**The Parish History Project: The History of Trelawny**

**Dr Jenny Jemmott**

**OVERVIEW OF TRELAWNY:**

The parish of Trelawny is located in the county of Cornwall in the north western part of Jamaica and is bordered by St. Ann to the east, St James to the west and St. Elizabeth and Manchester to the south. Rich in history and heritage, Trelawny came into being in 1770 when it was carved out of the parish of St James. At the time of its creation, Trelawny was Jamaica's twentieth named parish and was the last of four parishes which were formed in the island during the eighteenth century. The parish spans approximately 337.6 sq. miles or 874.3 sq. km. and is relatively flat with the area of highest elevation being Mount Ayr which is 3,000 ft. above sea level. Trelawny boasts many natural features including the Martha Brae River, the parish's main river which is more than 20 miles long and wide plains such as the Queen of Spain's Valley and Windsor.

*The Martha Brae River.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Several caves of archaeological and historical importance are to be found in the parish, especially in Pantrepant and Windsor which have been identified as areas formerly inhabited by the Tainos. Much of the famed Cockpit Country with its association with the Leeward Maroons and with its rich natural heritage of flora and fauna, including many of Jamaica's 27 endemic birds, yellow snakes and the Giant SwallowTail butterfly is located in the southern part of the parish.

*Alps, Southern Trelawny*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Its capital town of Falmouth, historically a busy commercial district, is as outstanding for its well preserved Georgian architecture as it is for the modern Falmouth Cruise-ship Pier.


*A View of Falmouth Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves


*Map of Trelawny*. Source: openstreetmap.org

*Falmouth's Historic Water Square.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Trelawny occupies pride of place not only in historic Jamaica but also in the present-day, being home to the Tambu, Gerre and the Mento band, to the annual Yam Festival, to outstanding sons and daughters of our nation including, but not limited to, sports personalities, Veronica Campbell-Brown, CD and Dr the Honourable Usain St Leo Bolt. [1]

*Trelawny Multi-Purpose Stadium*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**BEFORE THE EUROPEANS: TAINO CONNECTIONS IN TRELAWNY:**

**Location of Taino Sites in the Parish:**

Archaeological investigations as well as GIS imagery point to evidence of considerable Taino settlement in parts of Trelawny. These sites include a few coastal locations such as Braco and Stewart Castle but the evidence suggests that the Tainos showed a preference for slightly elevated areas located not too far inland from the coast and near to sources of fresh water such as Kent, Rio Bueno, Spring, Orange Valley and Clifton. In some cases, Taino sites were also located in areas even further inland from the coast

such as Pantrepant, which is nearer to the Cockpit Country than the coastal areas of the parish, New Forest, Windsor, Sherwood and Pembroke. So far, archaeological investigations have not uncovered much in the way of Taino artefacts in the Cockpit Country. Many of the Taino settlements seem to have been located in the Martha Brae river basin and this is explained by the fact that the extensive Martha Brae River, flowing north from the Cockpit Country to Falmouth, provided ready access to fresh water sources for Taino settlements. As elsewhere on the island, archaeological findings reveal that the Tainos in Trelawny used caves for religious purposes, largely burial sites rather than dwelling places and the discovery of many Taino burial caves in several areas of the parish is hardly surprising, given the fact that caves are a major feature of Trelawny. Approximately 22 Taino settlement sites have been found in Trelawny in areas such as Kent, Orange Valley, Irving Tower, Wales, Pantrepant West, Pembroke, Sherwood, Pantrepant East, Windsor, Hampstead, Clifton, Coxheath, Roslin Castle, New Forest, Spring, Hyde, Stewart Castle, Harmony Hall, Holland Hill, Armagh, Braco and Rio Bueno. Additionally, Taino cave sites were identified in the parish and these are located at New Forest, Pantrepant West and Pantrepant East, Holland Hill, Windsor (2), Hyde Cave, Puskurrukus, Jones Hole, Home Away Cave, Shorty's, Fisher's, Barbeque Bottom, Harmony Hall (2) and Good Hope. Although most of these caves were used for burials, Petroglyphs (rock carvings or cave art) found on the walls of a few, including Puskurrunkus, Jones Hole, Home Away Cave, Pantrepant, Windsor and Harmony Hall suggest that some of these caves were also used by the Tainos to illustrate their beliefs and lifestyle. Interestingly, the fact that several of these caves were found relatively close to Taino village sites indicates the importance of religion and ceremonial practices in the way of life of these pre-Columbian residents of Trelawny. [2]

**A Closer Look at Some Taino Sites:**

**Rio Bueno**

The seaside community of Rio Bueno is located near Trelawny's eastern border with St

Ann. Although its name was clearly influenced by the Spanish presence (it was first called Puerto Bueno by them) Rio Bueno was home to Taino settlements before the Spaniards arrived. Archaeologists have uncovered more than 1,000 artefacts from the kitchen-middens (refuse dumps) at this site, including shell heaps, pottery remains, fishbones, hunting and fishing implements which all point to the importance of fishing and hunting to what must have been fairly large coastal Taino communities. [3] Spanish descriptions confirm what archaeological excavations have suggested as it was at Rio Bueno that "an enormous number of natives" (Tainos) swarmed the beach by the harbour and in an initial show of hostility, prevented Columbus and his men from landing at first. [4] During the period of English colonization, the former Taino site became part of the Braco sugar estate and today the coastal location is focused on tourism-related activities with the existence of the Melia Braco Village Resort and several other all-inclusive hotels dotting the shoreline. [5]

**Pantrepant**

Pantrepant is located on the borders of the Cockpit Country, about 9 miles from the sea and is at an elevation of 387 feet above sea level. Three Taino sites have been identified in Pantrepant, one an open site located on a hillside, which revealed broken pieces of pottery associated with Taino culture as well as marine shells and this suggests that they could have travelled to and from the coast for a source of food or they may have traded with coastal groups. Two caves have also been identified at Pantrepant, each having Taino petroglyphs or rock carvings on the walls.

*Taino Carving at Pantrepant Trelawny*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

"Pantrepant"is actually of Welsh origin and shows that place names in the area were shaped by British influence, rather than the Taino. Under English rule, Pantrepant became one of the Trelawny properties of the famous sugar planter, John Tharp and the property, on which plantation ruins such as the remains of the great house, boiling house and water wheel are still visible, is now owned by Chris Blackwell. [6]

**Stewart Castle**

The Taino site at Stewart Castle is located on a slightly elevated area about one and a half miles from the sea and archaeologists have found Taino artefacts in 6 distinct mounds (kitchen middens or refuse areas) which were spread out over an area covering about 7 acres. The extensive area over which the artefacts were discovered and the large amount of deposits found in these mounds indicate that the Taino must have remained in the Stewart Castle area for a considerable length of time. Items excavated from the Stewart Castle mounds include shells of the common land snail and mussel, crab claws, especially those of the land soldier crab, fish bones, bones from the Indian coney as well as pieces of pottery and implements made from conch shells. Clearly, the location of these Taino communities influenced their sources of food. Interestingly, the geographical area within which this Taino site is located was also referred to as "Indian Town" by Frank Cundall in his Historic Jamaica, written in 1915. It remains uncertain whether the name given to this part of Stewart Castle was a reflection of the Taino presence. [7]

**Wales**

Tainos also established a settlement at Wales which is a fairly low-lying area (about 229 feet above sea-level) located further inland from coastal locations such as Falmouth but which would have given the Tainos access to the water source of the Martha Brae River. Artefacts uncovered from the location include pieces of pottery, some of which had ornamentation and a variety of shells, a bone of the Indian coney and a few fish bones which tell us about their utensils and some of their food sources. During the period of English settlement, Wales became a sugar estate owned by the wealthy Trelawny planter, John Tharp. The slave village was built in the same location as the Taino site and archaeologists believe that the remains of the Taino settlement would have been disturbed by the activities of the enslaved people. [8]

**Sherwood (Today known as Sherwood Content)**

Waldensia Primary School in Sherwood Content which is the alma mater of Dr the Hon. Usain Bolt, is actually located over a Taino site investigated in 2004 by Dr Ivor Conolley and his archaeology team. It is possible that the construction of the school may have destroyed or hidden a significant part of this site. An eroded area surrounding the water tank behind the school revealed Taino artefacts including pieces of pottery and a large quantity of shells. In 2005, a Taino burial cave was also uncovered in the Piedmont area of Sherwood Content.[9] Today the community of Sherwood Content has come into the spotlight, both locally and internationally, as the birthplace and childhood home of Usain Bolt, the shining Olympic Gold medallist. Hardly anyone in Sherwood Content today associates the community with Taino connections. Nevertheless, archaeological work in the area is on-going and the people of this community should also be proud of the fact that their quiet district was once home to the first Jamaicans.

**Windsor**

Located on the northern end of the Cockpit country, Windsor is well known for its famous caves. The area is also important for the Taino sites located there, including two burial caves and an open Taino site. In one of the Windsor caves, archaeologists uncovered rock carvings of human faces as well as pieces of pottery, shells and bones of birds and the coney. The fact that the Martha Brae River originates in Windsor would have been important to the Taino inhabitants who were known to have established their settlements near to water sources. During the later period of English settlement, John Tharp used some of this land for livestock rearing and the Windsor Great House that was built on the property is today used as the Windsor Research Centre. [10]

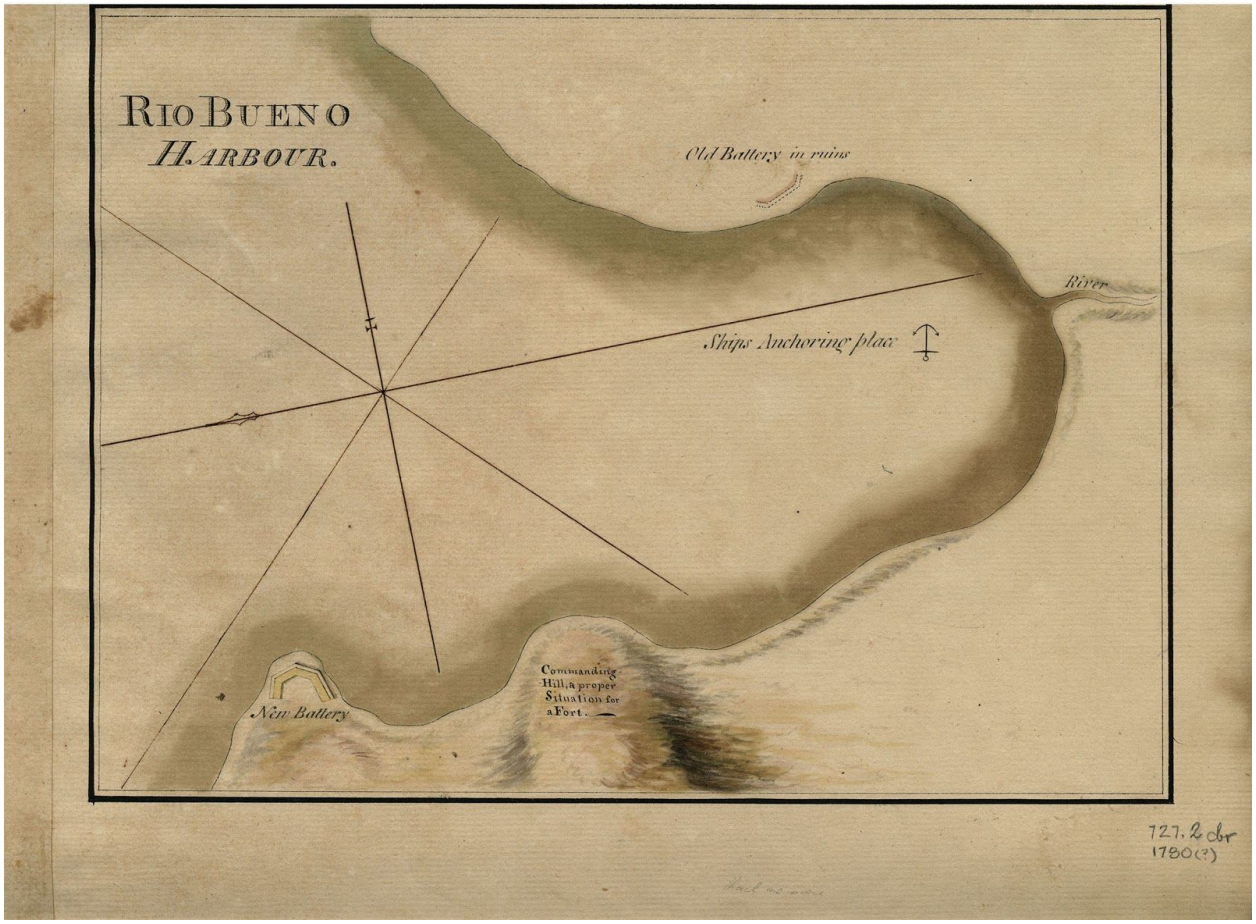
*Windsor Cave* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Braco**

The north coastal community of Braco is today seen as one of Trelawny's tourism havens but it has also been established that Braco was a well-documented Taino site. Located about 50 feet from the shoreline, this site was fairly extensive, being spread out over about 4 acres. When UWI archaeologist, Dr Ivor Conolley re-investigated this site in 2004, he found a large amount of shells and pieces of ceramics. A dry river bed located not far from this site may well have been their source of water. As years passed by, the cultivation of sugar cane on the Braco Estate from the 1770s until about 1905 and the building of settlements and roadways in the area no doubt contributed to the destruction of some remains of Taino habitation in the area and this loss would have been continued during World War 2 by the building of an airstrip on the Braco estate lands for use by American forces. [11]

## THE FOUNDATION YEARS OF TRELAWNY: THE SPANIARDS AND THE PARISH

Long before Trelawny was carved out of St James in 1770 during English rule, parts of what was to become Trelawny parish were influenced by the Spanish presence. On his second voyage in 1494, having spent a short while at Santa Gloria (St Ann's Bay) Columbus set sail further west in search of a sheltered harbour where the ships could be repaired. After sailing for about 15 miles, they arrived at a deep harbour which was shaped like a horseshoe and Columbus named it Puerto Bueno (a good port at which to shelter). It was at Rio Bueno that the Tainos at first gave Columbus and his men a hostile reception but later allowed him to land, providing the Spaniards with food in exchange for glass beads and hawks' bells. A small settlement was established there by the Spaniards and they later changed the name to Rio Bueno because of its proximity to a river which provided the Spaniards, like the Tainos before them, with a source of fresh water and transport. [12]




*A View of Rio Bueno Harbour.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

One and a half miles inland from present day Falmouth, the Spaniards also established a small settlement close to the Martha Brae River to allow them access to fresh water and transportation. This later became Martha Brae village.

There is uncertainty about the origins of the name Martha Brae but this name was likely a corruption or the English version of the original Spanish name for the bay at the mouth of the river, *Rio Multiberon* meaning Bay of many sharks and this evolved further into *Rio Matiberion*. In later years when the English arrived, they did not destroy Martha Brae village and they later built the first capital of Trelawny (Martha Brae) on the site of this Spanish settlement and Rio Matiberion therefore could have become known as Martha Brae (name of the river and the village). However, Dan Ogilvie argues that given the heavy Scottish influence in the area during English rule, it is quite possible that the

name Martha Brae may have had Scottish origins at that time. 'Mart' would have meant a place where goods were sold and 'Brae' was the Scottish name for a hillside bank. Since the town developed as a riverside-hill market town, then Martha Brae could have been adopted through local use as the resulting name. Another explanation, still widely accepted by many in Trelawny today, rests in the Legend of Martha Brae. The legend tells us that Martha Brae was a Taino girl who was supposed to have magical powers. She was tortured by the Spaniards who wanted her to tell them the location of a gold mine. As the legend goes, she agreed to show them the mine but then used her magical powers to alter the course of the river, thereby drowning herself and her Spanish torturers and sealing off the entrance to the fabled gold mine in the process. Even though this explanation was a legend, its popularity to this day shows remnants of the Spanish influence in the early settlement of the area.[13]

*The Martha Brae River Today*. Courtesy Stuart Reeves

These early Spanish settlements at Rio Bueno and Martha Brae in the parish were part of a general attempt by them to establish settlements along the north coast of Jamaica

because that coast was nearer to the earlier, well established Spanish settlements of Santiago de Cuba and Hispaniola and also because the north coast was dotted with several small bays and fresh water rivers. Most of all, they hoped to find gold in the mountainous areas beyond the coast. Outside of Trelawny, other north coast settlements included Jamaica's first "Spanish town" at Sevilla La Nueva (New Seville) near St Ann's Bay and Melilla (present day Port Maria). However, by 1534, the swampy, mosquito-infested conditions around the main north coast settlements led to a general abandonment in favour of the healthier south-coast centre of government at Villa de La Vega (Spanish Town).

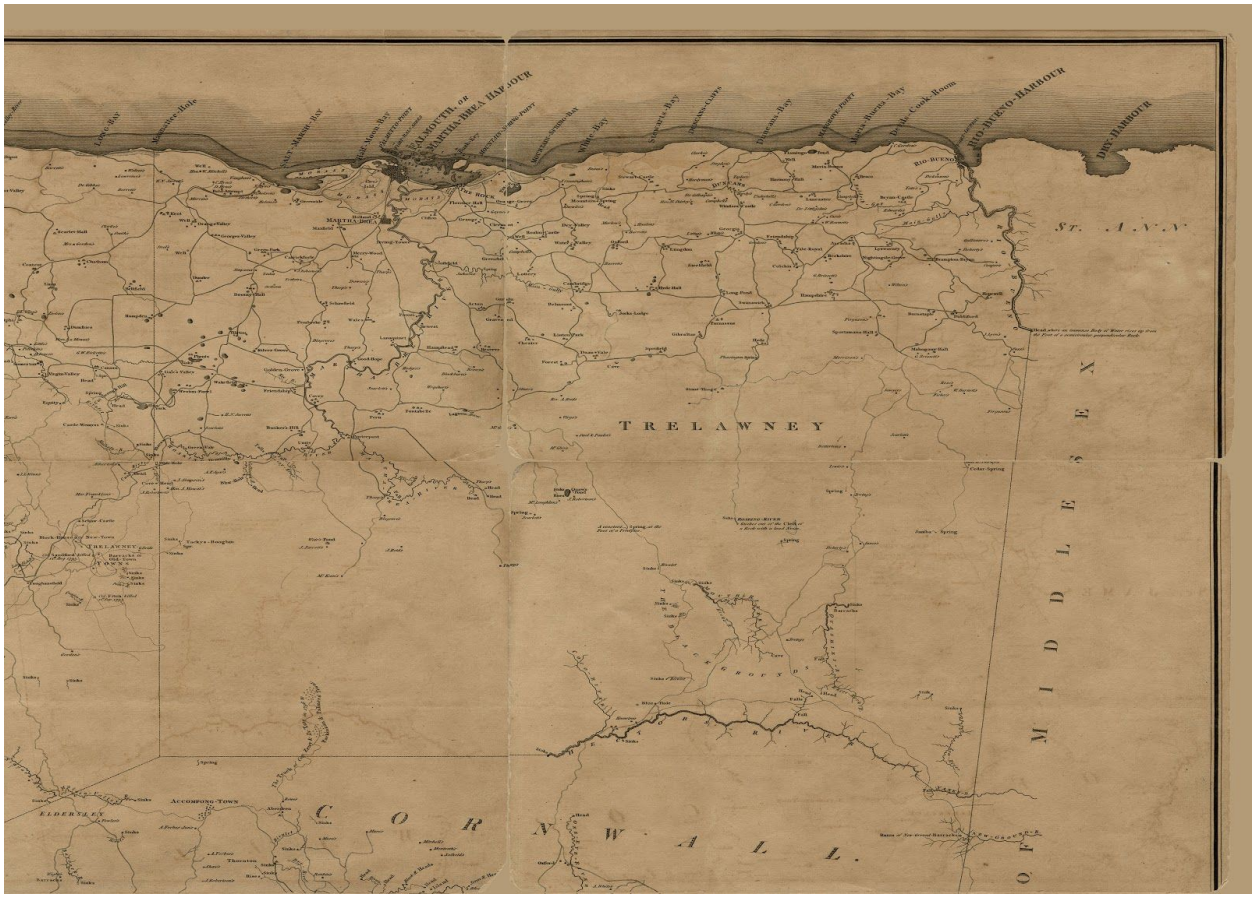
Although no large Spanish settlements were ever established in what was to become Trelawny parish, after the Spaniards shifted their attention to the south-coast Villa de La Vega, small pockets of Spanish settlers remained in Rio Bueno and Martha Brae as these were still regarded as important connecting points between the north-western coast and the main south coast settlement of Villa de la Vega. Some Spaniards who remained in Rio Bueno and Martha Brae village did so in order to take advantage of the thriving illegal trade that had sprung up on the north coast with the English, French and Dutch. Because Spanish supply ships came to Jamaica very infrequently, there was always a shortage of manufactured goods such as utensils, tools, textiles and other items used by the Spanish settlers. This situation provided opportunities for illegal traders from England, France and the Netherlands to supply these well needed goods and the many unguarded cays and bays along the north coast were ideal locations for illicit goods to be smuggled ashore. So, Rio Bueno and Martha Brae were the collecting points in Trelawny in what became an active illegal trade. It remains uncertain how many Spanish settlers stayed behind in these Trelawny "contraband ports" to receive the smuggled goods but there must have been some semi-permanent groups there to carry on the trade in hides and provisions with the English, French and Dutch. Interestingly, Martha Brae Village was one of the few Spanish settlements that survived destruction by the English after their conquest of Jamaica and they in fact built the first capital of Trelawny, Martha Brae, on the site of the Spanish settlement. Outside of

Trelawny, other north coast smuggling spots were located at Las Chorreras (Ocho *Rios), Rio Nuevo, Oracabessa, Melilla (St Mary) and Puerto Anton (Port Antonio).* [14] The Spaniards established vast cattle ranches known as Hatos mainly across the southern plains of Jamaica from Morant Bay in the east to Savannah-La-Mar in the west and while Trelawny had none of these vast cattle ranches that we know of, wild cattle, pigs and horses roamed and grazed the vast plains of what is today known as the Queen of Spain's Valley. Spanish settlers in Rio Bueno and Martha Brae had a ready source of meat for their own consumption and benefitted from trading the hides and tallow (fat used for making candles) of the wild cattle with passing illegal traders in return for clothing, utensils and some food items. It is quite likely that the name "Queen of Spain's Valley" represented an adaptation of the Spanish name (unknown) by later English settlers who would convert much of this vast plain to their own use. Nevertheless, the persistence of this name until today is a fitting tribute to the traces of the Spanish presence in Trelawny parish more than three and a half centuries ago.

## THE FOUNDATION YEARS: THE CREATION OF THE PARISH OF TRELAWNY BY THE ENGLISH

So while the Spaniards helped to shape the early years of what would become Trelawny, it was not until the late 18th century under English rule that the parish came into being. In 1770, the new parish of Trelawny was carved out of lands which had formed the eastern part of the much older parish of St James. Trelawny's birth must have seemed like a sweet victory to those settlers, mainly sugar cane planters from eastern St James, who had fought long and hard to have the eastern portion of the then 566 square mile large St James declared a separate parish. In the period leading up to 1770, the eastern part of St James had approximately 88 sugar estates while the western side, where the parish capital of Montego Bay was located, had approximately half the number of sugar estates as eastern St James. The campaign for the creation of a separate parish was led by these eastern planters and arose because of the tremendous

challenges that persons living in eastern St James experienced in trying to conduct business in Montego Bay which was almost 60 miles away from the eastern border of St James. Journeying by horse and carriage from the eastern side to Montego Bay on narrow dirt roads took several days if the weather was good and longer when the roads became flooded from heavy rain. Alternative river transportation especially of estate products was not the solution because these rivers had heavy accumulations of mud in some cases and proved dangerous when they were in spate after heavy rains. The eastern planters were especially affected by steep transportation costs because sugar exports and all trading goods had to go through the port at Montego Bay. In 1733 the first petition to have a separate parish carved out of the eastern part of St James failed to win sufficient support in the Jamaican Assembly. The proposal to divide the parish faced stiff opposition from sugar planters from western St James and their supporters who were worried that the creation of a new parish in the east with its own port would result in decreased trade profits by Montego Bay. Perseverance paid off in November 1770 when another petition to have a new parish created out of eastern St James was formally passed into law by the House of Assembly and the new parish was named Trelawny in honour of the then governor, Sir William Trelawny. The boundary line between St James and Trelawny in 1770 was a line running south from a tavern/house at Long Bay (about twelve miles east of Montego Bay) all the way down to the northern border of St Elizabeth. Business places were closed down, bonfires blazed on Gun Hill and several days and nights were spent celebrating the birth of their new parish.[15]




*James Robertson's 1804 Map of Trelawny, Showing a Portion of St James.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

See endnote number 35 on page 191 of this document for a link to James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Cornwall* which allows navigation of the map of Trelawny.

## THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS UP TO EMANCIPATION: THE TOWN OF MARTHA BRAE, THE FIRST CAPITAL OF TRELAWNY PARISH

When Trelawny was formed, it was the town of Martha Brae that was chosen as the first capital of the parish. As seen earlier, when the English began to settle parts of Jamaica, they did not destroy the former Spanish settlement at Martha Brae. Instead, by 1762, the English had built their town on the site of the Spanish settlement. The town was located near to the Martha Brae River, about two and a half miles upstream from the coast and the surrounding plantations of Holland and Irving Tower. Henry Cuniffe, the owner of Holland estate and other Trelawny properties, allowed authorities to extend the town to include the eastern end of Holland estate. An English surveyor, Cuniffe agreed to lay out the design for the town, allowing for two streets which ran from east to west and in keeping with the English tradition, these were named Queen Street and King Street. Additionally, there were three streets which ran from north to south and these were named Church, Duke and Princess Streets. In all, the eighty-five lots which were laid out for houses and shops were all sold. Martha Brae was the centre of activities in the parish and offices of the parish vestry (like today's parish council) the militia and court were all located in the capital. It was a sign of social distinction for wealthy Trelawny sugar planters to have a "grand town house" (a house with two storeys) in Martha Brae and by 1774, there were over thirty of these houses, most built in the Georgian style of architecture. Interestingly, Cuniffe, who had a townhouse in Martha Brae, named the town Lyttleton in tribute to then governor of Jamaica, William Lyttleton. However, with the passing of time, a clear preference for the name Martha Brae emerged as the town was identified with the nearby river bearing that name and Lyttleton was no longer used.[16] When Trelawny was created, the parish therefore had a ready-made capital at Martha Brae.

