THE PARISH HISTORY PROJECT: A HISTORY OF PORTLAND

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OVERVIEW OF THE PARISH OF PORTLAND

At its formation in 1723, Portland became one of the last six parishes created in our nation's history. Located on Jamaica's north-east coast, Portland's northern and eastern boundaries are the beautiful waters of the Caribbean Sea, giving the parish the scenic attraction of its spectacular coastline dotted by miles of stunning beaches. Portland shares its southern boundary with St Thomas and its south-western border with St Andrew while St Mary borders the parish on its western side.

Map Showing Portland Parish in Jamaica. Image courtesy of Thera Edwards

The total land area of Portland today is 314.3 square miles and this parish presents a picture of amazing contrasts. Coastal lands stretch from Hector's River in the east to Windsor Castle in the west and flat coastal areas rise quite sharply to the majestic heights of the Blue and John Crow Mountains. Blessed by predictably frequent amounts of rainfall, fertile soils and lush green vegetation, Portland's economy has historically been abundantly agricultural, reaping its greatest success in the banana trade of the late nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries. Yet its very location on Jamaica's north-east coast has left it directly in the path of approaching storms and hurricanes, making Portland one of Jamaica's more vulnerable parishes, subject to seasonal flooding and to its many rivers breaching their banks and bringing untold damage to agricultural production, homes and lives.

Portland takes pride of place in several historic firsts, being the parish to produce Jamaica's first and only National Heroine, the Right Excellent Queen Nanny of the Maroons. It was the Moore Town Maroons of Portland whose rich cultural heritage gave them the honour of being the first to gain international acclaim by having their Maroon culture inscribed in 2008 on UNESCO's *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. Although sharing the honour with other 'Blue Mountain parishes' Portland can be justly proud of its place as home

(in part) to the Blue and John Crow Mountains, Jamaica's first *World Heritage Site*.

The Blue and John Crow Mountains. Photo courtesy of Thera Edwards

It was in the formerly "sleepy" town of Port Antonio that tourism first came to visit, assisted by the frequent sailings of the banana boats of Lorenzo Dow Baker and his Boston Fruit Company, later United Fruit Company. Throughout its history, the people of Portland have been its greatest asset, from owners of large estates to workers to shopkeepers and the small farmers, who despite many challenges have steadily been the backbone of Portland's agricultural success. Portland's story begins here. [1]

BEFORE THE EUROPEANS: THE TAINO INHABITANTS OF PORTLAND

Compared with many other parishes in Jamaica, archaeologists have identified and studied only a few sites in Portland which were associated with Jamaica's earliest inhabitants. Locations in

Portland which have been identified with the Tainos include Lennox, Nonsuch Cave, Passley Gardens and Old Nanny Town. The fascinating findings at this last location of Nanny Town more than compensate for Portland's relative lack of known Taino sites.

Lennox

The community of Lennox lies between Spring Garden and Hope Bay and is located about four miles or 7.2 kilometres from the well-known Ken Jones Aerodrome. Archaeologist James Lee researched and mapped the site at Lennox, but no subsequent investigations have been carried out there. The part of Lennox which Lee determined to have been a settlement site of the Tainos was relatively low-lying at 164 feet or 50 metres above sea level and about 2.2 kilometres from the sea, and this would have allowed these early Portlanders to obtain much of their food from the sea. We are able to conclude that the Tainos lived for some time at Lennox because Lee found evidence of a Taino midden at the site. A midden is a mound or area where shells, animal bones, pieces of pottery and other refuse were deposited over time and middens usually indicate that human settlement occurred in the area at some time and they allow us to tell something of the lifestyle of the people who lived there. Lee identified the pottery pieces as belonging to a cultural category known as White Marl, which archaeologists in Jamaica have identified with Taino inhabitants.

Nonsuch Cave

Nonsuch Cave was also identified, mapped and listed by Lee as a Taino site but, as in the case of Lennox, no studies of the area were carried out after Lee left Jamaica. The community of Nonsuch lies in the cool hills of North-east Portland, about five miles uphill from Port Antonio. Nonsuch has a rich history, having been a sugar and rum producing estate up to Emancipation and later, a 180-acre coconut plantation. The Nonsuch Caves are located on this old coconut property, and the area also boasts two waterfalls which are attractions. It was in one of these caves that Lee found evidence of association with the Taino. The cave is located about 656 feet or 202 metres above sea-level at a distance of 1.8 kilometres from the sea. As archaeologists who study the Jamaican Taino have shown, caves were used as burial and ceremonial sites rather than as places of settlement. It is not surprising that pottery remains matching the White

Marl category were found there as the Taino usually placed pottery and other items alongside their dead.

Passley Gardens

The district of Passley Gardens in Port Antonio boasts several historic connections, being located close to Bound Brook Wharf, centre of a once thriving banana trade, and also home to the Passley Gardens College of Agriculture, Science and Education (CASE). In the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century, the area was under sugarcane cultivation and Passley Gardens today takes its name from the Passley Gardens Sugar Estate which dated back to the eighteenth century.

However, before any of this came to be, the area was an important location of Taino dwellings on the Portland coast. The remains of the Taino site at Passley Gardens were located and studied by Lee in 1982 after he was informed by Earl Levy of the existence of what seemed to be Taino artefacts on the southern end of the Passley Gardens property. The site is to be found on a small plateau at an elevation of 675 feet or 208 metres above sea level and is only about 1.5 kilometres from the sea. Although the site appeared to have been disturbed by cultivation, the most important find was a Taino midden which provided interesting insights into how these early inhabitants of the Portland coast lived. Among the materials collected from the midden were marine shells, many of which belonged to the *strombus gigas,* a large snail commonly called the Queen Conch and land shells, which indicated sources of food from the land and nearby sea. A net sinker was also found and this was in keeping with the coastal fishing carried out by the Tainos. Many pieces of pottery and ceramics matching the White Marl category were located in the midden and these included plain and designed rim sherds (pieces from the rims of the pottery) as well as fragments of griddles (flat earthenware for baking the cassava bread or cake). There was also evidence that these early Portlanders would have used local sandstone for making grinders and slabs and possibly pestles (all used by the Tainos in the preparation of cassava). Clearly, the discoveries by Lee and others point to a settled village life in Passley Gardens so long ago by the Tainos. [2]

Old Nanny Town

Old Nanny Town (not to be confused with new Nanny Town, now known as Moore Town) was the famed Maroon settlement in Portland and the headquarters of the great Maroon leader and National Heroine, Queen Nanny. Located in the heart of the Blue Mountains, on Nanny Town Hill at an elevation of over 2000 feet above sea level, Old Nanny Town reigned supreme as the fortress from which resistance by the Windward Maroons was launched until it was destroyed by British forces in 1734. In the collective minds of most Jamaicans, Old Nanny Town remains a memorable symbol of Maroon resistance.

However, archaeological excavations carried out between 1991 and 1993 by former University of the West Indies, Mona Archaeologist, Kofi Agorsah, uncovered vital evidence that Tainos inhabited the space which later became known as Nanny Town even before the African Maroons made it their home. Very importantly, the archaeological evidence also suggests that African runaways, both under Spanish and then British rule, found their way to this mountain retreat where they may have interacted and co-existed with the Tainos for some time.

Agorsah carried out five layers of excavations at the Nanny Town site in an area north of a loop in the Stony River. The area excavated was 2,100 feet or 646 metres above sea level and a distance of 15.25 kilometres from the sea. At the lowest layer of excavation, Agorsah found terracotta figurines (such as images of the Taino zemi) as well as pottery pieces, shells and stone artefacts associated with the Tainos. Alongside these Taino artefacts at Old Nanny Town, archaeologists also found coins, in particular, Spanish coins. This allows us to conclude that some of the Tainos had fled the Spaniards who sought to enslave them and had formed a refugee community in what later became known as Old Nanny Town and that they may have survived well into the seventeenth century.

This discovery by archaeologists is strengthened by early reports from Spanish governors of Jamaica in the early seventeenth century that many of the indigenous people had escaped to the *Sierra de Bastida* (Blue Mountains) to avoid the Spaniards. Governor Melgarejo de Cordoba reported at the start of the seventeenth century that he had sent an expedition to the *Sierra de Bastida* to capture Indians who “lived independently in the area.” Discovery of Taino artefacts at the Nanny Town site strongly suggests that Old Nanny Town was one of the refugee camps

for the runaway Tainos. In this respect, these Tainos were really the first Maroons. Agorsah's discovery of Taino terracotta figurines and other Taino-related artefacts such as the ceramics in the same layer as the Spanish coins also strengthens the belief that African fugitives, under Spanish rule, may have found their way to the Nanny Town site and joined the existing Taino refugees and that this resulted in some level of interaction between the Tainos and the Maroons. In this respect, Portland's Nanny Town site is justifiably significant. [3]

THE FOUNDATION YEARS: THE SPANIARDS AND PORTLAND

When Did the Spaniards Encounter Portland's Coast?

Although Christopher Columbus and his crew saw and named some coastal locations in Jamaica on his second and fourth voyages, the Spaniards did not name Port Antonio (*Puerto Anton*) on either of these two voyages. The route which his vessels took on both voyages helps to explain why they did not come into contact with Portland. On the second voyage, the ships sailed south from Cape Cruz on Cuba's south coast and with Jamaica's north coast in sight, Columbus anchored his ships at a harbour which he named *Santa Gloria* (later *Santa Ana*, now St Ann). Leaving St Ann, he sailed in a westerly direction, one which would not bring them to the parish, exploring Jamaica's coastline and naming coastal locations such as *Puerto Bueno* (now *Rio Bueno*) the *Golfo de Buen Tiempo* (Montego Bay) and then returned briefly to Cape Cruz in Cuba.

Returning to Jamaica, he continued in a westerly, then southerly direction, sailing along Jamaica's south coast and naming places along the way. Finally, the Spaniards sailed from what is now Port Royal and headed east, sailing in line with Morant Point, which they named *Cabo del Farol* and sailed away from Jamaica at that point. Their sailing route never took them to the north east of the island where they would have seen the beautiful twin harbours now bearing the name of Spanish origins, Port Antonio (*Puerto Anton*). On the fourth voyage, faced with leaking ships, the Spaniards landed at what is now *Puerto Seco* on the north coast and shortly after, sailed further east to familiar territory, *Santa Gloria*, St. Ann. Challenged by crippled

vessels, increasing hostility from the Tainos, shortage of supplies and rebellious crew members, Columbus and the surviving men could go no further and they departed *Santa Gloria* and Jamaica one year and five days after landing there. The Spanish encounter with Port Antonio would not occur until later efforts at settling and administering the newly claimed island of Jamaica. [4]

How Port Antonio Got Its Name: A Spanish Legacy

Among Spanish Jamaica's earliest governors was Francisco de Garay, who served as governor from 1514 to 1523. Garay is credited with undertaking early efforts to colonise mainly the north-coast areas where limited numbers of Spaniards had settled, including *Sevilla La Nueva* (New Seville) near *Santa Gloria* (St Ann) *Melilla* (Port Maria) and *Oristan* (Bluefields in Westmoreland). With labour provided mainly by the Tainos, agriculture and settlements gradually expanded. It was under Garay's governorship that the Spaniards became familiar with parts of the Portland coast and it was Governor Garay who named Port Antonio *Puerto de Anton*.

A few sources tell us that the two harbours were named Port Antonio and Port St Francis by a governor of Jamaica (not identified in these sources) after his sons.[5] What is certain is that Governor de Garay had a son named Antonio de Garay and it was Antonio who later inherited his father's estates in Jamaica and went on to establish the Garay family line in the island. Governor Francisco de Garay appeared to have been so impressed by the beauty of the twin harbours that he named one, *Puerto de Anton* after his son, Antonio. Although Governor Garay had more than one son, so far, there is no reference in sources consulted to a son by the name of Francisco/ Francis and the governor may well have named the second harbour, Port St Francis after himself. Importantly for the history of Port Antonio, the twin harbours soon assumed one name under Spanish rule and that was *Puerto de Anton*. By 1535 when the Spanish chronicler (record keeper/ early historian) Fernandez de Oviedo wrote about Jamaica, areas of settlement on the north coast such as *Sevilla La Nueva* were well known. Well known too was Port Antonio and Oviedo described the magnificent harbour, *Puerto de Anton*, as "a harbour good for several ships." [6]

The Importance of Port Antonio to the Spaniards

There were early attempts by the Spaniards to establish settlements along Jamaica's north coast mainly because that coast was nearer to the well-established Spanish settlements of *Santiago de Cuba* and Hispaniola and its small bays, freshwater rivers and good harbours would allow Spanish ships sailing in the area to obtain fresh supplies and safe harbours at which repairs could be carried out. The main north coast settlements established by the Spaniards were *Rio Bueno* and Martha Brae (Trelawny) *Melilla* (Port Maria) and *Sevilla La Nueva* (New Seville near St Ann's Bay). *Sevilla La Nueva* was established in 1510 and for a short while was Spanish Jamaica's first main town or capital. During these early years, *Puerto de Anton* (Port Antonio) was not seen as an important settlement by the Spanish government but more as a supply base for Spanish ships sailing between Jamaica's north coast and *Santiago de Cuba* as well as Hispaniola.

However, by 1524, the Spaniards had shifted the centre of their settlement from the north coast to the south coast of Jamaica and had relocated the capital from *Sevilla La Nueva* to *Villa de La Vega* (*St Jago de La Vega*, now Spanish Town). This shift from the north to the south coast was influenced by the reportedly unhealthy conditions brought on by *Sevilla La Nueva's* proximity to swamps. Also contributing to the removal was the fact that the south coast of Jamaica was nearer to the mainland of South and Central America and as *conquistadores* (conquerors) like Hernan Cortes had shown, the mainland possessed what Jamaica did not have, vast amounts of gold and silver.

Nevertheless, before the re-location of Spanish settlements further south in 1524, *Puerto de Anton* was important as a supply base for Spanish ships. Since *Puerto de Anton's* harbour was sheltered and spacious, it allowed Spanish ships a safe haven and protection in bad weather. Moreover, these north-coast locations had plenty of food supplies to trade with Spanish ships. Jamaica's second Spanish governor, Francisco de Garay (1514-1523) had used the labour of the Tainos to expand the cultivation of cassava, yams and sweet potatoes, as well as a wide variety of crops introduced into the island by the Spaniards, including sugar cane. Rapid increase of the cattle and pigs brought to the island meant that there were abundant supplies of meat, hides

and tallow (animal fat used for making candles) as well as cassava bread and other foods to supply the ships that stopped at north-coast ports including *Puerto de Anton*.

In order to improve communications between the early north-coast settlements, the Spaniards established a network of roads (which were little more than dirt tracks along which horses and people could move). These roads ran in a westerly direction from *Puerto de Anton* to *Melilla* (Port Maria) *Santa Anna* (St Ann) and on to *Manteca* (Montego Bay). From there, a road ran southerly to where Savanna-La-Mar is now located and from there to Old Harbour and then back to St Ann. These roads enabled the movement of agricultural products and other supplies to meet the needs of the Spanish settlers and to provide goods for the north-coast trade.

Following the removal of the main Spanish settlement further south, the settlements along Jamaica's north coast, including *Sevilla La Nueva*, declined as most Spanish settlers either moved to the south coast or left Jamaica in search of fortune on the mainland. Nevertheless, small pockets of Spaniards remained in these north-coast locations, including *Puerto de Anton*, living in simple wooden houses and surviving by supplying Spanish ships with needed goods and as discussed later, by participating in illegal trade with Spain's rivals, the French, English and the Dutch.

By 1561, when Spain introduced the convoy system organised by Admiral Mendez de Aviles, *Puerto de Anton,* along with the other north-coast locations mentioned earlier, became even more important strategically to Spain. The convoy system meant that armed vessels accompanied the Spanish fleets (transporting gold, silver and valuable agricultural goods) and provided greater security against attacks by pirates and privateers. Two fleets accompanied by these convoys sailed annually between the Americas and Spain and the fleet which was to collect precious cargo from Vera Cruz in Mexico sailed between Jamaica's north coast and Cuba. Ships from this fleet sometimes stopped at the north-coast ports to take on provisions (such as meat and cassava bread) and for repairs and then re-joined the convoy on the return journey from Vera Cruz to Spain. The relatively few Spanish settlers who remained on the north coast were important to this activity and Jamaica's north-coast ports, including *Puerto de Anton,* were

therefore vital to the smooth and successful operation of the convoy system although the population centre had shifted to the south.

The Importance of Port Antonio to Spain's Enemies

Despite the continued strategic importance of north-coast locations like *Puerto de Anton* and despite appeals from some governors like Fernando Melgarejo de Cordoba (1596-1606) and from Abbots (church officials) to secure the coasts of Jamaica against the dangers of piracy and privateering, the Spanish government did little to improve the defences of the island and coastal areas, especially in the north of the island, remained vulnerable to activities and attacks by other Europeans. Spain's negligence in the defence of Jamaica's coastal areas meant that north-coast ports such as *Puerto de Anton* became important in other ways to countries other than Spain that is, to French, English and Dutch pirates, privateers and illegal traders.

Abbot Don Francisco Marquez de Villalobos (1581-1606) warned the King that *Puerto de Anton's* strategic location, with its good harbour and lack of Spanish defences, could offer safe haven to Spain's enemies and if they managed to secure a foothold there, they could use it as a base from which to attack passing Spanish ships and Spanish possessions north of Jamaica. These warnings went unheeded by the Spanish government and especially after the removal of the main Spanish settlement to the south, the north coast, with its many bays, unprotected harbours and scanty population, proved a real attraction for Europeans wishing to engage in activities such as illegal trade and piracy.

Under Spanish rule, places like *Puerto de Anton* became the centre of a thriving illegal trade which benefitted not only the European players but also the few Spanish settlers who traded with them either through need or through fear of what might happen to them if they refused to cooperate. Because Spanish ships came to Jamaica's ports infrequently (the north coast was even more neglected after the removal to *Villa de La Vega*), manufactured goods such as tools, utensils, textiles and other necessities of life were in short supply and colonists, especially on the north coast, were willing to trade with French, English and Dutch traders who could supply their needs in return for items like meat, hides, tallow, pimento (Jamaica pepper) and cassava bread. The lack of defence in areas like *Puerto de Anton* meant that this contraband trade went

on without much hindrance. Spanish settlers were more prepared to trade with than to fight the enemies of Spain. [7]

The Spanish Legacy in the Parish

Ultimately, this neglect of Jamaica's defences was to contribute to Spain's loss of the island to England, beginning in 1655. Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the period of Spain's rule on Portland lies in the place names which were given by the Spaniards, a few of which remain today, although altered by centuries of English rule. Portland's capital, Port Antonio, the English translation of the original *Puerto de Anton,* remains a constant reminder of the Spanish origins of this name. Impressed by its size, the Spaniards named Portland's longest river, the *Rio Grande* (34.3 kilometres) a name which remains unchanged to this day.

A View of the Rio Grande, Named by the Spaniards. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Although it is the English name the *Blue and John Crow Mountains* which exists today, the name given to this mountain range by the Spaniards, the *Sierra de Bastida* (*bastida* means a tower or war machine) shows how the Spaniards must have viewed them as towering, awesome and almost impenetrable.

The Buff Bay River was originally named *Rio Blanco* by the Spaniards and this was perhaps a reference to the whitish, frothy appearance of the fast-moving water. Priestman's River was originally named *Rio Daniel* by the Spaniards, but this name disappeared after the English arrival. Between the Fair Prospect to Folly main road and Frenchman's Cove, there is a beautiful but almost hidden harbour known today as Turtle Crawle Harbour. Although no longer used, the original name given by the Spaniards, *Escondido Puerto* (the hidden port) was their way of commenting on the secluded location of the harbour. While the origin of the name, Spanish River (Little Spanish River) is uncertain, it is a reminder of the Spanish presence in the area that was to become Portland. [8]

THE FOUNDATION YEARS: THE ENGLISH AND THE PARISH OF PORTLAND

Portland's Place in the System of Jamaica's Parishes

In 1655 the English began the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards and started to effectively occupy the island. An important contribution by the English was the gradual division of Jamaica into parishes, a process which is discussed fully in the *Parish History of St Thomas*. Most of Jamaica's parishes were created in the seventeenth century, starting in 1664 with St Thomas (later St Thomas-in-the-East) St David, St Andrew, St Catherine, St John, Clarendon and Port Royal. By 1677, the number of parishes across the island increased to fifteen, with the addition of St Thomas in the Vale, St Dorothy, Vere, St Mary, St Ann, St James, St George and St Elizabeth and by 1693, to sixteen, with the creation of Kingston. Portland was one of four parishes formed in the eighteenth century as settlements spread across the island.

Westmoreland was the first parish created in the eighteenth century (1703) followed by Portland which was the second parish formed in that century (1723). Hanover emerged in 1739

and Trelawny was the last parish created in the eighteenth century (1770). Nineteenth-century Jamaica saw only two additional parishes, Manchester in 1814 and Metcalfe, which was the last parish created in Jamaica's history (1841), bringing the number of parishes in Jamaica to a grand twenty two. In 1867, for greater financial and administrative efficiency, Governor Sir John Peter Grant reduced the number of Jamaica's parishes to the existing fourteen. [9]

The Formation of Portland in 1723

With its formation in 1723, Portland therefore became one of the last six parishes created in Jamaica's history. Before Portland came into being, the entire eastern end of the island stretching from the north coast to the south at Morant Point was occupied by the large parish of St Thomas-in-the-East. The decision to carve out a piece of St Thomas-in-the-East, thereby forming the new parish of Portland was no doubt influenced by the government's desire to more efficiently administer this large area blessed by frequent rainfall and dotted with several natural harbours. The creation of a parish in the north-eastern end of the island and effectively settling this area with English colonists was important to the government's aims of subduing the Windward Maroons who controlled the mountainous interior areas of the north-east. A new and settled parish there would also help to exclude European rivals from gaining a foothold in that part of the island (discussed later).

When the Duke of Portland arrived in Jamaica in December 1722 and became governor of the island, this aim of controlling the north-eastern end of the colony became a priority. The new parish of Portland was created in 1723 by the Windward Law and was formed largely out of lands taken from the north-eastern part of the older parish of St Thomas-in-the-East as well as from a small section of St George which was to the west of Portland. However, the law of 1723 ensured that the small part of St George which went to Portland in that year had no existing settlements on it at that time. Although he served for only four years (he died suddenly in 1726) Governor Portland played such an important role in the creation and earliest years of the parish (discussed shortly) that the new parish was named Portland in his honour and the "chief town" or capital was named Titchfield after his family's estate in England. [10]

The 1723 Boundaries of the New Parish of Portland

In 1723 when it was formed, Portland was much smaller than it presently is. Most of what is now known as West Portland was not a part of the parish in 1723 although it would later become part of the parish in 1867. In 1723, the western side of Portland was separated from St George (to the west of Portland) by a boundary line running from north to south, from Salters Moat in the north, through Newells and Elysium and ending in the south at the intersection with the old Maroon Path. The old Maroon Path flowing into the foothills of the Blue Mountains separated the southern part of Portland from St Thomas-in-the-East. This western boundary with St George effectively excluded areas and natural features to the west which would later become a part of the parish. Among these were Hope Bay, Orange Bay, Lennox, Skibo, Low Layton, Spring Garden, Buff Bay, Charles Town, the Swift River, the Great Spanish River, the Buff Bay River and the Little Spanish River, which all remained a part of the then parish of St George.

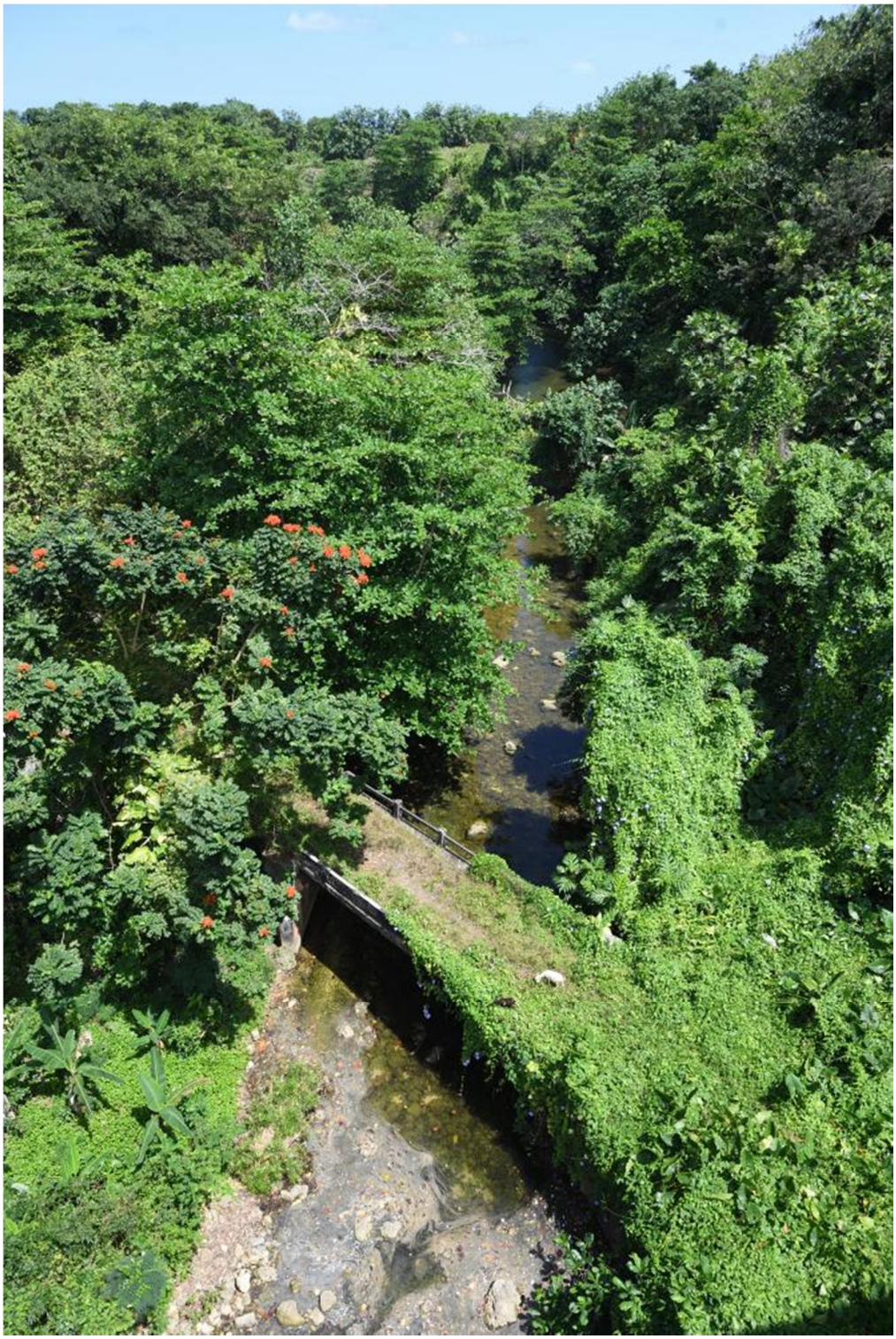
The eastern and south-eastern boundary of the new parish also meant that Portland was smaller on the eastern and south-eastern side than it is now and that several present-day places in Eastern Portland were not a part of the new parish in 1723 (see the following section "A Brief Note on Differing Explanations of Portland's Early Boundaries"). On the eastern and south-eastern side, early Portland was separated from the Parish of St Thomas-in-the-East by a boundary line which followed the course of the Priestman's River in Portland from north to south, turned left across the Rio Grande and continued left in a westerly direction, crossing the Quashie and Dry Rivers and following the foothills of the Blue Mountains until it intersected with the Old Maroon path. This eastern and south-eastern boundary meant that some areas and natural features were excluded from Portland and remained part of St Thomas-in-the-East (until 1867). These included Fair Prospect, Long Bay, Pleasant Hill, Orange Hill, Manchioneal Harbour and the district of Manchioneal, the Manchioneal River, Rocky Point, Windsor Castle and the district of Hector's River, as well as the Hector's River itself.

A Brief Note on Differing Explanations of Portland's Early Boundaries: Dispute over Manchioneal

The law by which Portland was created in 1723 (10 Geo. 1, Cap. 8) established the **White River** (**not Priestman's River**) as the eastern and south-eastern boundary separating Portland from St Thomas-in-the-East. This meant that Manchioneal Harbour (spelt as Manchineel on older maps) and the district of Manchioneal were geographically part of Portland. This is clearly seen on the 1763 map published by Thomas Craskell and James Simpson (*This map of the county of Surry* [sic] *in the island of Jamaica*). Edward Long commented that this boundary division (White River) led to many disputes between the vestry (local government) of Portland and the vestry for St Thomas-in-the-East, with "both of them laying claim to the inhabitants of Manchineel [sic] in the South-East quarter". Long went on to explain that this dispute arose because although the 1723 White River boundary placed Manchioneal in Portland, the settlers in Manchioneal generally paid their taxes each year in the parish of St Thomas-in-the-East and were therefore identified with that parish. However, by a law passed in 1809 (50 Geo. 3) Priestman's River was established as the eastern and south-eastern boundary separating Portland from St Thomas-in-the-East.

