that the same be signed by the Chairman and Secretary on behalf of this meeting.

(Signed) A. H. LEWIS, Chairman

JNO. S. M'PHERSON, Secretary.
APPENDIX III

The "Queen's Letter."
Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 26 of April, enclosing a petition addressed to the Queen by certain poor people of the Parish of St. Ann's, Jamaica.

(2) I request that you will inform the petitioners that their petition has been laid before the Queen, and that I have received Her Majesty's command to inform them:

THAT

The prosperity of the labouring classes, as well as of all other classes, depends, in Jamaica, and in other countries, upon their working for wages, not uncertainty, or capriciously, but steadily and continuously, at the times when their labour is wanted, and for so long as it is wanted; and that if they would use this industry, and thereby render the plantations productive, they would enable the planters to pay them higher wages for the same hours of work than are received by the best field labourers in this country: and, as, the cost of the necessaries of life is much less in Jamaica than it is here, they would be enabled, by adding prudence to industry, to lay by an ample provision for seasons of drought and death; and they may be assured, that it is from their own industry and prudence, in availing themselves of the means of prospering that are before them, and not from any such schemes as have been suggested to them, that they must look for an improvement in their conditions,

And That

Her Majesty will regard with interest and satisfaction their advancement through their own merits and efforts.

(signed)

Edward Cardwell
APPENDIX IV

Paul Bogle's Petition to Governor Eyre, October 10, 1865.
Paul Bogle's Petition

To his Excellency E. J. Eyre, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica.

We, the petitioners of St. Thomas-in-the-East, do send to inform your Excellency of the mean advantages that has been taken of us from time to time, and more especially this present time, when on Saturday, 7th of this month, an outrageous assault was committed upon us by the policemen of this parish, by order of the Justices, which occasion an outbreaking for which warrants have been issued against innocent persons of which we were compelled to resist. We therefore call upon Your Excellency for protection, seeing we are Her Majesty's loyal subjects, which protection, if refused, we will be compelled to put our shoulders to the wheels, as we have been imposed upon for a period of "twenty-seven years," with due obeisance to the laws of our Queen and Country, and we can no longer endure the same; therefore is our object of calling upon your Excellency as Governor-in-Chief and Captain of our island.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will every pray.

(Signed)

James Dacres          Wm. Bowie
J. R. Smith            James McLaren
James Bowie           Stephen Cameron
Paul Bogle             Charles Maine
Joseph Kelley          Alex. Badson
Moses Bogle            William Grant
William Forbes         Edward Howell
Archibald Baily        George Gordon
Thomas Grahame         Abm. Anderson
Wm. Bogle              Brisco Paterson

Stony Gut, October 10, 1865
APPENDIX V

Draft of a Commission to be passed under the Great Seal Appointing Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Island of Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon. 16 July 1866.
DRAFT OF A COMMISSION to be passed under the Great Seal appointing
Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., to be Captain-General and Governor-
in-Chief in and over the Island of Jamaica and the Territories
depending thereon.

Dated 16th July, 1866.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
Queen, Defender of the Faith; To Our Trusty
and Well-beloved Sir John Peter Grant,
Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable
Order of the Bath, Greeting:—

I. Whereas we did by Our Commission,
under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing Date at
Westminster the Twenty-ninth day of July,
One thousand eight hundred and sixty-four,
in the Twenty-eighth Year of Our Reign,
Constitute and Appoint Our Trusty and Well-
ableoved Edward John Eyre, Esquire, to be
Our Captain-General and Governor-in-chief
in and over Our Island of Jamaica, and the
Territories depending thereon, during our
Will and Pleasure, as by the said recited
Commission, relation being thereunto had,
may more fully and at large appear. And

Whereas by another Commission under the
Great Seal aforesaid bearing Date the
Fifteenth day of December, One thousand
eight hundred and sixty-five, in the Twenty-
ninth Year of Our Reign, We did for certain
reasons, and during such period as was
therein particularly set forth, Revoke and
Determine so much of the first-mentioned
Commission as did Constitute and Appoint
the said Edward John Eyre to be Our Captain-
General and Governor-in-chief in and over
Our Island of Jamaica and its Dependencies, and did Constitute and Appoint Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Henry Knight Storks, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Island of Malta and its Dependencies, a Major-General in Our Army, having the Local Rank of Lieutenant General while in Command of Our Troops in Malta and its Dependencies, to be Our Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our said Island of Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon for and during Our Pleasure. Now Know you that We have Revoked and Determined, and do by these Presents Revoke and Determine both the said recited Commissions and every Clause, Article, and Thing therein contained: And further Know you that We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in the Prudence, Courage, and Loyalty of you the said Sir John Peter Grant, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have thought fit to Constitute and Appoint you to be during Our Will and Pleasure Our Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over Our said Island of Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon, and also of all Forts and Garrisons erected and established, or which shall be erected and established within the same. And We do hereby Require and Command you to Do and Execute all Things in due manner that shall belong to your said Command. and to the Trust We have reposed in you, according to the several Powers and Authorities granted or appointed you by this Our present Commission and Our Instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet herewith given you, according to an Order made by Us in Our Privy Council on the Eleventh day of June, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, for providing for the Government of the Island of Jamaica, and for establishing a Legislative Council in the said Island, and
according to such further Powers, Directions, and Authorities as shall at any time hereafter be granted or appointed you under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or by Our Principal Secretaries of State, and according to such reasonable Laws and Statutes as are now in force or as shall be hereafter made and agreed upon by you, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council of Our Said Island.