Locating the town so close to the Martha Brae River meant that they had a constant source of fresh water and the river made it possible to supply goods to the surrounding sugar estates and this made the transportation of goods to and from the coast less

expensive. Heavy silt and other obstacles were cleared from the river and the plan was for the larger vessels to dock at the Rock which was a small seaport community nearer to the coast than Martha Brae. The Rock served as the port for Martha Brae. From the Rock, smaller boats would take the goods the rest of the way up the river to the capital and on the return journey, goods for export from surrounding estates would be taken downstream to the Rock, where they would be loaded onto the larger vessels docked there.


*The Wharf at Rock*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Because of its importance to imports and exports passing through Martha Brae, it is not surprising that the Rock also emerged as a prosperous little seaport community with five piers for docking larger vessels, a few two-storey houses and quite a collection of rum bars or 'spirit-license' shops as they were known then. [17]

*Rock, Fisherman's Wharf Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**FALMOUTH: THE NEW CAPITAL OF TRELAWNY**

Martha Brae had major disadvantages which meant that it could not remain the capital for the long term. There was frequent buildup of silt at the mouth of the Martha Brae River which made navigation very challenging and the waters of the cove by the Rock were too shallow and could not accommodate more than a few vessels at a time. Trelawny's profitable sugar industry was expanding rapidly in the late eighteenth century and this also meant an increase in the amount of exports and imports passing through the capital. Neither the Martha Brae River nor the Rock could cope with the increased volume of trade. Moreover, Martha Brae was at a distance of one mile inland from the coast and two and a half miles upstream. There was therefore an urgent need for a new capital which was located on the coast with a harbour which could accommodate more

ships at a time. Martha Brae's small size of 50 acres may have been suitable for the early years but by 1790, the expanding sugar economy and the increasing population required a bigger capital with easier access to shipping facilities.

**The Birth of the Town of Falmouth**

Most accounts give Edward Moulton Barrett, who was one of the most influential planters in Trelawny, the full credit for the formation of the town that became known as Falmouth. These accounts have given the misleading impression that all of the land on which the town of Falmouth was built belonged to Edward Moulton Barrett who as of the 1770s began to subdivide his property, known as Palmetto Point, and sell lots to interested buyers. According to these accounts, when sufficient of these lots were bought, plans were drawn up for the new town and Falmouth was born. However, as Ivor Conolley and James Parrent point out, a careful examination of the Land deeds (documents showing who owns lands in a given area) reveals that although Edward Barrett and his family owned a great deal of the land that would one day become Falmouth, the Barretts did not own all of it. In fact another planter, Thomas Reid was the owner of 300 acres of land that was located on the harbour that would one day become Falmouth Harbour, so it was considered prime land. In 1769, one year before the creation of Trelawny, Thomas Reid began to subdivide and sell his land which was located in the north-east section of what is today known as Falmouth. Edward Barrett did not start selling lots from his Palmetto Point property until 1774. In December 1769, Thomas Reid sold four lots of his land and continued subdividing and selling lots in December 1770, the same year in which Trelawny was carved out of St James and the name of the property which appeared on the land deeds for these sales was "Martha *Brae Point otherwise known as Falmouth". The process of subdividing the land and* selling to interested buyers was the first step in the formation of the town of Falmouth and so the evidence suggests that it was Thomas Reid and not Edward Barrett who started the process of the town's formation in 1769 and that he did so five years before

Edward Barrett started to subdivide and sell his property of Palmetto Point in 1774. From the information on the deeds of land sold by Thomas Reid, it also appears that it was Reid who named the early settlement *Falmouth* in 1770 after the birthplace of Governor William Trelawny who had overseen the creation of the parish of Trelawny in 1770. In 1774, Edward Barrett purchased 152 acres from Thomas Reid and so by that year, Barrett was really the owner of most of the land that would make up the rest of Falmouth. In that year, 1774, Barrett began to subdivide and sell his lands which were located to the north-west and south of Reid's lands. The important conclusion that may *be drawn from this is that both men, Thomas Reid and Edward Moulton Barrett contributed to the formation of the town of Falmouth but that Reid led the way in starting* the process of town formation. Custom and oral tradition supported this because the north-east part of Falmouth where Reid's lands were situated was for some time referred to as Reid Town whereas the part of Falmouth where Barrett's lands were located was called Barrett Town.

*Moulton Barrett House*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

**The Development of the Town of Falmouth and its Emergence as the Second Capital of Trelawny**

Edward Barrett was a wealthier and far more influential planter than Thomas Reid and this may explain why Barrett and not Reid was given the credit for Falmouth's emergence as a town. Barrett was put in charge of a commission established by the Trelawny Parish Vestry to make recommendations on a new capital. Because he was such a wealthy landowner, Edward Barrett was also able to donate the land at the centre of the town on which the Anglican Parish Church would later be built. This young town of Falmouth had several features which made it ideal for the establishment of Trelawny's second capital. Its location right on the north coast of the parish, about a mile west of the Rock, allowed easy access to a very good harbour which would accommodate the expanding import and export trade of the parish. The abundance of flat, coastal land would facilitate the construction of a large seaport town with comfortable space for homes and businesses. The land was surveyed and plans were drawn up for the new town which was laid out in keeping with a grid of about thirty vertical and horizontal streets. At the centre of the town, the land which had been donated by Barrett was to be reserved for the first Anglican Parish Church in Trelawny and the rest of the land which had not yet been sold was subdivided into plots and within a short space of time, every remaining plot was sold, mainly to many of the parish's prosperous planters and merchants. In keeping with eighteenth-century English traditions of street naming, several of Falmouth's streets were named for English royalty, nobility and outstanding figures. For example Duke Street intersected with Pitt Street, named after famed Prime Minister, William Pitt. [18]

**Edward Barrett House, Tharp House, Tharp Wharf, Other Wharves and Homes**

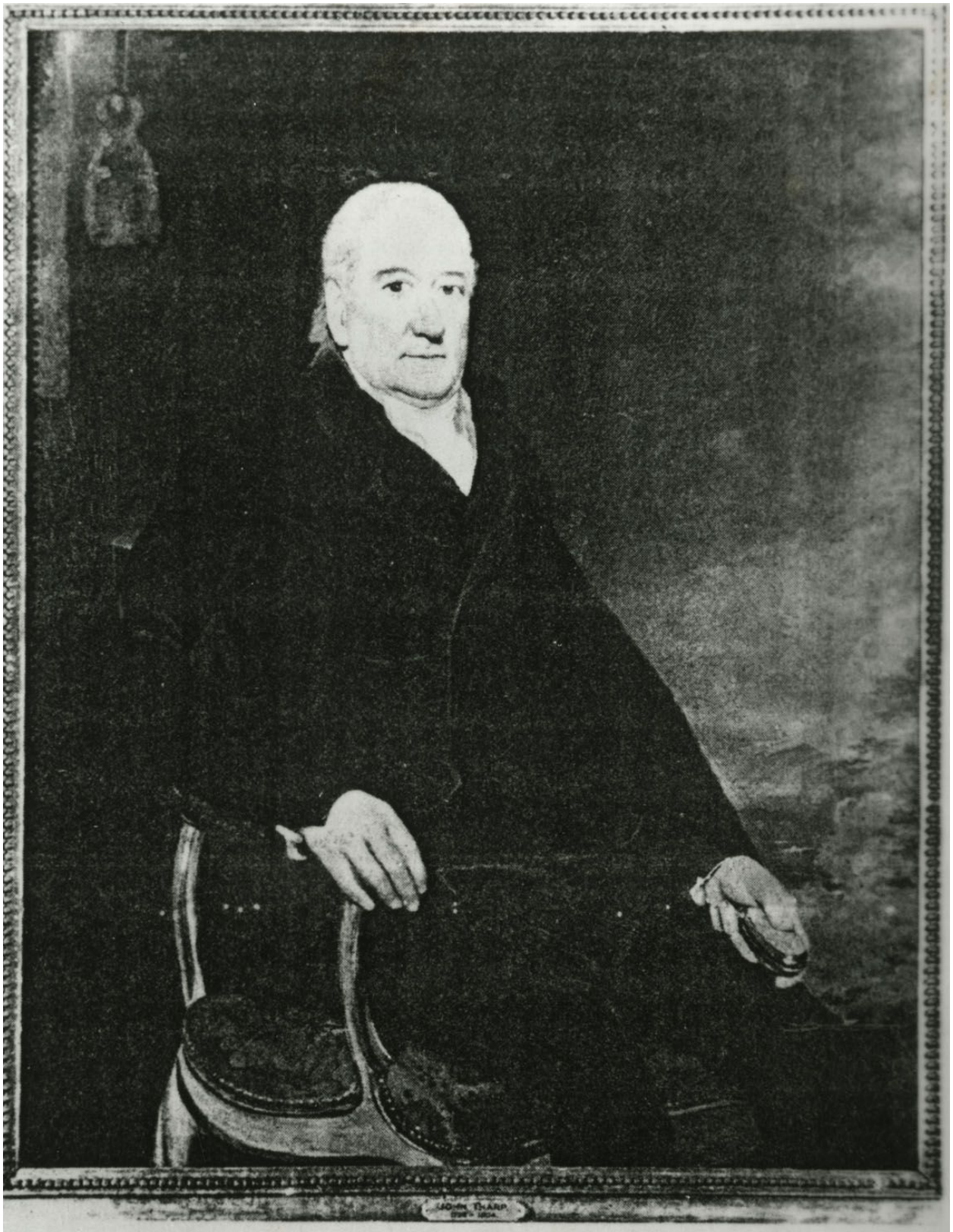
Among Falmouth's leading early English residents was Edward Moulton Barrett who built his house at the corner of no. 1 Market Street and Lower Harbour Street. Known as the Edward Barrett House, this two-storey residence was one of the largest and most splendid homes in Falmouth. It was twice as wide as the nearby houses. Edward Barrett at least started the building of this home in 1799 but died before it could be completed. Barrett had willed the house to his grandson, Samuel Barrett Moulton on the condition that he should change his last name to Barrett, which he did. So his grandson, known as Samuel Barrett Moulton Barrett inherited the house and the Barrett family remained closely identified with it. Although the second floor was destroyed by a hurricane in the early twentieth century, the basic structure of this historical site gives an idea of its early magnificence.

*Barrett House, Falmouth*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Side View of Barrett House, Falmouth*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Barrett's cousin and wealthy Trelawny planter who was also custos of the parish until 1795, John Tharp owned three town houses in Falmouth along with a foundry (pre-dated the Phoenix Foundry) for making iron castings and repairing estate equipment and a wharf. In 1778, Tharp had purchased land from Edward Barrett and on this land he built Tharp Wharf which became the shipping outlet for Tharp's Good Hope Plantation. In later years, Tharp's Wharf became Government Wharf. He also built a single-storey house at the wharf location and this served as an office as well as his residence. This became known as Tharp House. After his death, the town residence continued to be used as a wharf office and later on in the twentieth century as the Tax Collector's office. Tharp Street remains in present-day Falmouth to mark the contribution of John Tharp to the early fortunes of the parish.

*Tharp House, Falmouth* (above) and *John Tharp* (below) Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica



John Tharp
1736-1804

*Falmouth Wharves Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Other planters and merchants also built their own wharves in the eighteenth century. These included Davis'Wharf, now Central Wharf, Jarrett's Wharf, now Hampden Wharf and Barrett's Wharf (later Trelawny Wharf). Homes for the well-off residents were made with bricks, stone (lime mortar was used in the construction) and some houses were made from white pine boards. Houses were built in the eighteenth-century Georgian style. Homes of the well-to-do usually consisted of two storeys (referred to as townhouses) and homes, especially of Jewish merchants, were a combination of facilities for shops and stores on the lower floor and living quarters on the upstairs.

**St Peter's Anglican Parish Church**

As the Church of England was the official church of the British government, it was

necessary to have an Anglican church built in the parish capital and this would become the parish church. This practice was observed for every parish in Jamaica. St Peter's Anglican Parish Church was built between 1794 and 1796 on four lots of lands at the centre of the town, donated by Barrett for this purpose. John Tharp also gave some of the land which the churchyard now occupies. In 1796, a sixty-foot tower (belfry) was built to house the three church bells and a three-dial clock was also installed. The cost of construction was £ 10,000 and the organ was presented to the church by John Tharp. St Peter's Anglican Parish Church is the oldest public building in Falmouth and the oldest church in Trelawny parish. It stands today on Duke Street as a testament to Falmouth's historic past.

*Parish Church of St Peter the Apostle, Falmouth*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Early Court Meetings in the Capital, the Masonic Lodge (the Baptist Manse)**

Gradually, the activities of the capital were shifted from Martha Brae to Falmouth as infrastructure expanded and the town grew. For example, in 1794, the planters requested that court meetings be removed from Martha Brae to Falmouth and early court sessions were held at a building at the corner of Duke and Market Streets (the Falmouth Courthouse was not built until 1815). By 1797 the Trelawny vestry was holding its regular meetings in the same building where court sessions were held in the new capital. An early building that was to become historically important in Falmouth was the Masonic Temple which was built on the corner of Market and Trelawny Streets in 1798. The Athol Union Masonic Lodge of the Scottish Constitution, formed in 1798 was in charge of designing one of the first masonic halls in Jamaica. Given the Scottish presence in Trelawny, this was not surprising. In an elaborate ceremony, Scottish and English masons laid out the four cornerstones for the building. However, the Lodge became indebted and in the 1830s, the building was sold to the Baptists and the Baptist Manse as it became known, was to serve as the home of William Knibb while he was pastor of the Falmouth Baptist Church.[19]


*The Baptist Manse, Falmouth.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Falmouth's Water Supply, the Persian Water Wheel and Water Square**

As the capital grew in size and population, vestry officials recognised the need for a reliable supply of fresh water to the town and in 1799 the Falmouth Water Company was officially formed for this purpose. Lands next to the Martha Brae River were bought and water was diverted from the river into a canal which emptied into a dam built for that purpose. From the dam, the water was channelled along an aqueduct and emptied on to a twenty-foot Persian water wheel and as the force of the water turned the wheel, water was collected in huge buckets attached to the water wheel.

*The Persian Water Wheel Powered by the Martha Brae River*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

As the wheel turned, the buckets of water emptied into a large wooden trough and were refilled as the wheel continued to turn, repeating the process. From the wooden trough, the water flowed through six-inch cast-iron pipes and emptied into a large reservoir located in Falmouth Square. Only a few of the wealthy residents of Falmouth were able to get water piped to their homes and six standpipes were built in the town to allow other residents access to the water from the reservoir. This reservoir explains the name Water Square which was given to that part of Falmouth where the reservoir was located. Although the historic reservoir was replaced by a fountain in the 1950s, Water Square remains the established name of Falmouth Square today as a fitting testament to this historic feature of Falmouth's story. In the 1950s the Water Commission replaced the old system with an improved facility. [20]

*Falmouth's Water Square Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Early Market Facilities**

Before a market shed was built, persons coming into Falmouth (including slaves) to sell provisions and other goods simply laid out their goods on the ground near the reservoir and buyers had to "bend down" to purchase goods. This perhaps explains the practice of the weekly "bend down" market which still takes place in Falmouth today. Simple market amenities were added to improve life in the new capital and these included a shed built near to the reservoir in the square in 1800 and this served as Falmouth's first built market. Later, in 1821, more stalls were added where beef and fish were sold. It was not until much later in 1894 that the Albert George Market was built, named after the grandsons of Queen Victoria (Albert, Duke of Clarence and George, who later became King George v).


*Early Market and Reservoir in Falmouth.* Courtesy of National library of Jamaica

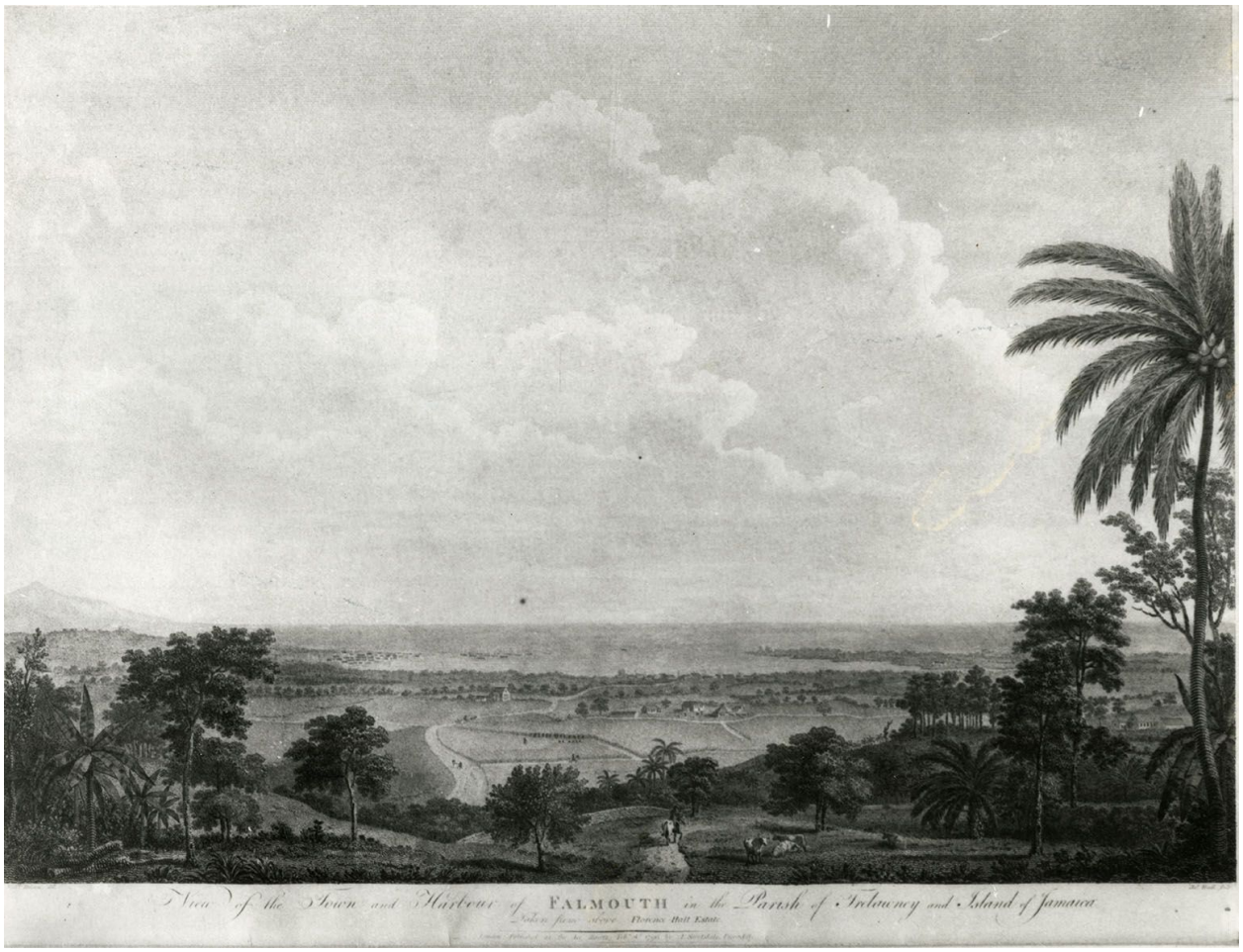
**Early Horse Racing at Cave Island Pen**

A source of relaxation and entertainment was provided for the planter and merchant elite of Falmouth in 1794 when the Trelawny vestry gave instructions for an eight-furlong horse-racing track (race course) to be built at Cave Island Pen in Falmouth on property originally owned by Edward Moulton Barrett. Horseracing soon became a major leisure time activity and there were frequent three-day continuous racing events with enthusiastic participants coming from all over Trelawny and from other parishes such as St Ann.

**Improvements in Roads and Transport facilities**

Falmouth's coastal location with access to a very good harbour would do wonders for its booming import and export trade. It was also necessary to improve transport and communications with other sections of the parish. As seen previously, the transportation route from the seacoast to the town of Martha Brae was by way of the Martha Brae River and this had posed its own challenges. To address this, a road was built connecting the seacoast (near the Rock) to Martha Brae and areas further inland to the south. Additionally, a coastal road was built, running east from the mouth of the Martha Brae River and later, another road was built from Half Moon Bay which intersected with the road from Rock through Martha Brae and Holland on to the Greenside Junction. Falmouth's commerce benefitted from these improved channels of communication with other parts of the parish. In 1805 when Falmouth was officially recognised as the port of entry and clearance for all of Trelawny's trade, this underscored Falmouth's importance as the capital of Trelawny. This also meant that Falmouth harbour was constantly busy,

sometimes with as many as 27 ships in port and while this was good for business, the increased shipping also brought some amount of public disorder with reports of drunken sailors causing mayhem in the streets of the parish. Eventually, the vestry had to order the building of a stone cage in the square to give the drunk and disorderly a "cooling off" period. [21] By the first decade of the nineteenth century therefore, the foundations had been laid which strengthened Falmouth as the capital and also as the leading light of Trelawny parish.




*View of the Early Town of Falmouth and the Harbour.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

## THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER TOWNS IN TRELAWNY UP TO EMANCIPATION

Several of the other towns and communities in the parish emerged in the period after Emancipation and in most cases they developed out of settlements established by the ex-slaves. Examples of these communities and towns include Clark's Town, Albert Town and Granville and more will be said on these communities in the post-1838 period of Trelawny's history. However, in addition to Martha Brae Village and Falmouth, there were other settlements which were established before 1838 and which would grow in significance as the years passed. One of these was Stewart Town.

## STEWART TOWN

Historic Stewart Town is located in the Dry Harbour Mountains of Trelawny, at an elevation of 317 meters or 1,040 feet above sea level. In fact Stewart Town can be described as an inland hill town on the eastern boundary of the parish which separates Trelawny from St Ann. The idea for the town was first discussed by the Trelawny Vestry in 1812 and its formation in 1815 was closely linked to events which were unfolding on the North American continent during the War of 1812, fought between the United States and Britain. During this war, which lasted until 1814, supplies of lumber, food and other estate goods which normally came into Jamaica from North America were cut off and planters faced a shortage of estate supplies. Members of the Trelawny Vestry strongly believed that if a market town could be established on the main interior road known then as "Foss shop", then settlers from the surrounding hills would bring their foodstuff, lumber and other goods for sale in the market town helping to supply plantations and reduce the shortage created by the war. Because of the hilly terrain of the area, the vestry members also felt that this hill town would be suited to the cultivation of coffee. The terms and conditions under which the town was to be developed and administered were set out or incorporated in a law passed in 1812 and therefore Stewart Town as it would be named, was the second town in Trelawny's history to be incorporated under the law, the first being Falmouth. The commissioners who were appointed to set out the

town were custos of the parish, James Stewart 11, Thomas Munro, John Stockdale Brown and Charles Reynolds and they were given authority to purchase, lease and sell land, establish markets, shops and taverns. In 1815 they purchased twenty one and a half acres from Thomas Gordon, owner of Georgia estate and five and one quarter acres from Mark Cave. The land was cleared and a surveyor, Nicholas Smith was instructed to survey and subdivide the land into lots to be sold at twenty-five pounds each as an incentive for those who bought lots early. Because it was intended to be a market town, four lots in all, nos. 59, 60, 67 and 68 were to be set aside for the market place and shade trees were to be left in place in an area, 60ft by 20ft in the centre of the marketplace to provide comfortable conditions for vendors and customers alike. Streets were laid out in the town and a road was built which led into the town and another leading out of the town and intersecting with the main interior road.

*Stewart Castle*. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The newly created town was named Stewart Town in honour of the custos, James Stewart 11,

owner of Stewart Castle, who had been instrumental in the creation and early development of the town. Some of Stewart Town's earliest residents included James Utten who bought two lots, Michael Lyon, who was appointed head constable and clerk of the market and who bought three lots, and John Turnstall, who also bought three lots.


*Stewart Town.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Because of its elevation and relatively cool environment, Stewart Town did very well in coffee cultivation but it also was a huge success as an inland market town and people from other villages and plantations came to buy and sell supplies, especially estate supplies. After Emancipation, Stewart Town also proved very attractive to peasant

producers from other parts of the parish as they steadily brought their provisions for sale in the grand market town. By the late nineteenth century, although Stewart Town lost some of its trade to Brown's Town in nearby St Ann, the town held its own as a thriving market town well into the twentieth century. By then, as will be seen in another section of this history, Stewart Town had grown in infrastructure and had become the home of Westwood High School for Girls. [22]

**RIO BUENO**

Under Spanish rule, Rio Bueno had initially provided them with a deep harbour for securing and repairing vessels and later served as one of the ports of call for illegal traders who supplied Spanish settlers with goods that were otherwise hard to come by. Whereas Rio Bueno was relatively neglected by Spanish officials after they relocated their capital to Villa de La Vega, its seaside location near the border of Trelawny and St Ann and its deep harbour meant that Rio Bueno would prove commercially and strategically important to the English. They established a small but thriving town with several cut stone Georgian style buildings, wharves and wharf houses. These were owned and used by sugar planters from the surrounding areas and today, the stones wharves are still intact. The presence of taverns, guesthouses and inns in the town suggests that Rio Bueno was also important as a rest stop for travellers on their way to or from Falmouth or elsewhere on the north coast. Perhaps the most famous of these was the Wellington Tavern at which Lady Nugent, the wife of the governor in 1802 stayed and wrote of having had a "second breakfast" and which Monk Lewis, an English writer and owner of sugar estates in Jamaica, described in 1816 as "a very good inn".

*Wellington Dwelling House, Rio Bueno*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Another View of Wellington* showing what was possibly the foundation of the original Wellington Guest House. Courtesy Stuart Reeves

Rio Bueno also had two of the oldest churches in Trelawny after St Peter's Anglican Parish Church in Falmouth. The first of these was the Rio Bueno Baptist Church, originally built in 1829 but which was burnt to the ground in 1832 during anti-missionary riots led by the Colonial Church Union, a group of planters and others who were opposed to the influence which the Baptists and other missionaries had among the enslaved people. The church was rebuilt in 1834 and the existing church was rebuilt on the site of this church in 1901.