This law stated that the boundaries and extent of all the parishes and counties of Jamaica should be in keeping with boundaries set out by James Robertson (noted English surveyor who had settled in Jamaica) in his *Map of Jamaica* and in his three *Maps of the Counties of Cornwall, Middlesex and Surrey* published in 1804. The government ordered that printed copies of these maps should be circulated and accepted as evidence in boundary disputes in all courts in the island. Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey in Jamaica* clearly shows the Priestman's River as the eastern and south-eastern boundary separating Portland from St Thomas-in-the-East. This boundary line meant that places like long Bay and Manchioneal were part of St Thomas-in-the-East. This would remain unchanged until 1867 when Portland was enlarged (see

nineteenth-century changes to Portland's Boundaries).



View of Priestman's River from Above. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

An Earlier View of the Priestman's River. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Areas which made up Portland at its Formation in 1723

The parish, at its formation in 1723, though smaller than it is today, consisted of places which remain the hallmark of today's Portland. These included Boston, Lynch's Bay, Fairy Hill, Snow Hill, Blue Hole, Cold Harbour, Egg Hill, Comfort Castle, Turtle Crawle Harbour, Williamsfield, Nonsuch, Cambridge, Seaman's Valley, Moore Town, Anchovy Valley, Folly Point, Port Antonio (Titchfield Peninsula) Navy Island, Prospect and Old Nanny Town. The great Rio Grande flowed through the newly created parish as did other rivers which became closely associated with Portland, such as the Corn Husk River. The Blue and John Crow Mountains ran through the new parish as well, providing the ideal location for the Windward Maroons and influencing how Portland's history would unfold.

Nineteenth-century Changes to Portland's Boundaries

In 1867, in order to achieve greater financial and administrative efficiency, Governor Sir John Peter Grant reduced the number of Jamaica's parishes from twenty-two to its present fourteen and he did this by absorbing parts of some parishes into other parishes. The 1867 Law extended Portland's western boundary as far as the Little Spanish River (in the former parish of St George) and declared that all areas to the east of the Little Spanish River were to become a part of Portland. Therefore, areas such as Hope Bay, Orange Bay, Lenox, Skibo, Low Layton, Spring Garden, Charles Town and very importantly, Buff Bay (the former capital of St George) and rivers such as the Great Spanish River and Buff Bay River all became part of Portland. By the same 1867 Law, Portland's eastern and south-eastern boundaries were extended to the east coast of Jamaica, and so Fair Prospect, Long Bay, Pleasant Hill, Orange Hill, Manchioneal Harbour and Manchioneal district, Rocky Point, Windsor Castle and Hector's River were all taken from St Thomas-in-the-East (by then known as St Thomas) and absorbed into Portland. These substantial boundary changes have remained in effect until today and in their own way, have helped to shape the history of Portland. [11]

Settlement in Portland: Taking Control of Jamaica's North-Eastern Frontier

For many years after the English conquest of the island, the fertile lands of the north coast and particularly the north-east coast remained untouched by English settlement, and from the English point of view, this was an unexplored frontier which needed to be effectively settled. The absence of a strong English presence in the area that was to become Portland contributed to the frequent visits by buccaneers and pirates in search of water and meat. Its relatively deserted and unprotected coast also made this part of the island vulnerable to Spanish raids which could eventually lead to Spanish efforts to recapture the island.

These dangers led the English to encourage settlement along the north coast and an early example of this was Captain Richard Hemming's occupation of the New Seville site. From there, English attempts at settling the north coast spread further and further eastwards, eventually reaching the area that was to become Portland. However, these coastal lands lay in the foothills of the Blue Mountains and the mountainous interior had become the home base of the Windward Maroons by the 1680s (discussed later). English planters who attempted settlement

along this coast faced constant challenges from raids and encounters with groups of Maroons who also used the coastal lands for hunting and to gain access to the sea. Therefore, when Governor Portland arrived in Jamaica in 1722, the control of the Windward Maroons was seen as vital to the success of English settlement of the island's north-east frontier, particularly in the parish of Portland that was about to be formed and named after him. [12]

THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF PORTLAND FROM FOUNDATION TO EMANCIPATION

The Establishment and Early History of the Town of Titchfield (Port Antonio)

When Portland was formed, provisions were made to build the first town which was also to be the chief town or capital of the parish and to name the town Titchfield in honour of Governor Portland's family estate in England. Although the Spanish-derived name of Port Antonio became the preferred name for the town, the name Titchfield still reflects important historical landmarks in Portland, being the name of the peninsula separating the twin harbours, the name of the famous hotel which witnessed the glory days of the banana trade and the name also lives on in the time-honoured school which proudly carries the name of Titchfield.

At first, the 1722 law set aside fifty acres of land at Pattison's Point (bordering the harbour) and twenty acres on Ruther's or Lynch's Island (now Navy Island) for the purpose of building Portland's first town. It was also decided that two hundred and fifty adjoining acres should be set aside as a common (land to be used by all the settlers in the town). The common would belong to the town of Titchfield. By 1725, the government provided an additional fifty acres in order to expand the town and increased the common to a total of three hundred and fifty acres. It was also agreed that the land set aside for building the town should include "foot land" (areas for persons to walk). Governor Portland arranged for three surveyors, Messrs Brown, Thackery and Rivers, to survey the land with a view to laying out the town of Titchfield, but the constant threat of Maroon attacks in the area prompted the governor to provide for their security. In addition to requesting that St Thomas-in-the-East and St George should each send twenty "negro men" to attend to the surveyors, Governor Portland also ordered that soldiers be sent out as guards to the surveyors. [13]

The town of Titchfield (Port Antonio) was divided into Upper and Lower Titchfield. Upper Titchfield was really a peninsula which was about three and a half miles in length, with its eastern boundary on the Foreshore Road, its southern boundary crossed Fort George Street and its western boundary was the west coast by Queen Street while Fort George marked the northern boundary of the peninsula. Known as the Titchfield Peninsula, this narrow strip of land separated Port Antonio's famous twin harbours, the East Harbour from the West Harbour, providing much protection against wind damage.

The Town of Titchfield (Later Port Antonio) showing the Titchfield Peninsula Separating the Twin Harbours of Port Antonio. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Titchfield Peninsula Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Included in the plans for the town of Titchfield was Lynch's Island (known later as Navy Island) which was located to the north-west of the Titchfield Peninsula and which sheltered the Western Harbour in particular from the prevailing easterly wind. As part of the plans for securing the town of Titchfield, Fort George (discussed shortly) was built at the tip of the

peninsula.

Navy Island, formerly Lynch's Island. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Gradually, as settlers moved into the town, several members of the gentry (wealthy class) made their homes in Upper Titchfield. Later in the town's history (1785), the Titchfield School was started by the Titchfield Trust and classrooms were later located in the former barracks of Fort George. Interestingly, in the early days of the town's history, the Titchfield Peninsula was separated from the rest of the town (Lower Titchfield) during high tides but this was later remedied by building up the land. As a testament to its importance to the history of the parish and to Jamaican history in general, the Titchfield Peninsula was declared *Protected National Heritage* on 16 April 1998.

Lower Titchfield stretched from the northern foothills of the Blue Mountain range to the seashore and as the town grew, stores, wharves and shops dotted the coastline. In the nineteenth-century history of Port Antonio, it was Lower Titchfield which became the site for

historic buildings such as the parish church (Christ Church) the Courthouse and the Port Antonio Railway Station (discussed in a later section).

A View of Lower Titchfield, Today's Port Antonio, Stretching from the Foothills of the Mountains to the Seashore. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Gradually, steps were also taken to facilitate road transportation and communication between Titchfield and other parts of the parish and island. From the period of Spanish rule, a north-coastal road had already linked Port Antonio to Port Maria and St Ann, which then connected to Montego Bay. In 1733, a law was passed to provide for the cutting of a road from a fortified area known as the Breastwork, which was about one and a half miles from Port Antonio and to build defences along the road as this had earlier been the scene of an attack by Maroons on soldiers. A road also linked Port Antonio to Bath in St Thomas-in-the-East, but although the road covered about fifty thousand acres, there were no settlements in the area. By 1769, a road was cut leading from Titchfield through Nanny Town and over Break-heart Hill. [14]

Governor Portland and succeeding governors after 1726 recognised the importance of Port Antonio's harbours to the growth of the town of Titchfield and the wider parish. By 1725/1726, Port Antonio was declared a port of entry and clearance and a follow-up law in 1758 confirmed this status and the need to protect its harbours. From the very outset, laws were passed to protect the shipping lanes leading into the harbours and to safeguard the twin harbours. Carrying a penalty of ten pounds or imprisonment for failure to pay, these laws prohibited the sinking of vessels of any kind, whether ships, sloops (small sailboats) or boats in either of Port Antonio's two harbours or in the shipping channel which led into the harbours. Additionally, the law also provided a similar punishment for dumping ballast (heavy material such as gravel, stone or sand placed in the bottom of vessels to stabilize them) or dirt in either the harbours or the channel leading into the harbours. This was in an effort to prevent heavy silting and blockage of the waterways which would affect trade, commerce and defence.

Considerations of securing the town of Titchfield, Port Antonio's harbours and the north-eastern coast of the island from possible Spanish or French invasion, as well as the need to increase defences against continued attacks from the Maroons led to two additional measures. The first was the building of Fort George at the tip of the Titchfield Peninsula between 1728 and 1729. The second was the government's acquisition of the rest of Lynch's Island in 1730 with a view to using it in the naval defence of Portland and its capital. Colonel Christian Lilly was given the responsibility of building Fort George, which had walls as thick as ten feet and was

equipped to hold twenty two guns and several George 111 cannons.

Cannon at Fort George Overlooking the Sea. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Barracks to accommodate a regiment of seventy English soldiers were also built. However, by 1768, Fort George was in a state of neglect with decayed platforms and guns which were in no condition to be used. The guard house had collapsed and the condition of the barracks and officer's quarters left much to be desired. With peace having been concluded between the government's forces and the Windward Maroons in 1739 and with the decreased threat from

Spain, the upkeep of the fort took a secondary position.

Parts of the Fort George Structures which Remain Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Nevertheless, the fort was used during World War 1 and the former barracks now house some classrooms of Titchfield High School. Fort George has been declared a protected Heritage Site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Under Governor Portland's watch, the vision for Lynch's Island was to make it a part of the town of Titchfield and the law of 1722 had set aside twenty acres of land on the island for that purpose. From as early as 1730, the British government thought that it would serve a better purpose as a naval base for British ships. Therefore, in 1730 the government bought all of Lynch's Island and began the construction of naval storehouses and wharves as they planned to use the island as a rendezvous point for navy ships and for the careening (maintenance and repair) of British naval vessels. Clearly this explains the transition of the name from Lynch's Island (named for Governor Lynch) to Navy Island. Progress was steadily made on the project until around 1733 when deadly outbreaks of Yellow fever took their toll on British naval crew members working there. The project was temporarily abandoned

and Edward Long tells us that the residents around Titchfield then felt free to pull down the abandoned buildings and use the material for their own purposes. Because of the strategic importance of Navy Island, the project was eventually resumed and Navy Island's history would take a different turn in later years. [15]

Early Steps to Encourage Settlement of Titchfield and the Rest of Portland

In 1721, the British government had offered incentives for English settlers to come to Jamaica. When the parish was formed, these were specifically extended to Portland. Every Protestant white person settling in the parish would receive thirty acres of land and if families came to the parish, each white member of the family would also receive thirty acres. In those days when large families were the norm, the law therefore made it possible for large families to obtain a lot of land but it also limited the amount of land which smaller families (under fifteen white members) could get to four hundred acres. If white settlers brought slaves to the parish (a sign of intent to settle long-term) an additional five acres would be given for each slave brought here. Non-white settlers who were free (including mulattoes, Indians and blacks) were to receive twenty acres each.

To ensure that all this land distribution bore fruit, the government also insisted that lands granted should be settled and cultivated (at least a part of it) within six months of the land being documented in the person's name. Short-term settlement was discouraged as the law forbade the selling or transfer of the land for at least seven years. Potential settlers to Portland were to be further encouraged by the exemption from payment of all taxes for seven years. In fact, the only payment which new settlers gaining lands would have to make was a quit rent (a small rent paid instead of giving service). Until persons got settled, having a regular supply of food was important and so as an added encouragement, a new law of 1723 provided that every new man or woman who settled in Portland within twelve months would receive two barrels of beef (salted) and one barrel of flour and these would be delivered to them at Port Antonio free of charge. New settlers were to be transported at government's expense to any part of Portland where they planned to live. Very importantly, because Portland was so far from

Spanish Town where the Supreme Court was located, new settlers of Portland were to be exempt from all legal actions and arrests for three years.

Slow Pace of Settlement in Titchfield and the Rest of Portland: The Impact of the Windward Maroons on European Settlement

Despite all these incentives for settlers to come to Portland, settlement of the parish was painfully slow up to about 1739 and this was largely because of almost continuous conflicts between settlers along the north-east coast and the Windward Maroons (discussed in full shortly) who had established themselves on the northern slope of the Blue Mountain range in the immediate period after the departure of the Spaniards. For those settlers who had braved the challenges of an unexplored frontier and settled along the coastal areas of the north-east, their experiences by the early eighteenth century were extremely disheartening as they lived under constant threat of attacks from the Windward Maroons. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the new town of Titchfield which lay in the foothills of the northern slope of the Blue Mountains and from the Maroon vantage point, was ideally located as a target for raids and attacks. Edward Long, in his *History of Jamaica,* observed that the town of Titchfield was laid out at Pattison's Point but the town was "not built" (not enough development) and it was sparsely settled. He commented on the fact that there were only about fifteen to twenty "straggling houses about the harbour". Possibly because settlements of Titchfield and the rest of Portland were relatively sparse in this early period, there was no Anglican church built in the parish up to the 1770s when Edward Long wrote his *History of Jamaica.* As happened in other parishes like St Thomas-in-the-East, early church services were held at a planter's house.[16]

They Came Before the English: The Windward Maroons of Portland Parish

Many years before the first English settlers arrived in the area which became Portland, a group of African freedom fighters, subsequently named the Windward Maroons, had claimed the hilly interior of the northern slopes of the Blue Mountains as their home. In the aftermath of the capture of the island by the English in 1655, most of the fleeing Spaniards had freed their

slaves. Between 1655 and 1670, during the ongoing struggle between the English and the Spaniards, a group of freed slaves, refusing to join the English, travelled to the eastern end of the island where they were soon joined by others who had either been freed or had claimed their freedom. This was the beginning of the Windward Maroons and the lush and rugged northern slopes of Portland's Blue Mountains became their home. Their numbers were later increased by runaway slaves mainly from St Thomas-in-the-East and from St George. In this environment, they established communities and raised families of their own. Living off the rich resources of the Portland interior, they fished in the rivers, grew provisions in the hilly but fertile soil and hunted and jerked the meat of the abundant numbers of wild pigs that roamed the parish. At first, they travelled freely from mountainside to coastal plains, extending their hunting grounds and fishing without interference from white settlers since the north-east end of the island was as yet an untamed, unsettled frontier. This all changed when English settlement began to spread eastwards into the area which became Portland and the Maroons

and the English came into contact with each other.

Print of A Maroon Town in the Blue Mountains. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

From the viewpoint of the English, the Maroons were runaway slaves who should be returned to the plantations and to enslavement. From the perspective of the Maroons, they were free people who were intent on maintaining that freedom. By the early 1700s, the Maroons were seen as a threat to settlers and to the success of settlements on the north coast and by the time Governor Portland arrived in Jamaica there had been a history of raids and counter-raids by Maroons and English settlers in which the Maroons always had the advantage because of the secluded terrain of their mountain communities. Before the 1739 peace treaty with the English,

the chief Maroon settlement in Portland was the main Maroon community, Nanny Town (Old Nanny Town) named after Nanny (*Nana Afua*) the female leader of the group.

Nanny Town (Old Nanny Town) was located on Nanny Town Hill in the Shadow of Abraham about 2,000 feet above sea level. It was probably built around 1723 and in its greatest days, Nanny Town had about 140 houses and was considered the formidable and impenetrable fortress of Queen Nanny and her Maroons. In fact, the English did not find out about Nanny Town until 1728 when an African, Sambo, led them to its location. When fighting broke out with the English, as noted below, Nanny Town was attacked several times, in 1730, 1731, 1732 and more than once in 1734. When their houses were burnt, Nanny's Maroons rebuilt until the final act of destruction described below. The site of Nanny Town has been declared a Protected Heritage Site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.

Bump Grave Monument in Nanny Town. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

As part of his strategy to successfully extend English settlement to the new parish, Governor Portland was committed to subduing the Maroons and taking the lands claimed by them. In this way he believed that the Maroons would be returned (as slaves) to the plantations and would no longer pose a security threat to settlers in the parish. However, the Maroons strongly

believed that they were the rightful owners of the lands in the mountains as they had established settlements there prior to the English arrival in the parish. They saw themselves as the equals of the English men, not their subordinates and certainly not their slaves. They were prepared to fight and die for their lands and their freedom. Raiding parties consisting of English regiments from Westmoreland, St Elizabeth and Clarendon, as well as free mulattoes and free blacks, were organised under the governor's instructions but they all failed to defeat the Maroons and return them to plantations. In the face of tropical fevers as well as challenging and unfamiliar terrain, many of these soldiers died while others deserted and Governor Portland's raiding parties ultimately proved no match for Maroon tactics.

Following Governor Portland's death in 1726, continued Maroon raids and the danger to settlement in the area, as well as reports received by the government that the Maroons in Portland were plotting with Spaniards to retake the island from the English, led to more aggressive counter measures against the Maroons. In 1730, the governor of Jamaica, Robert Hunter, succeeded in getting eight hundred regular troops from England to fight the Maroons. He had most of them stationed at barracks in and around Port Antonio while they trained in guerrilla tactics and gained familiarity with the terrain.

During what has been termed the 1st Maroon War (1731-1738) the troops captured Old Nanny Town in 1732, lost it to the Maroons in 1733 and in April of 1744, again captured Nanny Town, this time with the help of light artillery. All the houses and provision grounds of Old Nanny Town were destroyed and many of the surviving Maroons fled deeper into the forested interior or joined with the Leeward Maroons. Reportedly against the advice of Nanny, Captain Quao, her military strategist, agreed to the terms of the Treaty of 1739 with the English. In return for being granted authority over lands in and around the present Moore Town, Charles Town and Scott's Hall and official recognition of their freedom and sovereign rights, the Windward Maroons agreed to assist in turning over future runaway slaves and to assist government's forces in the event of an attack on the island. The Maroons were also granted the right to limited interactions (trade) with the settlers in the parish.

English superintendents were sent to live among the Maroons to see to it that they kept their side of the agreement. After the treaty, the Windward Maroons relocated to New Nanny Town, now known as Moore Town and first to Old Crawford Town, further inland from the Buff Bay River and then by the mid-1750s to New Crawford Town (now known as Charles Town) about two miles north of Buff Bay. Both Moore Town and Charles Town have been designated as Protected Heritage Sites by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. An extract from the document which granted five hundred acres of land to Nanny of the Maroons in 1740 is given here:

"King George the Second by Letters patent dated 5 August 1740 granted unto Nanny a free Negroe [sic] and the people under command her & their heirs & assigns forever a parcel of land containing 500 acres in the parish of Portland. Bounding North, South and East on King's land and West on Mr. John Stevenson. . ."

This grant of land to Nanny laid the foundation for the relocation of Nanny's group of Windward Maroons to New Nanny Town (Moore Town) in the parish. These early freedom fighters, the Maroons of Portland's Blue and John Crow Mountains, had succeeded in establishing their claim to be forever freed descendants of Africans brought to the island. By their struggles and by their perseverance, they had won not only their right to lands and freedom, but also they had established their place in Portland's history as the important early settlers of the parish who made their mark before the arrival of the English settlers in the parish. As a lasting testimony to the courage, leadership and fierce defence of their freedom shown by all the Maroons, but embodied especially in the person of *Nana Afua*, Queen Nanny, Jamaica bestowed on this proud daughter of Portland, the *Right Excellent Nanny of the Maroons*, the highest national recognition that the country can give which is that of *National Hero* on March 31, 1982. [17]

Intensified Efforts to Attract Settlers to Portland

Having achieved peace with the Windward Maroons, the government renewed its efforts in 1743 to attract settlers to Portland and in particular to the town of Titchfield. A new feature on the list of incentives was the payment of passages for settlers, along with the passages of their slaves (not to exceed twenty slaves per settler). Offers of food supplies for each settler were

significantly more than before (four barrels of beef and 400 lbs of biscuits or bread). For the first time, each slave accompanying the settler (a maximum of twenty slaves) would get a barrel of herrings and 400 lbs of biscuits or bread. Land grants remained more or less as before but with an increase in land given for each slave taken to the island.

Because of the urgent need to get an increase in settlers, the government insisted that new settlers had to show signs of settlement (house and farming of land) within three months rather than the previous six- month period. These measures, as well as the end of the conflicts with the Windward Maroons, resulted in an increased number of English settlers coming to the island. By 1752, one hundred and eight families as well as fifteen skilled craftsmen, had come to settle in Portland "and elsewhere" at a cost to the government of £17,898. By 1754, there were fifty-two landowners registered in Portland, with a total of 24,324 acres.

An interesting example of the many white settlers who were attracted to Portland after the treaty with the Maroons and who benefitted from these incentives was the Gyliat family (sometimes spelt Gyllyatt). Starting in 1742, Joshua Gyliat (Sr) and his daughter received 270 acres when they settled in Portland, and in the same year, Joshua's brother, Samuel Gyliat (Sr) received 300 acres when he came to the parish. By the following year, 1743, Samuel's son, Samuel Gyliat (Jr) and his family settled and were given 300 acres. Joshua's son, Joshua Gyliat (Jr) arrived and being single, received less land (160 acres). In 1743, another Gyliat, (Howard) came to settle in Portland and received 130 acres of land. Early eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps of Jamaica often identified properties by the names of the owner/owners. An early map (1763) of Portland done by Thomas Craskell and James Simpson shows evidence that the Gyliat/Gyllyatt family or at least some of them, still owned property in Portland. On Craskell and Simpson's 1763 map, Gillyatt's [sic] is shown as several properties located on the west bank of the Rio Grande River, producing ginger/cotton/ coffee and pimento. Many years later, in 1804, when James Robertson published his map of Jamaica, showing Portland in the county of Surrey, the Gyllyatt's [sic] property was still located on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Like many other settler families, the Gyllyatts/ Gyliat family were in Portland to stay.

Craskell and Simpson's map also identified settlers who were living in and around the town of Titchfield as well as elsewhere in the parish. Since this map was published in 1763, it is reasonable to conclude that at least some of the owners whose properties were shown on the map may have been among those who benefitted from land grants in Portland after the end of the Maroon war. Some of the settlers who acquired property on the immediate outskirts of the town of Titchfield included the Corrs, the Plishams, the Launces, the Trowers (all of these had gone into sugar cane cultivation by then). Others like the Creightons, the Newlands and the Metcalfes were growing indigo, ginger, cotton, coffee and pimento on their lands.[18]

Economic Activities in Portland up to Emancipation

For these white settlers arriving in Portland, it was expected that they would carry out agricultural activities on their newly acquired lands. A number of factors would influence their choice of the crop or crops that they would produce. Factors such as soil type, climate, terrain (whether their land was on the flat or in hilly and mountainous areas) and very importantly, the extent to which the crop/crops chosen would prove profitable were all important. By the 1740s, when more settlers began to arrive in Portland, sugar cane and its product, sugar, had become the most profitable crop for the island as a whole so from this point of view, sugar cane was an attractive possibility for the settlers.

Flat lands were ideal for sugar cane cultivation, but a great part of Portland was dominated by the hilly and mountainous terrain of the Blue and John Crow Mountain Range, which rose to a

A View of the Blue and John Crow Mountains which Cover a Large Area of Portland. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

peak of 7,402 feet.

A View of the Blue Mountain Peak, Portland, as Seen from Nanny Town. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Portland's flat lands lay in the foothills of the mountains and were limited to the narrow coastal strip which ran from the part of St George east of the Little Spanish River (which became part of Portland in 1867), then extended around the parish's north and north-east coasts and ended with areas such as Long Bay, Manchioneal and Hector's River, the last three areas becoming part of Portland in 1867. Fairly level land was also located not too far inland from the coast, along the river banks of the parish's many rivers, but particularly the larger ones such as the Rio Grande. In the period before Emancipation, sugar cane cultivation was restricted to these areas.

The coastal areas of Portland were also convenient for the settlers to export their sugar to England. Therefore, the choice of sugar cane by these early settlers also in turn influenced settlement patterns in the parish and this was reflected in the concentration of sugar plantations around the coastal areas. While the heavy and frequent rainfall attracted by the mountains could damage the sugar cane crop and prove a challenge for Portland's sugar cane farmers, the hilly and mountainous elevations of the parish would be suitable for coffee cultivation, and the abundant rainfall would make Portland extremely successful in banana cultivation in the later part of the nineteenth century. Generally, the rich fertile soils of Portland also meant that the parish would be largely agricultural from the start, and some of the settlers would also do well by growing a variety of crops such as indigo, pimento, ginger, breadfruit, cotton and coconuts.

The Sugar Industry in Portland up to Emancipation

When compared to other parishes such as St Thomas-in-the-East, St James, Trelawny, Clarendon and St Catherine, Portland was not a leading sugar parish up to Emancipation. After 1838, sugar steadily lost its economic importance in the parish and the fortunes of the banana trade eclipsed every other economic activity in Portland as the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth. It is therefore remarkable that it was the sugar industry, more so than the banana trade, which had the greatest impact on place names in Portland's landscape, influencing to this day, the names of many districts and communities across Portland. Before Emancipation, sugar also brought some degree of prosperity to the planters who owned these estates and shaped the racial composition and cultural legacies of the parish through its dependence on African enslaved workers.

Slave Unrest and Revolts in the Parish

As was the case in parishes across Jamaica, the enslaved people in Portland used various strategies and opportunities to show their opposition to a system which deprived them of their freedom and put their lives and those of their family members at constant risk. Two main examples of unrest among the enslaved of the parish occurred in 1823 and 1831. In the years

leading up to 1823, the topic of amelioration of the conditions of the enslaved had been hotly debated both in the British Parliament and by planters around the colonies.

One of the aims of the amelioration movement was to improve the physical treatment of slaves by limiting physical punishment (especially of women), setting out minimum standards of feeding and clothing the slaves and forbidding the separation of family members by sale. It was hoped that amelioration of the slaves' condition would prolong their lives and offset the impact which the 1807 abolition of the British slave trade had on the size of the slave population. The amelioration proposals were passed in to law and put into effect in Jamaica in 1823. On several estates in Jamaica, word of what was being done would have reached the ears of some slaves, particularly those who worked in the great houses and they in turn spread the information to others on the estates. When the Amelioration Act was passed and implemented in 1823, several members of the enslaved interpreted the bits and pieces that they heard to mean that their freedom had been granted but was being withheld by their white masters.

This seems to have been the case with the enslaved on several properties in the Buff Bay River Valley of St George shortly before Christmas of 1823. There were reports of frequent meetings among the slaves, especially those on Balcarres estate and other properties around Buff Bay. A runaway slave, Mack, was re-captured and told the authorities that the slaves in the area were planning a general rising which was aimed at destroying the whites on the plantations. The militia was called in and the area was carefully guarded, thereby nipping in the bud any plans for an insurrection. Nevertheless, several slaves in the area who were alleged to have been the ring leaders of the plot were arrested, convicted and executed in 1824.

Sam Sharpe's rebellion in December 1831 also had some repercussions in Portland and St George. Sam Sharpe, then a slave and a Baptist lay deacon in St James, had developed a plan of peaceful resistance which would see the slaves in St James and elsewhere refusing to work on the Tuesday after Boxing Day unless they were paid. As plans for resistance spread, slaves on some plantations turned it into a violent protest, burning and destroying. Although the rebellion was centred in St James, Trelawny, Westmoreland and a part of St Elizabeth, word of the planned protest had reached the enslaved on the eastern end of the island. The slaves on

three estates in Portland took part in the planned strike on the Tuesday after Christmas but quickly fled after soldiers were summoned. Discontent was also seen on estates in St George but no violent uprisings occurred there. Still, retribution by the government was severe. Many slaves in Port Antonio and Manchioneal were executed for their alleged conspiracy and many more were severely flogged.

A Look at Some of Portland's Sugar Estates

Anchovy Valley Estate

One of the oldest sugar estates in the parish was Anchovy Valley Estate, which was well established by 1763 when Craskell and Simpson published their map of Jamaica, showing the County of Surrey. By 1787, the estate was owned by Thomas Gregory Johnston and was passed on to his wife, Elizabeth Anna Maria Johnston, when he died. Up until Emancipation in 1834, Anchovy Valley remained in the Johnston family, being owned by Andrew Gregory Johnston from 1807 to 1834. Located on Portland's north coast about one mile away from Port Antonio Harbour, Anchovy Valley's sugar and rum were easily and quickly transported to Port Antonio's harbour for export. This location also meant that Anchovy Valley benefitted from the prevailing easterly wind and therefore relied on a windmill as well as an animal mill to grind the sugar cane. African enslaved workers on the estate ranged in numbers from 225 in 1809 to 162 in 1832. Like many other sugar estates in Portland, Anchovy Valley kept its name long after it stopped producing sugar. For example in 1878 when its owners had switched to livestock rearing, the property was called Anchovy Valley Pen, and by 1910, when the property was a successful banana producer, it was still known as Anchovy Valley. Today, the name lives on in the community of Anchovy and Anchovy Gardens, as well as the Anchovy Main Road.