II. And Whereas, by an Act passed by the Legislature of Our said Island, in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign, intituled "An Act for the Better Government of this Island, and for raising a Revenue in support thereof," it is enacted that it shall be lawful for Us from time to time to Nominate and Appoint such a number of Persons as We shall think fit to be the Privy or Advising Council of the Governor of Our said Island: Now We do hereby Appoint and Direct that, in addition to you Our Governor, Your said Privy Council shall be composed of such Public Officers within Our said Island, or of such other Persons within the same, as shall from time to time be by Us respectively Named or Designated by any Instruction or Instructions or Warrant or Warrants to be by Us for the purpose issued under Our Sign-Manual and Signet, and with the advice of Our Privy Council, all which Councillors shall hold their Places in Your said Privy Council during Our Pleasure.

III. And We do Authorize you to appoint, by an Instrument under the Board Seal of Our said Island, a Member of Your said Privy Council to be President thereof, and by such Instrument as aforesaid to Remove such President and Appoint another in his stead.

IV. And We do hereby Authorize and Empower you to Keep and use the Board Seal of Our Island.
V. And We do hereby Authorize and Empower you to Make and Execute in Our Name and on Our Behalf under the said Broad Seal of Our said Island, Grants and Dispositions of any Lands which may be lawfully granted or disposed of by Us within Our said Island, Subject Nevertheless to such Instructions as you may from time to time receive under Our Sign-Manual and Signet, or through One of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

VI. And We do hereby Authorize and Empower you to Constitute and Appoint in Our said Island all such Judges, Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, Justices of the Peace and other necessary Officers and Ministers as may lawfully be appointed by Us, all of whom shall hold their Offices during Our Pleasure.

VII. And We do hereby Authorize, Empower, and Direct you, as occasion may require, to Administer or cause to be Administered to such Persons as you may think fit, and particularly to such Persons as may hold any Office of Place of Trust or Profit in Our said Island, the Oath commonly called the Oath of Allegiance and such other Oaths as by Law or Custom are usually taken for the due execution of Offices or Places and such Oaths as are from time to time requisite for the clearing of Truth in Judicial Matters.

VIII. And We do hereby Authorize and Empower you, upon sufficient cause to you appearing to Suspend from the exercise of his Office within Our said Island any Person exercising any such Office under or by virtue of any Commission or Warrant granted or to be granted to Us in our name or under Our Authority, which suspension shall continue in force only until Our further Pleasure shall be known therein. And We do strictly require and Enjoin you in proceeding to any such Suspension, to observe the Directions in that Behalf given to you by Our Instructions accompanying this Our Commission.
IX. And We do hereby Authorize and Empower you as you shall see occasion, in Our Name and on Our Behalf, to grant to any Offender convicted of any Crime in any Court, or before any Judge, Justice, or Magistrate within Our said Island, a Pardon either Free or subject to Lawful Conditions, or any Respite of the Execution of the Sentence of any such Offender for such period as to you may seem fit, and to remit any Fines, Penalties, or Forfeitures which may become due and payable to Us, so as the same do not exceed the Sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling if any one case, and to Respite and Suspend the Payment of any such Fine, Penalty, or Forfeiture exceeding the said Sum of Fifty Pounds until Our Pleasure therein shall be known and signified to you.

X. And We do Declare Our Pleasure to be that all such Powers of Authorities as are vested in you by or in virtue of these Presents shall, in the event of your Death, Incapacity, or Absence of Our said Island, be vested in such Lieutenant-Governor or other Person as may be appointed by any Instrument under Our Sign Manual and Signet to Administer the Government of Our said Island, or if there be not therein any Person so appointed, then in the President of your said Privy Council.

XI. And We do hereby Require and Command all Officers Civil and Military, and all other Inhabitants of the said Island, to be Obedient, Aiding and Assisting unto you the said Sir John Peter Grant, or to the Officer for the time being Administering the Government to our said Island in the Execution of this Our Commission, and of the Powers and Authorities herein contained.
APPENDIX VI

Order of the Queen in Council for providing for the Government of the Island of Jamaica, and for establishing a Legislative Council in the said Island. 11 June 1866.
ORDER OF THE QUEEN IN COUNCIL for providing for the Government of the Island of Jamaica, and for establishing a Legislative Council in the said Island.

AT the Court at Windsor, the 11th day of June, 1866.

Dated 11th June, 1866.

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Lord President.
Duke of Somerset.
Lord Chamberlain
Lord Otho Fitzgerald.
Sir George Grey, Bart.
Mr. Hammond.
Mr. Russell Gurney.