*Rio Bueno Baptist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

The second church was St Mark's Anglican Church which was built in 1833 in response to an appeal by the residents to the House of Assembly for an Anglican church (the shingle roof of this beautiful, historic church was destroyed by fire in 2005).

*St Mark's Anglican Church, Rio Bueno*. Courtesy Stuart Reeves

The entire north coast of Jamaica was vulnerable to attacks from pirates and French and Dutch privateers, especially during the eighteenth century when their mother countries were often at war with England. To protect the sugar trade from the area, planters built a fortification (that would later become Fort Dundas) at Rio Bueno. The year 1778 is carved into one of the stones used to build the original doorway of the structure and this most likely was the year in which the early fortification was built. By 1880, then governor of Jamaica, Lord Balcarres, was fearful that Rio Bueno's excellent harbour and its north coast location might have encouraged a Spanish attack launched from Cuba. As a result, he made the fortification at Rio Bueno part of the official defence system and named it Fort Dundas after Henry Dundas, British Secretary of War at the time.

*Part of the Ruins of Fort Dundas*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Today, the remains of Fort Dundas are still seen behind the Rio Bueno Primary School. Although

Rio Bueno was always in the shadow of the more significant capital of Falmouth, the seaside town with its spectacular view of the Rio Bueno Harbour never completely faded from the spotlight. Bartholomew Kidd's famed lithographic print of Rio Bueno captured its beauty as a view frozen in time and scenes from the film "A High Wind in Jamaica" were also shot at Rio Bueno. [23]

## ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN TRELAWNY UP TO EMANCIPATION

### THE GOLDEN YEARS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN TRELAWNY

After the English capture of Jamaica in 1655, settlement took place initially on the south east coast of the island. The English settlers, recognising the potential of Jamaica's tropical coastal plains for the cultivation of sugar cane and the production of sugar, established sugar plantations on the southern plains from St Thomas in the East to Clarendon and up to the first half of the eighteenth century, it was on the south coast of the island that sugar production and sugar estates were concentrated. However, between 1740 and 1790 as sugar became increasingly profitable, planters saw the plains of the north coastal parishes as suitable for expanding sugar production and sugar plantations spread rapidly into the north coast parishes of Westmoreland and old St James (with most estates found in the eastern section of St James which was to become Trelawny in 1770.) Between 1792 and 1799, 84 new sugar estates were established and more than half of these were in the parishes of St James, Trelawny and St Ann. By the late eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century, the north coast parishes came to dominate sugar production and sugar prosperity and six years after the parish was created, Trelawny had developed a reputation as an outstanding producer of sugar and its by-product, rum. As an indication of this success, in 1804, Trelawny exported 13, 295 hogsheads (barrels) of sugar produced by 94 estates in the Parish.[24]

### Trelawny Planters and Their Estates

Trelawny, like other parishes, was inhabited predominantly by English settlers and African enslaved persons. However, once settlement became established, many persons from Scotland also came to live in the parish. As Alan Karras has pointed out, Scottish migrants who came to Jamaica often did so with the assistance of a network of

support provided by other Scottish patrons. Their presence in Trelawny was significant by 1804, making up about 35.5 percent of European settlers in the parish. Among these Scottish migrants were skilled artisans who provided labour in places such as the foundry in Falmouth while quite a few became, like their English counterparts, owners of sugar estates and other enterprises in the parish. The coastal plains of Trelawny were ideal for sugar cane cultivation and by 1776 the parish boasted many sugar estates, most of them being located in the areas surrounding the Martha Brae River and Falmouth. Perhaps the wealthiest planter in the parish was Englishman, the Hon. John Tharp who owned the 3,000 acre property of Good Hope, Wales, Lansquinet, Potosi and Covey and who went on to become the Custos of Trelawny until 1795. Before his death in 1804, Tharp went on to acquire even more properties in Trelawny including Merrywood, Top Hill, Windsor and Pantrepant. English surveyor, Henry Cuniffe, who was instrumental in the laying out of Martha Brae Town, was another successful planter who owned Merrywood (before it passed to Tharp) Holland, Garredu, Black Garden and Nottingham. Of English origin, the Barretts who were cousins of John Tharp, were among Trelawny's most noteworthy families and included the Honourable Richard Barrett (1789-1839) the planter who built Greenwood Great House and Edward Moulton Barrett, owner of several plantations and prominent resident of Falmouth.

Ownership of several estates by one planter or by one family over a period of years seemed to have been the order of the day in Trelawny and no doubt this was influenced by the profitability of the sugar industry before Emancipation. Long Pond Estate, about 13 miles south-east of Falmouth was originally owned by William Reid in 1709. By 1776, ownership remained in the family as in that year Richard Haughton-Reid was the owner. As Jean Besson has pointed out, Long Pond Estate eventually became Trelawny's longest surviving sugar works, forming the basis of Long Pond Estates by 2001. The Reid family over time went on to own six estates in Trelawny including Friendship, Bunkers' Hill and Wakefield. Located on the upper banks of the Martha Brae River were

the two estates of Hampstead and Retreat, which according to the 1839 Jamaica Almanac, were being administered in 1776 by an executor, H. Barnett. However, it is said that the owner of both estates in 1776 was really Jane Stone, the slave wife of Jonathan Barnett who clearly was deceased by 1776 as his estates required an executor. Shortly before Emancipation, Hampstead was producing 233 hogsheads of sugar and 107 puncheons of rum while Retreat was producing 161 hogsheads of sugar and 91 puncheons of rum. Both estates were later joined and the property continued to be known as Hampstead. [25]

**Green Park Estate**

An important estate which was located in western Trelawny near to the Martha Brae River was Green Park Estate. Green Park had an interesting history as the records indicate that the property remained in the hands of the Atherton family for over 142 years. Englishman William Atherton inherited the property from Thomas Southworth around 1768 even before Trelawny became a separate parish and he completed the Great House which Southworth had started (it still exists today).

*Ruins of Green Park Great House*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

By purchasing adjoining properties, Atherton enlarged Green Park to 1,315 acres. In 1776, Atherton not only owned Green Park but was also attorney for another Trelawny estate, Gale's Valley. Atherton was one of the parish's wealthiest planters and he was also a successful merchant in Martha Brae and Falmouth. In 1803, William Atherton died, leaving the estate to his nephew, John Atherton. Green Park remained the property of his family and immediately before Emancipation, the estate averaged 1,315 acres (moderately large estate) had 500 enslaved workers, produced 400 hogsheads (barrels for storing and shipping sugar) of sugar and 200 puncheons (container for storing rum)

of fine Trelawny rum. This highly successful estate remained in the Atherton family until 1910 when it was sold to the family's attorney and manager of the estate, Walter Wooliscroft. Green Park ended its days of sugar production in 1957 and thereafter, Kaiser Bauxite Company bought the property in order to re-settle dispossessed farmers on five-acre lots. [26]

*Green Park Sugar Estate Ruins*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Good Hope Estate**

This extensive property of about three thousand acres which bordered the upper sections of the Martha Brae River is popularly identified with wealthy Trelawny planter and merchant, John Tharp. However, before Tharp acquired the property, Colonel Thomas Williams, the grandson of one of the first settlers in the island was granted one thousand acres of land bordering the Martha Brae River in 1742 and he named it Good Hope and built the Great House in 1755. By 1767 when John Tharp bought Good Hope for £74,000.00 it had been expanded to three thousand acres.

*Remains of Sugar Works on Good Hope Estate*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Good Hope had its own foundry, church, a slave hospital and a school for the enslaved children. The estate was very profitable, with the average production of sugar between 1795 and 1800 being just over 1,500 hogsheads a year. Tharp had approximately 2,600 enslaved persons on his properties and he was described as being good and kind in his treatment of them. Good Hope during its glory days was the spot for social gatherings among Trelawny planters

*Good Hope Great House in the Twentieth Century*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

and a place where they often came to discuss issues of concern to them. When John Tharp died at Good Hope in 1804, he owned a great deal of the land adjoining Martha Brae River, several homes in Falmouth and land in St Ann and Westmoreland. Today, Good Hope Great House remains a striking reminder on the Trelawny landscape of the wealth that was his. [27]

**Bryan Castle Estate**

Bryan Edwards (1743-1800) the English planter-historian and writer of the *History of the British West Indies* acquired Bryan Castle Estate from his uncle, Zachary Bayly in the late eighteenth century. He also became the owner of neighbouring Brampton Bryan.

Located about three miles from Rio Bueno, Bryan Castle was a fairly large property of 1,402 acres. In 1825, 300 acres were cultivated in cane, 600 acres were used for pasture and pimento (which was grown on quite a few Trelawny estates) and the rest was used for the works yard, provision grounds and residence for the 165 slaves on the estate. Around 1825, the production of sugar averaged about 300 hogsheads per year and in good years, the estate also produced around 300 bags of pimento. Much of Bryan Edward's History was written while at Bryan Castle.

*Bryan Castle Great House*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

**Hyde Hall Estate**

Hyde Hall was owned in 1840 by Henry Shirley who also owned nearby Etingdon and Glamorgan and his three properties collectively amounted to 4,622 acres. An unusual feature of

Hyde Hall's history was the monument erected in memory of an enslaved woman named Eve who usually took care of the enslaved children on the estate. When she drowned in a pond on the estate, Shirley had a monument erected on which he inscribed a tribute to Eve.

*Hyde Hall Great House*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*A Section of the Interior of Hyde Hall Great House.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Among the Scottish planters in Trelawny in the eighteenth century was James Irving, a medical doctor who owned Irving Tower estate, one of Trelawny's more profitable estates in 1776, which was located on the banks of the Martha Brae River and stretched out over 900 acres. Scottish ownership was also reflected in several other Trelawny

estates in the eighteenth century. Robert and James Stirling established Hampden sugar estate in the fertile Queen of Spain's Valley in 1757.

*Hampden Sugar Estate Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

By the 1820s, ownership of Hampden had descended to Archibald Sterling who was instrumental in inviting the Scottish Missionary Society to start a Presbyterian ministry in the area (see section on"Church and School").

*Hampden Sugar Factory Today.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

William Stothert, Sterling's friend and fellow Scot, owned the nearby Dundee Estate, named after that location in Scotland. Georgia sugar plantation in eastern Trelawny was owned by Scotsman, Charles Gordon and another Scottish migrant, Francis Grant, managed Hampden Estate for a while in 1789. Another prominent Scottish planter in the parish was John Cunningham, who in 1738 owned Maxfield Estate, Greenside Estate, Hopewell, Biddeford and Roslin Castle. One of his sons, James Cunningham became Custos of Trelawny and inherited his father's plantations. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Scotsman, James Stewart 1 built the famous Stewart Castle Great House out of cut stone on his 167 acre property in the parish and this property was inherited by James Stewart 11 (1766-1828). He spent most of his life in Trelawny, went on to become custos of the parish and was instrumental in the formation of Stewart Town (named in his honour) in 1812. [28]

*Ruins of Stewart Castle Great House*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Stewart Castle Great House.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

**THE PIMENTO WALKS OF TRELAWNY**

Pimento, also known as Allspice (because it is said to combine cinnamon, clove and nutmeg) is a spice which is indigenous to Jamaica and was used by the Tainos. During slavery, pimento was not very significant to Jamaica's exports, accounting for only 4 % of exports from the island up to Emancipation. Nevertheless, during the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries, Trelawny was a major producer of pimento. Most of these pimento walks were found on plantations in the eastern part of the parish just beyond Rio Bueno and were concentrated along Trelawny's eastern border with St Ann. No plantations were dedicated to pimento alone but rather, mixed farming was practiced on sugar estates and on the few livestock pens which devoted land space to the pimento walks. Bryan Castle Estate, discussed before, in 1825 produced an average of 300

bags of pimento. Usually the pimento walks were spread throughout the pastures of guinea and common grass. Today, pimento is considered an essential ingredient in jerk seasoning. [29]

**LIVESTOCK PENS AND COFFEE PRODUCTION IN TRELAWNY**

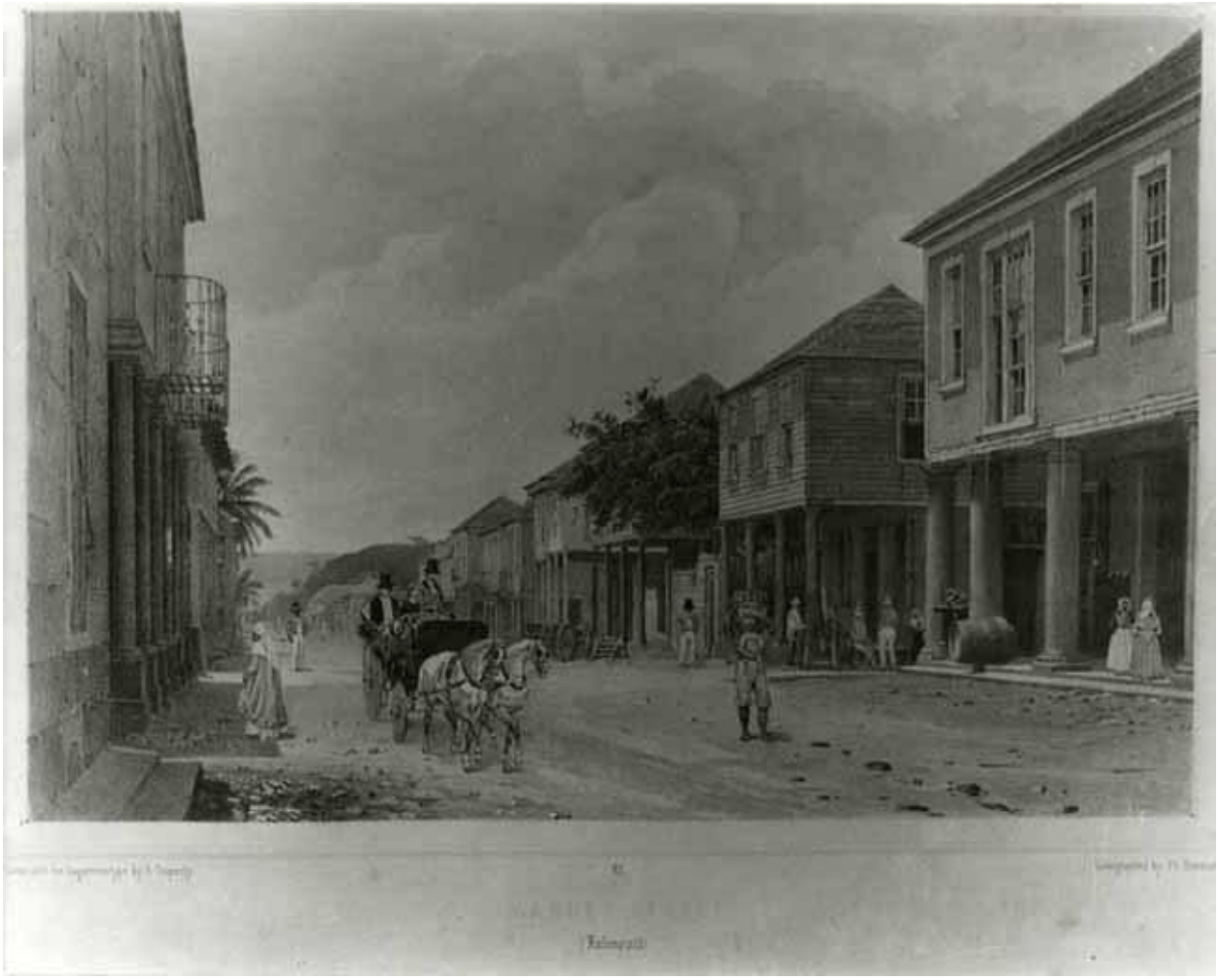
Although sugar estates dominated the flat, arable land in Trelawny, livestock rearing was also important to supply the estates with draft animals and also beef for consumption. In the parish, cattle rearing was done on a few livestock pens which were properties which were mainly devoted (not always exclusively so) to the raising of cattle. In Jamaica, the practice was to locate livestock pens on marginal back lands or on relatively infertile hill areas but Trelawny did not have a great deal of unused arable land as this was dominated by sugar cane cultivation. Consequently, Trelawny did not have a lot of properties that were devoted to livestock rearing alone. Every sugar estate also had pasture lands set aside for the grazing of estate animals but the owners had to buy livestock from livestock pens, whether in Trelawny or outside of Trelawny. An example of a property in Trelawny which was used as a livestock pen in the late 1820s was Silver Grove Pen which was located in the interior of the parish, about one or two miles from the Cockpit Country. Silver Grove Pen and the neighbouring Golden Grove Estate were both owned by John Jarrett who was also the owner of Kent estate in the parish. Silver Grove was 665 acres in size and 317 of these were cultivated in Guinea grass and 242 acres were in common grass. Even though Golden Grove was mainly a sugar estate, the hilly parts of this 1,030 acre estate were set aside for Guinea grass and common pasture. It was not until the late post-slavery period when some estates faced mounting challenges that some Trelawny properties began to shift attention to livestock rearing on a larger scale. Up until then, sugar reigned supreme in the parish.

Coffee was not cultivated much in the parish of Trelawny, compared with other parishes such as St Thomas, St Andrew and Manchester, largely because coffee did well in high elevations and the mountainous parts of the parish were largely located in the inhospitable Cockpit Country. However, there were a few coffee producing areas in the

parish before Emancipation. An interesting example is that of the Spring Vale plantation which stretched from western St James into eastern Trelawny (when Trelawny was formed out of old St James, the boundary line ran through the property). This was owned by William Atherton (discussed previously) who also owned Green Park Estate in Trelawny. A small part of Spring Vale (between 60 to 100 acres) was located in Trelawny and in the eighteenth century coffee was cultivated on the Trelawny side while the St James portion was an extensive livestock-raising property. Coffee was also grown in parts of the Dry Harbour Mountains, where one of the reasons for the establishment of Stewart Town had been the vestry's belief that coffee would do well in the hilly, cooler district. In the period before Emancipation, Retirement Coffee Estate in the parish was fairly well established with an enslaved population of 112, of which 52 adults and 35 children worked at the field tasks associated with the cultivation and harvesting of the coffee crop. [30]

## FALMOUTH PORT BLOSSOMS: MERCHANTS, PROSPERITY AND THE CENTER OF THE IMPORT EXPORT TRADE

Trelawny's many profitable sugar estates were vital to the growth and development of the parish at this time and the thriving import and export trade which was taking place in the capital port town of Falmouth was a major driving force behind the development of Trelawny and the wider Jamaica during this period.



*Market Street, Falmouth in the Eighteenth Century.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

By the early nineteenth century, the coastal town of Falmouth was second only to Kingston in the

amount of sugar exported each year. After 1805, when Falmouth was declared a free port of entry and clearance with its own customs house, this enabled the merchants of the capital town to export Trelawny's goods directly to England instead (as was the earlier practice) of sending the goods through Montego Bay. With its Freeport status, Falmouth's imports and exports were also exempted from payment of certain types of duties or taxes and this contributed to the increase in the trade of the capital town. By 1833-1834, Falmouth's export trade ranked very high in almost every commodity exported when compared to ten other ports in Jamaica during this period. So for example, Falmouth ranked second

in sugar exports, third in the export of rum and molasses, third in pimento, second in hides, fourth in dyewoods, fifth in ginger and fifth in coffee. In terms of imports into the island, Falmouth port also ranked high at third place behind Kingston and Montego Bay, receiving ten percent of goods imported into Jamaica. [31]

*Falmouth Wharves Today.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

The depth of the Falmouth harbour meant that more trans-Atlantic ships could be accommodated at Falmouth Port and this contributed to the tremendous increase in trade and prosperity which was experienced in the capital during the late eighteenth into the early nineteenth century. At the same time, Falmouth became a major port of sale for the trans-Atlantic trade in slaves, supplying not only the Trelawny estates with enslaved labour but also selling slaves to other buyers from neighbouring parishes. Falmouth's merchants grew increasingly prosperous from the trade in slaves and Falmouth Town benefitted from the ever-expanding trade. Apart from the trade in slaves, the port of Falmouth did brisk business in the export of sugar and rum from approximately eighty eight Trelawny sugar estates and the warehouses of the town were filled to capacity with imported goods needed by the estates such as hardware, building materials, cloth as well as imported foodstuff. Therefore, the trade in slaves and the extensive import-export business handled by Falmouth Port contributed significantly to the prosperity of Falmouth town during the period before emancipation and the booming business was reflected in the increased construction of two and three-storey homes, warehouses, stores, inns, taverns, brothels and craft shops for goldsmiths, gunsmiths and tinsmiths. In many of the two-storey Georgian-styled homes, the ground floor served as shops while the owners (usually merchants) lived on the second floor. Some important features of these Georgian-styled homes included a hip roof (a roof with sloping sides and ends) Quoins (corner building blocks which were larger than the blocks which surrounded the corner blocks) and sashed and louvered windows to allow the air to circulate.

**Jewish and Other Merchants in Falmouth**

By 1832, Falmouth was therefore a thriving port town and was the third most populated town in Jamaica, behind Kingston and Montego Bay. Merchants, most of them Jewish, flocked to Falmouth and the town's increased prosperity was partly a result of their control of the retail trade in the stores and shops of the town. Inscriptions on the tombs located in Falmouth's Jewish Cemetery, located on Duke Street, give an indication of the influence which the Jewish community had on the growth and development of Falmouth town. The oldest inscription which can be read is that of Isaac Simon who died on January 17, 1815.

*The Jewish Cemetery in Falmouth*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Some of the more influential Jewish merchant families in Falmouth included the Delgado, Desouza and Lindo families, whose names have continued to be associated with business in the Jamaican landscape.

One merchant of note was Thomas Kidd, who was Scottish and was also a contractor and superintendent of the parish workhouse. His brother, Joseph Bartholomew Kidd was the famous painter who was commissioned to paint several scenes in the parish. The Jewish Lyon/ Lyons family of merchants also made their mark on Falmouth's development. In 1781, David Lyon bought three 300-acre lots and in 1820, his descendant, Samuel Lyon, also owned land in Falmouth. By the 1840s, George Lyons, a Jewish retailer, was well established having a small amount of land and a retail business in which he made several connections with ex-slaves in the free villages around the parish. Lyons was to become politically successful as will be discussed in a later section on Black activism.

*Another View of Falmouth's Jewish Cemetery.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Free Coloured Residents of Falmouth**

Besides the wealthy white planters and merchants who made up the fabric of Falmouth's society, there were a number of successful free coloureds who also contributed to the growing prosperity of Falmouth before Emancipation. These included Isaac Love, his brother Thomas as well as other members of the Love family who were skilled masons and chair makers and who also made a living as property speculators, buying and selling lots on Duke, King and Queen Streets in Falmouth. The two-storey brick house at 1 Trelawny Street was built by Isaac Love. Another successful free coloured family was that of Thomas and Eleanor Neale who owned premises at 23 Duke Street in Falmouth. They operated a large two-storey tavern, the top floor of which served as their residence. The tavern not only did good business but was also a gathering place for many social activities. By eighteenth-century standards, the Neales were regarded as wealthy, with Thomas being the owner of a 274 acre property, 96 slaves and several mules, steers, horses and sheep. One of the more famed homes in Falmouth was Davidson House and this belonged at one point to Mary Gairdner, a free coloured. Davidson House is a two-storey house located on the corner of Charlotte and King Streets, overlooking the harbour. It was built on lands purchased from Samuel Barrett Moulton Barrett in 1822 by William Wray and Mary's husband, John Gairdner, who died shortly after. Mary Gairdner willed the house to her son, Thomas Davidson who assumed ownership after his mother died. [32]

**The Expansion of the Town's Facilities**

**Fort Balcarres**

With the expansion of Falmouth's commerce and with the growing prosperity of Trelawny parish, it was clear that Fort Dundas was insufficient to protect the northern coast of the parish against attack. A small fortification had been present in Falmouth almost from the beginnings of the town and this had been situated initially at Palmetto Point. The fort was relocated to the centre of the town in the 1790s and named for the Earl of Balcarres, who was governor of the island between 1795 and 1801. By 1803, the

Jamaican Assembly, concerned that the firing of the cannon in the centre of the town during ceremonial parades posed a fire hazard, ordered the relocation of Fort Balcarres back to Palmetto Point where a larger, better equipped structure was built and a garrison of soldiers stationed there. Today, Falmouth Primary School occupies the site where Fort Balcarres is located.

*Fort Balcarres*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves


*Falmouth All Age School on the Site of Fort Balcarres.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**The Phoenix Foundry (the Dome)**


*The Phoenix Foundry*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

The expansion of sugar estates and the increased numbers of vessels sailing into Falmouth Port necessitated an expanded foundry facility that could cope with an increased demand for repairs to broken metalwork from ships and estate factory equipment. As a result, the Phoenix Foundry (the Dome) was built at the corner of Tharp Street and Harbour Street in 1810. The Phoenix Foundry and expansion of Falmouth's commerce went hand in hand as it was helpful in repairing ships docked in Falmouth Harbour, thereby strengthening Falmouth's attraction as a preferred port of call. Bedsteads were also made for the garrison of soldiers stationed at Fort Balcarres. Scottish settlers were among the skilled labourers working at the foundry. The Dome itself was also probably used at first to manufacture ceramics and glass products but before long, the entire structure performed the services of a foundry.

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**The Falmouth Courthouse**

As seen earlier, up until 1815, court and vestry meetings were held in temporary quarters at the corner of Duke and Princess Streets in Falmouth. The Falmouth Courthouse was constructed in 1815 and cost the grand sum of £ 20,000. It was spacious enough to accommodate parochial meetings as well as court sessions but also served as a town hall, quickly becoming the centre of social interaction for the elite of the parish. It was there that planters entertained governors and visiting officials and grand formal balls held at the courthouse were the highlight of Falmouth's social circuit. Fire partly destroyed the courthouse in 1926 and it was restored by 1929 with the exterior retaining its Georgian features and charm.

*The Falmouth Courthouse*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**The Police Barracks and Vermont House (Falmouth Post Office)**

To help secure order in the town, the Police Barracks were built in the early nineteenth century, between 1820 and 1830. This was located at no. 5 Rodney Street in Falmouth. It was a two storey building, with the lower floor equipped with cells to hold prisoners.