Bog Estate (or Pleasant Hill and Shot Over Pen)

The Shotover District and Shotover Gardens Estates in the hills above Port Antonio owe their names to the Bog/ Bogg Estate which was also known as Pleasant Hill and Shot Over. From 1809 to 1834, the estate was owned by William Bryan and was a sugar producing property that had as many as 452 enslaved workers in 1809 and kept a large slave population down to

Emancipation. The estate was located in the hills above Port Antonio but about three miles away from the town. Sugar cane was grown on the flatter areas of the estate but livestock was raised in the hillier areas. This explains why “Pen” was attached to the name Shot Over as “pen” indicated a property which also raised livestock. Its location on the east bank of the White River allowed Bog/ Shot Over to use a water mill for grinding the canes and its proximity to Port Antonio also facilitated transportation of the sugar to the harbour.

Boston Estate

Boston Estate was located on the north-eastern coast of Portland, quite close to what was then called Lynch’s Bay. Lynch’s Bay is today known as Boston Bay, carrying the name of the estate which once existed in that area. An early owner of Boston Estate was Nathaniel Grant before it passed to Maurice Jones who was the proprietor from 1815 to 1834. From its earliest days in 1778, Boston produced sugar and rum for export with an enslaved labour force which ranged between 184 and 234 persons. Like many other estates which were not near to rivers, Boston depended on an animal driven mill to grind the sugar canes. However, because it was situated next to the north-coastal road which ran through to Port Antonio and beyond, the owners of Boston were able to transport their sugar and rum fairly quickly to the harbour at Port Antonio.

The estate lived on long after sugar had lost its glory days in Portland, turning to livestock rearing during the 1870s when it became known as Boston Pen. Boston Estate then became part of Lorenzo Dow Baker’s banana producing properties, and later a successful coconut plantation. Boston Estate was acquired by movie star, Errol Flynn in the mid twentieth century. Through all these changes, Boston never lost its name and its legacy lives on in that part of the north-eastern coast of Portland which is still called Boston. Boston Beach, the Boston Jerk

Centre and the famed Boston Jerk Festival all continue the name of this once famous estate.

Inside Boston Jerk Centre. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Overlooking Boston Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Golden Vale Estate

Perhaps one of Portland's most historic sugar estates, Golden Vale Estate was located about five miles up the west bank of the Rio Grande River, in the hills behind Port Antonio. Golden Vale was first settled by George Paplay around 1750 and it remained in his possession until 1781. There was a succession of owners including another member of the Paplay family, Edward Manning Paplay, and by 1810, it had become the property of the Greenwich Hospital in London.

Before 1811, Golden Vale was not very productive, with an output of 111 hogsheads of sugar and 55 puncheons of rum in 1809. The sale of the estate to Alexander Kinloch and John Steel in 1811 led to a turn-around in the fortunes of Golden Vale. They were able to increase the annual average production of sugar to 300 hogsheads and the annual average of rum to 150 puncheons, with an enslaved labour force which was increased from 140 to 500. As was the

case with other sugar estates which were located in the hills above Port Antonio, the owners had to carefully plan how the land was to be used as cane would not do well on slopes or hills.

Cane cultivation was limited to about 250 acres of the flat and fertile land along the west bank of the Rio Grande. Most of Golden Vale's land was hilly, in some parts, rising to a height of 1,000 feet above sea level. This hilly area was used mainly as pasturage for the estate's 50 mules and 100 heads of cattle, as well as for provision grounds and woodland (for fuel and estate equipment). Golden Vale's location on the banks of the Rio Grande meant that water from this river was used to power the mill used in the crushing of the canes. The water was transported about one mile from the Back Rio Grande along a gutter which was sloped to allow enough fast-moving water to turn the wheel (overshot wheel) which operated the mill.

A View of Golden Vale Estate Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

By the time of Emancipation, Golden Vale, like several other estates in the parish, was experiencing financial difficulties, and the English Court of Chancery appointed a receiver

(person who takes over administration of the property in order to manage finances and collect on debts). This was not the end for Golden Vale as it had converted to livestock rearing by 1878 and later, its fortunes were resurrected in the late nineteenth century as one of Boston Fruit Company's most productive properties, covering 3,500 acres and yielding up to 30,000 bunches of bananas annually. The abundantly rich soil of the Rio Grande Valley meant that Golden Vale would always prove very productive.

In recent years (2013-2014), Jamaica was reminded that Golden Vale's name and legacy are still very much alive and that it is still agriculturally important to Portland and the rest of the country. About 600 farmers had for years turned the 3,500 acres of flat farming land into a bread basket, producing bananas, plantains, ginger, coffee, dasheen, yams, callaloo, pepper and pumpkin. The farmers who claim that Golden Vale had been handed over to their ancestors to farm were facing eviction in a court case brought by Sonic Development Company which claims ownership of Golden Vale. [19]

Burlington Estate

This was one of the earliest sugar estates established in the parish, being around from the early 1760s and shown on Craskell and Simpson's 1763 Map of the County of Surry [sic]. Located on the north coast of Portland, Burlington was laid out on the east bank of the Rio Grande River, in close proximity to the river itself and to shipping from Port Antonio. The operators of Burlington harnessed water from the Rio Grande which powered the water mill used in grinding the canes. Among the early owners of Burlington were Richard Boscawen and James Clayton White, the latter being the owner from 1815 to 1835. Burlington produced mainly sugar, with the number of enslaved people ranging from 142 to 179.

One of the most interesting facts about this estate is that in the post-slavery period, as Portland's sugar estates converted to mixed farming, livestock rearing and then bananas and coconuts, Burlington, owned by Hon. George Solomon and R. Valdez, was still producing sugar in 1878. Most importantly, Burlington was listed in the 1891 Handbook of Jamaica as being the only sugar estate remaining in cultivation in Portland in 1890. It was therefore the last sugar estate in the parish to cease sugar production and had turned to banana production by 1898.

The farming legacy and the name of this estate remain very much alive today in the property still known as Burlington Estate. Today, Burlington is one of the principal agricultural properties which are to be found in the fertile Rio Grande Valley, producing coconuts, plantains, vegetables, timber and fresh water fish on its 472 acres. Its location is similar to the original Burlington, being only five miles from the town square of Port Antonio and bounded on the north by the main road leading to the capital and on the west, by the Rio Grande River. Burlington shares neighbourhoods with Passley Gardens Teachers' College and Agricultural College (now CASE), another institution with a link to the glory days of sugar in Portland.

Seaman's Valley Estate

Seaman's Valley Estate was located on the east bank of the Rio Grande River and about ten miles inland from Port Antonio. It was a large property of 1,693 acres, with 187 of these devoted to cane cultivation, while 158 acres were planted in guinea grass and pasture for livestock grazing. The rest consisted of woodlands and provision grounds, the latter supplying the food needs of the enslaved population, which ranged between 276 and 289 persons. The rich, loamy soil of the river bank was very productive, yielding about two hogsheads (barrels which contained the sugar) per acre. Rum was also produced by the estate. Seaman's Valley was jointly owned by Richard and Daniel Shea from 1797 and remained in the Shea family until it passed to Edward Gray, William Whitworth and Samuel Gilbee, London merchants in 1815. Edward Gray was the owner of the estate at the time of Emancipation. The ruins of the estate's great house are still visible on the property.

Seaman's Valley Estate has a historical connection with the Maroons of Portland. The estate was so named because a group of English seamen had been attacked by the Maroons in the vicinity of what would become the estate. When the treaty was signed with the Windward Maroons, English superintendents were sent to live within the Maroon communities. When one of the most famous English superintendents of the Moore Town Maroons, George Fuller, died, he was buried on Seaman's Valley Estate in what was to become the first European cemetery in this part of Portland.

First European Cemetery located on the Old Seaman's Valley Estate. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Today, the Seaman's Valley Road (named after the estate) leads to Moore Town, the oldest remaining Maroon settlement in the parish. Like several of Portland's famed sugar estates, Seaman's Valley ceased sugar production in the later nineteenth century and had become one of Lorenzo Dow Baker's prized banana properties in the 1890s. Today, the estate's legacy is seen not only in the road bearing its name but also in the vibrant agricultural community of Seaman's Valley in the Rio Grande Valley. The Jamaica National Heritage Trust has declared the Seaman's Valley Property as a Protected Heritage Site in the parish of Portland.

Spring Garden Estate: A Note on the Two Spring Garden Estates in Portland

There were actually two Spring Garden Estates in what is now known as the parish of Portland. The first Spring Garden Estate (known as Little Spring Garden) was located in Portland, as it was before the boundary changes of 1867. This was located on the north coast of the parish, west of the Rio Grande and near to the western border with old St George (St George before the 1867 merging of that part of St George east of the Little Spanish River). This Spring Garden was

a sugar estate and was owned by Dr David Grant from 1800 to 1817 and then after his death, by Ann Grant from 1817 to 1829. The Spring Garden Estate that is featured here, however, was the second Spring Garden Estate (known as Great Spring Garden). This was a part of old St George, before it was merged with Portland in 1867, and was located on the west bank of the Great Spanish River, between Buff Bay and Orange Bay. Although this Spring Garden was listed as a coffee estate in one source, it was mainly under sugar cane cultivation during slavery.

The Great Spanish River Between Buff Bay and Orange Bay. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Great Spring Garden Estate in Old St George

This estate had been established in the mid-eighteenth century and was owned by John Spencer from 1768 to 1773. Between 1815 and 1817, Schaw Grossett and John Rock Grossett

were joint owners of the property, and between 1820 and 1839 John Rock Grossett became sole owner of Spring Garden. This was a rather large estate of about 3,000 acres which was located along the north-coastal shore of old St George, on the west bank of the Spanish River, between Buff Bay and Orange Bay. A total of 580 acres were cultivated in cane which was crushed by a watermill powered by water from the nearby Spanish River. The water mill was part of the works yard which was near to the slave village. Helping to make Spring Garden a very productive estate during this time were about 600 enslaved persons, most of who would have been descended from earlier generations of slaves on Spring Garden. Thirty acres of the estate were reserved for the slave village which lay at the bottom of a hill on which the great house was located. Near to the works yard was the overseer's house and a building which served as a slave hospital. Unlike most estates in Jamaica, Spring Garden had a resident doctor who had his own quarters. Quite a distance from the slave village were 400 acres reserved for the provision grounds, and on market day, slaves had to journey all the way to Annotto Bay in St Mary to sell provisions, chickens and pigs.

Great Spring Garden Estate. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

From the outset, Great Spring Garden had been very profitable, focussing on the production of sugar and rum for export. By 1807, however, in addition to these two, the estate began to sell cattle, as well as fresh beef, and coffee was by then being cultivated on the slopes of the hillier parts of the estate. Spring Garden, like other estates in Portland, also raised livestock for its own uses and for sale to other planters. With all of this production underway, the owners of Spring Garden built their own private wharf with a large storehouse from which their products, as well as those of neighbouring plantations (such as Kildare, Skibo and Low Layton) could be taken in small vessels known as drogers to Port Antonio's harbour for export.

A famous owner of Spring Garden in the later nineteenth century was William Bancroft Espeut who introduced in 1868 what could be seen as a very early railway to transport his canes from field to factory over three miles. Rats in the cane fields were a common problem for most sugar planters and Espeut was also credited with introducing the mongoose on Spring Garden Estate (and into Jamaica) in an effort to eradicate the rats. As was the case with most of Portland's sugar estates in the later nineteenth century, Great Spring Garden turned to other products such as livestock rearing and mixed farming, and by 1910, this Spring Garden Estate had

become

Remains of Spring Garden's Sugar Works. Photo courtesy of Thera Edwards

part of the banana empire of United Fruit Company.

Spring Garden Great House. Photo courtesy of Thera Edwards

Interestingly, Little Spring Garden, owned by William Watson, the former attorney for Boston Fruit Company, was by 1910 also a banana plantation. The name Spring Garden lives on in the large district of Spring Garden which lies between Buff Bay and Orange Bay and is also reflected in the Spring Garden Main Road. The Great Spring Garden property became an eco-tourism attraction known as Nature's Way in the late twentieth century.[20]

In the period before emancipation, there were many other sugar estates which shaped the economic fortunes of their owners and also left their imprint on the landscape of the parish long after the prosperity of sugar had faded. These included Cambridge Estate, which was located close to Turtle Crawle Harbour, from which the present day district of Cambridge took its name. Castle Comfort Estate (sometimes referred to as Comfort Castle) on Portland's north-east coast, close to Boston Estate, produced sugar and rum and maintained an enslaved population between 211 and 246 persons. Like many other sugar estates, Castle Comfort transitioned from sugar production to a livestock pen (rearing of livestock). Today, the district of Comfort Castle, the Castle Comfort Police Station and the Comfort Castle Primary school all bear its name. Cold Harbour Estate probably took its name from the nearby Cold Harbour, which is still known by that name. Cold Harbour had transitioned into livestock rearing by the 1870s and by 1910, Cold Harbour was a major banana producer owned by Lorenzo Dow Baker.

Egg Hill Estate was an inland sugar property located on the west bank of the Priestman's River. Although the sugar estate was not a large enterprise (the estate had an average of only 50 slaves) the property was later converted to a successful livestock pen. The community of Egg Hill today is a fine example of small-farming success, contributing to Portland's remarkable agricultural output. (See Portland in the Twentieth Century.)

Fairy Hill Plantation, located on Portland's north-east coast, next to Fairy Hill Bay, was for many years (1784-1815) owned by members of the Fuhr family (Catherine, Charles, Edward and then by John Vincent Purrier (1815-1833) and was fairly successful at producing both sugar and rum. After sugar declined, the property was converted to a livestock pen (Fairy Hill Pen owned by Simon Thompson). Today, the name lives on in the entire district of Fairy Hill and the Fairy Hill Housing scheme.

One of the interesting ways in which the sugar industry shaped the parish was by passing on a legacy of agricultural production. This is seen in the example of Hermitage Estate, which was located in the part of St George which later became part of Portland. Hermitage was situated on the west bank of Daniel's River between Hope Bay and St Margaret's Bay and was one of the oldest estates in old St George. Before Emancipation, Hermitage extended over 800 acres. It had two female owners over time, Ann Newell nee Launce from 1776 to 1814 and Ann Launce Hill from 1817 to 1848. Its proximity to Daniel's River allowed the owners to use a water powered mill in manufacturing. Hermitage successfully produced sugar and rum, as well as a variety of mixed crops over the years. After it ceased sugar production, the property was converted to a livestock-raising affair (Hermitage Pen) and later became a large (560 acres) and successful coconut plantation. It later became known as Hermitage Farms and concentrated on mixed farming and livestock rearing. By 1910, Hermitage was owned by United Fruit Company and was devoted to livestock rearing. Today, Hermitage Farm in Hope Bay has been converted into a residential subdivision and is part of the Somerset Shores development.

The name of Mount Pleasant, a sugar and rum producing estate located on the west bank of the Rio Grande lives on in the district of Mount Pleasant, located between Hope Bay and St Margaret's Bay. Operating from 1793, Nonsuch Estate was located on the west bank of the Turtle Crawle River, but fairly close to Port Antonio. It was not a very large estate, relying on a small labour force of between 36 and 28 slaves to produce sugar and rum. Today Nonsuch survives as a well-known district in Portland, with the name continuing in the Nonsuch Basic School, the Nonsuch Seventh Day Adventist Church and the famous attraction of the Nonsuch Caves.

Norwich, a suburb located three miles outside of Port Antonio, got its name from Norwich Estate, which produced sugar and rum, with an enslaved labour force ranging from 142 to 200 persons. By 1910, Norwich was listed as a livestock pen. Passley Garden (earlier Paisley Garden) Sugar Estate on Portland's north coast between Cold Harbour and Snow Hill was owned by members of the Minot and Jones families up to Emancipation and made its money mainly from hiring out of its slaves and livestock before turning to sugar production. Much later, by 1910,

Passley Garden was owned by J. Boor and the property was under general agricultural production. Its name lives on in the large community of Passley Gardens, in the Passley Gardens Teacher Training College (now part of CASE) and the agricultural legacy has been embraced by the Passley Gardens College of Agriculture, now College of Agriculture, Science and Education (CASE). As seen earlier, a Taino site is located on the Passley Gardens property and a cut stone great house dating back to the immediate post-slavery period is still standing on a hill located on the 600-acre property of the College of Agriculture (CASE). Red Hassell, also known as Red Hazel was a sugar, rum and livestock property located very close to the town of Port Antonio, on the west bank of the Pepper Bush River. Red Hazel Road bears its name today.

Most of the estates looked at so far were in the area of the parish which is known today as East Portland. Before Emancipation, sugar estates also spread across that part of old St George, east of the Little Spanish River which became part of Portland in 1867. Today, this part of the parish is known as West Portland. In addition to the estates already looked at from old St George (Great Spring Garden and Hermitage Estates), there were several sugar estates which left a lasting impact on the landscape of West Portland.

Kildare Estate, located on the east bank of the Buff Bay River, and about one mile from the town of Buff Bay, was a fairly large estate of 1,650 acres, owned by Edward Fitzgerald in 1809. With the aid of a water mill powered by water channelled from the Buff Bay River and the labour of approximately 332 slaves, the estate produced sugar and rum and also raised livestock for estate use. After sugar, Kildare was converted to mixed farming and livestock rearing, and by 1910, Kildare was owned by United Fruit Company and devoted to livestock rearing. Kildare, after 1910, became United Fruit Company's largest banana plantation in West Portland. The community of Kildare continues to this day.

Buff Bay River Estate on the west bank of the Buff Bay River was owned by John Hossack in 1809, and the 820 acre property had 134 slaves and 17 livestock. Buff Bay River Estate was

most likely named after the river which provided the water source for its water mill.

The Buff Bay River. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

This estate produced coffee (on the hillier parts), sugar, rum and cotton and also raised livestock. By 1910, the property was owned by R. L. Benbow and had become a major banana producer and supplier to United Fruit Company. Interestingly, it appears that a part of Buff Bay River Estate was also owned by Jane Hossack, a descendant of John Hossack who had owned the property over a hundred years before. By 1910, this part of the property was a livestock pen.

Skibo Sugar Estate, located on the east bank of the East Branch of the Great Spanish River (Spanish River) was owned in 1809 by H. Morrison. At that time, the estate had only 93 slaves and 24 livestock. Water from the East Branch of the Spanish River was used to power the estate's water mill. By 1910, Skibo was owned by J.O. Mason and was largely concerned with livestock rearing, but mixed cultivation was also carried out on the property. Skibo never lost its agricultural focus and the place name of Skibo, as well as the farming traditions, live on to this

day. Places bearing the name are Skibo Baptist Church and Infant School and Skibo All-Age, formerly Skibo Primary School.

Skibo Primary School. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Skibo Baptist and Infant School. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

There were many other sugar estates which were located in what was then old St George and which also left a lasting imprint on the place names and farming culture of West Portland. A sample of these included Windsor Castle Estate, which was situated on the east bank of the Little Spanish River, but near to the north coast. Access to water from the nearby river allowed the owners to utilise a water mill on the estate. Today the name of Windsor Castle continues in the vibrant community which is located in the same general vicinity as the estate was, on the north coast, quite near to the border between West Portland and St Mary and to the west of Buff Bay. [21]

The district of Hart Hill, which is to the south west of Windsor Castle, derived its name from Hart Hill Sugar Estate, while the district of Craig Mill, located to the south west of the town of Buff Bay, also carries the name of a sugar estate which was situated on the east bank of the White River. Woodstock Sugar Estate was also on the east bank of the White River, very close to the northern coast of the parish. Interestingly, Woodstock Estate, owned by the Hon. William Hosack, was still producing sugar as late as 1878 when many of the other former sugar

properties had converted to livestock rearing and/ or mixed farming. However, by 1910, Woodstock was a major supplier of bananas for the export market. The district of Woodstock in Buff Bay, as well as the Woodstock Housing Scheme in today's West Portland, both inherited the name.

One of Western Portland's most famous sugar estates, Low Layton, was in existence from the 1770s. It was a large sugar estate of 2,045 acres and was owned by William White in 1777 when it produced sugar, rum and also raised livestock. Their location on the east bank of the Great Spanish River allowed the owners to operate both a water mill, in addition to the animal mill.

A View of the Great Spanish River Near Buff Bay. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Between 1811 and 1839, Low Layton was owned by Alexander Donaldson, or persons acting on his behalf, and in 1815, the estate had 402 enslaved persons and 268 livestock. About nineteen

acres were set aside for building accommodation for the enslaved on the estate and these houses were located close to the works yard (location of factory buildings). Like Woodstock, Low Layton was significant for the length of time that it remained in sugar production. By 1878, when attorney, Simon Thompson managed the estate, it was still producing sugar. By 1910, Low Layton, owned then by E.B. Hopkins, was fully engaged in producing bananas for the profitable export market. In addition to its productivity over the years, Low Layton was also significant because the site of an extinct volcano was located on a hilly part of the property, about 150 feet above sea level. Today, the estate's name is reflected in the districts of Upper Layton and Low (Lower) Layton.

In 1784, after settlement of the parish was well established, Portland (before it was enlarged by the changes of 1867) had 60 sugar estates. Across Jamaica generally, the last few decades of slavery saw a gradual decline in the sugar industry, especially in the number of estates which remained in production, the amount of sugar produced and the profitability of these estates. This decline was explained mainly by a combination of falling prices for sugar on the European market, growing indebtedness on the part of estate owners and managers, careless agricultural practices and poor financial management of estates. The decline in the number of estates and in the production of sugar was quite marked in Portland, especially in the face of declining prices after 1805. Indeed, in 1805, Portland had only 33 sugar estates in operation, a reduction by almost a half when compared to 1784. Portland pales in comparison to other parishes which were more successful and long-lasting players in Jamaica's sugar industry. Nevertheless, this discussion on sugar estates in Portland before Emancipation shows that the settlement patterns, the racial composition and the place names across the parish were shaped by the legacies of the sugar in a very significant and lasting way. [22]

The Coffee Industry in Portland before Emancipation

Portland's geographical features and weather conditions made many places in the parish suitable for coffee cultivation. Beyond the relatively flat coastal strip, there were many hilly areas rising to 1,000 feet and more above sea level. Port Antonio itself lay in the foothills of the Blue Mountains which spread across a significant part of the parish, rising to 7,402 feet at the

peak which also lay in the parish. These elevations attracted frequent rainfall and were generally cooler than the flat coastal areas, conditions which were ideal for coffee growing. The Leeward side of these hills and mountains offered some protection from high winds as well and allowed for successful cultivation of coffee on these slopes.

However, in the period before Emancipation, a lot of the mountainous interior of Portland was heavily forested and the best and most accessible lands would be quickly occupied by settlers seeking to plant coffee. Areas such as the fertile Buff Bay River Valley and the surrounding communities along the Blue Mountain ridge (all of which became part of Portland in 1867) were important to Portland's emerging coffee industry during this period and many of the coffee properties were located here. Some of the coffee properties which were established in the parish before Emancipation include Orange Vale, Cedar Valley, Nightingale Grove, Mount Holstein, Mount Pleasant in Balcarres, Lancaster, Tranquility and Buff Bay River Estate (coffee and sugar).

Although coffee was first introduced into the island in 1728 by Governor Sir Nicholas Lawes, coffee cultivation in Jamaica was increased in the 1790s after French planters, skilled in coffee cultivation, fled St Domingue (Haiti) during the revolutionary conflict there. Several of these French immigrants (emigres) settled in Jamaica and some came to Portland (parts of St George which later became part of Portland) where some of them established coffee properties. Coffee production in Jamaica also benefitted at this time because St Domingue could no longer supply the demand in the European market for coffee and local coffee production expanded to fill this gap. The British government also gave coffee coming from British West Indian colonies, such as Jamaica, preferential treatment over coffee coming from non-British producers, ensuring that British colonial coffee had the advantage over all other producers in the market.

These factors combined to make the outlook for coffee production in Jamaica very promising and settlers in Portland took increasing advantage of this by establishing coffee properties wherever they could. Not surprisingly, coffee production did very well in Jamaica between 1790 and 1814 when the industry reached its peak. An indication of this expansion is seen in the fact that in 1774, there were only 150 coffee properties in Jamaica, but by 1792, the number had

surged to 607, and by 1799, there were 686.2 coffee plantations in Jamaica. By 1814, when the industry was at its highest level of production, the total exports of coffee from Jamaica stood at 15,178 tonnes. There was some stagnation in the industry across Jamaica after 1814 when prices for coffee on the European market fell and this stagnation continued right down to Emancipation.

In Portland, as noted previously, most of the coffee properties were located in what was then old St George, in the Buff Bay River Valley, and there was a rapid increase in the number of coffee estates in St George during this period. For example, in 1799, when St George had only 22 sugar estates, there were 73 coffee plantations, while by 1805, the number of coffee properties in the old parish of St George had risen to 85. From all indications, most coffee production was therefore done in what would become West Portland by 1867, and this was because the higher ridges of the Blue Mountain Range were located there.

Coffee production in Portland before Emancipation helped to diversify the crops produced there and also resulted in a growing French influence in the parish. Several of these French emigres settled down in Portland (inclusive of parts of St George) and raised their families over several generations. Several of the family names (surnames) of the original emigres are still present in the parish as well as other parts of Jamaica. Some of these family names include De Lafitte (after Alexander De Lafitte was granted 300 acres of land in old St George in 1811), Malabre, De Chevannes, Montague, Roux, Du Quesnay, Latibeaudaire, Desgouttes, Avocat, Corberand and La Selve. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey* shows the Corberand coffee settlement in the Buff Bay River Valley near to Balcarres. The 1811 *Jamaica Almanac* shows J.B. Corberand owning land at Mullet Hall in the parish and Paul Lamothe de Carrieu (de Carrier) owning property at Silver Hill (old St George). Louis Des Gouttes, one of the early emigres from St Domingue, became a well-established settler in old St George and the *Malabre Manuscript*, volumes one and two, show that his children were born in the parish. [23]

A Look at some Coffee Properties in the Parish before Emancipation

Buff Bay River Estate

Buff Bay River Estate was known for its production of coffee as well as sugar. Parts of this 820 acre property were sufficiently level to allow for sugar cane cultivation, and the hillier slopes were ideal for coffee. This was the estate that remained in the Hosack family (John and William) up to 1839. The early years (1788 and 1789) were focussed on coffee production as well as cotton. Located on the west bank of the Buff Bay River, near to Charles Town, the estate was producing coffee as late as 1807.

Cedar Valley Coffee Estate

This was located considerably inland from St Margaret's Bay and within proximity to Fruitful Vale. Eighteenth-century Cedar Valley was a large Buff Bay River Valley property of about 3,000 acres and quite hilly, with the coffee lands rising to a height of 4,000 feet above sea level. Coffee was first grown there in the 1770s, and the owners used water from a nearby tributary of the Buff Bay River to power a water wheel on the property. The great house was at a lower elevation of 2,000 feet, and the remains of this great house are still visible on the property. Coffee cultivation and the processes of production did not need as large a labour force as sugar cane, but mainly because of its size, Cedar Valley had a fairly large number of enslaved persons, ranging between 98 and 125. After Emancipation, Cedar Valley's history took a different turn as parts of the property became an important free village site.

Orange Vale Coffee Plantation

Orange Vale was located about 1.2 miles west of Buff Bay River, near the base of the Blue Mountains. The eastern boundary of the estate was the Buff Bay River and the land near the river was only about 250 feet above sea level. But the land rose gradually towards the west until it was at an elevation of about 2,000 feet. There were two coffee grounds on the property, the older coffee ground being only at an elevation of 500 feet, whereas the newer coffee ground was at an elevation of 1,500 feet. Orange Vale was clearly not a producer of what is now known as "high mountain coffee" (superior quality grown on highest elevations), but there

must have been a difference in the quality of the coffee beans grown on the two different elevations at Orange Vale. By the time of Emancipation, Orange Vale was approximately 1,217 acres, had 160 slaves and was producing 23,000 pounds of coffee for export.

This coffee property began operating in the late 1700s and ended coffee production in 1847. It was first owned by John Elmslie of London between 1782 and 1807, then by Alexander Donaldson between 1807 and 1817. After he died, his heirs continued coffee cultivation until 1847. By 1910, Orange Vale was a banana producing property. Today, the remains of the coffee works can still be seen where they were located back then, about two miles up the hill from the Buff Bay River. This allowed easy access to water for powering a waterwheel which was used in washing the coffee beans in cisterns. The water flowed along an aqueduct to the wheel and this structure is still fairly intact.

Other coffee properties in the parish included Mount Holstein (owned by the Benn family since 1868) in the Buff Bay River Valley. Avocat (of French connections) was located high up in the Blue Mountains near to Mulleth Hall, another coffee property. Nightingale Grove was a coffee property located in Portland (eastern) before the parish was expanded to include parts of St George. Elizabeth Woodstock owned the estate from 1796 to 1800 and then it was owned from 1809 to 1815 by Charles Douglas. There were 104 slaves attached to the property in 1811 and this number had been drastically reduced to 25 in 1815. Although coffee was the main product, corn and cocoa were later grown in addition. [24]

Settlement Patterns in Portland up to Emancipation

Main Factors which Influenced Settlement Patterns

By the time of Emancipation, there were clear patterns of settlement evident in the parish of Portland. In the early eighteenth century, places of settlement were influenced by whether persons were Maroons or not, but as more settlers came into the parish, economic activity and the presence of many rivers and fertile river valleys became major factors which influenced patterns of settlement in early Portland. Finally, the development of towns and villages in

Portland also influenced patterns of settlement as some persons, for one reason or another, had a clear preference for living in or around towns or villages.