WHEREAS, by the First Section of an Act passed by the Legislature of the Island of Jamaica during a session held in this present Year of Her Majesty, intituled "An Act to Alter and Amend the Political Constitution of this Island," it was provided that from and after the coming into operation of that Act the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of that Island, and all and every the Functions and Privileges of those two Bodies respectively, should Cease and Determine absolutely. And Whereas, by another Act passed by the Legislature of the Island of Jamaica in the same Session, entitled "An Act to Amend an Act passed in the present Session, entitled 'An Act to Alter and Amend the Political Constitution of this Island,'" it was further enacted that in place of the Legislature abolished by the First Section aforesaid of the said recited Act, it should be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen to Create and Constitute a Government for the said Island of Jamaica in such Form and with such Powers as to Her Majesty might best seem fitting, and from time to time to Alter and Amend such Government.
And whereas, by a certain Act of Parliament passed in this present Year of the Reign of Her Majesty, intituled "An Act to make provision for the Government of Jamaica," it was enacted that so much of the aforesaid Acts of the Legislature of Jamaica as is specified in a Schedule annexed to the said Act of Parliament, being the Enactments hereinbefore set forth, should come into operation in the said Island so soon as the Assent thereto of Her Majesty in Council should have been Proclaimed in the Island by the Officer Administering the Government thereof, and that in construing the said Secondly recited Act the term "Government" shall be held to include "Legislature," and the Powers exercisable by Her Majesty under the said Act shall be exercisable by Her Majesty in Council. And Whereas, by an Order in Council dated the Ninth day of April, 1866, Her Majesty has been pleased to give Her Assent as aforesaid, which Assent hath been since duly Proclaimed in the Island of Jamaica by the Officer Administering the Government thereof.

And it is expedient to exercise the Powers so given to her Majesty by the said Act, it is hereby Ordered by Her Majesty, by and with the Advice of Her Privy Council, as follows:

I. There shall be within the said Island a Legislative Council, constituted as hereinafter mentioned.

II. It shall be lawful for the Governor, with the advice and consent of the said Legislative Council, to make Laws for the Peace, Order, and good Government of the said Island.

III. Her Majesty may from time to time, by any Instructions or Warrants under Her Sign Manual and Signet, Designate such Officers and Appoint such Persons as she may think fit to be respectively Official and Unofficial Members of the said Council.
IV. Until otherwise declared by any such Instruction or Warrant as aforesaid, the following Officers shall be Official Members of the said Council, namely, the Senior Military Officer for the time being in Command of Her Majesty's Regular Troops within the Island, and the five Persons for the time being lawfully exercising the respective Offices of Colonial Secretary, of Attorney-General, of Financial Secretary, of Director of Roads, and of Collector of Customs.

V. The Governor may, by an Instrument under the Broad Seal of the Island, Appoint one or more Persons to act provisionally as Unofficial Councillor or Councillors in case at any time the Number of such Unofficial Councillors present in the Island and capable of acting in the discharge of their duties shall be less than Six. Every such Appointment may be Disallowed by Her Majesty, through One of Her Principal Secretaries of State, or may be Revoked by the Governor by such Instrument as aforesaid. And any such Appointment, or, as the case may be, the last in date of such Appointments shall, ipso facto, expire whenever by its continuance the number of Unofficial Councillors present in the Island and capable of acting in discharge of their duties would be raised above the number of Six.

VI. Every Councillor shall hold his Office during Her Majesty's Pleasure.

VII. The Official Members of the Council shall take Precedence of the Unofficial Members in the Order in which they are above named. The Unofficial Members shall take Rank according to the Date of their Appointment, or if appointed by the same instrument, according to the Order in which they are Named therein, but Councillors Appointed by Her Majesty shall in all cases Rank before Councillors Provisionally Appointed by the Governor.
VIII. The Governor, or in his absence any Member of the Council appointed by him in writing, or in default of such appointment the Member present who shall stand first in order of Precedence, shall Preside at every Meeting of the said Council. All Questions brought before the Council shall be decided by the Majority of the Votes given, and the Governor or Presiding Member shall have an Original Vote on all such Questions, and also a Casting Vote if the Votes shall be equally divided.

IX. Until otherwise provided by the Council no Business (except that of Adjournment) shall be transacted, unless there shall be present Three Members of Council besides the Governor or Presiding Member.

X. The Council shall in the transaction of Business and passing of Laws conform as nearly as may be to the directions conveyed in that behalf to the Governor of Jamaica in certain Instructions under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, and bearing Date the Twenty-ninth day of July, One Thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, until otherwise provided by Her Majesty, and to such further Instructions under the said Sign Manual and Signet as may hereafter be addressed to the Governor in that behalf.

XI. Subject to such Instructions the Council may make Standing Rules and Orders for the regulation of their own Proceedings.

XII. No Law shall take effect until the Government shall have Assented to the same on behalf of Her Majesty, and shall have Signed the same in token of such Assent.

XIII. Her Majesty may by Order in Council, or through One of Her Principal Secretaries of State, Disallow any Law passed by the said Governor and Council, and every Law so Disallowed shall become Null and Void so soon as the Disallowance thereof shall be published in the Island by authority of the Governor.
XIV. If any Councillor shall become Bankrupt or Insolvent, or shall be convicted of any Criminal Offence, or shall Absent himself from Jamaica for more than three months without leave from the Governor, the Governor may declare in Writing that his Seat at the Council is Vacant, and immediately on the publication of such Declaration he shall cease to be a Member of the Council.