*Ruins of Old Police Barracks in Falmouth.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Vermont House**

One of the most outstanding examples of well- preserved Georgian architecture in Falmouth and of a magnificent merchant house is Vermont House located on Market Street. The two-storey brick house with a store on the ground floor was built after 1832 for Thomas Robert Vermont who was a very influential resident and a senior member of the parish vestry. It remains an outstanding example of Georgian features such as the Quoins (corner bricks that are raised above the level of the surrounding wall stones) and the columns. Vermont willed the house to Mary Atkinson and her daughter who had

looked after the place whenever he was away. He died in 1865. Vermont House in later years became the Falmouth Post Office.

*Vermont House, Now the Falmouth Post Office*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Churches in Falmouth**

Falmouth's oldest church and indeed, Trelawny's first parish church, St Peter's Anglican Church, was completed in 1796 at a cost of £ 10,000 and located (as seen earlier) on Duke Street on lands donated for that purpose by Edward Barrett. Another of Falmouth's distinguished citizens, John Tharp, presented the organ to the church. The Falmouth Baptist Church was built by Reverend Thomas Burchell, a Baptist missionary who was active among the slaves in the period before Emancipation. He raised the idea of building a chapel in Falmouth as early as 1827 but it was not until 1831 that the first Falmouth Baptist Chapel was completed. Burnt to the ground during the Sam Sharpe Rebellion, the chapel was replaced by a church in 1836. However, the Baptist church was destroyed by a hurricane in 1944 and it was after this that the present structure was

built. In tribute to the work of Reverend William Knibb among the enslaved and later freed people, the name of the church was changed to the William Knibb Memorial Baptist Church. [33]


*Falmouth Baptist Chapel/later William Knibb Memorial Baptist Church*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

**The Role of the Enslaved and the Maroons in Trelawny's History**

As seen earlier, in the period before Emancipation, Trelawny and other north-western parishes in Jamaica had clearly overtaken the south coast in terms of expansion in the number of sugar estates and in the production of sugar, rum and molasses. The population of enslaved persons in Trelawny had also increased, compared with earlier years. Figures from the 1804 *Jamaica Almanac* show that in 1803 there were approximately 100 sugar estates and about 27, 636 enslaved persons in Trelawny. By 1819 even after the British government had abolished the slave trade (1807) the enslaved population of Trelawny stood at 28, 207. Although they were the victims of forced labour and remained unrecognised for their contribution, the slaves who worked on the plantations of the parish were indispensable to the success and good fortunes of

the Trelawny sugar industry and were therefore vital to the growth and development of the parish and the wider Jamaican economy.

**The Slaves' Contribution to the Internal Marketing System: Market Day in Falmouth's Water Square**

In order to reduce the cost of importing food to feed their slaves, planters in Trelawny and throughout the island of Jamaica had adopted the practice of setting aside provision grounds on which the enslaved were allowed to cultivate vegetables and other foodstuff such as yams, pumpkins and cassava for their own consumption. Slaves were allowed to sell surplus crops grown on the provision grounds at the weekly market and for them, this was the only means by which they obtain money and many were able to save, no matter how small the amount, in hopes of one day being able to buy their full freedom. Ironically, access to the provision grounds was an important step in the development of self-help among persons who were regarded by officials as helpless. At the same time, the provision grounds helped the planters by allowing for a reduction in their food import bill, both to feed their slaves as well as their own families as food crops grown on the provision grounds also found their way to the masters' tables. This practice of taking the surplus food crops to sell in the weekly market led to the rise of a vibrant system of internal marketing in various market towns across Jamaica. In Trelawny before Emancipation, there were market centres, first in Martha Brae, then in the busy port town of Falmouth and also in Stewart Town. Because the fertile lands of Trelawny were dominated by sugar cane cultivation and because there were not enough areas in the parish with soils suited to extensive cultivation of provisions, the supply from Trelawny was never enough to meet the demand inside the parish. Therefore, the supply of these goods for sale in the Trelawny markets was increased by traders from outside of the parish, especially from Portland and Hanover and the produce was brought by boat to Falmouth. In Falmouth, Saturday market was a crowded affair, with slaves and other vendors displaying their goods in Water Square near the reservoir.


*Early Market Day in Falmouth*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Buyers of all classes from all over Trelawny, including other slaves, planters, merchants or their women folk as well as sailors in town from visiting ships congregated at the “negro market” to buy the yams, coconuts, plantains and other food crops. Pretty soon, by exchanging their produce for other goods, the slaves were able to diversify the goods sold to include earthenware, metal, tin, salt fish and sometimes chicken. Long before the Albert George Market was built in 1894, the Falmouth market was well established and this was controlled largely by the slaves of the parish. Not everyone approved of the activities of the “negro market” in Falmouth and there were frequent complaints made by some residents of Falmouth and other areas about the competition which they thought the

"negro market" was posing for the regular shopkeepers in the town. In 1817, they urged the Assembly to take action against the "extended system of higgling Dry Goods of every description about the country by hired negroes and others" which they feared would "destroy the Establishments of the Regular Trader, and consequently ruin the Towns." [34]

**The Importance of Trelawny to the Maroon Story**

Maroon communities in Jamaica originated during the period of Spanish rule of the island when slaves escaped from their Spanish masters and took refuge in interior, mountainous parts of the island. In 1655 when the English attacked Jamaica, many of the remaining slaves fled into the hills to join previous groups of runaways. One group of former slaves led by Juan de Bolas supported the English forces in 1660 and contributed to the final defeat of the Spaniards and was rewarded with land grants. However, for most of the former slaves of the Spaniards, their freedom was more important than anything else and they refused to surrender to the new English rulers, choosing instead to live in the interior of the island, hunting the wild pigs and growing enough crops for subsistence. Many of these original Maroons journeyed eastwards where they were joined by runaway slaves, this time from English plantations. These Maroons who took refuge on the northern slopes of the Blue Mountain Range would become known as the Windward Maroons and their communities were located in present day parishes such as Portland and St Mary. Some of the former Spanish slaves remained in the vicinity of Porus and they later established themselves in the Cockpit Country. These Maroons would become known as the Leeward Maroons and as their numbers were increased by slave revolts in St Ann in 1673 and in Clarendon in 1690 they came under the strong leadership of Cudjoe.

The greater part of the Cockpit country is located in the southern section of Trelawny but parts of the Cockpit Country spill over into St Elizabeth to the south and St James to

the west. The fact that the Leeward Maroons made the rugged terrain of the Cockpit Country their home base during the First Maroon War (1730-1739) and throughout the period until the Second Maroon War broke out in 1795, links the story of these freedom fighters to the history of Trelawny in a very important way. Since most of the Cockpit Country is in Trelawny, the parish can proudly claim to have been the eighteenth-century home of the Leeward Maroons (a legacy which Trelawny must share with parts of St James and St Elizabeth since small parts of the Cockpit Country are found in these parishes). Trelawny's claim is strengthened by the fact that the Leeward Maroons did not remain in one place in the Cockpit Country but rather moved freely throughout the area, using the terrain to their advantage for food and defence. However a look at the location of Maroon Communities in Jamaica today might suggest that the Leeward Maroons had nothing to do with Trelawny as the present day communities are not located in the parish. Accompong, named for Cudjoe's brother, is located in St Elizabeth and Trelawny Town, now called Maroon Town is located, not in Trelawny but in St James. In fact, the historical record shows that Trelawny Town in St James was so named by the English for Governor Edward Trelawny who ruled from 1738 to 1752 and the name Trelawny Town had nothing to do with the parish of Trelawny which was formed much later and named after William Trelawny, governor of Jamaica from 1768 to 1772.

**Sites in Trelawny Associated with the Leeward Maroons**

Although there are no existing Maroon communities in Trelawny today, the parish is home to important sites associated with the historic struggle of the Leeward Maroons. These sites include Bunker's Hill with its Maroon hideaway which is known as Qua *Cave, Dromilly, Windsor and the Windsor-Troy Trail, Guthrie's Trail, Quick Step and the* Trail to Mahogany Hall. At Bunker's Hill, located on the northern fringes of the Cockpit Country, there are a number of caves in the area and Qua Cave was an important Maroon hideaway in a network of caves. Dromilly was a fair sized estate of about 821 acres, located on the northern fringes of the Cockpit Country. During the Second Maroon War of 1795-6, the Maroons raided Dromilly for ammunition and also used the

many ravines and hollow areas of the hills that surrounded the estate to carry out their hide and ambush guerrilla tactics against the British soldiers (hence the name Ambush given to that area).

*Maroons in Ambush on Dromilly Estate*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Also located on the northern border of the Cockpit country is the old Windsor Estate which was the site of the Windsor-Troy Trail which was important to the operations against the Maroons by the British soldiers in the eighteenth century. The Martha Brae River emerges at Windsor and the trail which went into the Cockpit Country for a distance of about 13 miles, was built in the mid-eighteenth century in an effort to deprive the Maroons of water sources. This plan did not take into account the many underground sources of water in the Cockpit Country. At the Troy end of the trail,

the army barracks was constructed and this was used to secure the bloodhounds imported from Cuba in a desperate effort to put an end to Maroon resistance during the Second Maroon War, 1795-6. At the Guthrie Trail (named for Colonel Guthrie) near Windsor, archaeologists have unearthed the structures of the old barracks and what appears to be graves of soldiers killed during encounters with the Leeward Maroons. There is also a Maroon path which leads from the northern end of the Cockpit Country to Mahogany Hall in Trelawny. No doubt, this would have been used by members of the Leeward Maroons in their eastward journeys across Jamaica in an effort to link up with the Windward Maroons based in eastern Portland. On the southern edge of the border between Trelawny and St Elizabeth, is located the area known as Quick Step. This was an important Maroon hideaway, especially during the Second Maroon War. After the British soldiers bombarded Pettee River Bottom from the slopes of Gun Hill, some of the Leeward Maroons retreated to Quick Step. Oral tradition connects the name to the Maroon legacy because it became well established that persons passing through the area had to move quickly to avoid being ambushed by Maroons.

**Pettee River Bottom (Petty River Bottom)**

There is some controversy surrounding the location of the Leeward Maroon's most important base of Pettee River Bottom which is to be found in the heart of the Cockpit Country. The controversy arises over differing interpretations about which parish should claim this significant symbol of Maroon resistance. A Final Report on the Cockpit Country Heritage Survey (2009) by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust lists Pettee River Bottom as being located in St James. It seems logical that this area may have taken its name from the Pettee River, which is shown on James Robertson's 1804 Map of Jamaica ( see link in endnote no. 35) as being located in St James, very close to its eastern border with Trelawny. Importantly, Robertson's map shows a number of "Sinks" located on the north-eastern side of the mouth of the Pettee River, even closer to the border with Trelawny. These "Sinks" were a reference to the deep depressions which were formed in the limestone surface of the Cockpit Country (as explained below). The

water from the Pettee River flowed into these depressions, therefore providing a source of water at the base or bottom of the depression (hence the name Pettee River Bottom). However, two other sources indicate the stronger possibility that the Maroon base of Pettee River Bottom was at least partially, if not entirely located on the western side of Trelawny next door to St James. David Buisseret's *Historic Jamaica from the Air* shows the Pettee River Bottom base as being in a virtual straight line south of Dromilly which is in the heart of Trelawny's share of the Cockpit Country. Gun Hill in St James is shown to the north west of Pettee River Bottom and Horse Guards, also in St James, is much further away, to the south west of Pettee River Bottom. Perhaps the strongest evidence to support the argument that the Maroon base was located on the extreme eastern side of Trelawny's Cockpit, comes from Robert Renny's *An History of Jamaica with Observations*. . . published in London in 1807, not long after the Second Maroon War was over and certainly well after the parish of Trelawny had been created. Renny described Cudjoe's choice of Pettee River Bottom as his base after several skirmishes with the Black-Shots and the English in the following way:

"Cudjoe retired to a spot in the parish of Trelawney, near to the entrance of the great cockpits, or glens, to the north-west, the first of which [is] called Petty River Bottom. . ."

What Renny had to say about the size of Pettee River Bottom is even more important to any conclusions which may be formed about the location of Pettee River Bottom. He reported that:

"This cockpit . . . is considered a large one, containing nearly seven acres of land and an excellent spring of water."

It is quite possible therefore that even if it was not completely located in Trelawny, then the impregnable base of Petty River Bottom was large enough to stretch across the boundary line between both parishes of Trelawny and St James. Renny reminded us

that there were two very narrow entrances (called defiles) to Petty River Bottom, one of which was on the western side (which would have been in St James and this would explain why there is a Trail to Petty River Bottom in St James). The other entrance would have been on the eastern side of the base (which would have been in Trelawny). In describing the strategic advantage of Cudjoe's choice of Petty River Bottom, Renny provided yet another bit of evidence to suggest that one end of Petty River Bottom was located in Trelawny when he said that its location provided Cudjoe with a vantage point from which to launch "predatory attacks into St James, Hanover, Westmoreland and St Elizabeth [as these parishes] lay open before him."

The Cockpit Country is an example of karst formation which means that the impact of rainfall on the limestone of the area over many centuries, has eaten away a series of sinkholes in the limestone, leaving deep depressions with very steep sides which make the area difficult to traverse and largely uninhabitable. The base got its name Pettee River Bottom because of the water flowing from the Pettee River into the bottom of the karst depression which provided the Leeward Maroons with a steady source of water. The depression was surrounded by rugged ridges and hills which provided valuable look out points for the Maroons. As seen earlier, Pettee River Bottom was accessible only through very narrow spaces (defiles) at both ends and the Leeward Maroons used these narrow corridors to repeatedly ambush and repel British troops. The English were unable to win a decisive battle against the Maroons operating from these Trelawny bases and were relieved when the peace treaty with Colonel Cudjoe was agreed on in 1739.

Although the truce with the Leeward Maroons lasted for about fifty years, this did not prevent occasional attacks by Maroons and runaway slaves on newer settlements in the interior of Trelawny, closer to the Cockpit Country. The episodes of looting, burning and destruction of equipment discouraged widespread frontier settlements in Southern Trelawny, closer to the Cockpit Country. By 1795, the Second Maroon war broke out and the Leeward Maroons were once again in conflict with English troops. As before, the Maroons made Pettee River Bottom the staging ground for their guerrilla warfare and with each attempt, the English forces were unable to break through and faced increasing losses. However, when the English forces used artillery to bombard the base from the nearby hilltop of Gun Hill, the Maroons were forced to retreat deeper into the interior of the Cockpit Country to areas such as Quick Step. Away from Pettee River Bottom, the Maroons were cut off from a regular supply of water and when English forces built a road completely encircling the Cockpit Country and stationed garrisons there, the Maroons were effectively isolated. With the use of vicious bloodhounds imported from Cuba, the British soldiers were eventually able to put a dent in Maroon resistance. The Leeward Maroons agreed to the signing of the Pond River Treaty in 1796 on the understanding that they would be granted an amnesty. Instead, the Jamaican House of Assembly exiled 560 of them to Nova Scotia. In 1800, a group of surviving Maroons were able to make their way from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone. [35]

**The Intriguing Origins of Me No Sen You No Come**

Located in southern Trelawny, this settlement was formed around 1812 by a group of slaves who had escaped from various properties in Trelawny including Dromilly, Pembroke and Georges Valley. Those who formed the settlement were survivors of an earlier settlement which had been attacked by a raiding party the previous year. Three of their members had been killed and their heads displayed in Falmouth to discourage would-be runaways. These survivors established a second settlement in the rugged terrain surrounding Dromilly and from the very beginning they seemed to have decided that the secret to survival this time was to isolate their community as much as possible from the outside

world. They believed that the frequent contacts that they had maintained with friends and relatives left behind on the estates had led to the discovery of their first settlement. They also seemed to have developed the view that if they did not interfere with others, then others would not interfere with them. This led them to name their settlement “We No Sen You No Come”, a name which has persevered with very little change over time. Over the course of the next twelve years (until they were attacked in 1824) the group of nine men, eight women and several children cleared about 200 acres of land and planted mainly provisions, coffee, cocoa and raised pigs and chickens. Two headmen, Warren and Forbes, seemed to have been in charge of the group. Other males in the group included “Old Abraham” from Pembroke Estate, James of Georges Valley and Vulcan from Dromilly Estate. Most impressive were the houses that they built, being described by the hunting party in 1824 as “well built houses, wattled and thatched, shingled and floored”. Sketches of the site, published in the newspapers, showed a building in the centre, about 70 feet long which was probably a community meeting room which served as a place of worship as well. Unlike communities of Maroons, the people of We No Sen You No Come never carried out attacks or raids on surrounding properties as this would have gone against their way of living and would have endangered their community. Despite their pledge to isolate themselves, they developed a trading link with trusted slaves who occasionally brought salted goods on donkeys along a track from Windsor Pen to their settlement and exchanged these for the provisions grown in We No Sen You No Come. Word of the existence of this community eventually reached the planters on the surrounding properties and a group of them set out on Tuesday 26 October, 1824 with the aim of destroying the settlement. However, they were ambushed by the vigilant residents who fired at them, killing the overseer from Pembroke and the book-keeper from Bounty Hall. The remaining whites fled the scene, dropping some of their guns and ammunition in their hasty retreat. On Monday 1 November a large detachment of 270 men including the militia, Maroons from Accompong and others returned to the community, killing two men and capturing a third (Vulcan). The rest of the residents managed to escape. Orders were swiftly carried out

to destroy the 200 acre settlement with all the crops and all buildings were burnt to the ground. After the departure of the militia, the resilient survivors returned and rebuilt about three houses this time. In February, 1825, the militia returned for the last time, killing one man and capturing two women and three children. The other members of the community escaped, but nothing is known of their fate after this. What is clear is that after the ending of slavery, a few ex-slaves turned to provision farming in this area but whether these persons were connected to the original inhabitants is not known. Nevertheless, the desire to be free and the spirit of independence from outside control are still symbolized by the name of the community today, Me No Sen You No Come.

**The Impact of the 1831-32 Christmas Rebellion (Sam Sharpe Rebellion) on Trelawny**

While the Christmas Rebellion was planned and carried out mainly by the enslaved in St James parish, the neighbouring parish of Trelawny was impacted by the events of this large-scale rebellion. Word of the planned strike after Christmas was passed on to slaves from nearby Trelawny estates through secret meetings held at Baptist chapels. The planned strike soon escalated into violent protest. For several days after the first fires were lit in St James on 27 December 1831, small groups of slaves moved through the plantations nearest to the border between St James and Trelawny, setting fire to trash houses, residences and outbuildings. Some of the estates in Trelawny which were affected by the rebellion included Pantrepant, Golden Grove, Georgia Estate and Carlton Estate. On Carlton Estate, the slaves carried out the plan to simply stop working after Christmas and “sat down”. On Georgia Estate, owned by Thomas Gordon, the slaves carried out the plan to refuse to work after Christmas. Events there turned violent when the slave village was attacked at daybreak by the militia and the people were ordered to disperse and discontinue their protest. When they refused, one enslaved man was shot. An assessment of damage done to plantation property in Trelawny amounted to £4,960 as compared to St James which suffered £606,250 worth of damage.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, the impact of the suppression by the government took its toll on some of the Trelawny slaves as well. Courts Martial were held in Trelawny and all the parishes affected by the Rebellion. Of the seventy slaves from the parish who were tried, twenty-four were executed. Because of their work among the enslaved and their close ties with their black congregations, Baptist and Methodist missionaries were regarded by the white planters and officials as supporters and instigators of the Sam Sharpe-led Rebellion. Baptist and Methodist Chapels in Falmouth, Stewart Town and Rio Bueno were destroyed by fire or in some other way damaged. The Colonial Church Union, formed shortly after the initial suppression, with many of their members and supporters being militia men led this attack on the Non-Conformist missions which they saw as sowing "dangerous" thoughts of equality, among the enslaved, based upon the teachings of Christianity. William Knibb, the Baptist minister in charge of the mission at Falmouth and Reverend Whitehorne, in charge of the Baptists in Stewart Town, were both arrested in the first week of January on charges of instigating the protest in the parish and later released on bail. The cases against them eventually collapsed because of a lack of evidence to prove the charge. [36]

## TRELAWNY IN THE POST-SLAVERY PERIOD UP TO 1900: IMPACT OF EMANCIPATION ON THE PARISH

### The Abolition of Slavery and Its Impact on the Parish

The law ending slavery in the British colonies came into effect on 1 August, 1834. Under the terms of this Act, although slavery could no longer exist as of that date, the former slaves were not immediately fully freed but had to serve a period of apprenticeship to their former masters. During this period known as the Apprenticeship period, the planters were still entitled to free and forced labour from the apprentices for three-quarters of the working week and this was intended to ensure a continued supply of labour to the estates while allowing planters to make preparations for the ending of apprenticeship and the coming of full freedom. For the remaining quarter of the work week, the apprentices were to be paid for work done on the estates. This was intended to provide

apprentices with experience in bargaining for wages and to prepare them for the coming of full freedom. The original plan of the British government was that Apprenticeship would come to an end in 1840 and full freedom would come into effect. Planters across Jamaica had been nervous about the ending of slavery because they feared that this would affect the labour and the profitability of the sugar industry. However, from all reports coming out of Trelawny, the Apprenticeship period did not result in the anticipated serious problems on the estates. So for example, the attorney for the numerous Tharp estates in Trelawny reported in 1834 that the apprentices were working well and he expressed confidence that the crop season would be successful and profitable. In December, 1835, the Falmouth Post reported the results of a survey which compared the amount of sugar produced by twenty estates in Trelawny in 1834 with the amount produced in 1835. The results showed that there was an overall increase in production of sugar by 9.7 percent. Thirteen of the twenty estates experienced an increase in production during this period while only five estates experienced a decline. So generally, the Apprenticeship period did not result in any great setbacks for the relatively prosperous sugar industry in Trelawny.

**Full Freedom: 1 August, 1838**

All apprentices became fully freed as of 1 August, 1838. Full freedom meant many things for the ex-slaves. Freedom meant the ability to control decisions about employment and place of residence. August 1, 1838 also meant that they could try to get access to land which would allow them to have secure residence and a degree of economic independence. Above all, ex-slaves valued the opportunity to place their families and themselves on a more secure footing, free from abusive treatment which had been the rule under slavery. As an important aspect of this desire to secure family welfare, women generally withdrew from estate labour either on their own or as part of a family based decision. In Trelawny, even before the end of the Apprenticeship system, women whose full freedom had been bought had started to withdraw from estate labour. Baptist missionaries reported that out of 698 members who were attached to 16 estates,

only 81% were still at work in March 1838. Seven percent of those who were no longer working were women who had opted to exercise freedom of choice. [37]

**Freed People and Wage Negotiations in Trelawny after Emancipation**

An important meaning of freedom to the formerly enslaved was their expectation that they would be able to negotiate with planters for payment of fair wages in return for their labour. From experience gained during Apprenticeship, the newly freed people had their ideas as to what was a fair wage and what was not. They expected that planters would pay what the freed people thought was a fair wage, about one shilling (1/-) to one and a half shillings (1 1⁄2 /-) per day. In the weeks after 1 August, 1838, there was delay in the resumption of work on estates in most parishes as ex-slaves tried to negotiate wages and conditions of work. In Trelawny, experience had shown that provision growing was not as productive as other parishes and therefore the ex-slaves were prepared to continue working on the estates provided they were given satisfactory terms. Workers in the parish returned to work on most estates after agreement was reached on satisfactory wages. On Cambridge and Oxford Estates, the attorney, Charles Farquharson agreed to pay the workers 1/- per day for four days a week outside of crop season and the same wage for five days a week during crop time. In addition, they would not be charged rental for house and grounds on the estate and would receive free medical attention. Satisfied with these arrangements, they resumed work on Cambridge and Oxford Estates after 10 August, 1838. In fact, work resumed without further interruptions on forty-one other properties which had introduced the same terms for their workers as Cambridge and Oxford. However, other estates in Trelawny were plagued with reduced and irregular turn out of workers because the terms of employment were not as favourable. On Green Park Estate where the attorney at first agreed to pay only 7 1/2d a day and later increased the offer to 9d a day, only 35 out of about 404 workers who lived on the estate, had turned out to work up to the middle of October, 1838. On Tilston Estate where the attorney failed to reach an agreement with his workers, only 26 ex-slaves had turned out to work after 1 August, 1838. [38]

**Changes in Settlement Patterns: The Establishment of Peasant Settlements and Free Village Communities in Trelawny**

With the exception of Maroon communities in the Cockpit Country, before 1838 the pattern of settlement in Trelawny was shaped by the plantation system with large estates owned by white Europeans. The few towns that sprang up during this time were coastal port towns like Falmouth which grew in response to the sugar trade and the rich commerce that came from the industry. Emancipation contributed to the changes in settlement patterns in Trelawny and across Jamaica by introducing settlements independent of estates, villages and communities in which the freed people lived and it is this pattern of settlement as well as the plantation system that shaped the development of the parish in the years after 1838.