Before the treaty of 1739, the Maroons had exercised freedom of choice in the location of their settlements, opting for seclusion and security in the hilly interior areas of the Blue Mountain Range, specifically at Old Nanny Town. With the conclusion of peace, the Windward Maroons relocated their settlements to lands allocated to them by the terms of the treaty, with Nanny and her followers moving to the hilly inland area of New Nanny Town (Moore Town). Quao's group departed from the established pattern of locating Maroon settlements in the mountains, and his group relocated to the flat coastal plains inland from the town of Buff Bay in a settlement that became known as Old Crawford Town. This was later re-located closer to Buff Bay (New Crawford Town), and the settlement eventually became known as Charles Town.

As seen in the earlier discussion on economic activities, while some settlers undertook mixed farming, growing crops like indigo, pimento, ginger and cotton, others focussed either on sugar cane or (a little later) coffee. Because it required flat and preferably coastal lands, choice of sugar cane meant that sugar properties dotted the entire north and north-eastern coasts of the parish. A few non-sugar properties (mixed crops) also competed for space along Portland's coast. A look at James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey* shows this pattern of settlement very clearly.

Starting with that part of St George east of the Little Spanish River which later became part of Portland, sugar estates like Windsor Castle, Hart Hill, Woodstock, Great Spring Garden and Low Layton hugged the northern coastline of the parish. Further east, in the area that made up Portland in 1723, it was the sugar estates which dotted the coast of north-east Portland, with sugar properties like Little Spring Garden, Burlington, Whitehall, Bog, Anchovy Valley, Cold Harbour, Passleys, Snow Hill, Fairy Hill, Boston and Castle of Comfort being the main settlement properties. East of the Priestman's River boundary of original Portland, this coastal pattern of sugar-dominated settlement continued into Long Bay, Manchioneal and then Hector's River, these last three areas becoming part of Portland by 1867. So in Long Bay, coastal areas were dominated by sugar estates like Fair Prospect, Windsor Forest, Hartford, Spring Valley, Panton's

Hope, Mulatto River and Pleasant Hill, while Manchioneal's coast near the harbour was controlled by sugar properties such as Weybridge and Muirton. Sugar estates like Grange Hill, Williamsfield and Hector's River Estate marked the coastal landscape of Hector's River.

Muirton Great House in Manchioneal. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Another View of Muirton Great House with Cannon Overlooking Manchioneal Harbour. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Further inland, settlers tended to make their homes on the banks of Portland's several rivers and fertile river valleys watered by frequent and heavy rainfall. Proximity to a river was important for transportation of goods to the coast (for sugar and non-sugar properties), as well as a source of water power for sugar estates located there. Again, Robertson's 1804 map shows this pattern of settlement very well. Examples of this pattern of settlement include Constant Spring Estate on the east bank of the Little Spanish River, Craig Hill Estate on the banks of the White River, Kildare Estate, White River Estate and Buff Bay River Estate, among several others on the banks of the Buff Bay River and in the Buff Bay River Valley as a whole. Skibo Estate, although further inland, was ideally located on the banks of the Great Spanish River while Canewood, Eden and Paradise estates shared the banks of the Swift River. Hermitage Estate was located on the banks of the Daniel's River, while the banks of the great Rio Grande was

home to several sugar properties, including Unity Valley, Darley, Seaman's Valley and Golden Vale. Sugar estates such as Egg Hill were situated on the west bank of Priestman's River.

As seen in the earlier discussion on coffee, those who ventured into coffee cultivation influenced a different pattern of settlement, with some of the hilly and mountainous parts of the parish being cleared for coffee settlements. In the following section which looks at towns in Portland, it will be seen that settlers also gravitated towards the town of Titchfield, which by the later eighteenth into the nineteenth century, had become an important centre of trade and commerce. [25]

The Growth and Development of Towns in Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Portland

Titchfield/ Port Antonio in the Late Eighteenth into the Nineteenth Century

By 1788, the total population of Portland (excluding all areas added in 1867) amounted to 5,510 persons, and of this number there were 375 white men, women and children, 175 free coloureds and 4,960 slaves. Although there were no estimates of the numbers of persons living in the town of Titchfield/Port Antonio at that time, the sources indicate that the settlement progressed at a fair pace especially after the ending of the war with the Windward Maroons. This is confirmed by a look at James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey,* which shows several homes as well as Fort George on the Titchfield Peninsula or Upper Titchfield as it was known. Several settlements are also shown along the town's eastern shoreline (on what was and still is known as Harbour Street). Persons who owned properties and lived in and around Port Antonio included the Hon. L Bryan, J. Prince, the Grants, the Wiggans, the

McKenzies, the Passleys and the Tyrrells.

An Early View of Titchfield/ Port Antonio. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

There were also several sugar estates clustered in and around Lower Titchfield, including Bog Estate, Red Hazel, Prospect and Anchovy Valley. Very importantly, Robertson's map shows a church (a symbol of sizeable settlement) located just south of the Titchfield Peninsula in Lower Titchfield. Moreover, persons, especially planters, from other parts of Portland visited Titchfield to do business. Long before the export trade in bananas brought increasingly vibrant commerce, wealth and visitors to the town towards the end of the nineteenth century, Port Antonio was an important centre for the import and export trade of the parish. This importance was explained by the fact that Port Antonio was the only port of entry and clearance for all ships engaged in trade with the parish. All persons within Portland and even the settlers in the Buff Bay River Valley, before it became part of Portland, had to send their goods by droghers

(small boats) to Port Antonio Harbour for export and persons also visited the town to collect imported goods.

The names of some of the streets in today's Port Antonio date back to late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Titchfield. One of the main streets in Lower Titchfield was Harbour Street, and as the name indicates, this ran along the shoreline right up to the Titchfield Peninsula where it merged into the Fore Shore Road on the eastern side of Upper Titchfield. On the peninsula itself there were King and Queen Streets, following the tradition of naming streets after royalty. Later in the nineteenth century, West Street which intersected Harbour Street became the heart of the business district (discussed below).

William Arnold, an English medical doctor, writing in 1840, shed some light on the town of Port Antonio when he visited the island to find out more about Yellow Fever. He observed that the proximity of the town to the harbour and the nearby swamp made the town of Titchfield generally unhealthy and that the houses which were located on a street (unnamed) leading to the lower end of Harbour Street were badly constructed, too low and poorly ventilated. Interestingly, he noted that these houses were occupied for the most part by free coloureds and free blacks and that because of the poorly built drains and sewers, this part of the town was the first place in Titchfield to experience the outbreak of Yellow Fever in 1819.

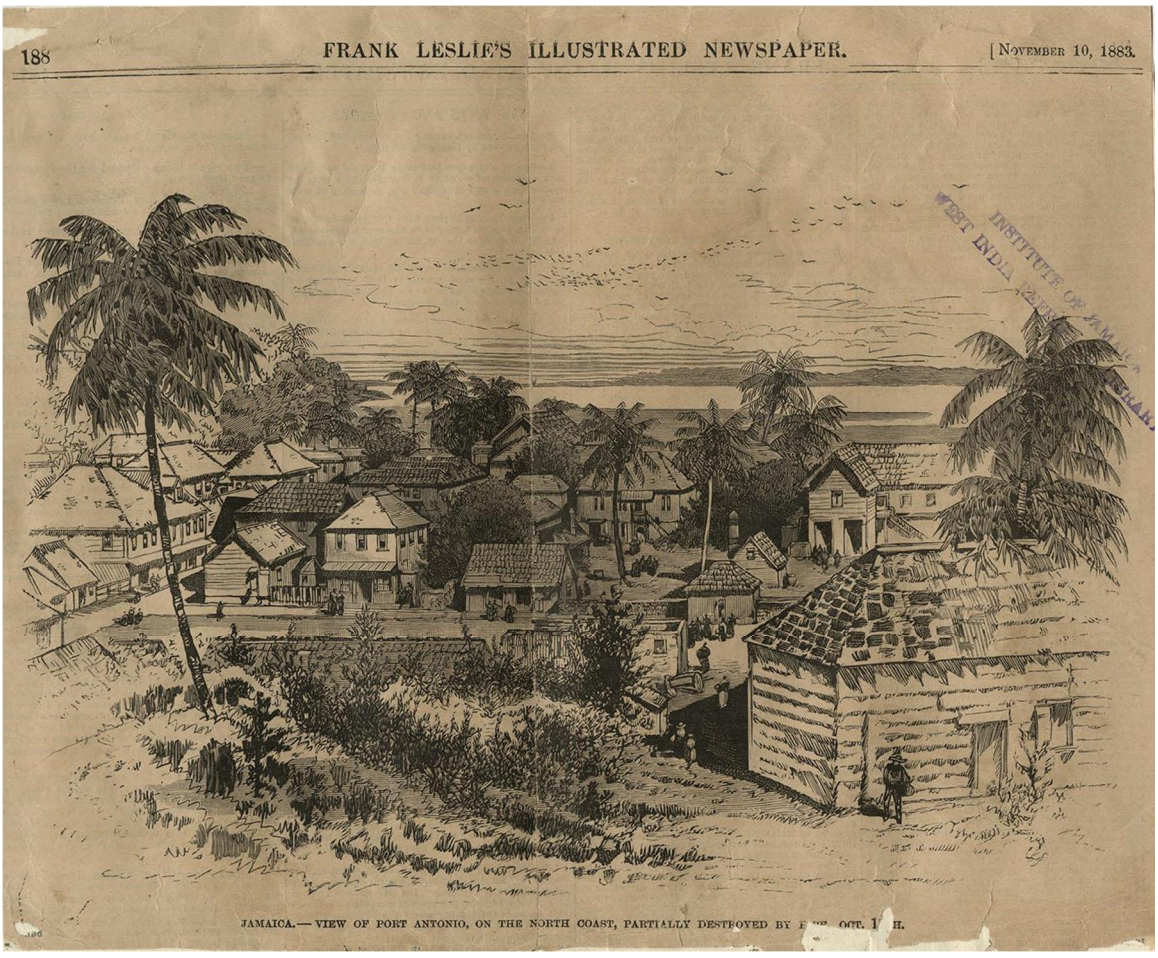
According to Arnold, Harbour Street had a healthier environment. There were two semi-circular rows of houses there and these overlooked the harbour. The north-western end of Harbour Street led on to what Arnold described as "a hilly road of easy ascent" (most likely today's Fort George Street or the Fore Shore Road) which in turn led to the peninsula of Upper Titchfield. Streets and lanes in Upper Titchfield were laid out at right angles and at the time of Arnold's visit, there were over sixteen houses of varying sizes and designs being home to about eighty white residents in an area which was then regarded as the place of choice for Titchfield's well-

to-do.

A View of Port Antonio as it Expanded. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

By the early nineteenth century, the barracks at Fort George had been substantially improved at a cost of almost £9,000 and Port Antonio's first hospital, which Arnold described as "superb" but costly (£6,000), was also located next to the barracks. On the left bank of the West Town River (still so called today), there was a substantial collection of small houses built by residents who had leased land from the Titchfield Trust. As already noted, the town of Titchfield lay in the foothills of the Blue Mountain Range. Apparently, during the nineteenth-century outbreaks of Yellow Fever, some residents of the town relocated to the hills high above Titchfield in the belief that the air was healthier up there and that they would not be so vulnerable to the fevers which affected the people on the flat coastal part of the town. By 1840, there were "several neat dwellings" on the hill. Some early members of the Shirley family took part in one of these 'migrations to the hills' and laid the basis for the area which became known as Shirley Castle. [26]

By the later nineteenth century, the streets of the town had become a bustling centre of commerce and this was not only because of the prosperity of the banana trade. By then, West Street in Port Antonio had become the main location for shops, stores, taverns, drug stores and other businesses. By 1878, there were many shops owned by persons such as W. A. Abrahams, Alexander Bunting (both sold provisions and groceries), Jane Clark, Henry Cousens and Mary Kildare. Larger stores, selling a wider variety of dry goods, were operated by persons such as Isiah Cunningham, Alexander Escoffery, R.P. DaCosta, Alexander Akin and Charles H.S. Grossett. Dispensaries (today's pharmacy) were operated by Thomas Escoffery and George Matthews (who was also the postmaster at that time).



A View of Nineteenth-century Port Antonio Showing Partial Destruction by Fire, 1883. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

By 1891, the commerce in Port Antonio had become even more extensive with the ever expanding fruit trade and the steady influx of visitors to the town. Some examples of these businesses around 1891 include the tavern which was operated by R.A. Brown at numbers one and two West Street. Back then, a tavern would have been similar to today's bar, providing a place for persons to relax and have a drink. Because Brown's business occupied two lots, it is possible that this tavern also offered accommodation and in this respect it would have been more like an inn. In addition to the tavern, Brown also had a grocery shop on West Street. Other business establishments along West Street around 1891 included the T. A. Eaves Drug Store, which sold a variety of items besides medicine, including retailed kerosene oil. Several other shops along West Street including those belonging to C.H.S. Grossett and Arthur Grossett (both were in business in Port Antonio for a long time), F.O. Abrahams, Amelia Letwom, Emily Nugent and Joshua Simpson, sold a variety of goods and a number of these places were licensed to sell kerosene oil and/ or retailed liquor as well.

Growth in the Town's Infrastructure: Historic Buildings and Places

Christ Church: The Portland Parish Church

Because Titchfield was the designated capital of Portland, then according to British colonial traditions, one of the first structures that should have been built in the town was the parish church which would have been Episcopal/ Anglican in keeping with the English established Anglican Church. Having a church in a parish capital was also a sign of the growth and development of the town. An act of 1677 "For Regulating the Parishes" had given the parish vestries (body responsible for managing the affairs of the parish) responsibility for raising funds through taxation for the purpose of building and repairing parish churches. Additionally, the 1723 Act which established the parish of Portland had ordered that churches were to be built in the parish and the minister was to be paid a salary of £ 200 per year at public expense.

Yet, as mentioned in the earlier look at the foundation years of Titchfield, as late as the 1770s when Edward Long wrote his *History of Jamaica*, the sparsely populated town had no parish

church and services were being held at a planter's house. Most sources place the completion date of Christ Church at 1840. However, it is clear from a look at James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey* that the parish church in Titchfield/Port Antonio existed long before 1840 and certainly was around in 1804 as Robertson's map marked with a cross the location of the church in Lower Titchfield, slightly south of the Titchfield Peninsula. This location was most likely where Richmond Hill Road is now. Although the exact date of the construction of the original church remains uncertain, the Christ Church structure designed by English architect, Annesley Voysey and completed in 1840 one year after his death, was a newer version of the original church. Interestingly, the communion vessels are from the original church.

Portland's Parish Church in the Nineteenth Century. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The 1840 Christ Church was built on land presented in 1836 to the Right Reverend Christopher Lipscomb, Lord Bishop of Jamaica and Reverend Griffiths, the Clerk Rector of Portland, by two residents, John Dean and Jane Brown, on behalf of the people of Portland. This land was located on Bridge Street, the present site of Christ Church Parish Church. This three-storey rectangular church was built mainly with red bricks, stone and masonry, and an important feature was the four-storey tower which houses the belfry and clock. Severely damaged by the

hurricane of 1903, Christ Church was restored around 1911.

Portland's Parish Church: Christ Church, Port Antonio. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Christ Church is a historic structure which has been declared a Protected Heritage Site in the parish of Portland by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, and it contains reminders of Portland's rich history. The lectern was donated by the Boston Fruit Company which played a significant part in shaping the later nineteenth-century history of the parish. Some of the memorial tablets in the church show the names of persons who were a part of the parish's history from the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century. These include Charles Bryan Esquire, who died in the 1810s, Clementina Grant Passley, who also died in the 1810s, George Passley, who died in the 1830s, Henry James Passley, who died in the 1830s and Annesley Voysey, the architect who designed the church and who died in 1839.

The Port Antonio Courthouse

One of the most historic buildings in today's Port Antonio's Main Square (at the junction of West Street, Harbour Street and Fort George Street) is the Port Antonio Courthouse, built in 1895. However, this was not the first courthouse in existence in the town of Titchfield/Port Antonio. In fact, the town had at least two courthouses before the 1895 structure. The date of construction of the first courthouse remains uncertain but newspaper advertisements by 1825 made reference to events taking place at the Portland Courthouse. One of these advertised a public sale of an enslaved man, William Drummond, for the purpose of collecting taxes owed by his master, Arthur R. Jones, Esquire. This early courthouse may have been located on Harbour Street where stores and wharves were to be found by 1800.

A variety of court sessions, including courts of Quarter Sessions (dealing only with petty offences) would have been held at this first court house. Circuit Courts (held three times per year), monthly meetings of the Resident Magistrate's Courts (civil matters) took place in these courthouses. The weekly Petty Sessions and District Court meetings would have been held in the second courthouse built in 1837. In that year, a new two-storey building was completed on upper Harbour Street and this became the (second) location of the courthouse until 1895. On the upper floor of the new building was the courthouse, the hospital (for prisoners) and apartments for the prison officers. The ground floor consisted of an office for the supervisor of the prison, a room for militia prisoners, three prison rooms and nine solitary cells for non-militia

prisoners. The surgeon who attended to sick prisoners lived in the town. An Anglican minister also presided over weekly Sunday services at the facility. As late as 1891, Petty Sessions met at this court house to grant licenses for the sale of liquor and kerosene, among other permits. The Portland Parish Vestry (local government body) also met at these early courthouses.

By 1895, a new court building, the Port Antonio Courthouse was ordered built by the British Colonial Secretary. This was a two-storey building which was made from cut stone, bricks and mortar, with the upper floor having both a front and a back veranda. Both verandas were fenced round by decorative columns (baluster) made of iron and these were supported by larger cast iron columns made by the Scottish company, William MacFarlane and Company.

The 1895 Port Antonio Courthouse. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The courthouse served several purposes, with the upstairs housing the courtroom and a town hall for meetings, while the offices of the court and the parochial boards (which replaced vestries in the later nineteenth century) were located downstairs. With the passage of time,

this new court house went through several changes and was badly damaged by fire in 2004. The 1895 Port Antonio Courthouse has been declared a Protected Heritage Site in Portland by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Today, Port Antonio's modern Courthouse is a relatively new structure built in the Bound Brook area by a son of Portland, business magnate and philanthropist, Michael Lee Chin, who undertook to restore the historic features of what is now regarded as the old Port Antonio Courthouse.

Port Antonio's New Courthouse. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Other Nineteenth-Century Changes to the Infrastructure of Port Antonio

One of the most important measures introduced after 1865 was the dissolution of the haphazard system of island police and the creation of the Jamaica Constabulary Force in 1867 by Governor Sir John Peter Grant. By 1870, the old prison in Port Antonio was converted into

the Port Antonio Constabulary Barracks at a cost of seventy five pounds. By 1878, Inspector S.N. Broderick was in charge of Port Antonio's constabulary force.

Several of the changes in the landscape of Port Antonio that were made in the later nineteenth century into the early twentieth century (including the railway and the Titchfield Hotel) were linked to the thriving fruit trade (especially in bananas) which emerged after 1868, and this is more fully discussed in the later section on post-slavery changes in the economy of the parish. The extension of railway lines from Kingston to Port Antonio in 1896 was a major step in transporting both passengers and cargo (especially bananas) from various points of the island such as Bog Walk into the busy town of Port Antonio and contributed to the prosperity of the banana trade.

Port Antonio's Railway Station, built in 1896 on West Street was the terminal for the railway line from Bog Walk. Today, the Port Antonio Railway Station is the home of the Portland Art Gallery. By the late eighteenth century, mails in Jamaica were transported on mules along designated "post roads" and one of these ran from Kingston to Port Antonio. A post office was also established in Port Antonio to receive and send mail. By 1870, George Matthews was the

post master, a position he held for many years.

Port Antonio Railway Station Built in 1896. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

However, other developments were also as a result of the growth of the town as the parish capital and steps taken by the then colonial government to improve the town of Port Antonio. One of these measures was the introduction of a piped water supply to some residents of Port Antonio between 1888 and 1890. Water from the river at Red Hazel was channelled through pipes which emptied into a reservoir which was located about a mile and a half from Port Antonio. The water was then piped to the residences and business places of those who could afford to pay for the supply. Access to a piped water supply by everyone in the town would not occur until the twentieth century.

Buying and selling at the market place is a time-honoured tradition that has been passed down to every generation of Jamaicans across all parishes. Port Antonio, with its busy shops and bustling activity, had its own Market square long before Musgrave Market was built. The centre

of this tradition of buying and selling was based very close to West Street and this area, which was south of West Street, came to be known as Market Square in the early period after Emancipation because of the busy trade conducted there. Of course, this trade had started prior to 1834 when the enslaved brought their surplus provisions into the town of Titchfield for the purposes of trade on market day, which was usually on a Sunday up on till Emancipation when Sunday markets were abolished. The name and the place called Market Square have remained a part of Port Antonio's urban landscape till today. Two market buildings, one on either side of West Street were completed in 1885, and these became the foundation of the Musgrave Market, named in honour of Governor Musgrave (1877-1883) and an important historical landmark in the parish.

Musgrave Market, Port Antonio. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Today, a major landmark in the middle of the square is the Cenotaph which honours Portlanders who died in service to their country during the two world wars.

The Cenotaph Stands in Tribute. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

In the later nineteenth century, there was a busy market scene at Market Street, and some persons such as Juleana Abrahams, Richard Booth and post-slavery immigrants into the parish like Young-Chay (all of whom were granted licenses by the Port Antonio Court to sell kerosene

oil at Market Square in 1891) made Market Square their place of business.

A View of Port Antonio Square Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Another View of Port Antonio Square Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Port Antonio had been declared a port of entry and clearance from 1725 and with the early success of the sugar trade and the later boom in the banana trade, shipping needed safe access to Port Antonio's harbours, especially the eastern harbour, which was more heavily used. During the height of the banana trade, it was critical to provide a well-lit entry to the harbour and the Folly Point lighthouse, which was built in 1888, did just this. The tower of Folly Point Lighthouse was made of masonry and is considered fireproof. An intermittent beam of white light is flashed from the tower and this lasts for two seconds, followed by eight seconds of darkness. The cycle is then repeated and the light from the Folly Point Tower can be seen from a distance of thirteen miles. This historic structure has been declared a Protected Heritage Site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.[27]

The Town of Buff Bay

Buff Bay was the capital town of the old parish of St George, part of which was later merged with Portland in 1867. The town took its name from the bay alongside which it was located. However, the emergence of Buff Bay as a town and more importantly, as the chief town of St George seems to have occurred at a rather slow pace. Although the parish of St George was in existence by 1677, William Beckford, writing about Jamaica in 1790, claimed that St George had only one town and that was Annotto Bay (the western part of St George where Annotto Bay was located was later absorbed into the parish of St Mary). Beckford seemed not to have recognised Buff Bay's existence as a town, perhaps because he had a fixed idea of what a town looked like, with a fair amount of settlement homes, church and shops. Instead, he identified Buff Bay as "a shipping place" but this was exactly the nature of Buff Bay in its early years, more of a transshipment point than an extensively settled area that is usually associated with a town. Beckford unknowingly was describing the true nature of Buff Bay in its early years.

The small size of the early town of Buff Bay was also seen on James Robertson's 1804 *Map of Surrey* which showed only a few structures to represent settlement homes in the town itself. Importantly, the map also showed that early settlement was concentrated more on the properties which surrounded the little town of Buff Bay and that settlement became more extensive as the land spread inland into the fertile Buff Bay River Valley. Therefore, the town of Buff Bay was the gateway to vast areas of rich farming lands in the Buff Bay River Valley and it was understandable that settlers and their families would make their homes on these lands rather than in the relatively narrow and small coastal area of the town. Some of these properties included Bell's, Fitzgerald's, Woodstock, Donaldson and Meeks, Gillespie's, Kildare's, Spring Garden and Hossack's, and the settlers there focused on mixed farming and indigo cultivation, while others were engaged in sugar production.

Early Buff Bay emerged as a transshipment point because the bay at Buff Bay was not deep enough to accommodate large shipping and goods for export, such as sugar, were taken down to Buff Bay and transported from there in small vessels (droghers) to the port of Port Antonio. Imported goods required by the settlers of the Buff Bay River Valley were also brought in to Buff Bay on these droghers from Port Antonio. Life in early Buff Bay therefore revolved more

around the transportation of goods to and from Port Antonio than on the development of a well-established settlement town.

The Buff Bay River: Gateway to the Fertile Buff Bay River Valley. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

However, as the number of settlers in the fertile lands of the river valley increased, so did the need to transact business in the town of Buff Bay and gradually both the population and the facilities of the town grew. In 1788 there were about 199 white men, women and children in the parish of St George, while there were 65 free coloureds and 4,996 enslaved persons although it remains uncertain how many of these persons would have been living in the town.

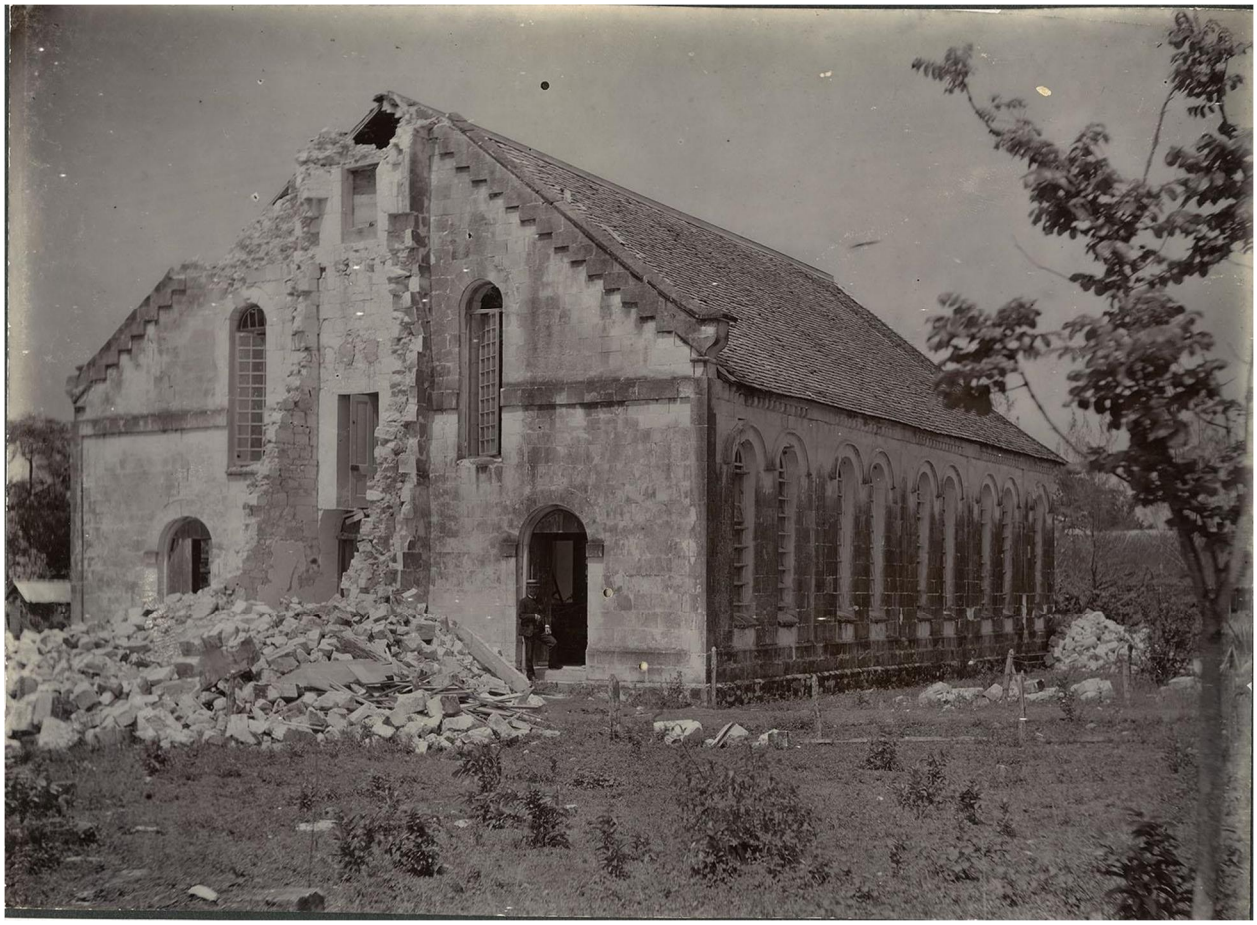
As the chief town of the parish of St George, Buff Bay needed a parish church and this was St George's Anglican Church, which is today the oldest building in the town. As such and because of its historic importance, St George's Anglican Church has been designated a Protected Heritage Site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. The earliest church building may have

been a wooden chapel dating back to the 1750s. In 1802, this was replaced by a larger wooden church built by a contractor, Thomas Williams, at a cost of £2,300. However, this was badly damaged by the earthquake of 1813 and St George's Parish Vestry decided that this had to be demolished and replaced by a cut-stone church building.