XV. The Governor may by Writing under his Hand and Seal Suspend any Councillor from the exercise of his office, proceeding therein in such manner as may from time to time be enjoined by any such Instructions as aforesaid, and until otherwise Ordered, according to such Directions respecting the Suspension of Public Officers as are contained in the above-mentioned Instructions bearing Date the Twenty-ninth day of July, One Thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

XVI. Any Official Councillor may Resign his office by Writing under his Hand, but no such Resignation shall take effect until it be accepted in Writing by the Governor, or by Her Majesty through One of Her Principal Secretaries of State.

XVII. In this Order the Term "Governor" shall mean the Officer for the time being lawfully Administering the Government of the Island of Jamaica.

And the Right Honourable Edward Cardwell, One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

(Signed) EDMUND HARRISON.
APPENDIX VII

Draft of Instructions under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet to Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Island of Jamaica and the Territories depending thereon. 16 July 1866.
JAMAICA

DRAFT OF INSTRUCTIONS under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet to
Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., as Captain-General and Governor-
in-chief in and over the Island of Jamaica and the Territories
depending thereon.

Instructions to Our Trusty and Well-beloved
Sir John Peter Grant, Knight Commander of
Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath,
Our Captain-General and Governor-in-
chief in and over Our Island of Jamaica
and the Territories depending thereon, or
in his Absence to Our Lieutenant-Governor
or the Officer for the time being Administer-
ing the Government of Our said Island.

Given at Our Court at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, this 16th day of July, 1866, in the
Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

I. WITH these Our Instructions you will
receive Our Commission under the Great Seal
of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Ireland, Constituting and Appointing you Our
Captain-General and Governor-in-chief in and
over Our Island of Jamaica, and the Territories
depending thereon: You are, therefore, with
all convenient speed to Assume and Enter upon
the execution of the Trust We have reposed in
you, and you are with all due and usual
solemnity to cause Our said Commission to
be Read and Published at the First Meeting of
Your Privy Council, and yourself to take, as
the case may require, either the Oath appointed
to be taken by an Act passed in the Twenty-
first and Twenty-second Years of Our Reign
intituled "An Act to substitute one Oath for
the "Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and
Abjuration, "and for the Relief of Her Majesty's
Subjects professing the Jewish Religion," or
in lieu thereof the Oath required to be taken by
an Act passed in the Tenth Year of the Reign
of His late Majesty King George the Fourth
intituled "An Act for the Relief of His
Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects," and
likewise to take the usual Oath for the due
execution of the Office and Trust of Our said
Captain-General and Governor-in-chief, and
for the due and impartial Administration of
Justice, which said Oaths The President of Your
said Privy Council, or one other of the Members
thereof, is hereby Authorized and Required to
Tender and Administer unto you.

II. And Whereas We have by Our said Com­
mmission Ordained and Appointed that Your said
Privy Council shall be composed of such Public
Officers within Our said Island, or of such
other Persons within the same, as shall from
time to time be Named or Designated for that
purpose issued under Our Sign-Manual and
Signet, and with the advice of Your Privy
Council, all which Councillors shall hold
their Places in Your said Privy Council at
Our Pleasure: Now We do Direct and Appoint
that the following Persons shall be the Members
of Your said Privy Council, that is to say, the
Lieutenant-Governor, if any, of Our said
Island, the Senior Military Officer for the time
being in Command of Her Majesty's Regular
Troops within the Island, and the Persons for
the time being lawfully exercising the respective
Offices of Colonial Secretary, of Attorney-General,
of Financial Secretary, of Director of Roads, and
of Collector of Customs, and of such other
Persons as may be Named or Designated for
that purpose by Us by any Instruction or Instruc­
tions or Warrant or Warrants to be by Us for that
purpose issued under Our Sign-Manual and
Signet with the Advice of Our Privy Council, or
as shall be provisionally Appointed by you,
subject to Our Approval by an Instrument or
Instruments under the Broad Seal of the Colony,
all which Councillors shall hold their Places in
Your said Privy Council during Our Pleasure:
Provided Nevertheless that the Number of the
Members of Your said Council shall never by
such provisional nominations be raised above the Number of Eight: Provided also, that you do forthwith report to Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, for Our Confirmation or Disallowance, the Name of every Person whom you shall so select to be a Member of Your said Council.

III. And We do further Direct and Appoint that the Seniority of such Councillors shall be as follows:—First, the aforementioned Officers in the order in which they are herein named; Secondly, Councillors appointed under Our Sign-Manual and Signet in the order of their Appointments; and Thirdly, Councillors provisionally appointed by you also in the order of their Appointments.

IV. And We do further Direct that as far as possible you do Attend and Preside at all Meetings of Your said Privy Council, and that in case you shall be absent from any such Meeting, the President, or in his absence the Senior Councillor present, shall Preside thereat.

V. And We do further Direct and Appoint that you do forthwith communicate to your said Privy Council these Our Instructions, and likewise all others, from time to time, in the execution of which their consent and concurrence are requisite, or which you shall find convenient for Our Service to be imparted to them.