As seen earlier, some Trelawny planters did not reach satisfactory agreements with the ex-slaves. As was the case in other parishes across Jamaica between 1838 and the early 1840s, some planters imposed forceful and unreasonable demands on their workers especially with regards to rental of estate housing and grounds. Some freed people in Trelawny were faced with excessively high rentals (which they could not pay because wages were low) and at times they were also charged per capita rentals (each member of a family living in one estate house was charged rent). Ex-slaves living and working under these conditions were likely to suffer eviction at a moment's notice and the fact that the courts in Falmouth were crowded with cases of non-payment of rent indicates the problems which some freed people in the parish faced. Experiences such as these must have strengthened the decision by freed men and women in the parish to make every effort to obtain land of their own, on which they could make a secure home for themselves and their families. Importantly however, the freed people's desire to gain access to land of their own was born out of a strong belief that land was the key to true freedom, economic independence and security for their families. Therefore if opportunities occurred to own even a small piece of land in Trelawny, even those ex-slaves who had reached a satisfactory wage agreement with the planters would have

made good use of the opportunity given their understanding that if they so wished, they could continue to give occasional or regular labour to the estate of their choice.
Starting in 1838 and gradually increasing by the early 1840s, the freed people took the opportunities to acquire land wherever it became available. This trend continued and intensified well into the 1880s. By 1844 over 20,000 new freeholds of about ten acres each (the typical size of land owned by peasants although some owned as many as fifty acres) had been registered island wide. Over half of these new peasant settlements were located in the six parishes of St Ann, Manchester, St Mary, St Thomas in the Vale, Clarendon and St Elizabeth where land outside of estate land was more readily available and where the soils were more suited to provision growing. By comparison with these six parishes, sugar-rich Trelawny did not offer as many opportunities for the freed people to acquire smallholdings because most of the agricultural land was taken with sugar cane cultivation and, as seen before, Trelawny's soil was not as suited to provision growing as other parishes. So the growth of the peasantry in Trelawny was never as large-scale as it was in these other parishes. Nevertheless, some freed people in Trelawny were able to acquire peasant holdings because of two main factors. The first was that by 1840, several planters had started to realise that their harsh policies of high rents and evictions had backfired and that ex-slaves were seeking ways to leave the estates. Therefore some planters hoped that if they sold some of the estate's unused or marginal land to ex-slaves, this would encourage them to remain as labourers on the estate. The second and more important factor was the valuable role played by missionaries such as the Baptist and Methodists in establishing free villages and communities for the freed people in several parts of Trelawny.
By 1840 there were 91 persons in Trelawny registered as owning land under 10 acres but by 1845, the number of small settlements under 10 acres had grown to 468. Some freed people were able to afford larger holdings and shortly after Emancipation in 1838, there were 71 persons who owned up to 40 acres and only two years later the number had jumped to 406 persons. Largely with the help of missionaries but also as a result of self-help and sacrifice by the freed people themselves, there were 23 free villages established in

Trelawny between Emancipation and 1845. Peasant holdings and free villages were very important, not only in providing the ex-slaves with a source of independent or semi-independent living away from the estates, but also made a significant contribution to the diversification of the parish's economy through the small scale cultivation and sale in the internal market of ground provisions, especially every variety of yam which did well in Trelawny's soil. Other ground provisions included coco, cassava, plantains and sweet potato. Additionally, some peasants also grew small amounts of sugar cane and coffee for their own use. [39]

**Free Villages in Trelawny after Emancipation**

Free villages were communities of the former slaves which were formed when large amounts of land were purchased, usually by non-conformist missionaries like the Baptists and then subdivided into smaller lots and sold to the freed people. Through years of sacrifice and saving from sale of market provisions while they were enslaved, the freed people not only bought lots of land but also built their homes and settled down with their families in these communities. Importantly, it should be remembered that although missionaries like the Baptists were instrumental in the purchase of land through their agents, it was the hard work and initiative of the freed people that explained the success of the free villages. The missionary freed villages were laid out like towns, with intersecting streets, a church or chapel and a schoolhouse for the children. In Trelawny, the Baptist missionary who contributed most to the formation of several of these communities of freed people was Reverend William Knibb. Addressing a gathering of 2,500 apprentices at Falmouth on 19 July 1838 on the eve of full freedom, Knibb told the apprentices that a friend (Dr Hoby) had already offered him a loan of £10,000 to buy land on which they could live, should it become necessary after the first of August. [40]

**New Birmingham (now the Alps): Trelawny's First Free Village**

*Alps, Site of Trelawny's First Free Village*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

The very first free village in Trelawny was New Birmingham (today known as the Alps) and this was established in 1838 by a Baptist missionary, Reverend Dexter, with the help of William Knibb. Located in the foothills of the Cockpit Country, about ten miles south of Stewart Town, New Birmingham was built on lands which were part of a coffee estate and which were purchased with the money which Dr Hoby (a member of the Baptist Committee in England) had loaned to Knibb. In fact, when Dexter first started his missionary work in 1835 at the location that would later become the free village, he had repaired an old coffee house and used it as a chapel. There were 100 lots set aside for building homes and 200 lots for cultivation. New Birmingham was named after Birmingham, England, the place where anti-slavery activist, Joseph Sturge did a lot of his work. By January 1839, more than seventy families had bought land and made this

first free village their home.

*Alps Baptist Chapel*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Kettering (Evolved into the Community of Duncans)**

Kettering was one of the free villages established by William Knibb and was the community most associated with him. Located nine miles outside of Falmouth, the township was founded by Knibb in 1841 from lands purchased by him and subdivided into about four hundred building lots, intersected by regular streets. The free village was named after Knibb's native town in England. The freed people of Kettering pooled together to contribute both the money and the labour to build Knibb's house (Kettering

House) a chapel( which became Kettering Baptist Church) and schoolroom, all located in the centre of the town.

*Kettering House.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

*Kettering House Today.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Kettering was easily one of the more popular and successful free villages in the parish, with the crops produced by the freed people doing a flourishing business at the weekly market, to which peasants from nearby areas flocked to buy and sell their goods. No doubt, persons flocked to Kettering also because of its association with this great champion of abolition and the rights of the freed people. Two years before Knibb's death in Kettering in 1845, a large crowd of about 9,000 persons gathered for the Baptist Jubilee meeting in the town and this was an indication of the importance of Kettering and the love that the people felt for William Knibb. Kettering grew into a large and prosperous settlement which over time evolved into the town of Duncans.


*Kettering Baptist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Interior of Kettering Baptist Church.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Granville**

With the assistance of William Knibb shortly before his death in 1845, Granville was formed out of lands which had been part of a livestock pen. Approximately ninety acres of land were purchased and then subdivided into lots and sold mainly to some of the freed people who had formed the enslaved labour force on Green Park, Merrywood, Maxfield and Holland properties. As Granville was located only about three miles from Falmouth, Edward Underhill argued that Knibb chose this area to set up the community because he wished to ensure an increased congregation at the Baptist's main church at Falmouth. Granville was given this name by Knibb in tribute to his fellow humanitarian and abolitionist, Granville Sharp. As was the experience of many peasant cultivators in Trelawny after slavery, the residents of Granville found that the proceeds from sale of their provisions were not always enough to meet their needs. Therefore from time to time, they

provided a pool of labour for the nearby estates.

**Waldensia Township (Hoby Town)**

Baptist missionaries were active in the Piedmont Valley during the Apprenticeship period. Lands in the Piedmont area were owned by William Flash who donated some of the land to William Knibb for the purpose of building a chapel in 1836. This was completed by 1837 and named Waldensia. With full freedom, Knibb purchased enough land to allow for the establishment of a free village in the Waldensia community in the Piedmont area which is now part of Sherwood Content. About 140 ex-slaves bought lots in the community which was then named Hoby Hut in honour of Knibb's friend and supporter, Dr James Hoby. Edward Underhill described the community as containing "many very neat and well-built dwellings" surrounded by mango trees and plantain cultivation. Its name was later changed to Hoby Town. Located about a mile from the village, Waldensia Chapel was rebuilt on a nearby site in 1875 and Waldensia Primary School (attended by Usain Bolt) sits on the site where the original chapel was built.

*Waldensia Baptist Church Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Wilberforce (afterwards known as Refuge)**

Located in the hilly areas between Duncans and Swanswick, Wilberforce was established by Knibb as a small settlement and as a Baptist station in 1838. He named the settlement Wilberforce to honour the abolitionist, William Wilberforce. As with a number of other free villages in Trelawny, land was bought by Knibb, subdivided and sold to ex-slaves from surrounding estates who wanted the security of owning a small piece of land which would give them a degree of independence in making decisions about work. For them, Wilberforce provided a refuge from insecurity and low wages on the plantation and this was seen in the change of name of the village from Wilberforce to Refuge.

*Refuge Baptist Church Today*. Courtesy Stuart Reeves

At the centre of the village was the chapel and schoolhouse. Because villages like Wilberforce were near to some sugar estates, this often benefitted the

residents when they needed extra cash as well as the planter who had a pool of labour from which to draw. [41]

**Other Free Village Communities in Trelawny**

Wesleyan Methodist missionaries were also active in helping the formation of freed communities, although not as much as the Baptists in Trelawny. Sawyer's Market was located about two and a half miles from the Alps and this was described by Underhill as "a considerable settlement".

*Sawyers Methodist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Hastings was a fairly substantial settlement, located in south-western Trelawny, behind Dromilly Estate. As was the case with many freed settlements the people of Hastings were self-reliant where labour was concerned, ensuring that repairs to the floor and windows of chapel and school were done

voluntarily and so kept the community out of debt. Other free villages established in the parish included a Presbyterian community, New Cargen, Gibraltar and Unity. “Time and Patience”, still known by this name today, was established in 1838 and the freed people who were able to buy lots in this community probably gave the community its name as a reflection of their view that with hard work, patience and sacrifice over time, goals such as owning land could be achieved. As seen earlier, Stewart Town was established as an internal marketing and provision town in 1815. With Emancipation, this already thriving town expanded into a fully- fledged agricultural and market community for the freed people, catering to small farming communities in other parts of Trelawny as well as St Ann. Martha Brae, once a planter-dominated chief town before Falmouth, expanded into a thriving small-holding community after 1838. Using their initiative, the freed people many of whom had worked on the nearby estates of Holland and Irving Tower at first squatted on lands and then purchased lots of land in the surroundings of Martha Brae. [42]

**Clark’s Town and Albert Town: Freed Communities with a Difference**

**Clark’s Town**

Although most Trelawny planters saw peasant ownership of land as likely to reduce their labour supply and refused to sell unused estate lands to ex-slaves, a few planters realised that by selling land to the freed people, this could actually encourage them to work on the estate. This was how the settlement of Clark’s Town in Trelawny came about. The owner of Swanswick Estate, G. H. Clarke, sold a small amount of the estate’s back lands (marginal lands not under cane cultivation) to his former slaves for the purpose of establishing a freed settlement. Clark realised that this move would encourage the ex-slaves to work on Swanswick as they would be resident right there on the property. A small village was laid out with an Anglican chapel which became known as St Michael’s Church. This is not surprising as the estate owner was most likely an Anglican.

*St Michael's Anglican Church, Clark's Town.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Clark's Town is located in an area of Trelawny which was dominated by sugar production and was for many years surrounded by sugar estates such as Hyde, Gibraltar and Long Pond. Being located in the sugar belt of Trelawny limited the physical expansion of Clark's Town for many years but its settlers were still able to develop as a marketing community, selling ground provisions to workers from nearby estates. In the twentieth century, Clark's Town experienced some expansion with government's acquisition of nearby estates, Hyde and Gibraltar. In the 1980s when lands were provided to the north west of Long Pond Sugar Factory for sugar workers, this allowed for further expansion of Clark's Town. Today, Clark's Town is a busy transportation hub for other communities such as Albert Town, Duncans, Alps and Ulster Spring.

**Albert Town**

Albert Town is located beyond Ulster Spring and is on the eastern fringes of the Cockpit Country. The settlement was formed from lands which formerly belonged to the Freeman's Hall property and most of the settlers were persons who had come across from another freed settlement, the Alps. After a slow start, Albert Town became more successful with the cultivation and sale of provisions such as yams for which the community is still famous today. So long before the Trelawny Yam Festival started in Albert Town, the residents of the village were doing well from the sale of ground provisions including all varieties of yams to the people of the Trelawny lowlands. They also made a living from cultivation of pimento, coffee and ginger and sale of these goods in markets such as Falmouth. The settlers also grew some sugar cane and found a ready local market for the wet sugar that they were able to produce with the small mills that they had. Albert Town residents developed a reputation in the post-slavery period of being very independent of estate labour while making a success of the lands which they bought in the town. [43]

**Access to Land and Political Activism by Freedmen in Trelawny**

By law after 1838, black freed men could vote in vestry (local government) elections or to vote in elections to the Jamaican House of Assembly if they owned real property with a value of £ 6 or paid £ 30 a year in rent or £ 3 in direct taxes. On paper, with these requirements, approximately 20,000 black smallholders across Jamaica could qualify to vote as of 1839. In reality however, registration to vote was very low, only amounting to 2,199 by 1839 and by 1860 the number of registered black voters did not exceed 3,000. These low figures may be explained by the fact many black smallholders either did not register their titles for their land or in some cases never obtained titles to land. Research by Swithin Wilmot has demonstrated the important link between landownership and political enfranchisement in vestry elections and in elections to the House of Assembly in several parishes in the island. In Trelawny, the strong presence of Baptist

missionaries like William Knibb proved significant in allowing those ex-slaves who qualified to exercise their political will. As Wilmot indicated, Baptists gave well-needed advice, assistance and encouragement to smallholders, most of them members of the various Baptist congregations around Trelawny, in the process of registering the titles to their land so that they could vote in coming elections. Importantly, the inhabitants of the free villages and the Trelawny peasants in general came to understand that the right to vote, once they could satisfy the requirements, was an important meaning of freedom. Black smallholders in 1839 could not meet the much steeper property qualifications to sit in the House of Assembly but they quickly came to realise that they could vote for persons who would represent their interests in the Assembly, even if they were not of their own race. In this way, they could take small steps to change a system that imposed harsh and burdensome taxation on the animals that they reared and on the imported food items on which they depended.

General elections (in which members of the House of Assembly were chosen) were scheduled for 1845. The law required that in order to vote, registration should be completed at least one full year before the election. Baptist missionaries in Trelawny went all out to get ex-slaves to complete the registration process in time but to no avail because the governor, alarmed by reports of black preparations for voting and fears of a black ascendancy, called a snap election in 1844. Knibb's death in 1845 did not put an end to the Baptist determination to assist ex-slaves to be politically active. Reverend J.E. Henderson, Baptist minister at Waldensia Church continued the drive towards registration. George Lyons (the Falmouth retailer discussed earlier) working with Reverend Henderson, had spoken at Baptist gatherings, making clear his support for the peasantry on issues which mattered to them such as education and unfair taxation. Using his long-established trading links with the peasants and with the help of these Trelawny small holders, Lyons won the 1846 and 1847 elections for the Trelawny Parish Vestry. By 1852 when the by- election to the House of Assembly was held, the small settlers in the predominantly Baptist free villages and the surrounding areas of Trelawny were more than ready to cast their vote for George Lyons as the man best suited to

represent them in the Assembly. Lyons won the seat for Trelawny, receiving 98 votes compared to 45 for his rival, Henry Shirley who had the backing of planters and merchants. Black access to land along with black realization of the importance of their ability to vote had helped to shape the outcome of a significant election in Trelawny's post-slavery political history. [44]

**The Florence Hall Controversy/ Falmouth Riots, 1859**

There is no doubt therefore that freed men across Jamaica recognised the importance of being able to vote as a means of securing an improved existence for them and for their children. They also understood that outside of formal elections, action could and should be taken to seek a just resolution to issues that they regarded as unjust, or in some way prejudicial to their welfare. When ex-slaves participated in demonstrations and protests in matters that were of importance to them, they were in fact taking political action of a different sort, designed to influence change. Disputes about land and rights to occupy land were not unusual in post-slavery Jamaica, especially since on several occasions the occupiers/ settlers could produce no documents to prove rights to the land. At the centre of this dispute in 1859 was Florence Hall Pen, located about a mile from Falmouth.

*Florence Hall Restored*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Florence Hall Pen was the property of Alexander Bruie, a Scottish planter who had settled down in Trelawny with a "coloured female of respectable family" and his children, Theodore and Jessy were considered coloureds by society's standards. In 1857, Alexander Bruie died, having left Florence Hall Pen to his son, Theodore, his daughter Jessy and his sisters, Margaret and Helen. Theodore was left to take care of the property but a family dispute occurred when one of the aunts, Margaret came from Scotland to claim her rights to the property and Theodore was asked to vacate the premises but refused.

The late owner, Alexander Bruie had, in his lifetime developed a reputation for supporting the cause of the ex-slaves. In fact, as Swithin Wilmot indicated, Bruie was the only member of the planter class in Trelawny who had voted for George Lyons in the 1852 by-election. When his son refused to vacate the property to which he believed he

was entitled based on his father's will, he and his family were removed by force. The ex-slaves who were working on the property and others who had known Alexander Bruie and his children turned out in large numbers (reportedly hundreds) to support Theodore and a violent confrontation with those who had forced him out of the house resulted. Several of Bruie's supporters were arrested and confined to Falmouth jail. However a crowd of well over a hundred stormed the station and set them free in the process, stoning the police station. Several demonstrators were injured and two women, supporters of Bruie, were killed when police fired into the crowd. In the course of the violence that followed, protestors set fire to the police station and refused to allow anyone to put out the flames and threatened to burn down the courthouse as well. The Falmouth Post reported that buildings in Falmouth were set afire three times that night. Over one hundred persons were indicted for their participation in events in Falmouth but this was a price that they were prepared to pay given their belief that the cause of justice had not been served. [45]

**Sugar without Slaves: The Industry in Trelawny 1838-1900**

At the start of the Apprenticeship period in 1834, Trelawny had 86 estates producing 8,000 tons of sugar. In 1837, one year before full freedom, Trelawny still took pride of place in Jamaica's sugar industry, leading all other parishes in the number of sugar estates in production with a total of 76 estates. Interestingly, by 1844 Trelawny had a reported 86 sugar estates under production, surpassing the 1837 figure. The parish continued to dominate the island in this regard for the rest of the nineteenth century, even when the number of estates in production in the parish and indeed in the entire island, steadily declined over the course of the century. The fact that Trelawny was doing better in sugar production than many other parishes may be explained by several factors. Northern Trelawny had a well irrigated and vast expanse of flat, fertile coastal land suited to sugar cane cultivation. At the same time, Trelawny planters had an advantage in lower costs of transporting their sugar, rum and molasses to Falmouth Harbour than would have been the case if they lived in a parish with no central ports. In

spite of the establishment of free villages and peasant farms in the parish, this was not as extensive as in some other parishes of Jamaica and land on which these were located was not always very productive for provision growing. Small holders found that they still had to supplement their income by working on estates when it suited them so the Trelawny planters did not face a critical shortage of labour even though they complained of some fall-off. Therefore, unlike planters elsewhere in Jamaica, they did not have to rely on large-scale use of East Indian immigrant labour. When the British government removed protection of British West Indian sugar against competition from other sugar producers beginning in 1846 with the Sugar Duties' Act, the Trelawny planters found that they could better adjust to falling prices for their sugar because they had lower costs of transportation and were not faced with the additional expense of immigrant labour. Although Trelawny had no need of a large immigrant labour force after 1838, the British government encouraged European immigrants to come to Jamaica, but for a different purpose. Some of these European immigrants, especially the Germans, were to become important in other ways to the story of Trelawny. This is discussed in a later section.

Governor Henry Barkly after his tour of Jamaica in 1854 observed that Trelawny had a total of 62 sugar estates producing a total of 4,800 tons of sugar. This was a marked reduction, both in the number of estates and in the production levels compared to 1834 when there were 86 estates which produced a total of 8,000 tons. By 1880, the number of estates had fallen considerably to 34 and by 1898, sugar estates had further declined to 26. When compared to the 76 estates in the parish in 1837, this was a significant decrease over time but the reduction was not as marked as in many other parishes. As with elsewhere, some estates in the parish were heavily indebted even before Emancipation and the situation worsened when planters were faced with the need to pay cash wages after 1838. Under these circumstances, several estates simply went out of business and their owners returned to England. Trelawny's estates which were still in operation in 1898 were Arcadia, Bryan Castle, Brampton Bryan, Braco,

Cambridge, Dundee, Etingdon, Fontabelle, Georgia, Green Park, Gales Valley, Tilston, Golden Grove, Good Hope, Hyde Hall, Hyde, Harmony Hall, Kent, Lottery, Long Pond, Lancaster, Oxford, Orange Valley, Swanswick, Steelfield and Vale Royal.

*Tilston Estate*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Tilston Estate Buildings*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Most of the estates listed above were still in operation in 1903-1904 and a comparison of the size of some of these properties in 1904 with the total size of the same properties in 1844 also shows that for some Trelawny sugar estates, owners had to sell some land over the years. Most likely, this was done to reduce debts, gain additional income or facilitate the nearby establishments of settlements which could serve as a source of labour for the estate. As seen in the previous section on the peasantry, the persons who benefitted from this sale of land were the ex-slaves. Examples of estates which experienced significant reduction in acreage over the years included Cambridge Estate, which had a total of 2,691 acres in 1844, had only 972 acres in total by 1904. Having the same owner as Cambridge earlier in the post-slavery period, Oxford Estate had 2,881 acres in 1844 and this had been reduced to 985 by 1904. Hyde Hall Estate showed a dramatic drop, moving from 4,332 in 1844 to 1,607 in 1904. Interestingly,

other estates in the parish remained constant in acreage and in some cases, were larger than their 1844 size and this reflected the tendency of the more successful estate owners to buy adjoining properties and so increase acreage. Examples of these estates were Hyde, which had 3,077 acres in 1844 while by 1904 the acreage had increased to 3,667. Long Pond remained quite steady, having 2,347 acres in 1844 and 2,346 acres by 1904. As was the trend in sugar estates in other parishes, most Trelawny estates over the post-slavery period reduced the acreage under sugar cane cultivation and devoted surplus land to common pasture and raising of livestock as well as the cultivation of pimento, ginger and ground provisions. This was in response to competition coming from cheaper, slave grown sugar from Cuba and Brazil, which reduced the profits for British West Indian sugar planters. So planters in places like Trelawny tried to reduce some of their expenses by raising their own livestock as a source of meat and also as draft animals. They also tried to gain additional income through diversifying their crops for export. [46]

**Church and School in Trelawny 1834-1900**

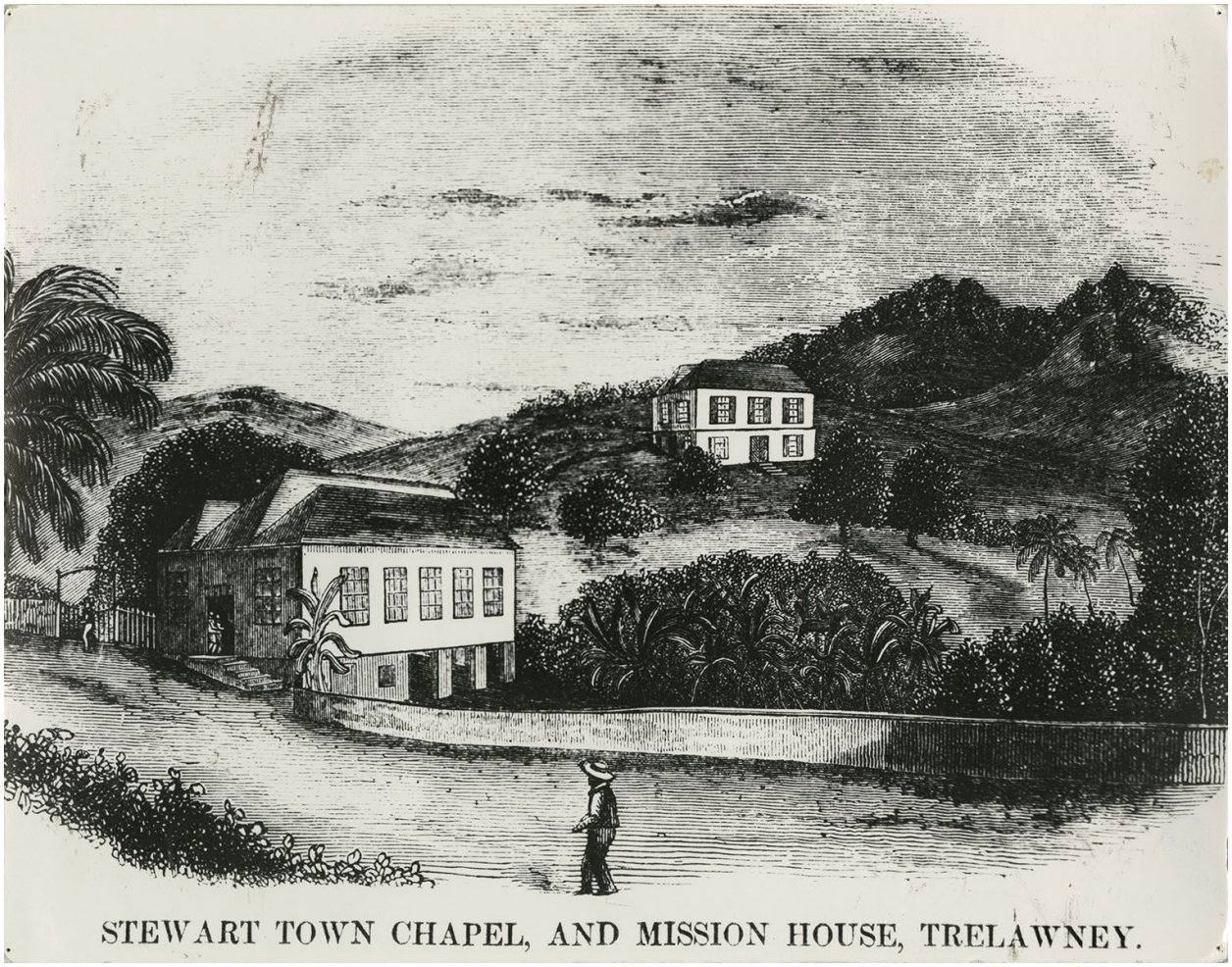
**The Anglican Church in Trelawny: Church and School**

The Church of England (the Anglican Church) was the official or established church in the British colony of Jamaica and every parish had to have a parish church which was Anglican. The first church built in Trelawny was St Peter's Anglican Church (Falmouth Parish Church) on Duke Street, Falmouth which was completed in 1795. Before and after Emancipation, the Anglican Church was generally seen as the church associated with the planters, merchants and other English colonists and it was from the white population on the surrounding estates and residencies that churches like St Peter's Anglican drew its congregation. Early schools operated by the Anglican Church were intended for children of whites and this was the case with the school which was located on Market Street, Falmouth, which had 112 students attending up to 1838. Before Emancipation, the Anglican Church had very little to do with the black population. Christianisation and education of the enslaved were generally opposed by the planter

class as they regarded this as interfering with the labour needs on the estate they also viewed Christianisation as having the potential to encourage dangerous ideas of equality among the enslaved. Therefore if the Anglican Church did anything for the enslaved, the churchmen usually had to get the approval of the slave owners. In Trelawny for example, the Falmouth Parish Church in 1811 advertised the fees for baptising slaves who were under twenty years of age as 6/- 8d per slave but also ordered that ministers should not baptise slaves without the consent of their owners. It was not until the arrival of the English Baptists and other Protestant church missions such as the Wesleyans and Presbyterians that serious efforts were taken towards conversion and basic education of some of the enslaved. In Trelawny, it was these church groups, particularly the English Baptist missionaries who really became identified with the enslaved and then the ex-slaves after 1838. Although planters as a rule in Jamaica did not encourage religious instruction and schooling for the enslaved on their estates, there were a few exceptions in Trelawny which stood out during slavery and the Apprenticeship. On Good Hope Estate, the owner, John Tharp had developed a reputation of treating his slaves in a humane way. He built an Episcopal (historically linked to the Anglicans) church on his estate which became known as Good Hope Church or St Peter's Church and provided for religious instruction for his slaves. Tharp also built a schoolhouse nearby the slave hospital in 1798 and some of the slave children were taught how to read and write. During the Apprenticeship period in 1835, there was also a school established on Hyde Hall Estate by the owner, Mr Shirley, and this was well attended by the children on the estate.