St George's Anglican Church, Buff Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Construction began in 1814 with stones brought from England for that purpose. St George's Anglican was built to accommodate about 800 persons and in 1870, about 400 were in attendance on average. As with most colonial church buildings in Jamaica at the time, St George's Anglican suffered damage to its structure from both earthquakes and hurricanes. The most severe damage was done by the 1907 earthquake, and it was during the restoration of the

building that the present clock tower was added.



Episcopal Church (St George's Anglican) Buff Bay, Showing Earthquake Damage in 1907. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Memorial grave tablets at the church give an indication of some of the nineteenth-century residents who attended services there. Some of these memorial tablets include those of Ernest Charles Peter Espeut who died in the 1870s, Philip Jaquet Esquire, who died in the 1830s, William Robertson M.D. who died in the 1840s and Charles Thomas Rapkey, M.D. who died in the 1860s.

As was the case with the 1895 Port Antonio Courthouse, the old Buff Bay Court house, located in the heart of the town of Buff Bay today and built in the early 1900s, was not the first courthouse built in the old parish of St George. Court sessions for the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas were held in 1807 at an earlier court house in Buff Bay and

newspaper advertisements told of public auctions held at the Buff Bay Court House in 1825. This court house underwent several repairs and in 1870, general repairs had to be done to the structure at a cost of sixty pounds. Monthly meetings of the Resident Magistrate's Court were held at the Buff Bay Courthouse and fortnightly meetings of the Petty Sessions Court were also held there. Today, the old Buff Bay Court House dating from the early 1900s remains one of Portland's important historic monuments.

The Old Buff Bay Courthouse. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Buff Bay Methodist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

As the nineteenth century progressed, a Wesleyan Chapel was established in Buff Bay and by 1870, the minister, Reverend John Duff reported that attendance was at full capacity of about 200 persons. The Baptists were also active in Buff Bay and by 1870, Reverend Samuel Jones

reported an average attendance of 360 persons.

Buff Bay Baptist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

In the later nineteenth-century banana trade, Buff Bay became an important point from which bananas were sent down to Port Antonio. Facilities and infrastructure in the town were expanded at this time to include a public hospital, a police station, post office and a telegraph station. In 1870, the district post master for Buff Bay was H. Guscott. Railway lines were also extended from Kingston to Buff Bay and this was important for transporting cargoes of bananas, as well as people to the town. Interestingly, trains travelled from Kingston to Buff Bay up until 1985, when service on this line was terminated. A wharf built by the United Fruit Company brought improvement in the banana trade from the town but the exposed nature of the Buff Bay coast meant that the wharf was only approachable during fair weather. Increased trade also meant that there was an increase in the number of persons who might need temporary accommodation in the town and quite a few lodging houses were established in Buff Bay at this time. These included a lodging house operated in the town by Miss M. Dunbar, the

Buff Bay Tavern, owned and operated by V. Silvera and a lodging house owned and operated by Miss Anna Crossley.

A View of The Town of Buff Bay Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Another View of the Town of Buff Bay Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

As will be seen in a later section, there was an increase in the skilled trades in towns like Port Antonio and Buff Bay after Emancipation. By the 1870s, Buff Bay saw an increase in the number and variety of these small businesses, including the boot and shoe-making and repair shop run by Samuel Boothe, at least two butcher shops operated by William Gladwish and Thomas Lecky, a bakery run by A.A. Henriques and a general store operated by N.S. Henriques. The town also had a busy market place at this time. Blacksmiths were needed in the town to repair iron and metal tools, as well as horseshoes, at a time when some travellers still used horses to get from place to place, to repair horse shoes. There were a number of blacksmith operations in Buff Bay, including three run by Thomas Helps, James Woodsworth and Charles Williams. Carpenters like William Rashford, house and sign painters like Benjamin Buckmaster and medical practitioners like John McMahon were kept busy in the town of Buff Bay. [28]

Hope Bay, St Margaret's Bay and Manchioneal

Although the coastal settlements of Hope Bay, St Margaret's Bay, Long Bay and Manchioneal began in the late eighteenth into the early nineteenth centuries, the development of these places was more noticeable from the late nineteenth century onwards with the prosperity of the fruit trade.

Hope Bay

Located east of the town of Buff Bay, Hope Bay is today described as a large fishing village. Hope Bay emerged as a small coastal settlement in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, but at this early stage Hope Bay did not have the population or the resources which would allow it to be recognised as an important settlement. Although James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey* names the bay (Hope Bay) around which the village of Hope Bay eventually grew, his map showed no symbols of settlement houses in the area in 1804. However by 1830, the situation had changed considerably as by that year there were sufficient settlers in the area to justify the building of an Anglican chapel in what was then the village of Hope Bay. It was reported by a committee of the Anglican diocese that the people living in the area (and perhaps also the owners of nearby estates) had contributed money towards the construction of a chapel and that the Jamaican House of Assembly had also granted funds to assist this effort. By 1830, the chapel building was completed and ready for consecration. This was to become St Peter's Anglican Church which was large enough to accommodate 500 persons by 1870. In the post-slavery period, a school (St Peter's Elementary) was attached to

the church as well.

St Peter's Anglican Church, Hope Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

By 1870, the Wesleyan Methodists, who were active in Portland, had also built an elementary school as well as a chapel in Hope Bay and the average attendance at services was around 200 persons.

After the creation of the Jamaica Constabulary Force in 1867, Hope Bay got its own police station, and the town also had its own post office with the position of district postmaster being held by David Dias in 1870. By the 1890s, Hope Bay's population was about 500 persons, and the development of the banana trade also provided additional employment for residents as Hope Bay became a shipping point first for Boston Fruit Company and then for the United Fruit Company. By 1896, railway lines and a railway station were extended to Hope Bay, and this was part of a network of rail transportation that linked all of Portland's shipping points in the banana trade and ensured quick and effective delivery of the fruit to Port Antonio (where the

railway

The Railway Station House at Hope Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

line terminated) for export. Some residents worked at loading the bananas on to the droghers at United Fruit Company's wharf at Hope Bay. From there the cargoes were taken to Port Antonio for final export, although in good weather some cargoes of bananas were shipped on steamers from Hope Bay directly to the United States.

Hope Bay also had its own court house where the Resident Magistrate's Court met to resolve civil matters once a month. Petty Sessions Court was also held there once a month. In spite of its relatively small size, Hope Bay was nevertheless a busy community and by the 1870s, there was a collection of shops and stores catering to residents and visitors alike. For example, Thomas Brown, Ellen Hosack and Jessie Ramsay were shopkeepers, while Ellen Hosack and Thomas Cargill also operated bakeries. A general store, owned and operated by David Dias (who was also the postmaster), sold clothing and general goods to the community. With

residents' spending power increased by the banana trade, liquor was also sold at several shops in Hope Bay. By 1891, David Baugh, Israel Booth and Elizabeth Scott were selling retailed spirits as well as kerosene oil at their shops.

St Margaret's Bay

To the east of Hope Bay is another of Portland's coastal towns, St Margaret's Bay. Small-scale settlement of St Margaret's Bay was underway from the late eighteenth century. By the time James Robertson surveyed the area for his 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey*, there were quite a few settlement houses shown at St Margaret's Bay. Robertson's 1804 map named the settlement *Margaret Town,* which was the first name given to the coastal settlement on the west bank of the Rio Grande River that would later become known as St Margaret's Bay. The absence of any symbol for a church on Robertson's map tells us that there was no church built in the settlement by 1804. As the settlement grew this changed and St Stephen's Anglican Church, which could hold about 350 persons, became the first church of St Margaret's Bay.

There was also an elementary school attached to the church in the post-slavery period. In the later nineteenth century, the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society also established a home

mission and chapel at St Margaret's Bay.

St Margaret's Bay Baptist Church Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The growth and development of St Margaret's Bay in the late nineteenth century was linked to two related developments, the expansion of the banana trade and the 1896 extension of the rail link from Kingston to Port Antonio. A railway station was built at St Margaret's Bay and this facilitated the transportation of the fruit to Port Antonio, and as the banana trade expanded, more jobs related to the railway and the fruit trade brought more growth and prosperity to St Margaret's Bay.

As was its practice in Portland's coastal towns, the United Fruit Company established a wharf at St Margaret's Bay to facilitate shipping of the bananas to Port Antonio, thereby bringing more employment opportunities to the town. By the end of the nineteenth century, St Margaret's Bay had a newly constructed police station as well as a small number of shops and retail outlets for dry goods, food supplies and liquor. Two residents who operated retail shops in the 1890s

were A.H. Shirley and M. Fraser, both of whom sold retailed liquor in addition to other goods.

Railway Station House, St Margaret's Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Manchioneal

Although Manchioneal was not absorbed into Portland until 1867 and remained part of St Thomas-in-the-East until then, it became very important to Portland's export trade in bananas and coconuts by the 1870s. The name of this district is probably linked to the Manchioneal plant which bears poisonous berries and which grew extensively along the rugged coastline. Because Manchioneal was located on the extreme north-eastern coast of the island, the government had always regarded this area as especially vulnerable to an invasion by Britain's enemies, particularly the Spaniards and the French. So even before it became part of Portland, steps were taken to encourage settlement and defence of the area. The same incentives (discussed earlier) that had been offered to settlers of early Portland were also extended to

persons wishing to live in Manchioneal.

The Manchioneal Coast. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

In order to make Manchioneal's coast less isolated and more inhabited, every new settler was to be given a lot of land 50 feet by 150 feet on the coast. However, recognising the potential of Manchioneal's harbour from the start, the law laid down an important provision that land granted along the coast should be a minimum of 300 feet away from the sea-shore or Manchioneal Harbour.

By 1804, James Robertson's *Map of the County of Surrey* showed symbols of houses/shops along the coast of Manchioneal Harbour, as well as several sugar and non-sugar properties further back from the coast. Importantly, the map also showed a battery (a line of defensive guns) installed overlooking Manchioneal Harbour. To further secure this approach to the island, Fort Richmond was also built near the battery. Robertson's map showed no symbol for a church in Manchioneal by 1804, but Manchioneal's first Anglican Church came later and was named St

Thomas Anglican Church (not to be confused with the St Thomas Parish Church).

St Thomas Anglican Church in Manchioneal. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Wesleyan Methodists also became active in Manchioneal and they established a large chapel there capable of holding 600 persons. By 1870, the minister, Alexander Smith was quite happy with the fact that the average attendance at services was 600 persons from Manchioneal and surrounding properties.

In the period before Emancipation, the properties around Manchioneal were predominantly sugar estates, and one of these was Muirton Sugar Estate, where the remains of the great

house can still be seen.

Muirton Great House Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

One of the interesting stories associated with the district of Manchioneal and in particular, Muirton Great House, relates to the adventures of Tom Cringle (the hero in the book) in the novel *Tom Cringle's Log* written in 1833 by Michael Scott. Scott is said to have based the story of Tom Cringle on his own life experiences while he was in Jamaica during the early 1800s. Many of Tom Cringle's exploits were said to have taken place in Manchioneal, and it is also said that when he arrived from Cuba, sick with yellow fever, Tom Cringle was taken to Muirton

Great House to recover.

Defending Manchioneal Harbour: Cannon Located on the Grounds of the Former Muirton Sugar Estate. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

By the time Manchioneal became part of Portland in 1867, sugar had been replaced by the two main exports from the district, which were coconuts and bananas. Much of the coconut exports from Manchioneal came from Darlingford, a nearby and very large coconut plantation which belonged in the nineteenth century to the heirs of the former Governor Darling of Jamaica. Manchioneal Harbour, despite its narrow entrance, was of growing significance after 1868 as a transshipment point for the banana and fruit trade in general and exports of bananas were taken by droghers to Port Antonio. The town's importance and prosperity were definitely linked to the success of the fruit trade, but the livestock properties (pens) in the vicinity of Manchioneal, also contributed to the town's prosperity. Manchioneal was well known for the fine quality of its mutton and beef and regular supplies of mutton and beef were taken by boats

(droghers) to Port Antonio for sale in the market there.

A View of Manchioneal Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The infrastructure grew in keeping with the importance of the town and its harbour and Manchioneal had its own courthouse and court sessions, such as those of the monthly Resident Magistrate's Court (civil matters) and the Petty Sessions Court, were held there. From the late eighteenth century, mails in Jamaica were transported along three routes known as "post roads", which all started in Kingston and ended at designated places around the island. Mail was carried in bags placed on mules and their riders had to overcome all sorts of natural obstacles, such as swollen rivers, which were a common hazard in Portland. One of these post roads ran from Kingston to Manchioneal and a small post office was built in the town. By 1870, the district postmaster for Manchioneal was J.R. Naylor. By the late nineteenth century, a variety of shops and stores dotted the streets of Manchioneal, and these sold dry goods, food items, clothing, liquor and well-needed items such as kerosene oil. [29]

Moore Town

As seen in the earlier discussion on the Maroons, Moore Town had its beginnings around 1739 with the grant of 500 acres of land to Nanny, the leader of the Maroon group which had lived in old Nanny Town before it was destroyed during the first Maroon war. By the terms of the 1739 treaty, not only was land granted to Nanny, but the English officially recognised all of the Windward Maroons as free and sovereign people. This meant that the Maroons had legal control over the lands granted to them and the right to elect their own leaders (colonels).

Nanny and her followers relocated to this land and established a new settlement which the Maroons called New Nanny Town, but which became known as Moore Town. Located about 211 metres or over 692 feet above sea level in the valleys of the Blue and John Crow Mountains, Moore Town is the oldest remaining Maroon settlement in Portland. The Maroons of Moore Town made their living primarily by farming for subsistence, as well as by trading the surplus with settlements in Port Antonio. In the early settlement of New Nanny Town, Nanny continued to inspire and lead her people, even with the presence of an English superintendent who, according to the terms of the treaty, was to reside in the settlement in order to foster good relations with the English and to ensure that the Maroons kept their side of the agreement. A Monument to Nanny, known as Bump Grave or Nanny Bump was erected at the

spot in Moore Town where she is said to be buried.

Bump Grave: Final Resting Place of Nanny of the Maroons. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

As seen earlier, one of the English superintendents of Moore Town was Lieutenant George Fuller, who was not only successful in his role but also seems to have integrated well into the society of Moore Town, with his marriage to a Maroon, thereby starting the Fuller family among the Maroons.

By 1831, there were 568 persons living in Moore Town, but not all of these were Maroons and not all were free people like the Maroons. Of the 568, there were 499 Maroons, including 247 males of all ages and 252 females of all ages. There were ten non-Maroons, including a white minister, Ebenezer Collins from the Church Missionary Society, and the other nine were non-Maroons who had chosen to live in the Maroon society of Moore Town. Some of these non-Maroons included women who were married to Moore-Town Maroons, for example, Sarah Wilson who was the wife of Maroon, Charles Osborne. Some of the Maroon residents were

themselves owners of slaves and in all, there were 59 slaves, 8 of whom belonged to the superintendent at the time, Thomas Wright.

Among the adult male Maroons there was a hierarchy based on leadership, and these were the officers of the Moore Town society including (but not limited to) Captain Charles Phillips (aged 46), Major George McKenzie (aged 63) and Lieutenant George Wilson (aged 63). All other adult Maroon males were classified as privates. Interestingly, some of the female Maroons had lived to quite an advanced age by 1831 and examples of these women included Ann Mitchell (aged 91), Sukey Brown (aged 86) and Molly Reid (aged 80). It also seems that despite the presence of English superintendents and ministers of the gospel, there was an effort by some Maroons to retain the legacy of their ancestors in the naming of their children. So for the boys, Cudjoe was retained as a first name and for the girls, Nanny was also occasionally listed. However the general pattern was to adopt European names such as Ann, Jane, Charles, James and Joseph.

Moore Town Residents Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Colonel Wallace Sterling (at left) of the Moore Town Maroons. Photo courtesy of Jenny Jemmott

The current leader of the Moore Town Maroon community is Colonel Wallace Sterling and his name symbolizes a long Maroon heritage. By 1831, the Sterlings among the Maroons included boys such as Sandy Sterling (aged 12), Wilson Sterling (aged 12) and Bennet Sterling (aged 10). Some of the women bearing the Sterling name were Bessy Sterling (aged 51), Rebecca Sterling (aged 49), Margaret Sterling (aged 48) and Letitia Sterling (aged 47). As seen before, the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were active in Moore Town, and by 1870, there was an Anglican church in the town as well as an elementary school, with 102 students on the books, with an average attendance of 60. Moore Town also had a few shops which sold retailed goods to the community, and by 1891, Emmanuel Nicholas was one of the shop owners who sold liquor and other items to the people of Moore Town.

Moore Town remains a Protected Heritage Site and an important part of the Blue and John Crow Mountains site which was inscribed in 2015 on UNESCO'S List of World Heritage Sites as a Mixed Site of Cultural and Natural value to mankind. As seen in the final section of this history of Portland, the Maroon Heritage of Moore Town was also inscribed on UNESCO'S List of the

Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008.

Belles and Beaux of Moore Town. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Charles Town

Charles Town's origins were also linked to the Maroon treaty with the English in 1739. A few years after the treaty, Captain Quao and his followers relocated their settlement on lands granted by the treaty in what was then known as Old Crawford Town (later Charles Town) further inland from Buff Bay. Quao did not lead this Maroon settlement, and it appears that the name 'Crawford Town" was linked to Captain Ned Crawford, who was the leader of the settlement. By the mid- 1750s, there was a dispute within Old Crawford Town and the settlement was moved closer to Buff Bay (about two miles from the town) and at this point was known as New Crawford Town. In fact, the name Charles Town did not appear on maps of

Jamaica until 1832 and before then, this Maroon settlement was identified as New Crawford Town on maps.

Unlike other Maroon settlements, Charles Town was located on fairly flat lands away from the mountainous interior and the settlement was only about two miles north of the town of Buff Bay. Therefore, at the time of its foundation, Charles Town was located in the old parish of St George on the east bank of the Buff Bay River, and this area became part of Portland in 1867. The Maroons of Charles Town made their living mainly by farming the fertile soils of their Buff Bay River Valley land. Because of its proximity to the town of Buff Bay, Charles Town residents were also able to develop extensive trading interactions with the people living in Buff Bay. By the later nineteenth century, Charles Town also had a small number of shops which supplied retailed dry goods and other items for the residents of the community. By 1891, one of these shop owners was Robert Sutherland who sold retailed liquor and kerosene oil, among other goods, in Charles Town. Recognised as a free and sovereign people, the Charles Town Maroons had their own leadership structure although, like the Moore Town Maroons, the treaty specified that an English superintendent should reside among them. By 1831, the superintendent of the Charles Town Maroons was Alexander Gordon Fyfe.

In that year, there were 430 persons living in Charles Town and of this number, 304, including men, women and children, were Maroons. An interesting difference between Moore Town and Charles town was that in Charles Town, there were many more non-Maroons living in the community. Whereas in Moore Town there were 10 non-Maroons, in Charles Town, there were 71 residents who were not Maroons. This higher number may be explained by the proximity of Charles Town to Buff Bay and the greater interaction between Maroons and Buff Bay residents may have provided opportunities for outsiders to join the community. Adding to the population of Charles Town were 55 slaves, of which number 40 belonged to Maroon residents and 15 to non-Maroons living there.

A closer look at the Maroons of Charles Town in 1831 shows that there were 13 officers ranging from Lieutenant colonels to Sergeants, with one of the oldest being Lieutenant Colonel Cockburn (aged 72). There were 70 men below the rank of officers and 96 women. There were

47 teenagers ranging from 11 to 19 years and 78 children ranging from birth to 10 years. The Anglican Church in Buff Bay established a ministry in Charles Town, and by 1870, the Anglican minister in Buff Bay, Reverend H. K. Dunbar, was in charge of an elementary school in Charles Town which had a total of 93 children registered, but with a lower average attendance of 38.

Throughout the history of their community, the Maroons of Charles Town have safeguarded and transmitted their heritage through oral and written means, and today, the Charles Town Museum, the Asafu ground and their sacred Maroon cemetery, where many of their ancestors are buried, remain important reminders of this rich heritage. Like Moore Town, Charles Town has been declared an important and Protected Heritage Site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust and forms an integral part of the Blue and John Crow Mountains Mixed (of cultural and natural values) Site, which was inscribed on to UNESCO'S List of World Heritage Sites in 2015. [30]

PORTLAND FROM EMANCIPATION TO 1900

From Slavery into Freedom: The Experience of the Apprenticeship in Portland

As of 1 August 1834, slavery was no longer legal in British colonies, including Jamaica. However, instead of making slaves fully and immediately free on 1 August 1834, they were made to serve a period of apprenticeship known as the Apprenticeship system. The Apprenticeship System (1 August 1834 to 31 July 1838) was meant as a time of preparation for both masters and enslaved as they made the gradual change from slavery to full freedom. For the former masters, they needed to make the transition from dependence on labour freely obtained from the slaves to a system where they would one day have to pay cash wages to all former slaves. For the former slaves (referred to as apprentices from 1 August 1834 to 31 July 1838), they needed to prepare for life as free labourers, learning how to negotiate for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work.

The laws governing the Apprenticeship made it compulsory for the apprentices to continue working for their former masters without pay for three-quarters of the working week (about 40 ½ hours each week). The law also stated that if the apprentices agreed to work outside of these hours, they had to be paid and in this way, the former masters could put preparations in place

for wage payments and the apprentices could gain experience in negotiating for wages. The law also allowed apprentices to purchase their full freedom before apprenticeship was over provided that they could afford to pay the price (often unreasonably high) at which they were valued.

Apprenticeship has been fairly described as a period that was really half-freedom and half-slavery and this shows that although apprentices were no longer slaves and although they had access to the 'limited freedoms' just described, they were in fact still under the legal and physical control of their former masters. Importantly, the law which ended slavery in 1834 made all children of apprentices who were under six years of age, completely and immediately free on 1 August 1834, and the apprentices were given full responsibility for their free children. The experiences of apprentices in the parish of Portland were generally in keeping with the experiences of apprenticeship across the island.

Special magistrates (also known as stipendiary magistrates), who were to oversee the operation of the Apprenticeship system reported that generally, apprentices in Portland did as the law required and turned out to work during the three-quarters of the week. Special Justice Donald Macgregor commented that one year after the abolition of slavery, apprentices in and around Port Antonio displayed "good conduct" and did their work "in the most cheerful and obedient manner." Comments like these were an indication that the apprentices understood their work responsibilities under the law and were aware that punishments would result from a failure to work at the required times. However it is also clear that apprentices knew that outside of the forty and a half hours, their time was theirs to do with as they wished.

Many apprentices in Portland, as elsewhere, decided not to work for the planter during their free time, but chose instead to work on growing their own provisions which they could then sell at the market. The refusal of some apprentices to work for the planter during their free time led to complaints from planters who branded apprentices as lazy. This seems to have been the case in the district of Norwich where Special Magistrate Fyfe reported in 1835 that there was a "general disinclination to labour for hire" (to work for wages during their free time). Fyfe went on to explain to then governor of Jamaica, Lord Sligo, that the apprentices of Norwich district

were not lazy as planters believed, but rather that they were hard at work on their provision grounds during their free time in an effort to supply the weekly demand for ground provisions at the market in Port Antonio. Fyfe reported that apprentices found this activity more profitable than working for the wages offered by the planters in the district.

As elsewhere on the island, apprentices also took the opportunities to buy their complete freedom as well as that of their family members, with men often buying the freedom of their womenfolk before their own. Examples of some apprentices from Portland who were able to obtain their freedom through purchase in 1835 include Maria Crogman, who was a non-praedial apprentice (usually employed in the house) on Passley Garden Estate and who was valued at £ 36.2.3, Jane Wilson, also a house slave on Boston Estate and valued at £47.10, Helen Kenlock and her two children, with a total value of £60 and Kitty Shirley, a field apprentice on Cambridge Estate valued at £44.15.6d. The valuation that was placed on apprentices varied, with men being valued higher than women and the able-bodied being clearly more valuable than the aged and sickly. Additionally, values placed on apprentices earlier on in the apprenticeship period would have been higher, because in 1834 or 1835, the apprentice would have the potential for more years of labour service to the planter who stood to lose more from the loss of this source of labour and therefore valued apprentices higher during the first years of apprenticeship. Towards the end of apprenticeship, values tended to drop as there was less time left for the apprentice to be of service to the planter.

Early in 1838 many apprentices made good use of these opportunities to buy their freedom and these included Samuel Mendes, a field apprentice on Norwich Estate who was at that time valued at £21.1.8 and Elizabeth Jones, a field apprentice on Prospect Estate, who was valued at £15.4.2. Apprentices on Portland estates placed the highest importance on the freedom of their children who had been under six years of age at the time that slavery ended and reports from around the parish showed that apprentices consistently refused to allow their free children to work for planters or to be placed under the planters' control. [31]

Economic Changes in Portland from 1 August 1838 to 1900

In the period which stretched from full emancipation on 1 August 1838 to the end of the nineteenth century, there were three major economic changes of significance in the parish of Portland. The first was the growth of peasant farming in Portland. Continued decline in sugar estates and sugar production, as well as in coffee production, provided opportunities for freed people across the parish to become small-scale owners and cultivators of land in the decades following emancipation. Although the growth of the peasantry in Portland was not as extensive as in other parishes such as Manchester, St Ann, St Mary, Clarendon and St Elizabeth, the spread of small-scale cultivation across the parish was of economic importance, both to the freed people themselves and to the economy of Portland.

In a very important sense, it was the peasant farmers of Portland who helped to keep the struggling coffee industry alive well into the late nineteenth century and who contributed so much to the early development of the banana industry in the parish. The second was the migration of some ex-slaves into the towns where they entered into skilled occupations as artisans and craftsmen or ventured into shop keeping. Emancipation had provided opportunities for many of the freed people to move to towns such as Port Antonio and Buff Bay. This led to the growth of an urban class of black artisans and craftsmen, which helped to shape the economy and society of places like Port Antonio. The third economic change which perhaps had the greatest effect on the fortunes of Portland was the transformation of the previously peasant crops of coconuts and bananas into plantation crops in the later nineteenth century and the entry of Lorenzo Dow Baker and his Boston Fruit Company (later, the United Fruit Company) into the fruit trade, in particular, bananas.

The Growth of Peasant Farming in Portland

Access to land meant many things to the formerly enslaved in Portland. For some persons, owning land could mean some degree of economic independence from estate labour and the ability to take care of their families' needs through the sale of provisions grown on the land. Land ownership also meant having a home and security of tenure free from the threat of high rentals and evictions. For those who acquired sufficient land to meet the property qualifications

for voting, it also meant empowerment to the extent that for the first time, black voters could influence the outcomes of elections to the parish vestry or to the House of Assembly.

Unlike other parishes such as Trelawny, where the efforts of the freed people to acquire land were greatly assisted by missionary groups such as the Baptists, ex-slaves in Portland obtained land mainly through their own efforts. The continued decline of the sugar industry and to a lesser extent, the coffee industry in the years after Emancipation contributed to the ex-slaves' ability to obtain land. As seen earlier, the frequent heavy rainfall that affected Portland was one of the challenges faced by sugar planters there. Since 1832, a total of twelve sugar estates with a combined size of 12,170 acres had ceased sugar production in the parish. In 1836 there were twenty-eight sugar estates in Portland and the numbers continued to dwindle until there were only four remaining (in partial sugar production) in 1854. In fact, the steady decline in sugar production meant that by 1854, Portland had to buy supplies of sugar from other parishes.

Coffee plantations, faced with stiff competition after Emancipation from other territories still using slave labour, were not spared and this led to a large-scale abandonment of coffee plantations in the island between 1832 and 1848. Since 1832, two coffee plantations with a combined size of 1,535 acres had been abandoned in Portland. Old St George, parts of which would later become part of Portland, was doing no better.

Since 1832, eight sugar estates with a total size of 7,225 acres and thirteen coffee properties, with a total size of 7,696 acres had gone out of production. Both sugar and coffee planters, faced with financial losses, were willing to sell marginal or back lands, usually in the hillier areas of estates, to ex-slaves. Many of these planters hoped that by doing so, they would still have a pool of workers living nearby who would be willing to provide labour for the variety of crops to which most estates turned after the decline of their main crop.

By 1844 in Portland, there were 230 small settlements under ten acres (ex-slaves usually owned between two to nine acres) and by that same year, there were 420 small settlements in old St George. This was just the beginning of the spread of small settlement farming, with its focus on the cultivation of ground provisions. By 1880, the production of peasant crops had vastly

outstripped the traditional sugar and coffee as Portland then had only 1,132 acres under sugar cane, 1,408 acres under coffee and 4,141 acres in ground provisions.

While the freed people had been enslaved, they had become accustomed to growing a variety of provisions on the "mountain lands" (hillier back lands) of estates, and it was in the hilly regions of the parish that most of Portland's black peasants acquired small amounts of land. Swithin Wilmot has highlighted some important examples of locations in Portland where the freed people established themselves as cultivators on small holdings of their own, and these included the lands bordering the southern interior road, leading from Port Antonio to Fellowship, where there were many ex-slave settlements near to Good Hope Estate on lands up to five acres per person.