VI. And we do further Direct and Appoint that in the execution of the several Powers and Authorities committed to you by the said Commission, you do in all cases consult with your Privy Council, excepting only when the Matters to be decided shall be of such a nature that in your judgment Our Service would sustain material prejudice by Consulting Your Council thereon, or shall be too unimportant to require their Advice, or too Urgent to admit of such Advice being given by the time within which it may be necessary for you to act in respect of
any such matters: Provided that in all such Urgent Cases you do subsequently, and at the earliest practicable period, communicate to Your said Council the Measures which you may have so adopted, with the reasons thereof.

VII. And We do further Direct and Appoint that Your said Privy Council shall not proceed with the Dispatch of Business unless duly Summoned by your Authority, nor unless Two Members at least, exclusive of yourself, be present and assisting, throughout the whole of the Meetings at which any such business shall be dispatched.

VIII. And We do further direct and Appoint that you do Attend and Preside at the Meetings of Your said Privy Council, and that no Question shall be brought before the said Council for their advice and decision, excepting only such Questions as may be proposed by you for that purpose: Provided, Nevertheless, that if any Member shall, by Application in Writing, request you so to propose any Question, it shall be competent to any such Member to Record upon the Minutes hereinafter mentioned such his Written Application, together with the Answer which may be returned by you to the same.

IX. And We do Authorize you in your discretion, and if it shall in any case appear right so to do, to act in the exercise of the Power committed to you by Our said Commission in opposition to the advice which may in any such case be given to you by the Members of Your said Privy Council: Provided, Nevertheless, that every such Proceeding shall be fully reported to Us by the first convenient opportunity, together with the Grounds and Reasons thereof: Provided Also, that in every case it shall be competent to any Member of Your said Council to record at length on the said Minutes the Grounds of any Advice or Opinion he may give, upon any Question brought under the consideration of such Council.
X. And We do further Direct and Appoint that a full and exact Journal or Minute be kept by the Colonial Secretary of all the De-liberations, Acts, Proceedings, Votes, and Resolutions of Your said Privy Council, and that at each Meeting of Your said Privy Council the Minutes of the last preceding Meeting shall be Read over, Confirmed or Amended, as the case may require, before proceeding to the dispatch of any other business, and also that Twice in each Year a full Transcript of all the said Minutes for the preceding Half-year be transmitted to Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

XI. And Whereas by Our Order in Our Privy Council bearing date the Eleventh day of June, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, We did declare that there should be within Our said Island a Legislative Council to be Constituted as therein mentioned, and that it should be lawful for the Governor, with the advice and consent of the said Legislative Council, to make Laws for the Peace, Order, and good Government of Our said Island, and that the said Council should in the transaction of business and passing Laws, conform as nearly as might be to the directions conveyed in that behalf to the Governor of Our said Island in certain Instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet bearing Date the Twenty-ninth day of July, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, until otherwise provided by Us, and to such further Instructions under Our Sign Manual and Signet as might thereafter be addressed to the Governor in that behalf. Now We do direct and Appoint that instead of the directions conveyed in our Instructions of the said Twenty-ninth day of July, the following Rules shall henceforth be observed in the transaction of Business and the passing of Laws.

XII. We do Direct and Appoint that it shall be competent for any Member of Our said Council to propose any question for Debate...
in the said Council, and that if such Proposal shall be Seconded by any other Member, such question shall be debated and disposed of accordingly, excepting only that no Law shall be enacted, nor any Vote or Resolution passed, nor any Question admitted to Debate at the said Council where the Object of such Law, Vote, Resolution, or Question may be to dispose of or charge any part of Our Revenue arising within Our said Island, unless such Law, Vote, Resolution or Question shall have been first proposed by yourself, or the proposal of the same shall have been expressly allowed or directed by you.

XIII. And We do further Direct that all Laws to be Enacted by you with the Advice and Consent of the said Council shall henceforth be styled "Laws enacted by the Governor of Jamaica with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council thereof," and that no other Style or Form shall ever henceforth be observed in any such Enactment.

XIV. And We do further Direct that all Laws made by you with the Advice of the said Council be distinguished by Titles, and that the Laws of each Year be also distinguished by Consecutive Numbers, commencing in each successive Year with the Number One, and that every such Law be divided into successive Clauses or Paragraphs consecutively numbered, and that to every such Clause be annexed in the Margin a short Summary of its contents.

XV. And We do further Direct that all such Laws be drawn up in a Simple and Compendious Form, and that Subjects which have no proper relation to each other be not comprised in one and the same Law; and that no Enactments be introduced into any such Law which may be Foreign to its professed Scope and Object, and that no Perpetual Clause be part of any Temporary Law.
XVI. And We do further Direct that you do not Propose or Assent to any Law whatever respecting the Constitution or Proceedings of the said Council in relation to any of the matters mentioned or referred to in your said Commission, or in these Our Instructions, which shall be in anywise repugnant to or inconsistent with such Commission or Instructions, or repugnant to any Act of Parliament, or any Order made or to be made by Us in Our Privy Council, extending to or in force within Our said Island, but that any such Law, or pretended Law, shall be absolutely Null and Void to all intents and purposes.

XVII. And it is Our further Pleasure that you are on no account, without Our permission, to allow any Law to take effect in the Island, which may belong to either of the following Classes, that is to say:


2. Any Law whereby any Grant of Land or Money, or other Donation or Gratuity, may be made to yourself.

3. Any Law whereby any Increase or Diminution may be made in the Number, Salary, or Allowances of the Public Officers.

4. Any Law whereby any Paper or Other Currency may be made a Legal Tender, except the Coin of the Realm, or other Gold or Silver Coin.