Before Emancipation there were very few Anglican churches or chapels in Trelawny besides the parish church in Falmouth. However, as seen previously, the town of Rio Bueno was steadily growing before 1838 and the residents had appealed to the House of Assembly in 1832 to have an Anglican church built in Rio Bueno. St Mark's Anglican Church was therefore built in Rio Bueno between 1832 and 1833 and has the distinction of being one of Trelawny's oldest churches after the Falmouth Parish Church.

*St Mark's Anglican Church, Rio Bueno*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves




*Stewart Town Chapel and Mission House*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

An Anglican Mission Station was established in Stewart Town before 1832 and in that year, funds were provided by the House of Assembly to build a church in the town. This would become St Thomas Anglican Church.

*St Thomas Anglican Church, Stewart Town Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Inside St Thomas Anglican Church, Stewart Town*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

With the abolition of slavery on 1 August, 1834, the Anglican Church became part of the "civilising mission" in which the colonial authorities (planters included) felt that unless drastic steps were taken to Christianise and instruct the soon to be fully freed population in European values and culture, then when full Emancipation came, the ex-slaves would leave the estates and 'relapse into barbarism'. To counteract this possibility, the Church of England (and other religious groups) in Jamaica were given the responsibility to undertake Christianisation and basic education of the apprentices who were soon to become fully freed people. It is not surprising therefore that in Trelawny, as in other parishes there was a noticeable increase in the efforts by the Anglican Church as of 1834 to provide basic schooling and religious instruction for former slaves. In his 1835 report to the Governor on the condition of the apprentices in Trelawny, Special Justice Pennell made reference to a school which was kept in "the underparts" of the Anglican

Church in Stewart Town. This school was supported by funds from the Trelawny Parish Vestry and the Anglican Bishop and between 200 and 400 apprentices from nearby estates attended the Sunday school. He also reported that the Baptist and the Wesleyan churches in Stewart Town were in 1835 preparing schoolrooms of their own to take care of the expected increased attendance from apprentices and their children. At these Sunday schools for apprentices, instruction was centred on religion and only basic reading which would help them to read the bible was emphasised. A National school (a term for the Anglican elementary school in the district or parish) was also established at Rio Bueno in 1837 and this provided elementary education to children of whites and free coloureds. In that year, there were 71 boys and 98 girls enrolled.

After the ending of Apprenticeship on 1 August 1838, the Church of England increased the building of churches in Trelawny in the hope of attracting increased numbers of the freed people. Churches were built in those ex-slave settlements where the Baptist and other non-conformist missionaries were not active. Perhaps the best examples of this were in Clark's Town and Albert Town, two freed communities that were established independently of missionaries.

*St Michael's Anglican Church, Clark's Town*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

St Michael's Church, built entirely of stone and large enough to accommodate 600 persons, was built in Clark's Town in 1838 while St Silas Church was built in Albert Town with the aid of government funds in 1847. The church also expanded facilities for elementary education after Emancipation, establishing a new National School in Falmouth in 1840. This school apparently had a good reputation as it was reported that children from other parishes also attended the school in Falmouth. This school was closed in 1902 when all three of the National Schools in Falmouth were merged to form the Government School located at the Soldiers' Barracks. Ultimately however, it was the Baptist missionaries and not the established church which would capture the hearts and minds of the newly emancipated in Trelawny. [47]

**The Baptists in Trelawny: Church and School**

As discussed before, with the coming of full freedom in 1838 all the churches and missionary societies in Jamaica were expected to play a critical role in transmitting European values and behaviours as well as basic skills in reading, writing and arithmetic which would allow ex-slaves to function in a free society. Until 1866 when Crown Colony government was introduced into Jamaica, the church and the missionary groups were the only providers of what became known as elementary schooling for the children of the formerly enslaved. After 1866, the colonial government also became a provider of education and in the process, set up its own schools and also gave financial assistance to church schools. So before 1866, the church and education went hand in hand and it is not surprising that the first schools set up on a large scale were done by the missionaries and the church.

The Baptists did more than any other religious group in Trelawny to provide chapels and religious instruction as well as basic schooling for the freed people. Early Baptist chapels and churches in the parish usually had a schoolroom attached although it was not unusual to have a separate school. The Rio Bueno Baptist Church which was the oldest Baptist chapel in Trelawny was built in 1829 by James Mann and served as a place of missionary work and Sunday instruction among the enslaved of nearby estates. The church was burnt to the ground during the Anti-Baptist riots in 1831-32 as it was believed that because of their work among the slaves, the Baptists were behind the Sam Sharpe rebellion which had spread to the parish. It was rebuilt in 1834.

*The Rio Bueno Baptist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Before Emancipation, the Baptist Missionary Society in London organised the religious and educational activities of the Baptist missionaries among the enslaved in Trelawny. Baptist missionaries like Reverend John Rowe were among the first to become active in Trelawny. Because he was a Baptist missionary in an Anglican colony, Rowe had to apply to the Trelawny vestry for permission to establish a non-Anglican school in the capital. Having received permission to do so, Rowe built a school room in Falmouth in 1814 which also served as the centre for the Baptist mission in Falmouth and the rest of Trelawny. Rowe's successors, Thomas Burchell and James Mann were very active in ministering to the slaves who would make up the greater part of the Baptist congregations in the parish. It was Thomas Burchell and James Mann who are credited with building the first Baptist chapel in Falmouth which was to become the Falmouth Baptist Church. This was destroyed by fire during the anti-Baptist protests in the

aftermath of the Sam Sharpe rebellion and was rebuilt by William Knibb who began his missionary work in the parish in 1830. Falmouth Baptist Church had the capacity to hold

*Reverend William Knibb*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

2,000 persons and a weekly Sunday school for 500 was also held. The Falmouth Baptist Church was renamed the William Knibb Memorial Baptist Church as a tribute to the work done by Knibb among the slaves and the freed people of Trelawny and there are two memorials at the church, commemorating Emancipation and the work of William Knibb.

*William Knibb Memorial Baptist Church, Falmouth*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

When Knibb started his work in the parish, he built a new school room in 1836 at the location of Rowe's schoolroom in Falmouth and the school became known as the Suffield School. Before Emancipation, this was intended as a public school for children of the poor but children of apprentices working on nearby estates could also attend. Education provided in Baptist schoolrooms was focused on religious instruction and on basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic.

Support for the Baptists among the freed people was tremendous and this resulted not

only from the impact of their spiritual work but also from the very practical assistance given by them to the ex-slaves in their efforts to establish settlements of their own. As a result, largely of Knibb's work, Baptist congregations were formed throughout Trelawny and Baptist chapels were built at every free village established throughout the parish. From the Baptist point of view, the free villages were intended to be the missionary centres for ministering to the ex-slaves and so land was usually reserved at the centre of the village for the building of a chapel, a school and a mission house. Funds were usually obtained through the Baptist Missionary Society in England and labour was freely given, first by the apprentices and then by the ex-slaves who cut down the trees, provided the timber and carried the stones and built these structures. In addition to Falmouth, Baptist chapels and churches were built not only in the Baptist led free villages but also in every community where the freed people settled down and these included Kettering (Duncans) Waldensia, Unity, Wakefield, Deeside, Duanvale, Clark's Town, Refuge, Stewart Town, Alps, Ulster Spring, Spring Garden, Martha Brae and Rio Bueno.

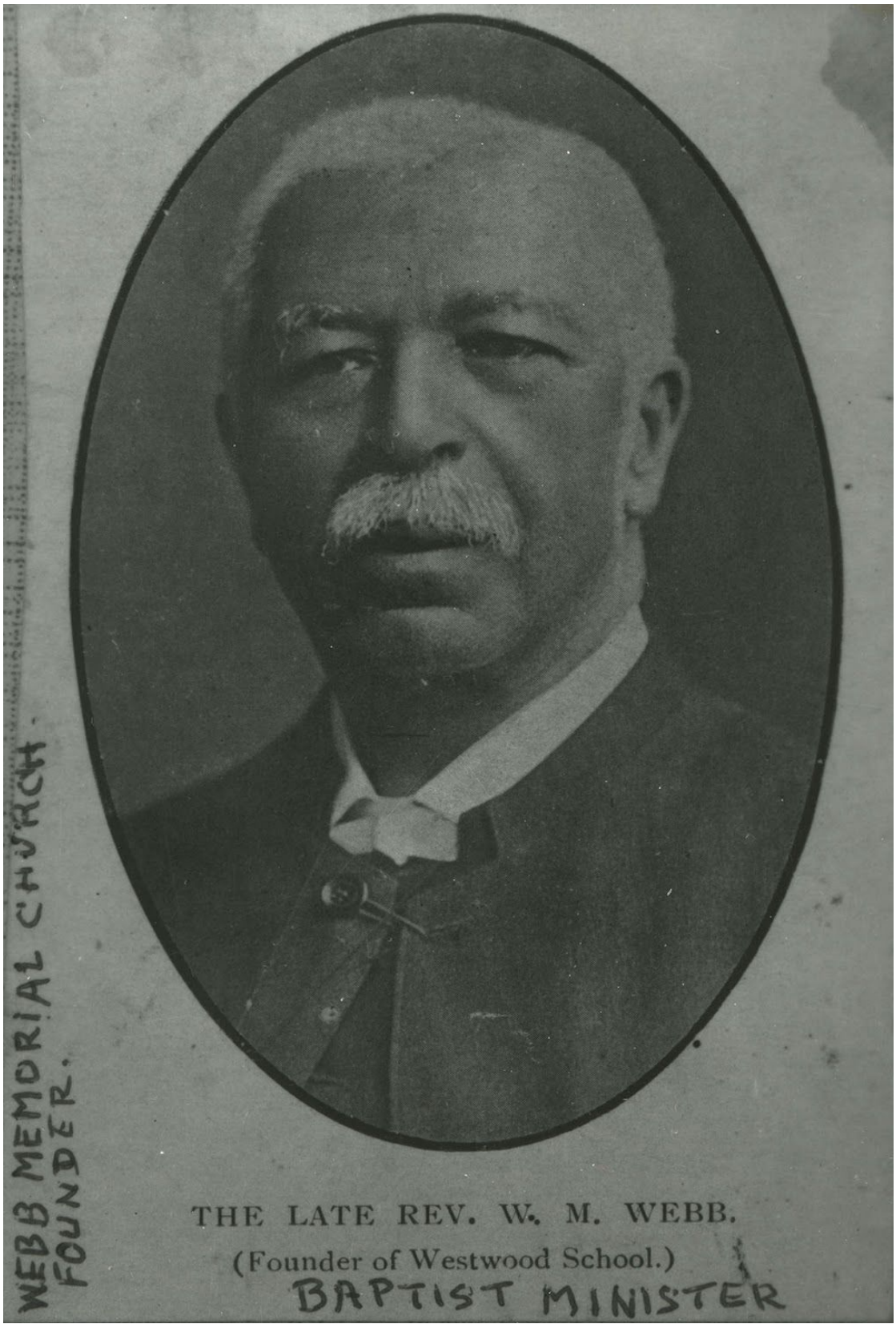
*Refuge Baptist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves


*Kettering Baptist Church in Duncans*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

The Kettering Baptist Church is located in Duncans Trelawny and was founded in 1844 as the church for the free village of Kettering/ Duncans. Built with Georgian features, the church was made of brick, stone, mortar and timber and had a steep hip roof. At the front of the church there is a small porch and over the porch, one can see a belfry (a structure in which the church bell was hung) but this was a later addition. Although in most cases, schoolrooms were either attached to the chapel or built separately, there were four Baptist schools providing basic instruction in Trelawny which seemed to have been most well-supported. These included the Suffield School in Falmouth, the Wilberforce school, the Waldensia and the Camberwell which combined had a total of about fifteen hundred children. [48]

**Westwood High School for Girls:**

Secondary education for black Jamaican children in Trelawny was pioneered by the Baptists with the establishment of Westwood High School for Girls in Stewart Town. A Jamaican Baptist minister, Reverend William Menzie Webb was instrumental in the formation of this school. He was born near Brown's Town in 1839 and was the son of an overseer.




Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica.

Webb also served Trelawny in other ways, one of which was to establish the Baptist church in Stewart Town and this was named in his honour, the Webb Memorial Baptist Church.

*Webb Memorial Baptist Church*. Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

*Webb Memorial Baptist Church Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

He was motivated to start the school because of discrimination against the attendance of black Jamaican children at the same schools as whites. This issue was highlighted by the actions of white parents who removed their children from a Falmouth school operated by William Knibb's descendants because they had admitted

two black girls to the school. The Knibb ladies refused to give in to public pressure to remove the black girls and the action by parents resulted in the Falmouth school being closed. This closure proved to be temporary though because an advertisement in the January 1st 1875 edition of The Jamaica Witness (a newspaper edited by a Presbyterian minister) announced that "The Misses Knibb, Kettering, Falmouth, will reopen the school on Wednesday January 24th". (This school later became the William Knibb Memorial High School. See discussion below.) Webb was concerned that this discrimination should be occurring four decades after freedom and obtained funding from the Baptist Missionary Society through the help of Reverend Frederick Trestrail and his wife. In a partnership with another Baptist minister, Reverend Henderson from Brown's Town, Webb leased land in Manchester Pen, located in the Stewart Town area. The school was started with six girls and one teacher in 1880 and named the "Manchester Girls' School" after its location. Soon, the school's reputation attracted an ever-increasing number of students and more classrooms were built. In 1881, the name was changed to "The Trelawny Girls' School" to strengthen its identification with the parish but as the school population continued to grow, Reverend Webb along with Reverend Henderson purchased nine acres of land on a hilltop in Stewart Town which would be the school's permanent location until today. These early years saw the school operating as a boarding school. An 1886 report in The Jamaica Witness informed the public that Mrs Webb was in charge of "household matters" as the girls were boarders. The newly expanded school was completed at a cost of £3,000.00 in 1895 and about 120 girls from all parts of Jamaica were in attendance in that year. To mark this new beginning, the school's name was changed to Westwood High School in 1895. Although founded by the Baptists, Westwood High School was turned over to a Board of Trustees representing the Baptists, Anglicans, Wesleyans and Presbyterians and by 1913, the school was operating independently of Baptist funding, being self-reliant but also receiving grants from the government.

*Westwood High School.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Interestingly, in keeping with the tradition of organising students into houses (for sports and other purposes) two of Westwood's houses are named to honour two of the persons who were instrumental in its foundation, Webb and Trestrail. Reverend Webb contributed to his adopted Trelawny in other ways as well, including serving as chairman of Trelawny's Parochial Board from 1906 to 1909 and as a member of the Legislative Council for two terms. Under his watch, the first dredging of the Falmouth Harbour was carried out. Having served Trelawny with distinction, Reverend Webb died in 1912. He and his wife are buried in the Webb Memorial Baptist Church yard.


*Westwood High School.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Calabar Theological College**

In keeping with the need to reach as many people as possible with its religious and educational ministry, the Baptists established Calabar Theological College in the Rio Bueno area of Trelawny in 1843. In the first ten years of its existence, the aim was to train young men to be ministers of religion who would also be able to teach religion in the schools. Interestingly, the ten original students all came from the newly freed people of Jamaica. This theological college played a significant role in the parish and the wider Jamaica as it gradually provided Jamaicans to fill vacancies at missions throughout the island. This institution was later removed to Kingston and evolved into the Calabar High School providing access to secondary education for all boys, regardless of class, colour or creed.

**The William Knibb Memorial High School**

Most persons accept that this school had its origins in the twentieth century, in 1961. Historical records show however that the school in its original form dates back to the 1870s and perhaps earlier. The school was first known as the Misses Knibb Boarding School and was at that time run by two female descendants of the famed Baptist missionary, William Knibb. Mary (Polly) Knibb and Lillie Knibb were the two sisters who operated the school when it was forced to close temporarily because they had dared to admit two black girls and white parents had withdrawn their children. As seen in the section on Westwood, this was the controversy which led Reverend Webb to think of starting Westwood. Over the years the school operated in Falmouth and was housed in the Baptist Manse on Market Street until 1976. The name had been long changed from the Knibb School to the William Knibb Memorial High School (1961). In early 1976, the school was removed from Falmouth to Carib Road in Martha Brae where it is currently located.[49]


*William Knibb Memorial High School*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**The Methodists in Trelawny: Church and School**

Although they came to the parish later and their involvement in church and school was not as extensive as that of the Baptists, the Wesleyan Methodists and the Presbyterians nevertheless made a contribution to the development of Trelawny. Reverend Dr Thomas Coke was the first Methodist missionary to have contact with Trelawny when he met with settlers at Martha Brae in 1793 but no permanent presence in Martha Brae resulted from this. The Methodists seem to have had a greater impact in the bustling capital of Falmouth where they built the Wesleyan Methodist Church on Duke Street.

*Stewart Town Methodist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Inside Stewart Town Methodist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

This was a grand two-storey building with balconies all around. There was a large school room capable of holding 500 children on the same premises as the church and this school acquired a reputation for being good at "grounding the children in English grammar and diction." In 1835, the Wesleyan chapel in Stewart Town was being prepared for an increased intake of students during the Apprenticeship period and afterwards as a school room was being built in "the underparts" of the chapel in that year. However, it appears that this school was limited to those children whose parents were members of the church and those who could afford to pay the 5d. each week for attendance. In 1841, the same year in which William Knibb established Kettering free village (Duncans) the Wesleyan Methodists also built their church at Duncans. This church served as the base for the Duncans circuit and served the people of Duncans, Brampton, Sawyers, Ulster Spring, Stettin and Warsop. In 1884, the old church in Duncans was replaced by a new structure which remains with several renovations today.

*Duncans Methodist Church*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

By 1899, Ulster Spring had a population of about 6,000 persons, most of them being small settlers. By then, the Methodists had a well-attended chapel in Ulster Spring with a large school room attached and this was reportedly also well supported by the children of the peasantry.

*Sawyers Methodist Church.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**The Presbyterians in Trelawny: Church and School**

Among the Europeans who settled in Trelawny were Scottish immigrants, several of whom worked in the Foundry in Falmouth. Others were plantation owners including Archibald Sterling who owned Hampden Estate in the 1820s and William Stothert, owner of Dundee Estate. These planters and other Scottish residents appealed to the Trelawny vestry for permission to have a Presbyterian church built (they needed permission since they were not members of the established church). Permission was

granted and both Sterling and Stothert contributed half the cost of building their church (Scottish Kirk) on lands from Hampden Estate which had been donated by Stirling for that purpose. Construction on Hampden Presbyterian Church began in 1824 and the church was dedicated in 1828.

*Hampden United Church.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

This marked the start of the Presbyterian mission in the parish. Reverend George Blythe was the first pastor. As part of its mission, this church allowed the enslaved from the Scottish owned estates like Hampden and Dundee to become members. This promoted a sense of loyalty among these enslaved towards their masters and reportedly, no damage was done to these estates during the Sam Sharpe Rebellion in 1831. In the post-slavery period, the Presbyterian concern for the welfare of the freed people was also reflected in the assistance given to the formation of a free village at New Cargen. Falmouth Presbyterian Church (St Andrew's Kirk) was built after Hampden's church and occupied a large area surrounded by Rodney, Princess, Lower Harbour and Newton Streets.

*Falmouth Presbyterian Church / St Andrew's Kirk, Falmouth.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

A Presbyterian school, St Andrew's Academy was also built on land which was parallel to Lower

Harbour Street. The mission of this school was to Christianize as well as to educate so some of its pupils could have been children of ex-slaves, since from the European point of view it was the slaves and then the ex-slaves who needed Christianising. This school developed the reputation of providing a high standard of education and it seemed to have catered to children from varied backgrounds as it was reported that those who could not afford the "modest fees" were not treated differently and that poor children were given assistance with clothes and shoes by the ministers so that they could attend the school.

*Bellevue United Church, Perth, Trelawny.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Trelawny High Schools Today**

With the coming of Crown Colony government in 1866, the state assumed responsibility for the provision of schools although churches and private interests continued their efforts in education. Today, Trelawny has a wide variety of schools at every level, starting from basic schools through primary to high schools (secondary schools). Included among the present day high schools in Trelawny are Albert Town High, located in Albert Town, Cedric Titus High, located in Clark's Town, Holland High in Martha Brae, Muschett High in Wakefield District, Troy High, located in the district with the same name, Westwood High in Stewart Town and William Knibb Memorial High School in Martha Brae.[50]

**Trelawny Newspapers**

Beginning in the Apprenticeship period and for the rest of the nineteenth century, Trelawny and in particular, the town of Falmouth was a leading centre for print journalism and was home to several newspapers such as The Falmouth Post and *Jamaica General Advertiser, The Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa, The Trelawny and* Public Advertiser and The Falmouth Gazette. John Castello, a Falmouth resident and son of Jewish and Black parents, started The Falmouth Post and Jamaica General Advertiser in Falmouth between 1835 and 1836. This newspaper carried items of news for example, relating to births, deaths and marriages, court matters, issues of interest both in Falmouth and from other parishes in Jamaica. As it was a Falmouth-based newspaper, The Falmouth Post carried items of interest to the merchants and shopkeepers of the busy commercial district such as advertisements on goods sold and shipping notices regarding arrival of and departures of vessels in Falmouth Harbour. Reports on meetings of parish committees were a regular feature and as more challenges faced the sugar industry across the island, the newspaper occasionally carried advertisements on the sale of Trelawny properties. The issue of Tuesday, September 12, 1876 carried advertisements for the sale of four Trelawny estates including Wales, Potosi, Lasquinet and Pantrepant estates. When it was first started by Castello, The Falmouth Post reflected his liberal and sympathetic views towards the apprentices but as the years passed, he became more conservative in his views. On Friday, January 5th, 1877, one of the last issues of the newspaper before Castello's death carried some interesting news of a cricket match played on "the grass piece" in Falmouth between the Falmouth Cricket Team and the crew of a visiting ship. The Falmouth Cricket Team included James Young, John Young, D. Hogarth, W. Walker, C. Walker, D. Pasmore, F.A. Nunes, H.C. Mosse, D. Black, C. Scott and C. Llewellyn. Castello was without doubt, a leading and influential citizen of Falmouth and his death in 1877 brought an end to a newspaper which had helped to shine the spotlight on Falmouth and in many ways had also helped to bring other parts of Jamaica to the attention of the reading public of Trelawny for just over forty years. After Castello's

death, his printing press and business were purchased and a new newspaper, The Trelawny and Public Advertiser took over, following the same general pattern of reporting as The Falmouth Post but having a front and back page completely dedicated to advertisements. Issued three times a week, the inside pages of this newspaper contained various items of news from Trelawny and other parishes. In 1839, William Knibb started The Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa and although it was essentially a religious newspaper which covered news on the Baptist churches and schools, there was also attention given to issues relating to the freed people, as seen through the eyes of the English Baptists. Although it was not a Falmouth newspaper, The Jamaica Witness, a Presbyterian newspaper in circulation from the 1870s had as its first editor, the Reverend William Murray, the minister in charge of the Presbyterian Kirk in Falmouth and in this sense it was Falmouth based until the editorship passed to Dr Robb in Kingston in 1883. This newspaper informed on a wide variety of news including deaths, births, marriages, schools, issues of interest to the public and news from various denominations operating inside and outside of Trelawny. [51]

**Post Slavery Arrivals in Trelawny: German Settlement in the Parish**

In the immediate post-slavery period the planter class and the colonial government believed that the release of the formerly enslaved would trigger a "relapse into barbarism" as the ex-slaves sought to establish their existence on freeholds away from the estates. In the view of the authorities, one way to stem this possibility was to encourage European immigrants to take up residence in the island, settle unused lands in the hilly areas and so reduce the availability of land to the freed people. At the same time, by increasing the number of whites in the island, it was hoped that their increased presence would have a "civilising" effect on the formerly enslaved. Some of these Europeans came here under a system of indentured labour whereby the cost of their passages here was paid for and they were expected to work for persons who had contracted them. At the end of their term of service they were encouraged to settle on available lands. Between 1834 and 1845 the number of European immigrants who

came to Jamaica included 2, 698 from Britain, 1,038 from Germany and 91 persons of Portuguese origin from Madeira. Generally, the recruitment of Europeans was not a great success as some died from tropical diseases and potential immigrants were reluctant to come to the islands because of reports of deaths from diseases and abuse of labour by their employers.