Among the peasant cultivators who owned land in this area were William Oakley (who was also a mason), who owned five acres, John Steel (a labourer) who also owned about five acres and Nicholas Williams, also a labourer, who owned five acres. Peasant settlements under ten acres also sprung up in the Rio Grande Valley and in the case of old St George, in the Buff Bay River Valley, both of which, because of their fertility, were well suited to provision growing. Peasant settlements also extended into the mountainous areas to the south of Port Antonio. In the mountainous district of Islington, located about sixteen miles to the south-east of Port Antonio near to Castle of Comfort and Priestman's River Estates, freed people acquired small holdings of about three acres each. Ex-slaves also established extensive farming settlements high in the mountains overlooking the Rio Grande Valley at Bourbon, Rural Hill, Williamsburgh, Cedar Valley, Belle Castle and Happy Grove. Some of the freed people in Portland were economically better off than others and were able to purchase more land than the typical peasants who tended to own less than ten acres, and this group often enjoyed a higher standing in the society.

Examples include W.T. Bryan, who owned ten acres at River View, which overlooked Port Antonio and who was also sexton of the Anglican Church in Port Antonio. During the Apprenticeship period, Alexander Clachar was an apprentice on Seaman's Valley Estate and by 1845, he was able to own twelve acres of land at John's Hall which he later renamed Prosperity

Mount. In 1859, Clachar gained the distinction of becoming one of only three Head Constables in Portland. Once an apprentice on Golden Vale Estate, John Mitchell was able to buy twenty five acres of land at Shady Grove by 1845. A former slave on Bog Estate, Bryan West purchased twelve acres at Prospect in 1842 and also owned land on Titchfield Hill. He became a constable in the parish in 1859.[32]

Peasant farmers in Portland continued to cultivate provision crops, such as yams, cocos, sweet potatoes and other root crops, which had been traditionally grown during slavery. They also grew additional crops, such as plantains, breadfruit, callaloo, pimento, ginger, corn and fruits, including coconuts and bananas. Before banana became a plantation crop in the later nineteenth century under the influence of Lorenzo Dow Baker, it was grown extensively by the peasant farmers of Portland, and bananas were then regarded as a peasant crop. It was peasant labour which produced several of the island's export crops at this time, thereby contributing to the growth and diversification of Jamaica's economy.

After 1838, Portland's smallholders were important in keeping the coffee industry alive well into the late nineteenth century. They grew coffee for home consumption as well as for export. Between 1866 and 1900, two thirds of the total coffee exports were produced by peasants from around the island, including Portland. By 1900, small settlers were the main producers of coffee in Portland, as well as in the three other parishes of Manchester, Clarendon and St Andrew. Through small farming, the peasants of Portland were able to improve their families' standard of living and supply the demand for provision crops in the parish. A great deal of their foodstuff was sold by peasants at the Port Antonio market but many peasant farmers also sold their provisions to shopkeepers in Port Antonio, especially to Jewish shopkeepers such as William Abrahams and his brother, Arthur (who was based in Kingston but kept an interest in the retail shop which William operated in Port Antonio).

William Abrahams had a retail shop in the town, selling dry goods, liquor and provisions, which he bought from the Portland peasant farmers, who had a reliable outlet for their goods at William's shop. Portland's peasant farmers also significantly contributed to a thriving internal trade in provisions between Portland and other parishes as far away as Kingston and as far west

as St James, Westmoreland and Trelawny, which all had a steady demand for provisions as these parishes were mainly sugar producers. A great deal of the inter-parish trade of Portland's provisions was taken by boat to distant parishes and this is seen in the example of William's brother, Arthur Abrahams, who facilitated the speedy transport of provisions from Port Antonio to Kingston on the boat, the *Cedar*. [33]

The Expansion of Occupations outside of Peasant Farming: Mining, Shopkeepers, Artisans and Craftsmen in the Towns and Villages of Portland, 1838-1900

After Emancipation, freed people who did not wish to remain in agricultural occupations had a few alternatives available to them, and most of these alternatives existed in the towns or villages of the parish. This resulted over time in some movement of the population away from rural areas of the parish into the towns and villages, such as Port Antonio, Buff Bay, St Margaret's Bay, Hope Bay, Long Bay and Manchioneal. Alternatives to agricultural occupations in Portland after 1838 included limited employment in the mining operations of the *Rio Grande Copper Mine* and urban alternatives, such as the skilled trades and crafts, petty trade and shop keeping, unskilled town labour, especially in port towns such as Port Antonio where there was more expansion and more demand for unskilled labour. This demand for unskilled labour intensified later in the nineteenth century when the export trade in bananas became big business in Port Antonio Buff Bay and other collecting points in Portland's coastal villages.

Copper Mining in Portland: The Rio Grande Copper Mine Company

During the 1840s and the 1850s, there was a great deal of interest in the possibilities of copper mining in parts of Jamaica, and the colonial government acted quickly to grant licenses to companies, foreign and local, which were prepared to invest capital into this activity. In 1851, a wave of prospecting fever occurred and by 1857, there were four copper mining companies operating in Jamaica, one in Clarendon, two in St Andrew and one in Portland. In 1853, brothers Arthur and William Abrahams, together with Christopher Walters, a coloured member of the

House of Assembly and Charles Lake, the stipendiary magistrate for Portland, were granted a license to conduct exclusive copper mining operations on four properties in Portland. These were Non-Such, located to the south-east of Port Antonio, Bourbon, Red Hills and Fruitful Vale, located to the south-west of Port Antonio. The company was named the *Rio Grande Copper Mine Company*, and it had a capital investment of £ 60,000. In 1853 approximately fifty people were employed at its mining locations and labour was enticed by the fact that the company paid wages which were fifty percent higher than those received by workers on Portland's declining sugar estates.

Urban Occupations: Skilled Trades, Crafts and Shop keeping

During slavery, both in the towns and on the estates, white and coloured master craftsmen were given control over slaves who provided the labour required and at the same time, were trained in the basic skills of the craft or trade. Therefore it was not surprising that after Emancipation, freed people who had been so trained moved towards towns such as Port Antonio and Buff Bay in search of opportunities to practice their craft or skill. These included carpenters, bricklayers, masons, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths and shipwrights (persons skilled in repairing boats and ships). This last occupation was particularly important in port towns such as Port Antonio which had a bustling trade by sea. Some freed blacks who moved into these occupations by the 1840s included Philip Henry James, who was a carpenter and also went into the retail trade in liquor in Port Antonio; carpenter, Joseph Teasdale; and William Oakley, who was a mason. A few better-off freedmen were able to venture into occupations which were usually controlled by coloured and Jewish persons in the towns.

An interesting example of this was Lord Nelson, who was the "hot-house" doctor while he had been a slave on Bog Estate (to the west of Port Antonio). Under slavery, the "hot house" was a room on the estate where sick slaves were sent. Hot house doctors did not usually have any medical training but were expected to attend to the sick slaves as best as they could, perhaps with herbal treatments. After Emancipation, Nelson relocated to Port Antonio where he operated a dispensary. Although the retail trade and shop-keeping were dominated by Jewish and coloured persons up to the early post-slavery period, freed blacks gradually moved into

these enterprises as small shop-keepers or as workers in these shops and in the larger stores, especially in Port Antonio.

As the nineteenth century wore on, more blacks became operators of shops in Port Antonio, Buff Bay, St Margaret's Bay, Hope Bay, Long Bay and Manchioneal. Freed blacks also provided unskilled labour, working wherever they were needed in the towns and villages while others performed domestic service as household helpers, cooks and nannies for the better-off residents of Port Antonio in particular. As will be seen in the following sections, one of the spin-off effects of the banana boom of the late nineteenth century was an increase in lodging houses and the first hotel in Port Antonio, the Titchfield. Opportunities for skilled and unskilled workers increased as a result.[34]

The Late Nineteenth-Century Boom in the Banana Trade and its Effects on Portland up to the Early Twentieth Century

Between 1865 and the end of the nineteenth century, there was a dramatic shift in the importance of Jamaica's exports, and this had great significance for the island in general and for the parish of Portland in particular. In 1865, the traditional crops of sugar, rum and coffee dominated Jamaica's export trade, amounting in that year to more than two-thirds of the island's earnings from exports. In sharp contrast in 1865, non-plantation crops (grown by small holders) of pimento, ginger and fruit (especially bananas) accounted for a mere one-eighth of Jamaica's earnings from exports.

By the end of the nineteenth century into the first three years of the twentieth, the picture had dramatically changed. Between 1898 and 1899, fruit, especially bananas, had become Jamaica's most important export, amounting to 41.4% of the total value of all the island's exports. By 1903, fruit accounted for 56 percent of Jamaica's exports and of these fruits, bananas were responsible for half this total. In a sharp reversal of earlier fortunes, sugar and rum had dropped to only one-seventh of Jamaica's products and together, sugar and rum were worth only a quarter of the value of bananas.

There was also a dramatic shift in the overseas markets between 1865 and the end of the century as Britain had been Jamaica's most important market in 1865. By the end of the century into the early years of the twentieth, the United States of America had become Jamaica's most important trading partner and market. Both the success of the banana trade and the dominant position of the United States in the island's trade were by far, the most significant economic transformation in the late nineteenth-century history of Portland, with far reaching effects on many areas of life in the parish.

In seeking to explain the tremendous success of the banana industry in Portland in the late nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries, sources often emphasize the role of Lorenzo Dow Baker and his Boston Fruit Company (later United Fruit Company). While he and his company played a significant role, as will be seen in this discussion, the fact remains that the features of the parish and the small cultivators of Portland were fundamental to this success.

In this story of the success of the banana trade, three of Jamaica's parishes took centre-stage. These were the eastern parishes of St Mary, St Thomas and Portland, the last being the most successful of the banana producing parishes in Jamaica at that time. Portland's soil, climate and superior port facilities contributed to its huge success in banana cultivation. Fertile black alluvial soil (formed when rivers flow over the plains and valleys), which was present throughout Portland, but especially in the Rio Grande Valley and the Buff Bay River Valley, was the best soil type for banana cultivation and very productive for all agricultural activity. Bananas also have a great water/rainfall requirement, and the fact that Portland is home to much of the Blue Mountain Range, which attracted more annual rainfall than any other parish in the island, made conditions just right for successful banana cultivation. Moreover, because bananas become over ripe and spoil very quickly, the fruit must reach its shipping destination speedily and Port Antonio's excellent twin harbours. as well as loading wharves at the other coastal locations of Buff Bay, Orange Bay, Hope Bay, St Margaret's Bay and Manchioneal, facilitated this process. Port Antonio's superiority compared to ports in the other banana parishes is seen in the fact that by the early twentieth century, Port Antonio was clearing ninety-two ships for every twenty cleared at the other parish ports.

Portland's small holding class of peasant cultivators were the backbone of the early banana industry, and they remained critical to its success even when bananas became more of a plantation crop than a peasant crop towards the end of the nineteenth century. Bananas had always been a staple of the peasants' diet and the early popular type of banana, the *Gros Michel* (which was brought to Jamaica from Martinique around 1835), had been cultivated extensively by Portland peasants for the domestic market in the early post-slavery period. Even before the export of bananas started, the successful cultivation for the local market meant that the small cultivators had made an important contribution by making the fruit a popular one and by showing that bananas could be cultivated extensively in the climate and soil of Portland. In this sense they helped to highlight the possibilities of bananas to the persons who first developed an interest in exporting the fruit.

The change from growing bananas exclusively for local sale to also cultivating the fruit for export began in the late 1860s and early 1870s, even before Lorenzo Dow Baker showed an interest in the trade. A few North American shippers, among them, George Busch, a schooner captain, joined forces with two Port Antonio merchants to buy fruit from Portland peasants and they began shipping bananas to the United States at this time. Small cultivators brought the bunches of bananas down from the hills to ports like Port Antonio where the fruit was sold to these early exporters first at six pence per bunch, then by 1871, at a shilling per bunch. By 1875, the price had doubled to two shillings a bunch. In these early days of the banana trade, peasant farmers controlled the production of the fruit, supplying eighty per cent of the bananas exported to the United States. Even in this early period, Portland was by far the largest producer of bananas for export and large numbers of small holders (around 2,880) owning less than ten acres each were the backbone of the trade. By 1887, banana production in the parish was far greater than the production of ground provisions.

However, the explanation of how bananas became and remained Portland's most important export for almost fifty years lies in the entry of Lorenzo Dow Baker and his Boston Fruit Company into the fruit trade in the late 1870s into the early 1880s (in 1899 Boston Fruit Company was merged with twelve other firms to form the United Fruit Company). More than

any of his competitors, Baker and his associates were able to overcome challenges of successful production of bananas for export, and by the 1890s, Baker controlled all Jamaican bananas going to the U.S. market. Bananas, once cut, immediately begin to ripen and, therefore had to be transported quickly to the port of export and to its final destination in the United States. Baker resolved this problem partly by shipping all bananas in a fleet of much faster, specially designed and well-ventilated steamships by the end of the 1880s.

Speedy delivery to Port Antonio was also achieved by Baker, who increasingly, between 1882 and 1888, bought former sugar estates in or close to Port Antonio (discussed shortly) and converted them into banana plantations. Many Portland owners of former sugar estates on the flat coastal areas also converted to bananas and fruit from these locations arrived at Port Antonio much faster than those being brought down from Portland's hills by peasant cultivators. By the late 1880s into the early 1890s, bananas had made the transition from being exclusively a small holder crop to being a plantation product.

Bananas once cut also had to be handled carefully to avoid bruising, which appeared on the banana peel as black marks which made the fruit unsuited for sale. Baker overcame this challenge by insisting that peasant producers (and other suppliers) transport the bananas to the shipping ports, forcing them to shoulder the responsibility for losses when damaged fruit was rejected and by instructing his agents to carefully select the fruit and dictate the prices offered to the farmers. By these measures and more, Baker (who re-located residence with his family to Port Antonio) played a major part in the tremendous success of the banana trade.

For almost fifty years, Port Antonio came to be closely identified with the prosperity of Jamaica's green gold (banana industry) and the banana empire, first of Boston Fruit Company and then of United Fruit Company. In this process, the banana trade changed life in Portland in several important ways, some beneficial, but some not and altered the fortunes of Portland's peasantry, who had for so long been the quiet giants behind the banana trade. These effects will now be examined.[35]

The Effects of the Banana Trade on Portland

The Best of Times and the Worst of Times for Small Cultivators of Bananas

Peasant farmers in Portland at first benefitted, but later suffered as a result of the expansion of the banana industry. As seen earlier, before bananas made the change to being mainly an estate crop, it was the small cultivators in Portland who grew most of the bananas produced by the parish and who allowed Portland to become the largest producer of export bananas on the island. As a result, peasant farmers made considerable economic gains and this was seen in the number of accounts opened by small depositors (mainly peasants) and the increase in the amount of money being deposited in the Government Savings Bank in Port Antonio, the centre of the banana trade in Portland. The number of persons opening savings accounts in the bank increased from 238 in 1880 to 778 in 1889, and the total amount of their savings rose from £5,000 in 1880 to £10,155 in 1889. However as seen earlier, the need to get the bananas to the point of export (Port Antonio) quickly meant that shippers came to favour those growers who had banana properties in close proximity to Port Antonio. By the 1890s, these growers (including Boston Fruit Company and United Fruit Company) were the owners of large properties on the flat, coastal areas of Portland, properties which at an earlier period had been successful sugar estates.

In these circumstances, peasant cultivators whose lands were located for the most part in the hills of Portland were at a distinct disadvantage in the transporting of their bananas over great distances. Peasant cultivators living high up in the hills of Portland were alerted to news of the arrival of a banana ship in Port Antonio by the blowing of the conch shell, the sound of which travelled far and wide into Portland's hills. This set in motion a hectic pace of activity as peasants rushed to get their crops ready for transport. Small cultivators carefully wrapped each bunch in dried banana leaves and sometimes forming a human chain, walked down to the banana wharf with bunches of bananas on their heads. Sometimes the bunches were loaded on to mules while other groups of peasants placed as many as thirty to forty bunches on carts drawn by mules or donkeys. These carts were called *wains* in those days and *Wain Road,* which leads from the hills into Port Antonio is a constant reminder of this journey.

Many of these peasants had to travel distances as far as thirty miles or more over generally poor roads to get their bananas to the wharf. Once at their destination, peasants stood to lose as their bananas could be rejected by the agents on the basis of being bruised during the journey or being over ripe. If the bananas were purchased by the agents at the wharf, peasants had no choice but to accept the prices dictated by the agents.

One possibility for improving the sales made by peasant cultivators was for them to either buy or rent lands on the flat coastal areas near to Port Antonio, but the very prosperity of the banana trade meant that peasants lost out to plantation owners in the drive to acquire more banana lands. Fuelled by the massive demand for more land, the prices of land soared out of the reach of peasant cultivators and made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Portland peasants to buy or rent additional land on which to grow bananas. By the end of the nineteenth century, as seen below, the dominant position which peasants had held in the early banana market was no more and by that time, the main players in the ownership of banana lands were the Boston Fruit Company, later the United Fruit Company and a collection of wealthy merchants and former sugar planters.

Over the years, nature also dealt a severe blow to peasant producers of bananas for export. Although Portland's soil and climate were so suitable for banana cultivation, the parish's location on Jamaica's north-east coast made it especially vulnerable to storms and hurricanes blowing on to the island from the east and even the effect of strong winds could cause losses before bananas could be harvested. Portland felt the onslaught of hurricanes repeatedly, but those of 1880, 1886, 1889, 1899 and 1903 proved devastating to banana fields. In this respect, small cultivators suffered more because unlike the larger growers, peasants lacked sufficient capital resources to keep replenishing their banana fields each time they suffered damage or were destroyed by nature's force.

From Peasant Plots to Banana Plantations

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, as seen above, peasant dominance in the cultivation of bananas for export was no more as banana cultivation for export became the business of the large plantations. This transition was made clear from the fact that whereas in

1879, there was only one banana plantation near to Port Antonio, by the early 1890s, there were more than one hundred banana plantations in the parish. Baker's Boston Fruit Company acquired many former sugar estates in Portland and transformed them into major banana producing plantations. Although bananas were the main crop grown on these properties, coconuts were also grown to a lesser extent for the export market in fruits.

Besides its banana properties in or near the principal shipping port of Port Antonio, the company owned banana properties in every one of its shipping outlets in Portland, including Buff Bay, Orange Bay, Hope Bay, St Margaret's Bay, Blue Hole and Manchioneal. By 1898, Baker's banana properties in Portland included Boston; Bound Brook (formerly Bog Estate) in Port Antonio, which he bought in 1882; Elysium, Fellowship (today, the entire district of Fellowship is famous for its banana production); Golden Vale, with its thirty-five hundred acres purchased in 1884; Hermitage, a few miles west of Port Antonio; Kildare, Paradise, Prospect, Red Hazel, Seaman's Valley, Stanton, Tom's Hope, Unity Valley and Williamsfield, a twelve-hundred acre property near Port Antonio and Windsor Plantation.

Ironically, the soaring price of lands in Portland had forced many peasants to become tenants on Baker's properties or on other banana plantations, and one example of this was Bound Brook, where rentals from tenants provided Baker with more income than the sale of the bananas grown by the tenants on Bound Brook. By 1910, United Fruit Company had added more properties to these, including Cold Harbour, Spring Garden, Chipstowe, Harmony Hill and Ythansidg.

In addition to the American banana interests, Portlanders who were former owners of sugar estates, converted their properties into profitable banana plantations and examples included Buff Bay River Estate, owned in 1898 by R.L. Benbow and Burlington Estate, which was famous for being the last sugar estate in operation in the parish up to 1898 and converted to banana cultivation in that same year by its owner, Henry Cork. Other properties owned by Portlanders and brought under banana cultivation by 1898 included Caenwood, Hart Hill, Hector's River, Hope, Lennox, Little Spring Garden, Low Layton, Mid Layton, Orange Vale, Shrewsbury, Snow Hill, Terra Nova, White River and Windsor Castle. By 1910, as the banana trade expanded even

more under the influence of the United Fruit Company, these banana properties were still in operation, although there were sometimes changes in ownership. By that year, many more properties were converted into banana plantations, including Endeavour, Rural Vale, Darlingford, Fair Prospect, Hartford, Muirton, Hopewell, Layton Valley, Green Vale, Pleasant Hill, Anchovy and Woodstock Plantations.[36]

How the Banana Boom Affected the Population of Portland

The late nineteenth-century prosperity in the banana export trade led to an increase in the population of Portland, through the movement of people from other parishes to Portland (internal migration), through the importation of East Indian indentured workers to work on the banana plantations and through the influx of Americans connected with the business of Boston Fruit Company and later, the United Fruit Company. In the early period after Emancipation, there was considerable internal migration from parish to parish as the freed people chose to relocate to parishes where non-estate land was most available and where possibilities for employment were greater.

Portland did not attract many freed people from outside the parish in these early years because there was no abundance of lands for peasant settlement and ex-slaves moved in greater numbers to parishes such as St Elizabeth, Manchester and St Ann because land was most available there. Unlike sugar parishes, such as Trelawney and St Thomas-in-the-East, Portland's coastal sugar estates did not require additional labour from outside the parish.

However, the prosperity of Portland's banana trade made the parish much more attractive to persons seeking employment. Between 1861 and 1871, there was a temporary increase in migration from other parishes to Portland because the export trade in bananas during these years meant a greater demand for labour both on the banana plantations and at the wharves. As the export trade grew larger in the 1880s and 1890s, the internal migration from other parishes into Portland increased significantly and this was also true of the other major banana producing parish of St Mary. Between 1891 and 1911, the eastern parishes of Portland and St Mary had the greatest rates of growth in the movement of people into these parishes. By

contrast, the western parishes and Manchester, lacking the attraction of the boom in bananas, saw very little internal migration at that time.

According to the 1881 census, Portland's population stood at 28, 901 and the 1891 census showed that the population had increased to 31, 998 persons. Port Antonio, the bustling centre of the banana trade, saw a population increase from 1,305 in 1880 to approximately 2,000 by 1890. This figure would have included the Americans who were connected to Baker's business interests in the parish. In 1871, in the early years of the fruit trade, American residents in Port Antonio numbered 246 and by 1881, Americans living in the town (mainly on the Titchfield Peninsula) had increased to 309. By 1891, there were 363 Americans living in Port Antonio, almost all of them connected to the banana trade.

The declining sugar industry in Portland after Emancipation had meant that, unlike the parishes where the sugar industry remained dominant after Emancipation, Portland did not import indentured workers from India to work on the sugar estates in the early post-slavery period. It was therefore the banana trade, not sugar, that brought Indians into the parish in their numbers, and the importation of Indian indentured workers into Portland in the last two decades of the nineteenth century into the early years of the twentieth was done to ensure adequate labour for weeding, pruning and harvesting bananas on the large banana plantations. Importantly, Indentured Indians became the backbone of the labour force on the banana plantations because Portland's small settlers were too busy cultivating their own banana fields.

This importation led not only to an increase of the population, but also made the society more racially diversified, with the presence of these workers from India, some of whom remained in Portland after their contracts were over. Of the 2,745 East Indian workers brought into the island between 1899 and 1906, virtually all were put to work on the banana plantations of Portland and St Mary. Interestingly, there have been East Indian settlements in the community of *Tom's Hope* in the parish since the late nineteenth century, when Lorenzo Baker owned a

banana plantation at Tom's Hope.

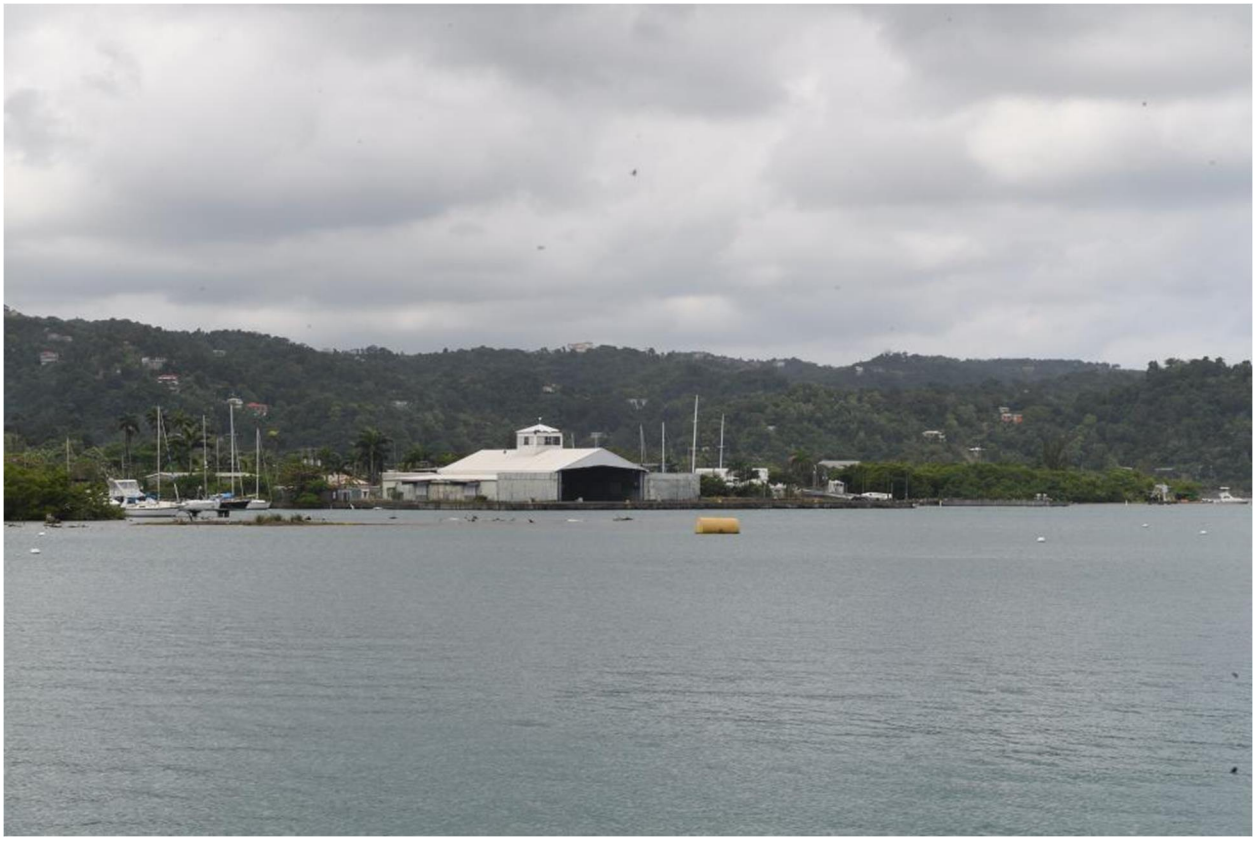
East Indian Girls in Jamaican Dresses, 1897. Courtesy of The National library of Jamaica

Today, descendants of the original immigrants from India still live in Tom's Hope and one such example is Vincent Slimfort (born in 1943 under his Indian name, Sital-Singh), who, along with his wife, Joanna, manage a famous organic farm. An interesting but small-scale change in the post-slavery population of Portland occurred when Scottish immigrants were brought in to settle the mountainous areas of the parish after Emancipation. Unlike the Indians, the arrival of a few Scots in the parish was not in response to the labour needs of banana plantations. Rather, the government wanted to have more European townships established in the mountainous districts after Emancipation in an effort to exercise what they argued was a 'civilising influence' on the freed people. The plan was to have one European township in each county (such as the German settlement at Seaford Town). In the county of Surrey, Scottish immigrants were brought to *Altamont* in the mountains of Portland near to Moore Town. In fact, Moore Town Maroons were hired to plant crops for the families to help them settle. After only a few years, many of these Scottish immigrants died from diseases and the few remaining (mainly women and children) went to live in nearby Moore Town. Over time, they gradually integrated into the Maroon group and today, names such as Brodie, Hepburn, Lumsden, Allan and Stevenson still reflect this Scottish Influence. [37]

Effects of the Banana Trade on Infrastructure and Commercial Activities in Portland

Between 1880 and the end of the nineteenth century, the prosperity of the banana export trade resulted in improvements in infrastructure and commercial facilities in those parts of Portland which were directly connected to the fruit trade. As Port Antonio was the headquarters and main port of the trade, these changes were most evident there. Described as a "little sleepy town" in 1880, Port Antonio was transformed over the rest of the nineteenth into the early twentieth century with a bustle of activity which saw the addition of new wharves by Boston Fruit Company and later the United Fruit Company to cater to the expansion in both the export and import trade. Perhaps the most important and famous of these wharves was the Bound Brook Wharf in Port Antonio, which was the largest and busiest banana loading pier in

Portland.



A View of Bound Brook Wharf, Port Antonio Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Loading Bananas, Port Antonio. Courtesy of The National library of Jamaica

The feverish activities surrounding banana loading at Bound Brook inspired Harry Belafonte's *Banana Boat Song,* which celebrated the hard work of the tally men (persons who counted off the bunches of bananas so that the people could get paid per bunch) and the men and women who loaded the bananas. The banana boom also resulted in the opening of more shops and stores to accommodate the increase in business and shopping, which resulted from the increased prosperity and the influx of American business people and visitors to the town.

Efforts by the government to build bridges over dangerous rivers and also to widen roads had been ongoing before the banana boom, but in the last years of the nineteenth century, these efforts were stepped up in the north-eastern parishes of St Mary and Portland in order to ensure speedy and efficient transportation of bananas and other fruits to the ports.