5. Any Law imposing Differential Duties, or imposing any Tax upon Transient Traders, or upon Persons residing or carrying on Business for a short time within our said Island, from which other Traders or Persons carrying on Business would be exempt.

6. Any Law the Provisions of which shall appear inconsistent with Obligations imposed upon Us by Treaty.

7. Any Law interfering with the Discipline or Control of Our Military or Naval Forces in Our said Island.

8. Any Law of an Extraordinary Nature and Importance, whereby Our Prerogative or the Rights and Property of Our Subjects not residing in Our
said Island, or the Trade and Shipping of Our United Kingdom and its Dependencies, may be prejudiced.

9. Any Law whereby Persons, not of European Birth or Descent, may be subjected or made liable to any Disabilities or Restrictions to which Persons of European Birth or Descent are not also subjected or made liable.

10. Any Law containing Provisions to which Our Assent has been once refused, or which have been Disallowed by Us.

Provided Nevertheless, that in case it shall in your opinion be urgently necessary that any Bill, not being repugnant to the Law of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, shall be brought into immediate operation, We do Authorize you in such case to Assent to such Bill in Our Name and to allow the same to take effect, transmitting to Us, by the earliest opportunity, the Law so assented to, together with your Reasons for assenting thereto.

XVIII. And We do further Direct and Appoint that no Private Act be passed whereby the Property Private Bills. of any Private Person may be affected, in which there is not a saving of the Rights of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, and of all Bodies Politic and Corporate, and of all Other Persons except such as are mentioned in the said Act, and those claiming by, from, and under them: and that you do not give your Assent to any Private Bill until proof be made before you in Your Privy Council, and entered in the Council Books, that adequate and timely notification was made by Public Advertisement, or otherwise, of the parties intention to apply for such Bill before any such Bill was brought into the Legislative Council of Jamaica, and that a Certificate under your Hand be transmitted with, and annexed to, every such Private Bill, signifying that such notification has been given, and declaring the manner of giving the same.

XIX. And We do further Direct that when any Law shall have been passed by you with the advice of Our said Legislative Council, the same shall forthwith be laid before Us for Our final
Assent, Disallowance, or other Direction thereupon to be signified through you, for which purpose We do hereby Require you, by the earliest occasion next after the enactment of the said Law, to transmit to Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Transcript in Duplicate of the same, together with a Marginal Abstract thereof, duly Authenticated under the Broad Seal of the said Island, and by your own Signature.

XX. And We do further Direct that in the month of January, or at the earliest practicable period at the commencement of each Year, you do cause a complete Collection to be Published for general information, of all Laws Enrolled during the preceding Year.

XXI. And We do further Direct that Minutes be regularly kept of the Proceedings of the said Legislative Council by the Clerk thereof, and that the said Council shall not proceed to the Dispatch of Business until the Minutes of the last preceding Meeting have first been Read over, and Confirmed or Corrected as may be necessary.

XXII. And We do further Direct you Twice in each Year to transmit to Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, a full and exact Copy of the said Minutes.

XXIII. We do further Direct that all Writs be issued in Our Name throughout the said Island.

XXIV. And whereas We have by Our said Commission Authorized and Empowered you to make and execute in Our Name and on Our Behalf, under the Broad Seal of Our said Island, Grants and Dispositions of our Lands which may be lawfully granted and disposed of by Us within Our said Island: Now We do hereby Direct and Command you, before disposing of any Vacant or Waste Lands to Us belonging in Our said Island, to cause the Laws to be sent home duly authenticated.

Collection of Laws to be published every year.

Minutes of proceedings to be kept.

Minutes to be sent home Twice a year.

Writs.

Surveys and Reservations to be made before Waste Lands are disposed of.
same to be Surveyed, and such Reservations made thereout as you may think necessary or desirable to be reserved and set apart for Public Roads or other Internal Communication by Land or Water, or for purposes of Military Defence, or for any other purpose of Public Safety, Convenience, Utility, Health, or Enjoyment.

XXV. And We further Direct and Command you, in making any such Grants or Dispositions of Lands that may lawfully be disposed of by Us as aforesaid, to be governed by any Laws or Regulations which are now or shall be hereafter established by competent Authority, and particularly by any Instructions which you may, from time to time, receive under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

XXVI. And We do hereby Direct and Instruct you that all Commissions and Appointments to be granted by you to any Person or Persons for exercising any Office or Employment in or concerning the said Island be granted during Pleasure only; and that whenever you shall appoint to any Vacant Office or Employment any Person not by Us especially directed to be appointed thereto, you shall at the same time expressly apprize such Person that such Appointment is to be considered only as Temporary and Provisional until Our Allowance or Disallowance thereof be signified.