Nevertheless, there is evidence of German settlement in parts of Trelawny beginning after Emancipation. In southern Trelawny, there is a community called German Town where there was a scattered settlement of Germans and this is fairly close to Freeman's Hall where German skilled labourers also worked in the 1840s. In the early 1900s more Germans migrated to Freeman's Hall and this explains why surnames of German origin such as Stockhausen, Holn, Runsay and Mayers are still in evidence in these parts of the parish today. Of course, original German settlers may have also intermixed with other groups and some no doubt migrated from the communities. Germans also settled in parts of Stewart Town and Ulster Spring in the parish. Dr William Lemonius was one of the main agents responsible for encouraging German settlers to come here and between 1834 and 1838 Lemonius was responsible for about one thousand North German immigrants into Jamaica. Stettin in Trelawny was so named by him after the city of Stettin in Pomerania, Germany, the hometown of his family. Peta Gay Jensen has related the story of her German ancestors in Trelawny in her book, *The Last Colonials*. According to Jensen, her great grandfather, Baron Karl von Stockhausen, arrived in Jamaica in 1844 when he was a young man of eighteen. He eventually bought land at Ulster Spring in southern Trelawny. Today, the place name Stockhausen Hill on the outskirts of Ulster Spring between German Town and Freeman's Hall is a lasting reminder of this German family's presence there. In the late 1880s, John Stockhausen, his descendant, relocated his residence from Ulster Spring to Stewart Town and made a positive impact on the community there. John became a businessman, a property owner

and successful farmer as well as a family man, having seven children with his wife Miriam. He became very involved in the life of Stewart Town, serving as a Justice of the Peace, and a lay preacher in the Methodist Church. This successful businessman also became manager for the People's Cooperative Bank when it first opened in Stewart Town in 1913. Stockhausen was the owner of the Stewart Town Post Office as well as the post office in Jackson Town, Trelawny. One of John Stockhausen's seven children was Ivan Lancelot Stockhausen, born in 1890 in Stewart Town and educated at Jamaica College. He enlisted in the British West India Regiment and rose to the position of Second Lieutenant but died in combat, flying for the Royal Flying Corps of Great Britain during World War 1. [52]

**Changing Fortunes: Falmouth Port in the Late Nineteenth Century**

For most of the nineteenth century, Falmouth had enjoyed all the commercial benefits of a busy and successful port town with a seeming unending flow of ships coming into and departing Falmouth Port. As late as 1862, Edward Underhill could still describe Falmouth Harbour as being "filled with ships" to handle the export trade in sugar. Developments in shipping technology towards the end of the nineteenth century meant that steam powered ships slowly began to compete with sailing ships to carry the imports and exports for Falmouth and the wider Jamaica. Falmouth Harbour had always proven difficult for ships to access because of the narrow channel at the entrance to the harbour. This was a challenge for larger steamships and may have reduced the numbers of steam vessels coming into Falmouth Port at the end of the nineteenth century. However this clearly did not lead to a significant fall off in arrival of trading vessels because as late as 1903 it was reported that the harbour was deep enough to anchor "a dozen large ships or steamers." The revolution in transport which had greater effects on the trade of Falmouth Port was railway transportation (introduced into Jamaica in 1845). Fifty years later, in 1895 when the railway link was extended to Montego Bay it was quicker and cheaper to send goods to Montego Bay by rail than to transport them to Falmouth by road. This diverted commerce from other places which

normally would have sent goods to Falmouth to be shipped from the port. Montego Bay also had a deeper harbour and could accommodate more vessels at a time and so, by 1900, Falmouth Port was forced to take second place to Montego Bay and this affected the prosperity of the capital. [53]

## TRELAWNY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

### Changing Fortunes of the Sugar Industry during the Twentieth Century

Compared to other parishes, Trelawny's sugar industry was still the most important and profitable industry in the early years of the twentieth century. Between 1903 and 1904 there were twenty three estates in operation, most of which had been in operation from the late eighteenth century. Of the twenty three estates, twenty one had converted to more modern machinery such as steam mills. Freeman's Hall was still using an animal mill but very little cane was being grown so this was understandable. All sugar estates by 1904 had drastically cut back on the amount of acres under cane cultivation and this was a reflection of the falling prices for sugar on the European market. At the same time, all of Trelawny's remaining estates had increased the amount of land that was devoted to livestock rearing, pasture and growing other crops for the local market and for export. So for example, in 1904 Braco Estate had 226 acres in cane cultivation while 1,887 acres were used for other purposes including pasture and pimento as well as ground provisions and Swanswick Estate in the same year had 290 acres under cane cultivation and 2,248 acres devoted to other uses. In spite of this downsizing of land under cane cultivation, sugar cane remained the dominant crop grown in the parish over the years in terms of acres devoted to sugar cane compared to acres cultivated with other crops. For example, in 1900, Trelawny had 5,437 acres of cane compared to its nearest rival, ground provisions, with 4,153 acres. This trend continued and by 1928, 6,365 acres were under cane cultivation compared to the nearest three competitors, coconuts (1,994 acres) bananas (1,261 acres) and ground provisions (1,056 acres). [54]
One strategy which was used in Trelawny to keep the sugar industry productive in the twentieth century was the practice of buying up several estates and joining

(amalgamation) them together under one company. All the estates acquired like this would send their cane to a central factory for manufacture into sugar. This removed the expense of having factories on each of the estates. The 20th century history of Long Pond Estates in Trelawny is the best example of this. In 1921 Sheriff and Company from Scotland bought Long Pond, Parnassus, Hyde Hall, Steelfield and Etingdon Estates and built a central factory at Long Pond. By 1945, Cambridge, Linton Park, Belmont, Lottery and Water Valley Estates were bought and in 1949, Kinloss Estate was added to the group. One of Trelawny's oldest estates, Vale Royal was acquired by the Long Pond Group in 1955 and at that point the name of the sugar company was changed to Trelawny Estates. In 1977, the Jamaican government bought Trelawny Estates and named it The National Sugar Company of Long Pond (JA) Limited. The company has since then been divested.


*Long Pond Sugar Factory*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

In order to remain profitable overall, the remaining sugar estates in Trelawny also

increased the amount of rum being produced as a by-product of their sugar. So for example, in 1929, eight estates, Bryan Castle, Georgia, Green Park, Long Pond, Vale Royal and Arcadia, Cambridge and Lottery had an output of 866 tons of sugar and 187,642 gallons of rum. In 1937, five estates, Cambridge, Green Park, Georgia, Long Pond and Vale Royal produced a combined total of 7,835 tons of sugar and 106,146 gallons of rum. Even when the number of estates reporting on production in 1948 was reduced to three, Green Park, Long Pond and Vale Royal, the amount of sugar and rum produced by these three estates showed an increase over 1937 with 9,416.4 tons of sugar and 165,678 gallons of rum. Both the production of sugar and rum rose steadily for Long Pond in 1961 (owned by Trelawny Estates) with 16,990.8 tons of sugar and 107,445 gallons of rum. By 1969 with the help of increased investment and mechanization, Trelawny's sugar production rose to 21,619.2 tons and rum output to 649,575 gallons. Over the years, most of Long Pond's world famous rums have been marketed to North America.[55]

Trelawny has always had the reputation of producing the finest quality rums and Hampden Estates stand out as having an outstanding record in the production of the finest quality rum. As seen in earlier sections, Hampden Estate's history dates back to 1757 when it was established by two brothers from Scotland, Robert and James Sterling. During World War 1, the owners built the Hampden Wharf in Falmouth to ensure reliable shipping of its sugar and rums to England.


*Hampden Wharf*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

In the later twentieth century, the grandson of Dr George Lawson who had inherited the property enlarged Hampden by purchasing nearby estates including Gayle's Valley, Golden Grove and Western Favel and expanded the distillery to allow for increased production of rum. By 1949, Hampden Estates Limited comprised seven thousand acres. Hampden Estates continued in sugar production, with an output of 13,567 tons in 1954 and 19, 877 tons in 1965 but its name is best associated with rum production. Over the years, the traditional methods of rum making (distillation) have been passed on from generation to generation of distillers at Hampden and they continue to use these methods and techniques which allow for the production of the finest rums. Over the period, the main markets for Hampden's rum included the United Kingdom, Holland and Germany and Hampden also influenced secondary industries by supplying rum to merchant processors for the making of alcoholic beverages, baking products, eggnog, chocolates, coffee brews, ice cream and cosmetic fragrance.


*Hampden Estate Today*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

There is a strong historical bond between the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus and Hampden Estates of Trelawny in the form of the Chapel on the Mona Campus. In 1955, the owners of Hampden donated the estate's eighteenth century rum store which had been made with cut limestone blocks, to the then Chancellor of the University College of the West Indies (as the UWI was then known) Her Royal Highness, Princess Alice. Each building block of this Georgian stone building dating back to 1799 was numbered and then arrangements were made to carefully dismantle the rum store, block by block. All the blocks of the rum store were then transported to the Mona Campus and carefully reassembled over a three-year period into the Chapel

*The Chapel, University of the West Indies, Mona*. Courtesy of Jenny Jemmott

of the University which remains as a constant reminder of the historical link between Trelawny and the University. [56]

**Agricultural Diversification in Twentieth-Century Trelawny: The Small Farming Contribution**

In the twentieth century, small settlers continued to make important contributions to the diversification of Trelawny's economy by the cultivation of a variety of crops for their subsistence and sale on the local market as well as for export. Ground provisions

including cassava, sweet potatoes, varieties of yams, coco and plantains continued to be the most important crops grown by small settlers. Between 1899 and 1900, 4,153 acres were planted in ground provisions and this was second only to the amount of acres under sugar cane cultivation in that period. Over the course of the twentieth century, Trelawny has become well known for its production of cassava and yams including Yellow, Negro, Renta, Lucea, Sweet, St Vincent and Tau yams and this was due in large part to the efforts over time of small-settler communities in the parish. Refuge in North Trelawny, originally one of William Knibb's free villages, in the course of the twentieth century became known for its cassava production and for its cassava products including cassava pone, cassava cake, cassava bammies and cassava couscous. Albert Town, also a former free village/ small settler community has played a significant role in yam production in the parish and has allowed Trelawny to develop the distinction of producing more yams than other parishes. Albert Town also diversified the uses to which this popular root crop was put, making yam punch, yam cakes and yam fresher and in 1997, the community started the annual Yam Festival which highlighted yam products from the parish.

In addition to ground provisions during the post-slavery nineteenth century small settlers in the parish had also gone into the cultivation of other crops such as coffee, corn, pimento, banana as well as sugar cane on a limited scale. This diversification was continued and expanded during the twentieth century. As noted before, with very few exceptions in places like Spring Vale and Retirement Coffee Estate, coffee was not a plantation crop in Trelawny in the nineteenth century but rather, it was a small settler activity. This trend continued into the twentieth century. Between 1901 and 1902, there was a total of 408 acres devoted to coffee cultivation in the parish and the 408 acres consisted purely of small farms under 50 acres, some as small as 10 acres and all belonging to the peasant farmers in the parish. Some of this coffee production took place in the cooler elevations of Stewart Town, a well-established small farming community even before the twentieth century. Trelawny was not known as a banana parish so while the prosperous banana estates in St Mary, Portland and St Thomas

were doing a thriving business, it was the small settlers of Trelawny who cultivated small amounts of bananas on farms of less than 20 acres for home use or for sale in local markets. At the start of the century, between 1901 and 1902, 275 acres of bananas were grown on small farms of less than 20 acres each. The only exceptions in Trelawny where bananas were grown on properties of 20 acres or more were Mahogany Hall (21 acres) and Stettin (20 acres). Small amounts of cocoa (25 acres) corn (8 acres) ginger (5 acres) were also grown and small settlers also began to cultivate the coconut plant which by 1902 was being grown on 184 acres consisting of small farms.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Trelawny's small farmers increased their cultivation of bananas, corn, coffee and coconuts and sometimes grew less of the ground provisions. For example, in 1928, only 1,056 acres of ground provisions were grown compared to 4,153 acres in 1900. On the other hand, small settlers grew more acres of bananas than ground provisions in 1928 when 1,261 acres of bananas were grown in the parish compared to 1902 when only 275 acres had been grown. This represented the desire of the peasants to cut into some of the profit being made from the export of bananas and this became a possibility for the small banana growers in Trelawny mainly because of the efforts of St James-based entrepreneur, J. E. Kerr who had gone into the fruit export business (bananas and citrus) in the late nineteenth century. Kerr expanded his fruit export business from Montego Bay to other places such as Lucea, St Ann's Bay and Port Maria but also established a branch in Falmouth from which his fleet of ships transported bananas and oranges to New York. The small-scale banana growers in Trelawny took their bananas to Falmouth where they were sold to the higglers who then sold the fruit to the shipping outlet in Falmouth. Banana cultivation continued to expand among the small farmers who were cultivating the fruit on 1,574 acres in 1934.

Ginger was grown in very small quantities (5 acres) by peasant farmers in the parish in the early part of the twentieth century and this was for home use or for sale at Falmouth market. What started out as a relatively insignificant crop in the twentieth century became a major money earner for the farmers of Southern Trelawny by 2011. The Rural

Agricultural Development Authority (RADA) reported that in 2012, sixteen farmers in Highgate Hall, Lowe River, Hyde Hall and Clark's Town were expected to produce 256,200 kilograms of ginger, valued at over twenty million dollars, for the export and local markets. Livestock rearing has a long history in Trelawny with animals being reared on selected parts of sugar estates and on a very small number of livestock pens. Starting after Emancipation small holders also raised small farm animals such as pigs, goats and chickens for home use and for sale at local markets. Livestock rearing became an important part of Trelawny's economy in the twentieth century and was good business for small, medium and large scale livestock farmers. In 1952, the then *Jamaican government introduced The Hague Agricultural and Livestock Show to allow* farmers from the parish to showcase the best in livestock and agricultural products. This agricultural show acted as an incentive for Trelawny farmers whose hard work was recognised each year and was second in importance only to the Denbigh Agricultural Show. [57]

**Manufacturing Industries in Trelawny in the Twentieth Century**

Between 1966 and 1972, small scale manufacturing businesses in Trelawny increased the employment and productivity of the parish. In 1966, there were 29 small manufacturing operations which employed 831 persons, while by 1968, the number of small factories rose to 34, creating employment for 891 persons. The highest employment in this sector came in 1971 when 912 persons had job opportunities in 26 small factories. Perhaps one of the best examples of manufacturing businesses with roots in Trelawny was Carib Metal Works Ltd. which produced aluminium cooking utensils. Carib Metal Works Limited was started in Falmouth in 1957 by the Chin See brothers. This was the first company in Jamaica to engage in the production of aluminium cooking utensils. By 1985, Carib Metal Successors Ltd. started operations in Rio Bueno Trelawny, producing the same general line of products. By 2012 when the company was liquidated, Carib Metal Successors Ltd. had the distinction of being the

only company in the English-speaking Caribbean which manufactured kitchen utensils. The company supplied the local market but also exported baking tins, pots and pans including larger pots for institutions. Their famous cast aluminium Dutch pots had a ready market throughout Jamaica, gracing many a Jamaican kitchen at that time and were also exported as far away as the European market.

For twenty years, starting in 1965, Dudley Eaton had gained valuable experience as manager of Fachoy Foods Ltd. which was located in Falmouth and which specialised in making food spices. In 1985, Eaton decided to form his own company on Carib Road and established King Pepper Products Ltd. which remains one of Jamaica's leading food processing companies. When it first started, the young company employed only ten persons and specialised in the making of pepper sauce but soon went on to include pickled pepper, mango chutney and jerk seasoning, all condiments in great demand by Jamaican consumers. An interesting feature on Eaton's packaging of products was the image of Vermont House (Falmouth Post Office) that was placed on each package, therefore spreading Falmouth's rich architectural heritage at home and abroad. Understandably, the company grew rapidly and by 1992 it was re-located to the Hague Industrial Estate in Trelawny with much room for physical expansion, allowing for even more employment. By 1998, they were also producing hot mustards, jams, jellies and bulk tomato ketchup. By this year, between sixty five and seventy percent of King Pepper's products were exported to the U.K., the U.S.A. and Canada, earning valuable foreign exchange for Jamaica. Not surprisingly, in 1998, King Pepper Products Ltd. received several awards from the Jamaica Manufacturers Association, being named *Category 1 Champion Manufacturer as well as Champion Exporter Runner Up.* [58]

**Evolution of Tourism in Trelawny: Guest Houses and Early Travellers' Rests**

The earliest tourists in the parish were travellers going from one part of the island to the next and the occasional visitor to the island. Seaside Rio Bueno was most likely one of the earliest and best known places in Trelawny where visitors and travellers could be accommodated in style. With its cooling breezes and several lodging houses (guest houses), Rio Bueno was the ideal place for travellers to rest on their journey to and from Falmouth or other places on the north coast. Perhaps the most famed accommodation in the early nineteenth century was the Wellington Hotel (more accurately an inn) where Lady Nugent, the wife of the then governor of Jamaica, stayed on her travels in 1802 and where Monk Lewis, English writer and planter also stayed and commented on the excellent accommodation.

*Wellington Dwelling House, Rio Bueno.* Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

Although it could not be classified as a guesthouse or inn,
Good Hope Great House, owned by the Tharp family in the 1820s, was the gathering place and social centre for Trelawny's wealthiest and most well-known planter elite class. It was at Good Hope that they all gathered to discuss the sugar economy and issues of concern for the industry and it was at Good Hope that Trelawny's most talked about balls and social functions were held. Perhaps this was an early indication of the Good Hope Hotel brand that would emerge in the early twentieth century. By 1930 well-established guest houses included one operated by Mrs. A. Steer in Falmouth, Belle Vue, managed by Mrs Brissett in Ulster Spring and Eldon Villa, owned by Mrs E.L. Strudwick in Duncans.

**Good Hope Emerges as Trelawny's First Early Twentieth-Century Hotel**

*Good Hope Great House in the Twentieth Century*. Courtesy of National library of Jamaica

In 1912, the American banker, J.F. Thompson purchased Good Hope along with adjoining estates of Covey, Wales, Pembroke, Shawfield and Potosi. Thompson established extensive coconut groves on the land and soon began to recommend Good Hope Great House to his business associates as a destination for rest and relaxation and pretty soon the idea of having paying guests stay at Good Hope took root. Among the early distinguished guests were Princess Marie Louise of Schleswig-Holstein who visited in 1914 as well as the Duke and Duchess of Kent. Thompson left his son, Howard in charge of the properties and in the fifteen years that followed, his son successfully marketed Good Hope as a destination for American visitors to spend the long winter months. The Good Hope Hotel brand was born when the hotel first opened its doors in 1933 and at this early stage the hotel remained open mainly during the winter months. In 1950, the Thompson family sold the Good Hope Hotel along with the nearly 6,000 acre coconut and livestock property to Patrick Tenison and his newly formed company, Good Hope Limited. Under its new management, the Good Hope Hotel was to remain open for most of the year and continue policies which attracted visitors from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. During the 1970s, the Hotel was closed down because of "fear of communism" during the years of Michael Manley's Democratic Socialism. In 1987 Good Hope re-opened its doors, complete with a plantation tour and horseback riding. Good Hope was acquired by Chukka Adventures in 2015 and was rebranded as Chukka Good Hope and is well supported especially by domestic tourism. [59]

**Trelawny's Tourism Product Becomes Diverse**

In 1967, there were two hotels listed for the parish of Trelawny. These included Good Hope Hotel and the Silver Sands Beach Hotel located close to the town of Duncans. By 1995 the Grand Lido Braco Hotel which was located on a part of the old Braco Estate between Duncans and Rio Bueno significantly extended the accommodation for visitors to Trelawny's tourism products. As the twentieth century progressed, Trelawny's

attractions for visitors from home and abroad became more diverse. Reminders of the wealth and power of the plantation days including the Good Hope Hotel and tours have been marketed from the very beginning. Natural heritage of the parish including the bio-diversity of the Cockpit Country and the abundance of caves, some of which were burial sites of the Taino all form part of the rich cultural legacy of the parish on offer for all to experience. Martha Brae River, once an important way of connecting Trelawny's sugar estates to Falmouth Port by rafting of the estate goods down the river to Falmouth, has over the years provided a major attraction for visitors in the form of rafting on the Martha Brae River. Now closed down, the Outameni Experience which was located near Falmouth was built on a part of the former Orange Valley Sugar Estate. Ruins of the old sugar mill and the Orange Valley Great House are still to be seen there today. The attraction was opened in 2007 and promoted as a journey through the historical periods of Jamaica's development. Falmouth is an outstanding example of Jamaica's rich architectural and historical heritage, boasting the distinction of having a large and intact collection of Georgian buildings and is also one of the best preserved historic towns in the Caribbean. In recognition of this, the Jamaican government first declared the historic district of Falmouth as a Protected National Heritage Site under the Jamaica National Heritage Trust Act of 1985 and then as a National Monument in 1996. This recognition is of enduring importance for the tourism industry in the parish as well as for Jamaican heritage on the whole. To ensure that this legacy remains lasting, over the past fifteen years Falmouth Heritage Renewal has done restorative work to several buildings and sites in the historic district, such as the Falmouth Courthouse, St Peter's Parish Church, the Falmouth Post Office, Water Square, William Knibb Baptist Church, the Baptist Manse, Barrett House, Tharp House, the Police Station and Gaol as well as seventeen homes in the Falmouth Historic District. [60]

**Significant Political Developments in Twentieth-Century Trelawny**

**Trelawny Workers and the Labour Disturbances of the 1930s**

Approximately one hundred years after Emancipation, Jamaican workers across many parishes were at the centre of workers' strikes and demonstrations which often ended in violent and sometimes deadly confrontations with the police and agents of the state. The labour disturbances proved costly in terms of destruction of property, loss of production time and therefore profits and most importantly, the events of the late 1930s proved costly in lives lost. A number of factors contributed to the extreme discontent felt among workers in various parts of Jamaica which erupted in many parishes including Trelawny in 1938. Important avenues of overseas employment in Panama and Cuba had been closed off to Jamaican workers in the post-World War 1 period (1918/19 and they were forced to return home, unemployed and desperate. Between 1915 and 1917 a succession of hurricanes brought destruction to estate and peasant crops alike and the thriving banana trade in places like St Thomas, St Mary and Portland was brought low by natural disasters and devastating diseases. While these early events created serious hardship for many, by themselves they were not enough to trigger island-wide labour protests. However, the most immediate and influential factor in the worker unrest of the 1930s was the Great Depression of the early 1930s which crippled economies of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Europe, all places which at that time were major markets for Jamaican exports and main suppliers of goods to the Jamaican market. Prices for all exports and especially for Jamaica's two most important exports, sugar and bananas were slashed on the international market and this directly impacted wages paid to Jamaican workers who were in any way connected with these industries. Workers' most pressing concerns were the impossibly low wages, poor working conditions and the uncertainty surrounding payment of wages.

Labour unrest in Trelawny was centred in two main areas of employment, on sugar estates and in Falmouth among dockworkers at the port. In May 1838, all dockworkers at Falmouth Port went on strike in an effort to have their demands for better wages and

working conditions met. By May 21st, what had started as a strike erupted into a riot in Falmouth's streets when shipping agents and dock management tried to bring in strike-breakers to resume work at Falmouth Port. In the chaos and confrontations that followed, police fired into the crowd and one man was killed. Because of the tense situation in the town of Falmouth, shops were closed intermittently and the streets of the town had to be patrolled by police while a strong detachment from a special constabulary force was also brought into the town to relieve the regular police. As in Kingston, the strike by dockworkers in Falmouth acted as a trigger for disturbances around the rest of the parish, especially on the estates. Labour unrest reached Duan Vale and nearby districts such as Clark's Town in early June, 1938 as workers on the surrounding estates planned a march on the estates to demand improved wages and working conditions. Shops in both Clark's Town and Duan Vale were closed down in anticipation of violence and looting. In June, in Albert Town there was a confrontation between an angry crowd and the police as a result of which, a special mobile patrol fired into the crowd, killing one man. In the same month, Rio Bueno was the scene of a march by striking workers and other demonstrators joined the group and marched into the town demanding work and money, forcing owners of businesses and shops to close their doors out fear of violence. The strikes and demonstrations were also focussed on the estates and on June7th, on Orange Valley Estate, six miles from Falmouth, more than 100 acres of cane were set on fire while two cane fields at Bryan Castle were also burnt. Armed police were brought in to restore order. On the same day, work on Long Pond and Hyde Hall Estates was brought to a standstill as workers went on strike and one hundred of them mounted a peaceful demonstration at Long Pond, demanding better wages and working conditions. However, demonstrators dispersed peacefully after they were addressed by the Member of the Legislative Council for Trelawny, The Honourable Reverend John Maxwell. Disgruntled workers rioted on June 7 at Mr McArthur's property in Stettin and when police were called in, they fired on the crowd, killing one person, wounding three others and arresting six members of the crowd. Labour unrest in Jamaica and the other territories of the British Caribbean placed socio-

economic conditions and issues facing the working class under the microscope. A Royal Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the 1938 labour riots was held in 1938 in the form of the Moyne Commission and many of its recommendations highlighted the urgent need to improve workers' rights. Among the main recommendations of the Moyne Commission were the establishment of wage boards, the fixing of wages, factory inspections, legal protection of trade unions, unemployment insurance, the creation of a labour department and a relaxation of the voting requirements to allow more persons to vote. Although these recommendations were not all put into effect immediately, the outcome of the 1938 labour protests meant that governments could no longer ignore or marginalise workers' rights. The protesting workers of Trelawny had made their contribution to this outcome. [61]

**Political Representation in Trelawny, 1944-1980**

One hundred and six years after full Emancipation, Universal Adult Suffrage was granted to Jamaica on 20 November, 1944. The right to vote was to be the right of every Jamaican twenty-one years of age or older, regardless of race, sex or social class. This was an important first step in allowing Jamaicans to have a say in who represented their interests in the House of Representatives. Before the granting of Universal Adult Suffrage, two constituencies were created in Trelawny and these were Trelawny Northern and Trelawny Southern. The main towns in Trelawny North included Duncans, Falmouth, Martha Brae, Sherwood Content and Wakefield, whereas Trelawny Southern consisted of Albert Town, Lorrimers, Ulster Spring and Warsop. Although there were independent candidates who sometimes contested the elections in Trelawny, the outcome of every general election from the first in 1944 until 1980 saw the two constituencies in Trelawny being controlled by the country's two main political parties, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the Peoples' National Party (PNP).

On December 12, 1944, the first general election held under universal adult suffrage resulted in victories for the JLP in both parts of Trelawny. Matthew Thelwell was the winning JLP candidate for Trelawny Southern, and in Trelawny Northern, Clement Mullings Aitcheson won for the JLP. Aitcheson was well known in Duncans as at that time he was the Headmaster of Duncans Elementary School and was asked by Sir Alexander Bustamante to run for the seat. Troy Caine reminded us that both Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante had visited Reverend John W. Maxwell (father of the late John Maxwell) in Duncans to ask if he would consider running for the JLP in the election of 1944. Maxwell, who was the last Member of the Legislative Council for Trelawny (1935-1944) reportedly chased Manley and Bustamante out of his house and indicated that he intended to run for the constituency as an Independent candidate. Bustamante reportedly simply walked across the street to Duncans Elementary school and asked Aitcheson if he would agree to run. Aitcheson beat Maxwell by a significant margin and he later went on to become the second Speaker of the House of Representatives.