Improvements were not limited to Port Antonio. Roads and bridges which allowed access to Port Antonio, as well as to the other towns and villages which were trans-shipment locations for the fruit trade, were also improved.

Examples of improvements to roads and bridges underway by 1888 included the government's provision of £74 to raise, widen and secure the road through Williamsfield and the stretch of road leading into Port Antonio. The entire Buff Bay River Valley was important to banana cultivation and it was critical to improve speedy access to Buff Bay from which bananas were transported to Port Antonio. Therefore, the road from Hope Bay (another important collection point for the banana trade) to Buff Bay was improved, and a bridge was built over the Quaco River, both at a cost to the government of £205. The road leading from Spring Garden into Buff Bay was also widened at a cost of £300.

The Iron Bridge Constructed over the Mabess River in Skibo. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Dangerously flooded rivers could also impede transportation, so an iron bridge was constructed over the Mabess River in Skibo at a cost of approximately £533, while a bridge was also erected over the Swift River, ensuring that both people and bananas could be taken safely to Hope Bay. This cost the government £160. On 26 May 1892, at the height of the banana export trade, the 480 feet-long iron bridge over the Rio Grande River was declared open by Governor H.A. Blake in a gala affair attended by an estimated five thousand people. The Buff Bay River, the Spanish River and the White River were also bridged.

As seen in an earlier discussion on improvements in the town of Titchfield, railway lines were extended from Kingston to Port Antonio in 1896, and the Port Antonio Railway Station built in that same year. This extension of the railway service in the height of the banana boom was directly influenced by the need to transport bananas quickly from places like Bog Walk, Hope Bay and Buff Bay to Port Antonio. By 1910, the Port Antonio line ran daily except on Sundays and on its journey from Kingston, the train passed through Gregory Park, Grange Lane, Spanish Town, Bog Walk, Riversdale, Troja, Richmond, Albany and Annotto Bay, its last stop before entering the parish of Portland. Once it left Annotto Bay in St Mary, the train connected all of Portland's vital links in the banana trade, beginning with Buff Bay and then moving on to

Orange Bay with its historic railway station.

Port Antonio Railway Station Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Orange Bay Railway Station, built in 1896, is a fine example of Jamaican Georgian architecture. The station master's quarters, built entirely of wood, were located above the entrance to the station. Because of its historical significance, Orange Bay Railway Station has been declared a Protected Heritage Site in the parish by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.

From Orange Bay, the train went on to Hope Bay, then St Margaret's Bay and terminated at Port Antonio, the headquarters and main port of the banana trade. The banana trade brought new life and bustling commercial activity as wharves were constructed by the Boston Fruit Company and later the United Fruit Company in Buff Bay, Hope Bay, St Margaret's Bay, Orange Bay, Manchioneal and of course in Port Antonio (see section on towns in Portland for more improvements resulting from the banana trade). [38]

Port Antonio's streets, especially West Street, had been a busy centre of commercial activity before the beginning of the banana export trade, being home to a variety of shops, stores, dispensaries and other establishments (see earlier section on towns in Portland). However, as a result of the large presence of Lorenzo Dow Baker, his Boston Fruit Company and later with the United Fruit Company, along with the growing number of Americans (businessmen connected to the trade as well as tourists) in the town, commercial activity reached new heights by the 1890s into the early years of the twentieth century. The streets of Port Antonio were abuzz with activity as more stores, shops and businesses sprang up, some of these being directly funded and operated by United Fruit Company, while others were established in response to the greater prosperity brought by the banana boom. With the presence of so many Americans, stores operated by United Fruit Company were opened to cater to their every need.

At the same time, the prosperity resulting from the trade increased the buying power of some Portlanders who were only too anxious to spend their money on some of the material comforts available in the stores. Operated by United Fruit Company, the *United Stores* located at the corner of West Street and William Street was, by 1910, Port Antonio's nearest thing to the modern department store, providing a variety of services to their growing American customers as well as to all others who could afford them. United Stores provided what they advertised as the finest tailoring services for discerning gentlemen of taste. They were also known for selling the latest and most fashionable clothing for women (brought down from Boston of course). Besides this, United Stores were milliners (persons who were skilled in the fine art of hat-making), who also sold hats for ladies and gentlemen, hosiers (providers of women's stockings) and carried men's and women's gloves for that fashionable finishing touch. Boots and shoes, as well as Aertex cellular underwear for men, were also popular items. Aertex was the name of the company in England which manufactured the underwear, but Aertex also became the brand name of the loosely woven cotton material used to make the underwear which was supposed to keep the customer cool where it mattered. In the area of home furnishings, United Stores was also famous for their furniture, linen and woollen drapery.

In order to keep up with the increased demand for consumer items which resulted from the prosperity of the banana trade, more shops and specialty stores were also opened by local business people in the town. The store operated by D.L. Scott in Market Square sold sporting goods, gentlemen's clothing and hats and also provided tailoring services. More retail grocery stores were opened by 1910, such as that operated by C.E. Johnson in Port Antonio. By 1910, Port Antonio had its own ice company, the *Port Antonio Ice Company* ,and no doubt as a result of the increased American influence in the town, the *Popular Aerated Water Company* opened operations in Port Antonio, providing all with the early version of what we know as sodas today, but which were called aerated water in those days.

The hectic pace of the banana export trade meant greater risks for agents and shippers, and so with the expansion of the trade, there came an increased need for shipping and freight insurance. In the heyday of sugar, shipping and insurance companies were usually based in Britain, but with the American dominance in the fruit trade, it was necessary to have insurance agents, such as H. Cook, representing American insurance companies, based in Port Antonio. The consumer culture that was growing in the town was also seen in the presence of jewellery stores such as that operated by S.J. Bonitto at no. 3 West Street. Besides being a jeweller and a watchmaker, Bonitto was also (in his words) a graduate optician. As a direct result of the expanding fruit trade, there was an increased need for wharfingers (persons who managed the wharves) in Port Antonio, as well as at all of the other banana ports in the parish. In Port Antonio, Dyer, Gideon and Company were the main wharfingers, but they were also produce merchants, specifically fruit dealers, who most likely worked in conjunction with United Fruit Company rather than as competitors. [39]

The Banana Trade and the Titchfield Hotel: The Beginnings of Tourism in Port Antonio

The history of the banana export trade in Portland and the story of the late nineteenth-century beginnings of tourism in Port Antonio are closely connected. Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker, who is credited for contributing so much to the success of the banana export trade, also played a significant role in the start of early tourism in Port Antonio. In his own way, he promoted Port

Antonio to his American friends and associates, encouraging them to visit the island and in particular to experience the beauty of places connected to his banana empire.

Baker's Boston Fruit Company also played a huge role in transporting the early tourists to Port Antonio. His line of six steamships which sailed between Boston and Port Antonio twice a week were mainly for the carrying of cargoes of bananas and other fruit, but Baker ensured that the available space on his ships were filled by Americans who wished to visit the banana destinations. Each steamer had passenger accommodations for twelve people and a round trip from Boston to Jamaica and back cost $50 and a one-way trip either way cost $30.

Perhaps Baker's most important contribution to the start-up of early tourism in Port Antonio was the construction of the famous Titchfield Hotel, one of the earliest large hotels in Jamaica, built in 1897 by Boston Fruit Company and Lorenzo Dow Baker. With the building of the Titchfield Hotel, Baker and the Boston Fruit Company provided early visitors with what was seen as the best in accommodation and facilities and this made the prospect of visiting the capital port of his banana kingdom a very appealing one. Tourism had arrived in Port Antonio, and by 1890, the parish of Portland had developed a reputation as a very popular destination,

especially for American tourists seeking to escape cold winter temperatures.

Afternoon on the Titchfield Piazza, Midwinter. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

As the nineteenth century drew to a close and the twentieth century began, tourist arrivals in the parish expanded to well over 1,000 per year and Port Antonio became the first resort town

on the island.

Bathing at Hotel Titchfield Bathhouses. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Located on the hill, the Titchfield Hotel gave its visitors a commanding view of Port Antonio and its twin harbours. In its long history (it was destroyed by fire in 1969), the hotel was rebuilt quite a few times and went through several modifications by later owners. James H. Stark, a visitor from Boston, described Titchfield in 1898 as being “a novel style of hotel”. The early hotel consisted of a group of cottages at the top of the hill, with a separate, spacious dining room and adjoining kitchen. A large cottage in the centre allowed visitors to relax in what was then termed a “parlour” (equivalent to today’s hotel lobby), and this was completed by a

reading room and baths. The laundry was located in a separate building.

The Grand Titchfield Hotel on the Hill, Port Antonio. Courtesy of The National library of Jamaica

By 1900, United Fruit Company was in charge of the hotel and put additional measures in place to ensure visitor satisfaction. For example, when tourists disembarked in Port Antonio from United Fruit Company's ships, they were met by a representative from the hotel who then took them to Titchfield Hotel by way of the hotel's carriages. Even at this early stage (1900), United

Fruit Company had developed a tour package for its guests.

Rafting on the Rio Grande for Guests at the Titchfield Hotel. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Using hotel carriages booked through the hotel's office, guests were taken at a 'reasonable cost" either to Blue Hole along the eastern coast or further into the parish on a tour of United Fruit Company's banana plantations.

Portland's Blue Hole/ Blue Lagoon. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Blue Hole is an important part of Portland's natural heritage, as the 180 feet deep lagoon is fed by freshwater mineral springs flowing from the forested hills. The depth of the hole explains the blue colour of the water and some of the mineral springs are said to have rejuvenating powers. Portland's Blue Hole falls under the jurisdiction of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Visitors were also sometimes taken to Moore Town. The Hotel's management also encouraged guests to take walking tours of Port Antonio, taking in sights such as the old fort near the hotel and to shop in the town's many stores where attractive clothing was sold. At the end of their walking tour, guests were advised that if they were too tired to take the return climb up the hill, there were carriages or "buses" in the town, which would take them back to the hotel for sixpence or twelve cents per person.

The increase in arrivals of tourists to Portland brought much more business to private operators of private buggies or buses, as they were called then. Buggies ranged in size from a park wagon

for five passengers to a double buggy for two, to a single buggy. These private operators made tours available from Port Antonio to various parts of Portland at costs which depended on the distance from Port Antonio and the size of the buggy being used. Some examples of these tour routes, all originating in Port Antonio, included those to the Rio Grande Bridge, St Margaret's Bay, Hope Bay, Orange Bay, Buff Bay, Golden Vale Plantation, Fellowship, Windsor, Moore Town, Blue Hole, Priestman's River and Manchioneal.

In the social climate of the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth, both race and class discrimination were very much in evidence in the American-controlled tourist trade. So although the wider American presence in the town benefitted some Portlanders, such as the operators of stores, shops and buggies, within the narrow world of the Titchfield Hotel, Baker's policy, which was continued by United Fruit Company, was to import American chefs, waitresses and other hotel workers. As a result, local Portlanders could only hope to get the most menial jobs if any at all.[40]

Churches and Schools in Post-Slavery Nineteenth-Century Portland

Three Christian denominations which were most active in Portland in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth were the Anglicans, the Wesleyan Methodists and the Baptists. The Roman Catholic Church had a very limited presence, starting in the nineteenth century and moving into the twentieth. By 1870, the Roman Catholics had established St George's Church at Avocat, and at that time, Reverend Joseph Dupont of the Society of Jesus (S.J.) was the priest in charge. By 1888, the Catholics had also established the Church of the Resurrection at May River and by 1910, there was also a Catholic church in Port Antonio, St Anthony's, at which Father

F.X. Mulry was the parish priest. This church had been built by the Jesuits in 1901.

St Agnes Catholic Church in Buff Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Although they were not present throughout the parish, the American missionaries of the Society of Friends, Iowa (the Quakers) were active in missionary work and in education, especially among the East Indian population in parts of the parish such as Hector's River, Dover

and Port Antonio beginning in the late nineteenth century (see Schooling in Portland).

Seaside Friends Church in Hector's River, Portland. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Neither the Presbyterians nor the Moravians had much of an impact on Portland. Although the Presbyterians started missions for East Indians in Burlington and Fellowship around 1899, these were later turned over to the Quakers. Afro-Christian religious beliefs and practices (such as Revivalism and Kumina) became a part of the religious culture of the parish and in the late nineteenth into the twentieth centuries, new evangelical groups, especially from the United States, such as the Brethren, the Salvation Army, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of

God (Pentecostal) made their appearance in Portland.

Inside a Revival Church in Buff Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Port Antonio's Seventh Day Adventist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Church of England in Portland

As Jamaica was a British colony, it is hardly surprising that the Church of England or the Anglicans had the greatest presence (numbers of churches) from the outset. The Anglican Church quickly became associated with the white settlers in the early history of the parish. It did no work among the enslaved population as this was frowned upon by the planter class who generally concluded that Christianising slaves would fill their minds with ('dangerous') thoughts of equality. In the post-slavery period, its main goal was to aid in the Christianising and European acculturation of the freed people through religious teaching and education.

After 1870, when the Church of England was disestablished (lost financial support from the British government), it also lost the support of its missionary groups, such as the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Nevertheless, the

Anglicans stepped up their efforts to reach the children of the freed population through its elementary schools, which were increasingly established after 1870 wherever Anglican churches existed. In 1880, when Enos Nuttall became bishop of Jamaica, the Anglican Church attempted more of an outreach to Portland's working class.

As seen in the development of towns in Portland, the Anglican Church was the first to be established in every town and village throughout the parish. Christ Church, the parish church of the capital town of Titchfield/Port Antonio was in existence by 1804 and in Buff Bay, St George's Anglican was the parish church in 1814, when Buff Bay was still a part of the old parish of St George. Although St George's Church in Buff Bay could hold about eight hundred people, by 1870, only about four hundred were in regular attendance. In Hope Bay, the Anglican community was served by St Peter's Anglican, built around 1830, with a capacity of five hundred persons. Anglicanism came to St Margaret's Bay after 1804 in the form of St Stephen's Church which could hold four hundred persons, and in Manchioneal, which was later absorbed into Portland, the cut-stone structure of St Thomas Church served the spiritual needs of the early settlers in that area. An Anglican Church, St Mark's, was also established in Boston and Priestman's Bay, and by 1878 was being served by Reverend D.K. Moodie, the curate at St

Mark's.

St Mark's Anglican Church in Boston/ Priestman's Bay. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Some of the Anglican Ministers who served in the parish in 1839 included Reverend Griffiths, the rector of Christ Church in Port Antonio and Reverend Thomas Trump Tyrell Orgill, curate (assistant to the parish priest) in Port Antonio. Reverend Charles T. May, who was the island curate for St George's Church in Buff Bay in 1839, gave lengthy service in that community, becoming by 1851, the rector of St George's Church, and he kept this position right down to 1865. Reverend J.K. Dunbar served as island curate in Buff Bay at St George's Anglican Church from around 1870 to 1877. Another Anglican minister who gave long service to his community in Portland was Reverend Thomas T. T. Orgill, who was curate in Port Antonio in 1839, island curate in Port Antonio in 1851 and kept this position in 1857 and right through to 1865.

Port Antonio's Christ Church had very active rectors, such as Reverend Joseph Williams (1851-1861) and Reverend William Smith (1865-1878). St Peter's Anglican Church in Hope Bay was

served by the Reverend Thomas Banbury, who started as a curate at the church around 1875 and became rector of the church by 1878, serving until around 1890. By 1890, the Anglican Church had chapels as well as churches in other parts of Portland such as Rural Hill, Boston, Birnam Wood, Orange Bay (St Dunstan's), Comfort Castle (St Luke's), Claverty Cottage (St Paul's), Charles Town and Moore Town, the Church Missionary Society having been very active in these two Maroon communities from quite early.

St Luke's Anglican Church, Comfort Castle. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

St Paul's Anglican Church in Moore Town. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Wesleyan Methodists in Portland

Port Antonio was the first location in Portland where Wesleyan Methodist missionaries became active. The Port Antonio Methodist Church on Harbour Street started as a small chapel in the early nineteenth century, and by 1839, Reverend John Hornby was the minister in charge of the Methodist mission in Port Antonio. In the early post-slavery period, a schoolhouse was built beside the church and both day and Sunday schools were conducted there. By 1851, the Wesleyan Methodists had increased their presence in Port Antonio, with a membership of about three hundred persons attending four places of worship in the town. At that time, Reverend John Vaz headed the Port Antonio ministry until 1857 when Reverend Thomas Raspass took over.

Up to 1857, the Wesleyan Methodists were not present in other parts of Portland. Their influence in the parish was extended by 1861 when a chapel was established in Manchioneal under the care of Reverend Alexander Foote. In that same year, the Port Antonio mission passed to Reverend Daniel Pinnock who remained in charge until 1865. By the time Reverend Pinnock ended his period of service, two more places of worship had been added to the Port Antonio circuit. The Methodists were also increasing their influence in Manchioneal where a second chapel had been built, with Reverend Alexander Foote continuing to lead the ministry there until 1865.

Buff Bay Methodist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

In 1870, the Wesleyan Methodists had churches in Port Antonio with an average attendance of four hundred, Hope Bay and Buff Bay, both with attendance averaging two hundred persons each and Manchioneal (a third chapel had been added), with a total attendance of six hundred under the leadership of Reverend Alexander Smith. By then, Reverend John Duff was the minister in charge of Port Antonio, Hope Bay and Buff Bay. By 1870 too, the Methodists had

expanded their ministry to include Fair Prospect, and Reverend Smith also had charge of that ministry.

Fair Prospect Methodist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Wesleyan Methodists were even more active in the parish, establishing a mission chapel with an average attendance of one hundred in Swift River and building new chapels in Buff Bay and Fair Prospect. One of the most outstanding Wesleyan ministers in Portland and other parts of Jamaica was the Reverend William Baillie, who served as a missionary in Jamaica for over sixty years, arriving in the island in 1887 at age twenty three and worked as a missionary until his death in 1948. As will be seen in the section on schools, the Methodists were also active in providing elementary education, and for this purpose schoolrooms were usually built next to chapels and churches.

The Baptists in Portland

Baptist missionary work got underway first in Buff Bay in the old parish of St George in 1824 but they did not establish a church there until 1834 under the direction of Reverend S. Johns. As happened in other parishes, the Baptists extended their mission work to the enslaved wherever the planters allowed them to do so. Early missionary work was also carried out in the 1830s by Reverend John Kingdom at Belle Castle and Long Bay while in Manchioneal the mission was led by Reverend J. Gibson. Some of the former enslaved members of Baptist missions themselves became preachers and a few of these Native Baptist preachers, as they were known, started their own missions. The earliest of the Native Baptist stations was established in Port Antonio in the 1830s by Reverend Brown.

Buff Bay Baptist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

By 1865, the Baptist mission had a strong presence in Port Antonio, Buff Bay, Belle Castle, Long Bay and Manchioneal. They had also started stations in Bethlehem led by Reverend John J. Porter (who had previously been in Buff Bay) and in Tabernacle and Priestman's River, where Reverend James B. Service was in charge of the mission and chapel. Quakers, Thomas Harvey

and William Brewin, on their tour of Portland in 1866, described Reverend Service as “an energetic black man” sent by the Jamaica Baptist Union to do missionary work in Portland and from their observations, they concluded that he was likely to do well in the establishment of chapels and schoolrooms in Portland. Their expectations of Reverend Service were more than fulfilled as by 1870, a new chapel capable of holding two hundred persons was being built at Tabernacle under his supervision and Service had also established new missions at Fellowship, Hephzibah and Mount Pleasant.

Fellowship Baptist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Five years later, in 1875, Reverend Service was the minister in charge of Port Antonio Baptist Chapel, having worked for more than a decade in the Baptist ministry in Portland. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the Baptists had extended their missions and chapels to even more districts in Portland. By 1889, the Baptists had established a church at St Margaret’s Bay with a capacity of four hundred members and a church at Mount Carmel capable of holding two

hundred persons. Both stations were headed by Reverend R. R. James in 1889.

Hephzibah Baptist Church. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Baptists also extended their mission to Skibo, and Skibo Baptist Church became part of the Buff Bay circuit by 1888. In that same year, new chapels were located at Tranquility and Bethbara under the supervision of Reverend S.W. Thomas, who at that time was also in charge of the Buff Bay Baptist Church and the Buff Bay Circuit. By 1910, missions were introduced at Anchovy and Hector's River.[41]

Schooling in Portland in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

In the immediate aftermath of Emancipation, the British government had established the Negro Education Grant to help with the basic education of the freed people. However, by 1845, these funds had been exhausted and for the most part, the government left the responsibility for educating the freed population up to the church. Therefore, for most of the post-slavery

nineteenth century, efforts to provide education for freed people were closely linked to the activities of the various religious bodies in the island. At first, instruction was provided in the Sunday schools and later the Day schools which were attached to the churches and chapels of the various denominations present in the parish. Because access to formal education for their children was an important goal of the freed people, parents, as well as their children, flocked to these Sunday and Day schools in the early post-slavery period.

However, education in this early period meant an emphasis on religious instruction and the ability to read, learn by heart and recite various scripture passages and the catechism. Learning things by heart did not require persons to understand what they were learning. Gradually, the Day schools added writing and counting, but the emphasis was still on rote learning (learning by heart).

Later in the post-slavery nineteenth century, reports of erratic attendance at the Day schools were fairly frequent and various factors could have explained this. Although attendance at all Sunday and Day schools was at first free of cost, by the 1840s, a standard fee of threepence per week was introduced by all denominations. Some parents found it difficult to pay these fees but rather than keep them out of school altogether, they would rather send them to another school in the parish and hope that things would improve. Because their children's outward appearance was important to parents, they sometimes kept them out of school if their clothes were not up to standard. However, the most common reason given by parents for their children being absent was that they had to help on the peasant farms.

Some persons in the society interpreted absence from school as a sign of laziness and neglect on the part of parents. This was the view of W. Bancroft Espeut, owner of Spring Garden Estate in Portland. He told the Commissioners who were conducting an inquiry into the condition of the juvenile population in 1877 that children were sent to work on his estate from an early age of six years. He also stated that he observed them playing daily along the banks of the Spanish River which ran through his property and that through parents' negligence, children were staying away from school everywhere in his district, but that this was especially noticeable at Buff Bay, Charles Town, Low Layton and Rosehill. Although it was hardly ever put forward as an

explanation for absence from school, Portland's frequent heavy rainfall, resulting in rivers overflowing their banks and the flooding of entire districts must have had an effect on people's ability to get from one place to the other, just as it does today. These conditions would have affected school attendance in the parish.

Elementary Schools in Nineteenth-Century Portland

In the early post-slavery period, the three main denominations operating in Portland, the Anglicans, the Wesleyan Methodists and the Baptists, all introduced Sunday and Day schools in the districts and communities where they established their churches and chapels. In most cases, a schoolroom or a schoolhouse was built either adjoining the church or within very close proximity to the church building. It also followed that the teachers in these Sunday and Day schools were usually members of the denomination to which the churches belonged.

For example, when Baptist minister, Reverend John Kingdom established a mission at Belle Castle and Long Bay in the 1830s (both then a part of St Thomas-in-the-East), he and his wife taught the children in an adjoining schoolroom. Also by way of an example, when the Wesleyan Methodists established four places of worship in the Manchioneal circuit by 1851, they also had two Day schools with a combined total of 111 children in attendance.

Not to be ignored, the Anglican affiliated Church Missionary Society also had Sunday and Day schools operating in their missions in Charles Town and Moore Town. As the century progressed, the church-operated Sunday schools continued, but the Day schools evolved into Elementary schools, which were still for the most part, affiliated with the various denominations. There were a few privately run Elementary schools as well.

By 1870, there were many Elementary schools in Portland, most being church-operated or affiliated. A few examples of these included Belle Castle (Baptist), managed by Reverend H. B. Harris, with 96 children on the record but only 47 attending in that year; Priestman's River (Baptist), managed by Reverend James B. Service, with 47 children on the books and 34 attending; Manchioneal (Methodist), managed by Reverend A.M. Smith, with 111 children on the records, but only 42 in attendance.

The Methodist Church in Port Antonio also had an Elementary school nearby and Reverend John Duff was in charge of the 115 children on record, although only 67 were attending in 1870. Methodists also had an Elementary School in Hope Bay which was attached to the Wesleyan chapel there and the school was also managed by Reverend John Duff. In Priestman's Bay, Nazareth Elementary School was attached to Nazareth Methodist Church. Buff Bay Elementary School, adjacent to the Methodist Church there, had an attendance of 30 out of 49 children registered in 1878.

A few of the many Anglican schools included St Mark's at Boston, run by Reverend T. T. Orgill, with 91 children registered, but only 46 attending, Charles Town, managed by Reverend J.K. Dunbar, with 93 children on the books and 38 in attendance. Other Anglican Elementary schools by 1870 included those at Buff Bay (attached to St George's Church); St Peter's Elementary in Hope Bay (attached to St Peter's Church); as well as schools at Moore Town, Mount Pleasant, Drapers and St Margaret's Bay.

In 1870, the Roman Catholics also had an Elementary school attached to St George's Church at Avocat and this was managed by Reverend James Splaine, with 55 children on record and 26 attending. An interesting departure from the church-operated Elementary schools was the school established and managed by W. Bancroft Espeut on his Spring Garden Estate. His school had 53 students registered and in 1870, 36 students were attending.

Almost twenty years later, by 1889, Elementary schools had spread throughout Portland and those which had existed before were still in operation. Most Elementary schools continued to be associated with a nearby church representing one of the denominations. However, the problem of erratic and falling attendance continued. Anglican Elementary schools were located at Norwich, with 35 of 70 students attending; John's Hall, with less than half the registered students attending; Moore Town, with only 38 out of 162 registered; Maidstone, where 52 out of 77 were attending; and Rock Hall, where 48 out of 69 registered students attended in 1889.

In addition to the other locations of long-standing Anglican Elementary schools, such as St Margaret's Bay, Port Antonio and Hope Bay, Anglican Elementary schools were also in Black Hill, Nonsuch, Fruitful Vale, Drapers, Charles Town, Buff Bay, Comfort Castle, Birnam Wood,

Rural Hill, Manchioneal and Fairfield. Titchfield Free School also had an Elementary division which was managed by Reverend T. Harty, and by 1889, 97 out of 122 boys and 53 out of 65 girls were attending.

By 1889, Wesleyan Methodist Elementary schools were still operating in Buff Bay, with 36 children attending out of a registered number of 64, and in Hope Bay, where the average attendance was 35 out of 79 registered pupils. A Wesleyan Elementary school established at Fair Prospect had a strong enrolment of 150 students in 1889, with an average attendance of 79 children, while their Elementary school at Manchioneal saw 70 students out of a registered number of 136 attending. A Methodist Mission chapel with an Elementary school attached was built in Swift River at this time. Wesleyan Elementary schools in Port Antonio and Priestman's Bay (Nazareth Elementary) were also still in existence.

Between 1890 and 1910, the main Baptist churches throughout Portland all had Elementary schools attached to them and these were located at Port Antonio, Fellowship, St Margaret's Bay, Belle Castle, Tabernacle, Hephzibah, Buff Bay, Mount Carmel, Tranquility, Betbara, Anchovy and Hector's River. In Skibo, where an Elementary school was attached to Skibo Baptist Church, the average attendance was 54 students, out of a registered 85, while at Low Layton, the Baptist Elementary school saw 56 children attending on average out of 107 registered students.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, it was therefore clear that Elementary education, especially that provided by the three main denominations, had spread quite extensively throughout the parish of Portland, with a total of 49 elementary schools in 1890. However, this did not mean that all children in the parish were the beneficiaries of this level of schooling. Using the Census figures for 1881, there were approximately 7,631 children between the ages of five and fifteen years in Portland, and of this number, 4,478 were registered in the Elementary schools, and the average number of children attending these schools was even lower at 2,491.

Industrial Education and Government Model Schools

Although basic elementary schooling was the level of education being offered throughout the parish and the rest of the island, serious efforts were made by the government in the 1870s to introduce industrial training for children, especially directed to children of peasant cultivators and the labouring class. The Eurocentric view was that education for these children should equip them for their station in life, that is, to be suppliers of labour, agricultural workers and skilled artisans, and they should be given this instruction in industrial schools, also known as model schools. Some of the schools were co-educational and girls were taught needlework and domestic skills. These schools were organised and assisted by government funding and students were taught agricultural skills, furniture making and repair skills.

In Portland, industrial education was offered in 1870 at Port Antonio Day School and Training College, which was also known as Port Antonio Model School. From 1870, George Rouse was superintendent of the college and Amos McGann was the work master in charge of skills training for boys while Miss McDonald was the work mistress in charge of the girls. In 1870, there were 58 boys on the books, but only 47 were attending, while there were 38 girls registered, with 23 in attendance. An industrial school was also established at Norwich (Norwich Industrial School), and in 1870, there were 82 students on the books, but only 40 in attendance. By 1877, there were three other government schools in the parish where industrial training was done. These were Port Antonio Barracks, where Reverend Andrew Willis was in charge and Buff Bay River and Charles Town Schools, both of which shared the work master, Edward Walker and the work mistress, Miss J. Wood. As will be seen shortly, when the Quakers established their Missions in Portland, they also provided for industrial training through the school's curriculum.