XXVII. And Whereas We have by Our said Commission Authorized you, upon sufficient cause to you appearing, to Suspend from the exercise of his Office within Our said Island any Person exercising the same under and by virtue of any Commission or Warrant granted or to be granted by Us in Our Name or under Our Authority. Now We do Charge and Require you that before proceeding to any such Suspension you do signify by a Statement in Writing to the Person so to be Suspended the Grounds of such your intended proceeding against him; and that you do call upon such Person to communicate to you in Writing a Statement
of the Grounds upon which and the Evidence by which he may be desirous to Exculpate himself, which Statement and Exculpation you will lay before your Privy Council; and having consulted the said Council thereupon, you will cause to be recorded in the Minutes of the said Council whether they or the Majority of them do or do not assent to the said Suspension; and if you thereupon proceed to such Suspension you are to transmit both of the said Statements together with the Minutes of Council, to Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State by the earliest conveyance. But if in any case the Interests of Our Service shall appear to you to demand that the Person shall Cease to exercise the Powers and Functions of his Office instantly or before there shall be time to take the Proceedings herein before directed, you shall then interdict such Person from the exercise of his Powers and Functions, preserving to him, however, until such Proceedings shall have been taken, the Emoluments and Advantages of his Office.

XXVIII. And Whereas We have by Our said Commission Given and Granted unto you Power and Authority, as you shall see occasion in Our Name and on Our Behalf, to grant to any Offender convicted of any Crime in any Court, or before any Judge, Justice, or Magistrate within Our said Island, a Pardon either Free or subject to Lawful Conditions, or any Respite of the Sentence of any such Offender for such period as to you may seem fit: Now We do Require and Enjoin you to call upon the Judge who presided at the Trial of any such Offender for a Written Report of the Case of such Offender; and such Report of the said Judge shall by you be taken into consideration at the first Meeting thereafter which may be conveniently held of Your said Privy Council, where the said Judge shall be specially summoned to attend; and you shall not Pardon or Reprieve any such Offender as aforesaid, unless, upon receiving the Advice of Our said Council thereon, it shall appear to you expedient so to do; but in all such Cases you are to decide either to extend or withhold a Pardon or Reprieve, according to your own deliberate Judgment.
whether the Members of Your said Privy Council concur therein or otherwise, entering, nevertheless, on the Minutes of the said Council a Minute of your Reasons at length in case you should decide any such Question in opposition to the Judgment of the Majority of the Members thereof.

XXIX. And it is Our Pleasure that in all matters relating to the Celebration of Divine Worship, the Erection and Repair of Churches, the Maintenance of Ministers and the Settlement of Parishes throughout your Government, you do Advise with the Bishop of Jamaica, or, in his absence, with the Bishop of Kingston, or other Person from time to time lawfully exercising the Functions of Bishop in and for the Diocese of Jamaica, and that you be Aiding and Assisting to such Bishop and to his Archdeacons or Commissary or Commissaries, in the execution of their Charge and in the execution of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in him vested.

XXX. And whereas out of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction heretofore granted to the said Bishop of Jamaica, We have reserved to you Our Governor the Power of Granting Licenses for Marriages and Probates of Wills (commonly called the Office of Ordinary), and doubts are entertained whether the said Powers can be exercised by Deputation from you to any other Person within Our said Island under your Government: It is therefore Our express Will and Pleasure, and you are hereby Directed and Required not to grant Deputation for the exercise of the said Powers, commonly called the Office of Ordinary, to any Person or Persons whatever in Our said Island under your Government.

XXXI. Upon the Vacancy of any Ecclesiastical Benefice or Cure of Souls within such jurisdiction to which any Stipend may be attached by Law in Our said Island, you will present to the said Bishop for the time being, for institution to such Vacant Benefice or Cure, any Clerk in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland whom, upon the recommendation of the
Bishop or on other sufficient grounds, you may deem to be the most proper Person to fill such Benefice or Cure, and who shall have been actually Resident within a West Indian Diocese, and Officiating there as a Clerk in Holy Orders for Six Calendar Months at least next before such Benefice or Cure shall have been Vacant, or who, if not so Resident or Officiating within such Diocese, shall have been Absent with the Leave of the Diocesan, or other Lawful Authority, from some Cure of Souls within the said Diocese to him appertaining. But if at the time of such Vacancy occurring there shall not be Resident within any such West Indian Diocese any Clerk in Holy Orders of the said United Church who shall have been Resident and Officiating therein, or Absent with Leave as aforesaid, and whom you shall deem a proper Person to fill such Benefice or Cure, then you shall forthwith report the circumstance to Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, to the intent that We may Nominate some fit and proper Person being a Clerk in Holy Orders as aforesaid, to fill the said Vacancy; and We do Enjoin and Command you to present to the said Bishop, for Institution to any such Vacant Ecclesiastical Benefice or Cure, any Clerk who may be so nominated by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