**Elliston Wakeland**

In the general elections of 1949 and 1955, a young attorney, Allan Douglas of the JLP won the right to represent the people of Trelawny Northern and went on to become the first Minister of Trade and Industry in 1953. One of the most popular and beloved political representatives for Trelawny Northern was Elliston Wakeland from Wakefield who gained the distinction of winning three consecutive general elections (1959, 1962, 1967) for the JLP in Trelawny Northern. Wakeland was born June 10, 1902 and died two months after winning the seat in the 1967 elections. Married to Edith, Wakeland and

his wife lived on their farm in Wakefield where they had four children and also adopted Kenneth Dewar as their son. Dewar remembers Wakeland as a man who believed in serving people in the community regardless of social standing or political loyalties and lived according to his belief that "Love knows no bounds". Dewar remembers that no one who visited the family home was ever allowed to leave hungry and the Wakelands always insisted that when their workers turned out to work, they should be given a proper meal. A farmer at heart and in practice, Wakeland also contributed to agricultural development in the parish by serving as chairman of the Parish Farm Improvement Committee and as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. Before he died Wakeland donated lands on which a community/sports centre was to be built to provide recreation especially for the young people of the area. His adopted son was justifiably concerned that the sign at the community centre has Wakeland's Christian name incorrectly spelt as "Elletson Wakeland Centre" and argued that this should be corrected to accurately reflect the name of the man who gave so much to North Trelawny. The Elliston Wakeland Sports Complex in Falmouth should be correctly named in his honour. [62]

**Cedric Titus**

Although he was born in Westmoreland (1914) Cedric Oswald Titus served his adopted parish of Trelawny both as a politician and as a leader in the farming community in Trelawny and in the wider Jamaica. Titus successfully began his political career in 1947 when he ran as an Independent candidate in the elections for councillor of the Wakefield division and defeated Elliston Wakeland by twelve votes. Titus remained the councillor for the Wakefield division until 1956. He later represented the PNP in two general elections for North Trelawny (1962, 1967) in which he lost to the JLP's Elliston Wakeland and again contested the seat in a by-election to fill the seat left vacant by Wakeland's passing but lost to the JLP's Allan Douglas. He rose above these defeats and worked on behalf of the people as councillor for Wakefield and also as a popular hometown pharmacist. Most importantly as a small farmer himself, he worked tirelessly

to promote the interests of the ordinary cane farmers of Trelawny and of the wider Jamaica. Titus was appointed a Senator in 1966, a position which he held for one year. Although he was a pharmacist by profession, Titus went into cane farming to gain an additional source of income and ended up as a strong campaigner for the interests of cane farmers in Trelawny and across Jamaica. When cane farmers from Hampden and Green Park formed an association in the late 1940s into the early 1950s, Titus worked with them as Chairman of the association and continued to lead the Hampden Cane Farmers' Association when Green Park Estate closed in 1954. Titus used every opportunity to support the goals of small farmers across Trelawny and he was able to do so when he represented Trelawny on the Board of the Jamaica Agricultural Society. In October 1968 when he was selected as Chairman of the All Island Cane Farmers' Association, this was a ground-breaking appointment for Cedric Titus and for all small cane farmers across the parish and the wider Jamaica because he was the first small farmer to be elected to this position since the association had always been dominated by the large cane producing interests. This was an indication of the dedication and leadership qualities of this small farmer. Titus also served the sugar growers' interests across the region because he was instrumental in the formation of the Caribbean Cane Farmers' Association in 1960 and served as its Chairman on three occasions. He defended the cause of Jamaican sugar farmers on the international scene when he took part in the Jamaican delegation to the International Sugar Conference, first in 1965 and then twice at two separate meetings of the International Sugar Conference in 1968 where a new International Sugar Agreement was worked out. Cedric Titus was clearly inspired by his true calling as a small cane farmer operating out of Trelawny and this was the way for him to serve the people of Trelawny even though he never won a seat in a general election. It was while he was on his way from Trelawny into Kingston to attend the All-Island Cane Farmers' Association in March 1969 that Titus became involved in a motor vehicle crash that would claim his life. Today, the Cedric Titus High School which was opened in 1976 in Clarke's Town, Trelawny, stands in dedication to the life and work of Cedric Oswald Titus. [63]


*Cedric Titus High School*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Highlights of Trelawny's Celebration of Jamaica's Independence in 1962**

As part of the government's plans to celebrate Jamaica's independence on August 6th, 1962, it was intended that there should be a programme of celebration involving street dances and floats in 1,000 villages around the island. In Trelawny, Wait-a-Bit is a small inland town, located between Low River and Stettin. This farming community is known for the fertility of the soil and for its production of yam. Wait-a-Bit probably got its name from the wait-a-bit thorn which was brought to the area by African enslaved persons and over the years people planted it as a natural fencing to keep out unwanted animals.

Independence celebrations included a beauty queen contest, "Miss Wait-a-Bit" which was won by Sonia Wright. Residents of the community lined the roadside to

watch the float parade which made its way down from the Alps all the way to Water Square in Falmouth. Seated on her throne in the centre of one of the floats was their very own queen, Miss Wait-a-Bit.

The Falmouth Jaycees put on a grand float parade to mark the island's independence. The route travelled by the float parade allowed Trelawny residents from several areas to witness the beautifully decorated floats which portrayed different Jamaican themes and these were mounted on the backs of flatbed trucks which were attractively decked out in black, green and gold crepe paper. Crowds gathered along the route as the float parade travelled slowly through Duncans, Sherwood, Clark's Town, Duanvale, Bunker's Hill, Deeside and Wakefield and ended in a big fair at Hague which was the traditional home of the Annual Hague Agricultural Show. A memorable street dance was put on in Falmouth's Water Square on Independence night and the custos of Trelawny, Val Parnell set the pace for all age groups to join in the dancing as the music took them through the mash potato, the twist and a variety of calypso and rock and roll music.

**Hugh Lawson Shearer, Martha Brae and Independence Day**

A centenarian, Geraldine Steele described Independence Day celebrations in Martha Brae community and paid tribute to the contributions of the Hon. Hugh Lawson Shearer who Martha Brae residents were proud to call their own. Hugh Lawson Shearer was born in Martha Brae on May 18, 1923 and received his primary education at Falmouth Elementary School. The young Shearer did so well that he won the Trelawny Parish scholarship to attend St Simon's College in Kingston and his later formative years were spent outside of Trelawny. He rose from being editor of the Jamaica Worker, the newspaper of the BITU to becoming President of the BITU and then Prime Minister of Jamaica from 1967 until 1972. After this, he went on to serve Jamaica in many distinguished capacities as a trade unionist and as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign trade in the 1980s. Although most of his adult life was spent outside of Trelawny, Shearer never forgot about his point of origin, Martha Brae. So on August 6th, 1962, when Shearer the senator and trade unionist was expected to return to Martha

Brae to officially open a community centre (funded by him) and a postal agency, Geraldine Steele said that Shearer was treated like royalty by the citizens of Martha Brae. During the day there was a huge street dance in the community and then led by Steele, who at the time was president of the Martha Brae Community Council, the people laid down a carpet of flowers from the doorway of the community centre to the entrance to the property. According to Steele, Shearer was a bit hesitant at first to walk on such beautiful flowers, but walk he did. Everyone was very appreciative of Shearer's return to Martha Brae to open the community centre and the postal agency which meant that they no longer had to travel two miles away to Falmouth to get their mail. To them it was a double celebration of Independence Day and the return of one of their well- loved sons of Martha Brae. So the day was spent singing and celebrating and expressing appreciation to Shearer for all that he had done for their community, including his contribution of paint and labour to give the homes around a 'sprucing up'. Geraldine Spence summed up Shearer's role in the lives of the community residents when she said that "the place was really looking good because everywhere was clean and nice".

*The Hon. Hugh Lawson Shearer*. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

She expressed the sense of pride that the people of Martha Brae felt that he was one of theirs when she said that "Mr Shearer really did us proud."[64]

## CULTURAL LEGACIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE PARISH

### Tambo/ Tambu/Tamboo

Trelawny has the distinction of being the only parish in Jamaica where traditions of Tambo are still practised. Tambo (also spelt as Tambu or Tamboo) is one of the oldest ritual dance traditions with roots that are traced back to the Congo people of West Central Africa. The cultural tradition of Tambo has been and continues to be centred in the district of Wakefield in Trelawny. Although a few practitioners of Tambo have migrated to other parishes, they still look to Wakefield as the base for Tambo and some return periodically to take part in the tradition. According to Ivy Baxter some residents in Trelawny today still think of themselves as Africans and refer to themselves as "Congo people". Some persons from the Congo regions of West Central Africa may have been brought to this part of Jamaica as slaves but for the most part the Congo people in the parish would have been descended from Africans who were freed by the British from slave ships after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and brought to parts of Jamaica such as Wakefield to live. In a 2009 interview with then seventy-two year old Guy Lawrence carried out in Wakefield by Gleaner feature writer, Paul H. Williams, Lawrence proudly spoke of his Congo ancestry and of the presence of Congo descendants in Wakefield. He said "it was pure Congo people who [were] living in here, straight from Africa, after slavery was up." Lawrence told of how persons who thought of themselves as Congo people would come from Duanvale, from Maroon Town and from other parts of Wakefield to a Congo camp in Wakefield in order to take part in Tambo.

Tambo as originally practised was really a tradition used to contact the spirits of the ancestors. This tradition consists of rhythmic dancing and singing to drumming and catta stick playing. The drumming consists of one large, single-headed drum which is straddled by the player who occasionally uses his heels to change the pitch of the drumming. Another player stands behind the drummer and uses two catta sticks (wooden sticks) to beat an intermittent rhythm on the sides of the drum. There is a close

connection between the drummer and the dancers who are always in pairs of male and female. The woman dances with the aim of attracting her partner who comes closer and closer as the dancers respond to the increasing pace of the drumming, speeding up the pace of the dance and moving the feet very rapidly so that the bodies of both dancers experience a trembling vibration from head to toe. The man moves forward with his leg lifted as if he intends to fall on the woman but then recovers and spins away from his partner and the dance continues to its climax. Tambo has changed considerably over the years as the older members of the community die and the younger generations attempt to continue the tradition. A master drummer in the Tambo tradition from Wakefield was Benjie Reid who passed on the skills of Tambo drumming and dancing to his son, Hopeton Reid who has tried to pass on the tradition to his son. But the younger generation in Wakefield has put their own spin on the drumming, doing it in a more rhythmic and pulsating beat and improvising some of the dancing. Tambo is still done in Wakefield today but it is not used so much to contact the spirits of ancestors but is more for performance as occurs at Independence Festival competitions and Tambo was first performed for the Jamaican public at the Jamaica Festival, 1966. Today, Tambo performers like the Falmouth-based Artistry in Motion Group regularly come to Falmouth Square (Water Square) to perform for locals and tourists.[65]

**Gerreh /Gerre , Mento Revival and Pocomania**

Gerreh is not unique to Trelawny as other western parishes including Westmoreland and Hanover also share this tradition. Gerreh like Tambo originated in West Africa and was brought here by enslaved Africans. A lively and rhythmic dance done by several couples, Gerreh is usually performed to cheer up those who have lost loved ones, so it is meant more for the living than the dead, although Gerreh is performed only when a death has occurred. In some instances Gerreh is performed only for one night, the night after the person has died. Sometimes people gather to dance Gerreh from the night after death until the person has been buried. Gerreh is similar in movements to Dinki Mini and Zella but more attention is paid to hip movements by the females in Gerreh.

The drums and other instruments are similar to those used in Dinki Mini but with Gerreh, pot covers take the place of the benta. Gerreh as a tradition is kept alive through community transmission, through teaching it in schools and youth groups in preparation for Festival competitions and is largely seen as a performance item by young people around Trelawny. So for example, the Falmouth-based Artistry in Motion Group regularly puts on performances of Gerreh and Tambo as well as Mento at gatherings across the parish but especially in Falmouth.

Mento is a traditional musical form as well as a dance that was popular especially in rural areas of Jamaica before the emergence of reggae. Mento bands were a feature of life in many parishes across Jamaica as these bands were the source of live musical entertainment for communities in the 1940s and the 1950s. Today, Mento is performed as traditional entertainment for the tourists but is also performed in annual Festival competitions. The art and skill of Mento music and Mento dance have been passed on over the years by the practitioners so the culture of Mento remains alive even though it is not embraced by the majority of persons. The Mento group from Thompson Town in Trelawny has been described by Ivy Baxter as "a joy to watch" as they demonstrate the correct mento movement, "with the feet and hips moving on the second part of the first beat . . . along with the restrained continuous hip rotation that characterises genuine mento dance." These rich aspects of Trelawny's cultural heritage are also maintained over the years through the work of the Jamaica Cultural Development Commission (JCDC) which has taught these traditions as well as drumming to children in several schools across Trelawny including Duncans All-Age and Granville All-Age. Trelawny, like St Thomas and other parishes with a strong Congo heritage also has a rich cultural legacy in religion. Upper Trelawny in particular is known for revivalism and pocomania. For many years, Martha Brae was the centre of a week-long revival festival to which revival groups from all over the island came to participate. [66]

**Trelawny and the Culture of Yam**

Yam cultivation has always been an important part of the rich cultural legacy of

Trelawny. Most of the yams traditionally grown in Trelawny were brought from West Africa during the slave trade but there are some varieties such as the imba yam which may have been brought by the Tainos when they came here from South America. The most widely grown yam in Trelawny is the Yellow yam although others such as Renta, White yam, St Vincent yam, Tau yam, Negro yam (whitish in colour and is a cross between yellow yam and taw yam) and the Sweet yam are also grown. Yams were important among the ground provisions grown by the enslaved in the parish for their food supply as well as for sale in the Saturday market. With the growth of the peasantry and small farming after Emancipation, yam cultivation was more widely done and was a staple crop produced by most small farmers in the parish. Today, Trelawny provides most of the yams grown across Jamaica (60%) and supplies 50% of all yams exported. Following on the outstanding sprinting performances of triple World Record holder and Olympic gold medallist, Usain Bolt and other athletes who are products of Trelawny (discussed shortly) the belief that there is a connection between yam consumption and athletic ability has done much to fuel recognition of Trelawny's yam products at home and abroad. The residents of Albert Town in South Trelawny, itself an important farming community in the history of the parish, have done a lot to keep the culture of Trelawny Yams alive. In 1997, the Albert Town South Trelawny Environmental Agency started the first Annual Trelawny Yam Festival (held on or around Easter Monday) to focus attention on yam production and its possibilities. This turned out to be a huge success, attracting thousands of people, locals and tourists, to experience the culture of Trelawny yams. All varieties of dishes and drinks (yam punch) that can be made from yams were displayed and this was spiced up with the best-dressed goat and donkey competition, yam races and the crowning of the Yam King and Queen. [67]

**The Sporting Legacy of Trelawny**

Twentieth-century Trelawny has established a legacy of producing sprinters who have done well at home and abroad and some of whom have brought unprecedented glory to Jamaica and by extension to their birthplaces in Trelawny Jamaica. Included among these

athletes are Usain St. Leo Bolt, Veronica Campbell-Brown, Michael Frater, Lerone Clarke, Debbie-Ann Parris, Michael Greene, Inez Turner, Dane Hyatt, Rosemarie Whyte, Ricardo Chambers, Warren Weir, Omar Brown and Marvin Anderson. Additionally, Trelawny was also the birthplace of athletes who later migrated and went on to become world champions. Two notable examples include Sanya Richards-Ross, the 2012 gold medal winner in the 400 metres at the London Olympics and the World Championships in 2011 and Falmouth-born Ben Johnson who represented Canada while winning Olympic Gold and two bronze medals (later disqualified).

**Veronica Campbell-Brown**

Veronica Campbell-Brown was born in Clark's Town Trelawny and went on to blaze an impressive record of athletic achievement, becoming an eight-time Olympic medallist, a ten-time World Championship medallist and "the second woman to have won two consecutive 200 metre Olympic events." She has also won medals at other championships, including the Commonwealth Games, the World Indoor Championships and the World Relay Championships. Campbell-Brown has also established a memorable legacy of giving back to others and to her hometown. In this regard she has established The Veronica Campbell-Brown Foundation which helps in mentoring girls and contributes educational resources to schools. She may have spread her wings away from home but her 2008 donation of six new desktop computers and three printers, shows that she has not forgotten her alma mater, Troy All-age School in the southern hills of Trelawny.

**Usain Bolt**

His record-breaking achievements as the world's fastest man and nine-time Olympic Gold medal winner by themselves create an amazing legacy for the Trelawny-born and raised Dr, the Honourable Usain St Leo Bolt. A loyal son of the quiet Trelawny community of Sherwood Content, Bolt has established another type of legacy of which he and the entire Jamaica can be justifiably proud and that is his dedication to significantly improving conditions in Sherwood Content, the wider parish of Trelawny and his country, Jamaica. Bolt consistently supports the three Trelawny schools which

shaped his early life, Piedmont Basic School (donation of sports gear and wired for electricity) Waldensia Primary School (provision of computers and technical support) and William Knibb Memorial High School (donation of sports equipment worth more than $1.3 million and completing a lunchroom and library).


*Waldensia Primary School*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

At the same time his $ 3.4 million refurbishing effort at the Sherwood Content Health Centre allowed the facility to reopen its doors and to continue caring for the estimated 2000 residents in and around the community of Sherwood Content. Usain Bolt continues to develop this legacy of sharing and caring around Jamaica, especially where the welfare of children is concerned. An important and lasting part of the Bolt legacy is that his winning ways have brought his hometown of Sherwood Content and his home parish, Trelawny to the attention of the world. [68]

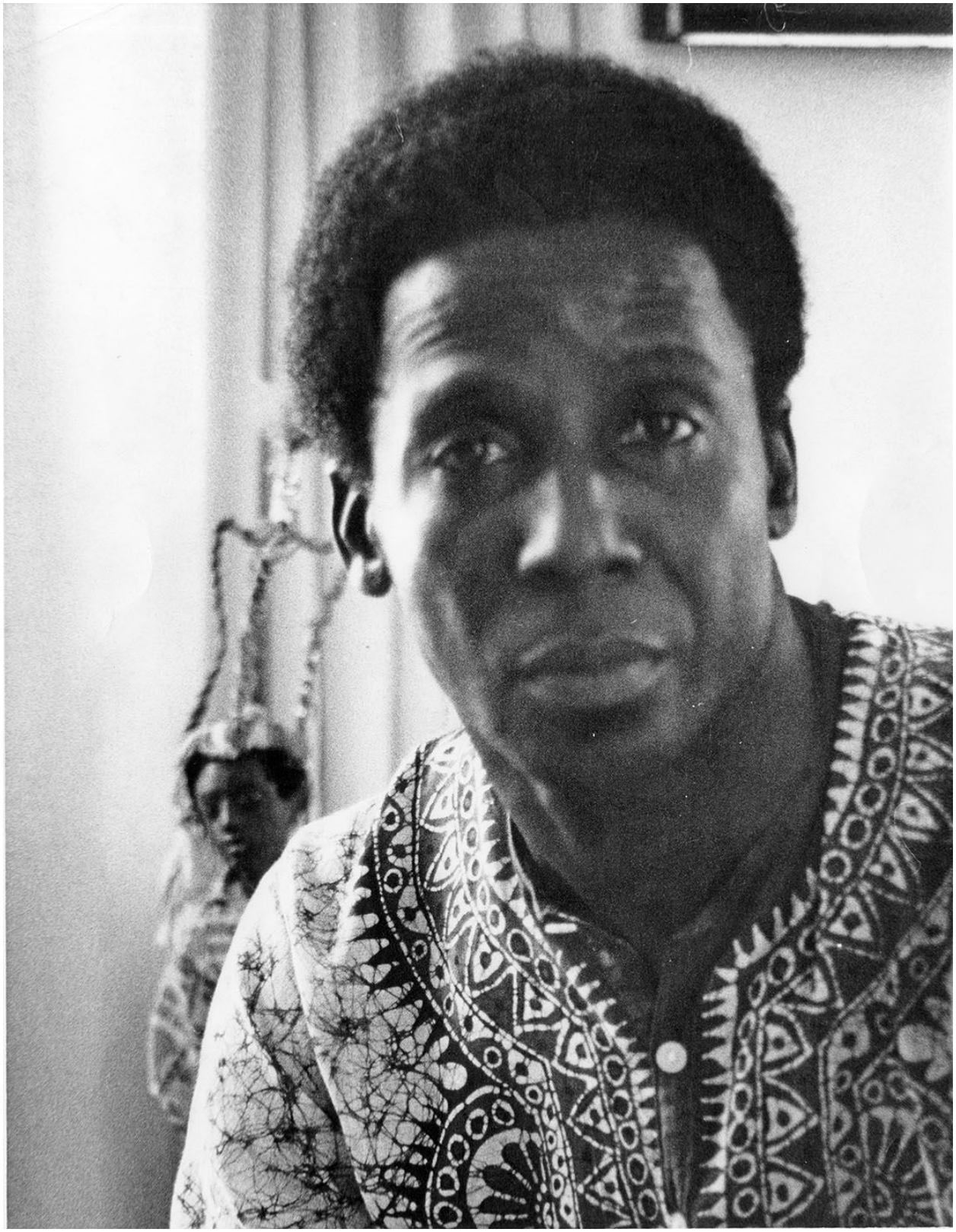
**Other Personalities from the Parish: Their Impact on the Wider Jamaica**

This final section of the history of the parish looks briefly at other sons and daughters of Trelawny who went on to make their mark in the wider Jamaican society and in so doing

contributed to the impact which the parish has had on the rest of Jamaica.

**Ralston Milton "Rex" Nettleford**

Ralston Milton "Rex" Nettleford was born in Bunkers Hill in rural Trelawny in relatively humble circumstances on February 3, 1933. His mother worked hard as a domestic helper to send her son to school. Young Nettleford paid attention to his schoolwork and won a scholarship to Cornwall College. From there his academic life was marked by distinction, earning a First Class Honours degree in History at the University of the West Indies, Mona. Awarded the Rhodes scholarship in 1957, he went on to Oxford University to study Politics. Though he rose through the ranks to hold the highest office of Vice-Chancellor and received some of the highest awards he never lost his connection to the ordinary people of Jamaica. Through his work, he contributed to a change in the attitude of society towards the Rastafarian community. A brilliant scholar and orator, Rex could reason with everyone, regardless of social class or educational level. A gifted dancer, he influenced hundreds of Jamaican young people as the Artistic Director of the National Dance Theatre Company when he taught African-Caribbean dance rhythms to eager students of the National School of Dance in Kingston. Through his work he emphasised the importance of cultural identity to the Jamaican people and as someone who was well versed in Jamaican traditions and heritage, Rex Nettleford did Jamaica proud as cultural ambassador to the world and through all this, he was fiercely patriotic to his home, Jamaica and to the University which he was serving up to the time of his death in 2010. [69]



*Rex Nettleford.* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

**John Maxwell**

John Maxwell was born in Duncans, Trelawny and grew up being influenced by his father, a Baptist minister, Reverend John Maxwell who was also a politician having served as a member of the Legislative Council for Trelawny. Young Maxwell received his secondary education in Kingston attending Jamaica College and Calabar. He was fearless in his journalism and was fired frequently for his outspoken and frank assessment of the issues but in this way, he helped persons to recognise the critical issues facing the country. Perhaps his greatest influence lay in his training of future journalists at the University of the West Indies and in his hosting of the talk show, The Public Eye on the then JBC radio. To the very last, Maxwell fought for the best interest of his country and his parish as seen in his firm opposition to bauxite mining in the Cockpit Country.[70]

**Iris May Tulloch**

Along with two other women, Sylvia Myers and Florence Nelson, Iris May Tulloch was one of the first Jamaican women to join the Jamaica Constabulary Force on January 1, 1949. She was proud of her upbringing in Stewart Town Trelawny and had early determined that she wanted to serve her country through law enforcement. The fact that she and the other two candidates were selected from hundreds of applicants to be the first women to enter the police force said a lot about her. She rose through the ranks of the force from Corporal in 1953 to Sergeant in 1958 then on to Inspector in 1960. In this capacity, she acted as a role model for the younger policewomen over whom she was given responsibility. Her distinguished service soon won her promotion to Assistant Superintendent in 1967 and finally to Superintendent in 1976. Though Iris May Tulloch is no longer alive, her story still serves to inspire generations of younger women who aspire to contribute to law enforcement in Jamaica. [71]

**Mrs Violet Mosse Brown: The World's Oldest Living Person**

At 117 years old, Violet Mosse Brown brought a unique honour to Duanvale Trelawny and to all

of Jamaica when she became the world's oldest living person on April 15, 2017. She was born on March 10, 1900 in the same home in Duanvale Trelawny where she presently lives. Both she and her late husband were cane farmers who used to sell their cane to Long Pond Sugar Estate. Aunt V as she is lovingly called, is not only a centenarian, but Trelawny's supercentenarian as she has lived past her 110th birthday. [72]

*Mrs Violet Mosse Brown: The Oldest Person in the World*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

**Concluding Thoughts**

Ultimately, the history of Trelawny is the product of the contributions of everyone who has lived in the area from before it became the parish of Trelawny in 1770 right down to these early years of the twenty-first century. Even though most persons remained unknown and unnamed as individuals, their roles in shaping the history of Trelawny, and by extension, the history of Jamaica were no less important and must be acknowledged. This history has shown that the parish was shaped not only by the personalities who

have been named in this story of Trelawny but by the hard work, struggles and perseverance of the unnamed majority. This unnamed majority includes the first Jamaicans, the Tainos, the European settlers, the enslaved African victims of forced migration, the freedom-fighting Maroons, the freed people who shaped the post-slavery society and economy in Trelawny and those who struggled for fair terms and conditions of work and political representation as well as those who by hard work and sacrifice, continue to make the parish home for themselves and their children into the twenty-first century.

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*Main Street, Falmouth*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves

*Glistening Waters*. Courtesy of Stuart Reeves