XXXII. And Whereas We have thought fit by Our said Commission to direct that in certain events there mentioned the President of Your Privy Council shall take upon him the Administration of the Government thereof, We do Nevertheless Direct and Appoint that in such case the said President so Administering the Government shall forbear to pass any Law or Laws, but what are immediately necessary for the Peace and Welfare of the said Island without Our particular Order for that purpose, and that he shall not take upon him to Remove or Suspend any of the Members of Your Privy Council, or of Our Legislative Council, or any Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Officers, Civil or Military, without the concurrence of the Majority of Your said Privy Council.
XXXIII. And Whereas you will receive through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State a Book of Tables in Blank, commonly called the Blue Book, to be annually filled up with certain Returns relative to the Revenue and Expenditure, Militia, Public Works, Legislation, Pensions, Population, Schools, Course of Exchange, Imports and Exports, Agricultural Produce, Manufactures, and Other Matters in the said Blue Book more particularly specified with reference to the State and Condition of Our said Island of Jamaica: Now We do hereby signify Our Pleasure that all such Returns be Accurately prepared and Punctually transmitted to Us from Year to Year through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and that no Officer in Our said Island within whose Department it may be to contribute any Return or Returns for the purposes aforesaid, or to prepare the same when so contributed, shall be entitled to receive, or shall receive, from you any Warrant for the payment of his Official Salary which may become due and payable to him so long as such duty as aforesaid shall be in arrear or remain unperformed.

XXXIV. And Whereas great prejudice may happen to Our Service and to the Security of Our said Island by your Absence therefrom, you shall not upon any pretence whatever Quit Our said Island, except for the purpose of Visiting such other portions of Our Dominions as are or may be placed under your Government, without having first obtained Leave from Us for so doing under Our Sign- Manual and Signet, or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.
APPENDIX VIII

The Governor to the Bishop
My Lord,

Her majesty's government having determined on the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England in Jamaica, I lose no time in informing you that the Clergy Act, which expires with the current year, will not be renewed; and that therefore the provision now made by law for the support of the clergy of the Established Church will cease on the 1st of January next. But no objection is felt to the continuance of the incomes of existing incumbents during their discharge of their duties, with the provision of moderate pensions on the scale already sanctioned, when incapacitated by age or sickness. For immediate purposes the necessary appropriation of money will be recommended in the estimates for the current financial year, now under preparation for submission to the Legislative Council, so that on this point no uneasiness need be felt by incumbents.

But on the cessation of the provision made by the Clergy Act, it would be inconsistent with the decision of her majesty's government to renew, in favor of persons not being incumbents on the existing establishment, any allowances which have been provisionally made to such persons for temporary services, out of savings to a larger amount effected by vacancies on the establishment, which have lately occurred, having remained unfilled, as sanctioned by Law 12 of 1868. All the catechists now receiving their salaries from the colonial treasury are in this class. Their public allowances, therefore, will cease at the close of this month, and your lordship is requested to cause them to be informed accordingly. If there are any clergymen not upon the establishment who are drawing public money as acting for clergymen absent from their cures, the public allowances of such clergymen also must cease with the close of the current year.

The time has now come when it becomes my duty, in justice to the taxpayers of the colony of all denominations, to ask your lordship to report the cases of any incumbents on the establishment who may be incapacitated from the adequate performance of their functions by age, infirmity, or other cause; and who may not yet have signified their desire to retire upon the pension lately authorized. If there be any such, perhaps your lordship may be pleased to communicate with them, in order to ascertain whether they are now willing to resign on receiving the retiring pension; or not. If not, their cases will be taken into consideration on receipt of your lordship's report.
One such case occurred during your lordship's absence, to which the correspondence with your lordship's commissaries, as noted in the margin, relates. His archdeacon and your lordship's commissaries reported of the reverend gentlemen to whom that correspondence refers, that his advanced age and the state of his health incapacitated him from discharging the duties of his cure with the efficiency which he formerly exercised, and that they could not refrain from stating their unqualified belief that the duties of his cure are "inadequately performed." Accordingly, he was informed that the fact of his insisting upon remaining upon the active list after his inadequate performance of services had been officially reported would be borne in mind on considering hereafter any claim which he might advance for a retiring allowance; and further, that the governor was of opinion that such conduct on the part of a clergyman entrusted with a cure should be a disqualification for the grant of any retiring allowance whatever when the expiration of the Clergy Act should put it in the power of government to replace him by a clergyman who would adequately perform the sacred duties of the cure. Nevertheless, the reverend gentleman applied for a pension in excess of the amount which could be awarded to him, and on being offered the maximum amount (£150) allowable, has allowed the offer to remain unanswered. Should your lordship have anything to state which you may think it right to represent in modification of the above-mentioned report, there will be time to suspend action before the 31st instant. But in the meantime, as this case has been long ago duly ascertained and regularly reported upon by ecclesiastical authority, the reverend gentleman will be informed that no salary will be available to him after the close of this year, but a pension for him will be placed upon the estimates, as from the 1st of January next, on his then retiring from the service. The pension, however, to which the law gives him no claim, will be less than the maximum allowable, in compensation for the excess salary over pension, which he has been drawing since he refused to retire from a sacred office, the duties of which he was authoritatively informed he could not perform.

(Signed)

J. P. Grant
VITA

Vincent John Marsala was born in Monroe, Louisiana on October 7, 1935. He attended St. Matthew's High School and received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Northeast Louisiana State College in 1958. Upon release from the United States Army he entered Graduate School at Louisiana State University and received the Master of Arts degree in 1962. During the academic year 1962-63 he taught at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in Lafayette, Louisiana. Presently he is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Latin American Studies at Louisiana State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Vincent John Marsala

Major Field: Latin American Studies

Title of Thesis: SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA, 1866-1874: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Approved:

Jane De Drummond
Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination:

January 3, 1967