By the end of the 1870s, it became clear that most of these model schools island wide were not getting as much support as the government desired from Black Jamaicans. They objected to having their children trained for manual labour and argued that they were not sending them to school to learn what they already knew from their everyday experiences, that is, how to

cultivate the soil and how to cook and sew. Generations after Emancipation, they wanted a better life for their children. In spite of the government's offers of incentives such as a reduction in fees and prizes for attendance, gradually the nineteenth-century experiment with industrial training lost support around the island. Nevertheless, aspects of skills training have remained in the curriculum of schools in Jamaica in the twentieth into the twenty-first centuries.

An interesting forerunner of Portland's Passley Gardens Teachers' College may very well have been the Government Training College established in Portland around 1877 for the purpose of training teachers. The college accepted students of all denominations, and males and females between seventeen and twenty one years of age were eligible for admission, provided that they were able to pay the entrance fee of £3, which according to the authorities, was for the purchase of books. The superintendent of the college in 1877 was Reverend Andrew Willis. [42]

Titchfield Free School (later Titchfield High School)

Titchfield High School Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Titchfield, which was Portland's first and only nineteenth-century secondary school, was initially known as Titchfield Free School and later became known as Titchfield High School. In 2016, the school celebrated two hundred and thirty years of existence, and the institution is distinguished by its rich history and record of service to the educational needs of so many Portlanders and others who have been the beneficiaries of the Titchfield experience.

The Creation of the Titchfield Trust and the Trustees 1785

The idea for the establishment of the school that was to become Titchfield grew out of a desire to create a school in Portland where planters and others could have their children educated and so avoid sending their children off to England for that purpose. Since the idea for Titchfield was born in the period of slavery then it also followed that the students attending this school before 1838 would be white or free coloured. The idea for the school was put into practice in 1785, when an Act was passed by the Jamaican Assembly establishing the Titchfield Trust. By this Act, a board of trustees was to be appointed and they were to be given control over the 350 acres of land which had been set aside earlier in 1725 as commons for the use of the town of Titchfield.

The Act of 1785 authorised the trustees to take control of the commons, to establish a trust fund (or endowment) out of the proceeds which came from the use of the 350-acre commons and to use the money to build and maintain a free school in or near the town of Titchfield. This fund or endowment became known as the Titchfield Trust, and it was to be controlled by the group of trustees appointed by the Law of 1785. These trustees included persons such as the governor, the speaker of the House of Assembly, the custos of Portland, four senior magistrates, church wardens and vestrymen, as well as the rector for the Anglican Parish Church along with six inhabitants of Portland.

Early Regulations Governing the Operation of the School

The Act of 1785 empowered the trustees to use the funds to build a schoolhouse, along with separate dwelling houses for the schoolmaster or masters and the trustees were also

authorized to improve or repair the school buildings out of the fund. Because the school was to be financially maintained from the Titchfield Trust or Fund, Titchfield became one of the few Endowed schools in the island and students were to be admitted free of cost (hence the name "Titchfield Free School"). Trustees were instructed to admit as many children as the income from the trust funds would allow, and the school was to be open to children across the island although preference was to be given to the town of Titchfield. Initially, the school was to admit boys only and they were to be kept in school until the age of eighteen. However, students could be expelled for bad behaviour at an earlier age. Instruction should be provided in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin and Greek. Since the school was affiliated to the Anglican Church, the Act specified that teachers were to be members of the Church of England.

Titchfield Free School Opens 1786

When the school first opened its doors in 1786, the school building was located in Lower Titchfield and not at its present location on the Titchfield Peninsula. One of the longest serving teachers in the early years of the school was Isaac Grant, who served from 1796 to 1805, when he was made master at the school (the term "headmaster" was not used then) and clerk to the trustees. By 1817, Portlanders, who were trustees of Titchfield, included Alexander Kinloch, James B. King, Peter Anderson, Charles McMorine, Malcolm McDonaugh and John Steel, Esqrs. In the same year, the master and clerk to the trustees was Anthony Bunting Esq. and Titchfield also had the services of a surgeon, who in 1817 was Dr Anthony Lindsay. By 1824, Anthony Bunting had become a member of the clergy and was still the master at Titchfield.

In 1828, the Titchfield lands were providing the trustees with a rental of £600 per year which seemed to be sufficient to keep the school operational. One of the early masters was Mr Williams, who, in 1828 was commended for his work among the boys, some of whom were awarded prizes for achievements in classical studies, Latin in particular, as well as other subjects. Charles Angel, who taught there in 1851, was one of the last masters at the school before it was forced to close down (temporarily). The very next year, 1852, the trustees of Titchfield lost a court case which forced them to absorb the costs of the case and saddled the

trust with debt. By 1855, the Titchfield Trust was so indebted that it could no longer maintain operations at the school. Titchfield Free School closed its doors for a prolonged period in 1855.

A Second Beginning: Titchfield Free School after 1883

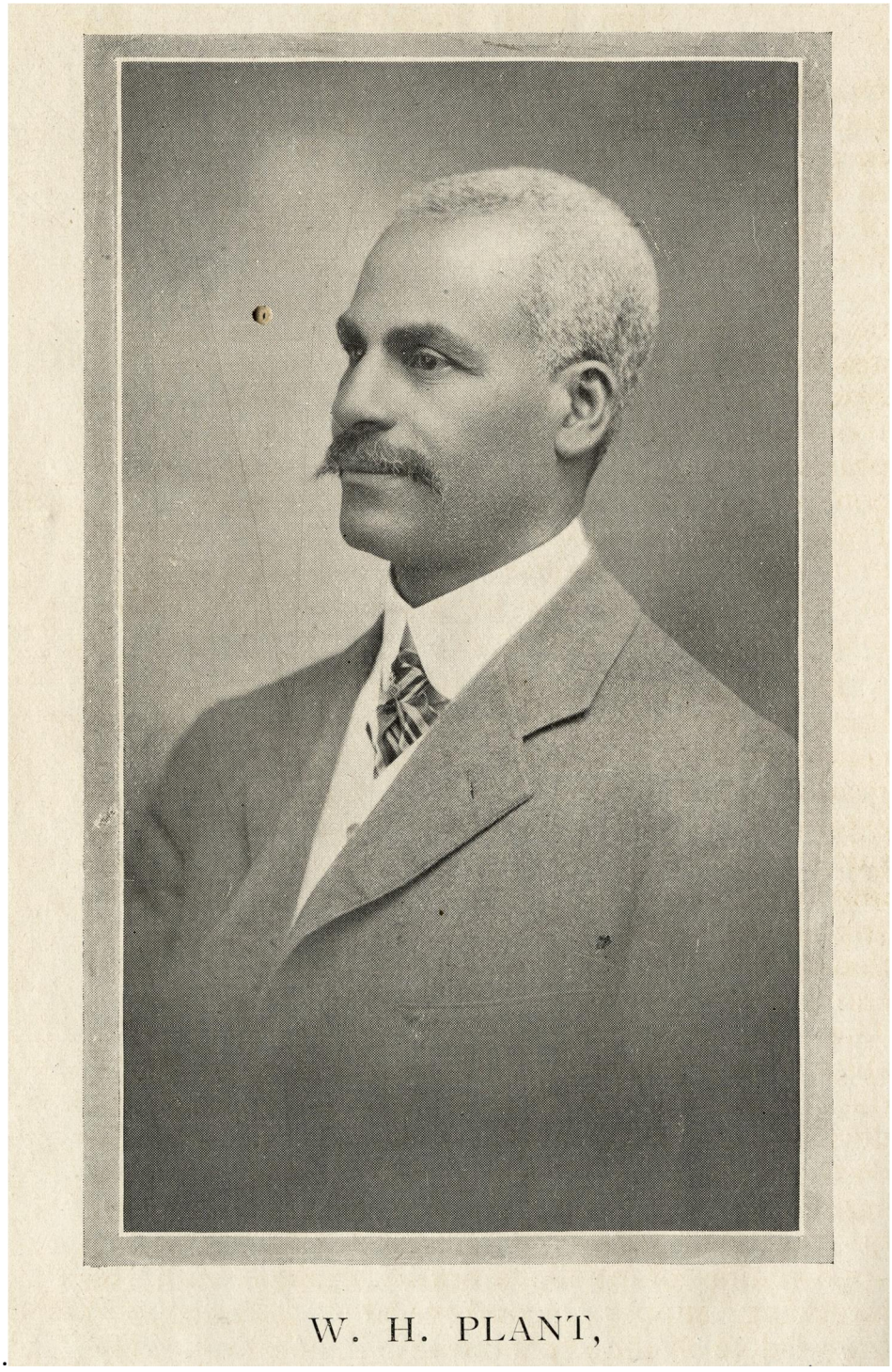
Titchfield is Relocated to the Grounds of Old Fort George. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

In 1883, the management of the Titchfield Trust was turned over to the Schools' Commission in an effort to restore the school to some level of operational efficiency. A board of local managers was appointed by the governor to assist in the administration of the school, and in 1883, the Schools' Commission leased the old military barracks at Fort George on the Titchfield Peninsula for the purpose of relocating the school. The year 1883 therefore marked a turning point and a new beginning for Titchfield, both in its administration and in its physical space. The very first headmaster (the term came into use by then) to lead Titchfield in its new location was Major William Henry Plant who gave long and distinguished service to the school from 1885 to

1927 and changed Titchfield in at least one fundamental way. In 1886, Plant converted the previously all-boys' school into a day school for both boys and girls.

At this time, the school consisted of infant, elementary and secondary divisions. In addition to the traditional subjects, a department of Manual Training was introduced in keeping with the twentieth century revival of interest in teaching industrial skills. By 1903, the Titchfield lands were placed under the control of special trustees appointed by the governor in order to ensure more efficient administration of funds. After 1904, Titchfield became the umbrella school for about seven other schools in the area, which then became affiliated with Titchfield, and in

1910, the average enrolment and attendance at Titchfield Free School was five hundred students.



W. H. Plant, Headmaster of Titchfield, 1885-1927. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

A.A. Kennedy, Second Master at Titchfield School. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

A major change to the school came in 1927, the closing year of Plant's headmastership, whereby the infant and elementary divisions were separated from the school and from then, Titchfield High has operated purely as a secondary school. Since 1927, Titchfield High has seen several changes in headship, including Sam Brown (1927-1951), CAP Thomas, Mortimer Geddes (1962-1974), Lloyd Chin (1976-1993), Lincoln Thaxter (1993-2003), Ivy McKenzie (2003-2008). Titchfield's journey continues. [43]

The Society of Friends Iowa (Quakers) in Portland

Although Quakers from England had been part of the early English settlement of Jamaica, they left no impact on the history of Portland. It was the American-based Quakers, one of the newer missionary bodies, with headquarters in Ohio, who had more of an effect on Jamaica and especially on Portland. The Society of Friends Iowa (Quakers) arrived from America in the late nineteenth century and their coming into the banana parishes of Portland and St Mary had a lot to do with their connections to the fast growing banana export trade, to Boston Fruit Company and United Fruit Company. Several American merchants and shippers in the early banana trade had links to Quakers. With their interest in the banana trade, it is not surprising that the American Quakers had a strong presence in the north-eastern end of the island in the banana parishes of Portland and St Mary towards the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

As seen earlier, a fresh wave of East Indian indentured immigration took place in Portland (and other banana parishes) in the late nineteenth century. Although there were limited efforts by the Anglicans and Methodists to conduct Christian missions among the Indians in the parish, it was the American Quakers who were most active in seeking to Christianise and educate the Indians in Portland. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, they established missions at Happy Grove in Hector's River, Seaside in Manchioneal, Orange Bay and Glen Haven. The missions which had been set up by the Presbyterians at Burlington and Fellowship were subsequently turned over to the Quakers by 1911, thereby giving them the largest missionary presence among the Indians in Portland. Perhaps their most famous church was the *Seaside*

Friends Church at Happy Grove, Hector's River, which still stands as an imposing structure on the hill and is still an important Quaker Meeting house today. The tombstone engravings in the church yard reveal names of some of the earliest Quakers who came to this part of Portland, including Naomi George Swift, who died in the 1890s, Richard Dormer, who died in the 1910s and J. Luella Hoover, who died in the 1920s.

Seaside Friends' Church at Happy Grove, Hector's River. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Quakers were the first to emphasise the need for schooling for Indian children in Portland and St Mary, as well as St Thomas. Their most successful and enduring school was Happy Grove School, established in 1898 at Happy Grove, Hector's River in east Portland. At first the school accepted only girls, but eventually, it became co-educational and, in times past, a boarding school. In 1898, the Quakers made an agreement with the government to take Indian orphan girls into their Happy Grove School. At this point, Happy Grove developed an industrial training department for girls and this led to the school being referred to as Happy Grove Industrial School. In 1904, the government officially recognised the school and at that time approximately

twelve East Indian girls were being trained in skills and crafts annually. The school is still going strong today as Happy Grove High School, operating under the umbrella of the American-based Quakers. In 2016, Happy Grove High School celebrated 118 years of existence. Quaker missionaries also established schools at Prospect, near to Port Antonio, as well as at Burlington and Stanton in the parish.

Entrance to Happy Grove High School. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Students of Happy Grove High School. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Spectacular Beauty of Winnifred Beach. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Quaker legacy in the parish is also seen in the history of Winnifred's Rest House and Beach. One of the Quaker missionaries who lived and worked in Portland was F. B. Brown, whose daughter, Winnifred, died when she was only a child. Brown left a property of several hundred acres, including the area that is now Winnifred Beach, to be managed by a trust. He requested that Winnifred House (named for his daughter and now Winnifred's Rest House) be used as a "Rest Home for Missionaries, Teachers and the Respectable Poor". The property has seen changes in ownership and management, but Winnifred's Rest House still can be rented by "Missionaries, Teachers and the Respectable Poor". [44]

Changing Economic Fortunes in Portland in the Twentieth Century

Fluctuations in the Banana Industry in Portland in the Twentieth Century: The Ups and Downs of the Trade

Portland's export trade in bananas, which was largely controlled by the multinational United Fruit Company continued to do well throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century and as previously seen, the banana boom had several effects on the development of the parish during this period. However by the 1930s, Portland's banana trade began to experience fluctuations caused by several factors, and for the rest of the twentieth century, there were changing economic fortunes in the banana industry in the parish. An ever present danger to the banana industry in Portland was the effect of strong winds, storms and hurricanes on the banana plants, made worse by Portland's vulnerable north-easterly location.

In addition to destroying towns and villages, hurricanes of 1903, 1916, 1932, 1933, 1944 and 1951, dealt severe blows to the banana industry. The 1903 and 1944 hurricanes devastated Port Antonio and many villages throughout the parish were almost completely destroyed. Hurricane Charlie, Jamaica's first named storm, battered the parish with its 125 miles per hour winds and left Portland producers in utter devastation. Entire banana crops were lost, but with each crippling storm, those who could afford to replant quickly did so and production bounced back. It was the small cultivators rather than the larger producers who suffered more from these visitations of nature, with the small growers of bananas taking much longer to recover, if at all.

Plant diseases and pests, natural enemies of the *Gros Michel* banana plant, also led to a severe downturn in banana production beginning in the 1930s in Portland and the rest of the island. Panama disease virtually wiped out the crop, and equally destructive to the banana plants were the Leaf Spot disease and the banana borer insect. Hardier, more disease-resistant varieties of banana plants were introduced over the course of the century, beginning with the *Robusta* and the very successful *Lacatan* varieties. The *Valery* was introduced in 1963 and more recently, the

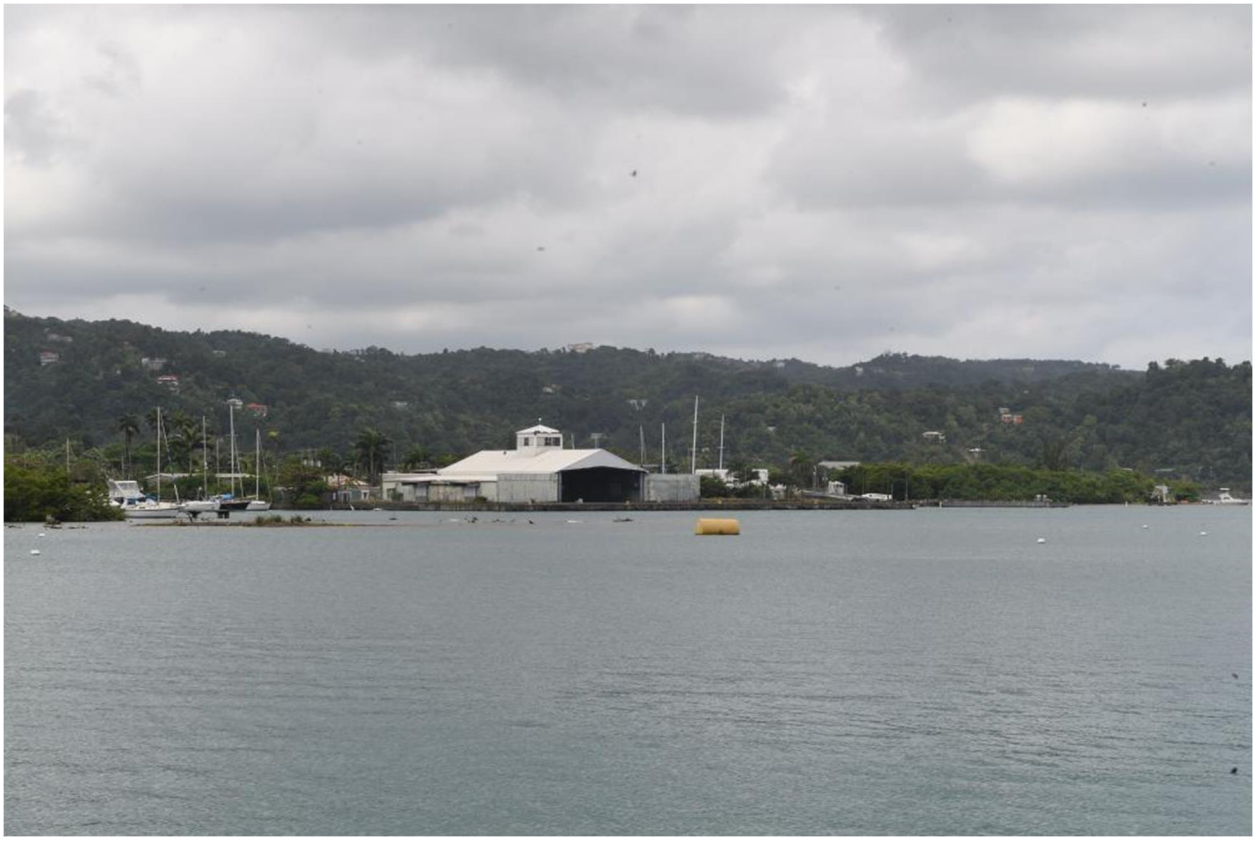
Jamaican developed variety of banana plant, the *RGI,* is perhaps the most resistant and sturdiest of all, especially against the yellow and black *Sigatoka* disease. These newer varieties have allowed for some recovery in the industry over the course of the century.

As seen in an earlier discussion of the effects of the late nineteenth-century banana boom on Portland's peasants, the growing dominance of Boston Fruit Company and then, United Fruit Company, over the trade, marginalised the small cultivators of bananas in favour of estate producers. In an effort to break the monopoly of United Fruit Company, the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association (JBPA) began operations in 1929, shipping over four million stems to the English market from predominantly peasant cultivators across the banana parishes. Despite strong intimidation by United Fruit Company and many challenges, the re-organised Jamaica Banana Producers' Association Ltd. (JBPA) survived and by 1936, continued to fill its ships with bananas grown mainly by Jamaican smallholders and sold its surplus to United Fruit.

With all its limitations, JBPA Ltd. at least provided the small cultivators of Portland and other parishes with the opportunity to gradually reclaim their role over the course of the century as important suppliers of bananas in the export trade. By 1937, the JBPA's banana exports from Jamaica amounted to 360,000 tons, and this represented 50% of the island's total exports of bananas in that year. Despite continued challenges to the trade, such as the loss of the U.S. market during the depression years (1930s) the interruption of banana exports to the U.K. during the Second World War and the periodic damage done by hurricanes and disease, both the JBPA and the small cultivators of Portland persevered. By 1977, there were 3,967 banana growers registered in Portland, and of this number, 3,508 were very small farmers who owned five acres and under and 347 were small cultivators, owning between five and ten acres each. Only seven registered banana growers in Portland in 1977 owned over 100 acres. Indeed, most of the small farmers in Portland by the 1970s were still growing bananas as their main export crop. It was clear that Portland's small growers of bananas had regained their dominance in the export of bananas from the parish.

Throughout the entire twentieth century and into the early years of the twenty-first, Port Antonio's Bound Brook Wharf has always been a reliable indicator of the ups and downs of the

banana export trade in Portland. Portland's largest and busiest export wharf from the glory days of Boston Fruit and United Fruit Companies, Bound Brook, saw very little down time except for the fall-offs in exports after hurricanes, ravages by plant diseases and the interruptions during the Second World War. Largely as a result of careful management policies by the JBPA and the revitalisation of Portland's small banana producers, Bound Brook witnessed a return of hectic and prosperous banana related activity during the 1970s, 1980s (interrupted in 1988 by Gilbert) and the 1990s, as ships from Jamaica Producers came to Bound Brook three times per week and sailed with cargoes of fresh green bananas destined mainly for the U.K. and Europe.



A View of Bound Brook Wharf Today. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Throughout this period, hundreds of persons from Portland benefitted from the employment generated at Bound Brook and the wharf also served as a cruise ship dock before the building of the Ken Wright Shipping Pier. Once again, Portland's banana industry was crippled by the effects of Hurricane Ivan in 2004, and by December 2005, the Banana Export Company (BECO)

shifted export operations from Bound Brook Wharf to Kingston, with Bound Brook being used only for storage as of that year. Even this function came to an end when the large cold storage containers used for storing the bananas were relocated to Kingston.

Bound Brook Wharf's central role in the banana export trade and its provision of employment for hundreds of Portlanders were at an end. By 2011, according to Dale Westin, manager of the Errol Flynn Marina, Bound Brook's premises had become the venue for plays, stage shows and beauty pageants. Although the Portland Parish Council has been supportive of the call for an early resumption of banana exports from Bound Brook Wharf, this remains a sad commentary on the passing of the glory days of Bound Brook, Port Antonio and indeed the entire parish, as the heart of Jamaica's banana export trade. [45]

Portland's Coconut Industry in the Twentieth Century

Portland's favourable climate for coconut production meant that during the twentieth century, coconuts would continue to be grown on small holdings as well as estates throughout the parish, both for export and for local use. In particular, coconuts were grown in areas of Buff Bay, Orange Bay, Kildare, Darlingford, Fair Prospect, Hart Hill, Williams Field and Caenwood. In the early years of the twentieth century, just as in the nineteenth, there was no local group which oversaw the coconut trade in Jamaica and so traders bought the coconuts directly from the farmers and exported them, mainly to the United States.

However, by 1930, a group of local coconut farmers established the *Jamaica Coconut Producers Association Ltd.* (JCPA), which brought a higher level of organisation to the coconut trade and as a cooperative, the JCPA bought coconuts from its members and made copra (discussed shortly), coconut oil and by 1937, soaps as by-products of the coconuts. This cooperative effort benefitted Portland's coconut farmers, as well as those in other parishes. The efforts of the JCPA to effectively market Jamaican coconuts were strengthened in 1940, when together with Drax Soap Factory, the JCPA formed Soaps and Edible Products Ltd (now SEPROD) and bought out all other processors of coconut except Caribbean Products Ltd. By 1945, the *Coconut Industry Board* (CIB) was established to administer the coconut industry island-wide and was

instrumental in helping growers in Portland and other parishes to meet the challenges which faced the industry during the rest of the twentieth century.

Jamaica's three main coconut-producing parishes historically have been St Mary, Portland and St Thomas, and the story of the coconut industry has been one of constant fluctuations, showing prosperity and decline and experiencing ravages by hurricanes and diseases over the course of the twentieth century. In 1844, in the early days of the trade, Jamaica exported only 135,000 coconuts and by 1882, largely as a result of the Boston Fruit Company's control of the fruit trade (bananas and coconuts), exports had risen to 2.7 million coconuts. In the 1920s, production in these three parishes increased significantly and soon outstripped the demand. By 1929, over 39 million coconuts were exported from Jamaica, and exports were at an average of 30 million nuts between 1922 and 1939.

Portland's coconut farmers were able to maintain high productivity of coconuts in the 1930s despite the outbreak in western Jamaica of Lethal Yellowing (LY), the most destructive of all coconut diseases. This was because the disease first affected the Jamaica Tall coconut palms on the north coast between Montego Bay and Lucea and did not appear in the north-eastern parish of Portland until 1961. Other challenges to the industry surfaced by the early 1940s, which saw a decline in the external market demand for coconuts. Exports of dry coconuts declined and ceased island-wide when the hurricane of 1944 destroyed 41% of all bearing palms, followed in 1951 by an equally destructive Hurricane Charlie.

When Lethal Yellowing made its sudden appearance in Buff Bay in 1961, this was only the beginning of a very devastating impact on Portland's coconut palms as LY quickly spread through the main coconut-growing areas of the parish, from Buff Bay to Orange Bay through to Boston and on to Long Bay. Within twenty years, Lethal Yellowing had destroyed over five million Jamaica Tall Palms in the eastern parishes of Jamaica. Using the previous experience from the disease outbreak in western Jamaica, the Coconut Industry Board undertook an aggressive campaign in the eastern parishes of removing and replacing the Jamaica Tall with the more resistant Malayan Dwarf and Maypan palms. This was largely successful and the coconut industry in Portland and the rest of the island experienced significant recovery in the 1970s and

the 1980s with a record high production of 168 million nuts island-wide in 1987. Then disaster again struck in 1988 in the form of Hurricane Gilbert, which destroyed 67% of all coconut palms on the island. Coconut farmers were resilient, however, and with assistance from the Coconut Industry Board, they began the recovery process. By 1989, the production of 74.8 million coconuts island-wide, although a significant drop compared to 1987, was a testament to this resilience. Initiatives by the Coconut Industry Board, such as coconut-water bottling for an ever-expanding market and ongoing scientific research into disease-resistant varieties of palms, contributed to a major rebound in the local coconut industry by 2015. By the end of that year, the local industry had a proud record of 3.5 million palms, which produced 80.8 million nuts, with a value of 3.7 billion dollars.

By-products of Coconuts in Portland

The story of the coconut industry in Portland is also the story of its by-products such as the Copra industry in the parish. Copra is the dried, baked section of the kernel (meat) of the coconut, from which coconut oil was extracted, and the Copra industry proved successful in Portland from 1930 to around 1978. Copra factories were established in Buff Bay, Port Antonio, Orange Bay, Hope Bay, and at Jones Copra Factory, which is located on the east coast near

Manchioneal and which still stands today.

Jones' Old Copra Factory Near Manchioneal. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The aroma given off by the baking of the coconut meat at these factories was tempting, especially to school children. Some Portlanders still recall that on the way home from school in the 1960s, the bus always made a stop outside of the Orange Bay Copra Factory. On these

occasions, passengers (children especially) could expect to be treated with a taste of the Copra.

Women Preparing Coconuts to Make Copra. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Copra was also important for the residue which is left after the coconut oil is extracted. This residue is termed coconut cake or coconut oil cake and is used as livestock feed. Beginning in 1937, the oil from the coconut was also used in the making of soaps. In the 1940s, 1950s and the 1960s, the Copra industry in the three main Copra-producing parishes of Portland, St Mary and St Thomas proved extremely profitable. In 1968, St Mary's production of Copra was valued

at £535,000, Portland's at £300,000 and that of St Thomas at £500,000 (the currency of Jamaica was not changed from pounds to dollars until 1969). However, the fortunes of the Copra industry in Portland were affected in the 1970s by an inability of Portland growers to meet the demands of the Copra factories for coconuts as it was the larger growers who continued to supply these factories with nuts. Coconuts grown by small cultivators were increasingly being used for domestic purposes and were sold at the market.

Periodically, the controversy surrounding the health benefits of coconut oil also affected the industry as this led to a decline in the demand and the price for Copra and for coconut oil on the world market. Ironically, recent medical research has once again favoured coconut oil for its health benefits. The inability of Portland growers to supply the Copra factories in the parish with the numbers of coconuts demanded was reflected in the decline in the Copra industry in Portland by the late 1970s. By 1975, the Copra factory in Port Antonio had ceased operations, and when the Copra factory in Buff Bay burned down in 1976, the owner decided not to re-build because of the difficulty obtaining sufficient nuts to make the business worthwhile. By 1978, the Copra factories in Orange Bay and Hope Bay were sitting idle and Jones' Old Copra factory (as it is termed on present-day maps of Portland) today seems of little more than historical interest. Dried coconut husk fibres (Coir) were also used in the earlier part of the twentieth century for making of mattresses and to some extent, Coir is still used in the making of floor mats, brushes and in plant nurseries. [46]

Twentieth-Century Developments in Portland's Coffee Industry

As the nineteenth century entered its final decades, Portland had a total of 1,408 acres under coffee cultivation, and Portland's small cultivators had been critical in keeping the coffee industry alive in the post-slavery nineteenth century. By 1900, small settlers were the main producers of coffee in the parish, a trend which had been well established from earlier in the nineteenth century. Throughout the twentieth century, coffee for export was still being grown primarily by Portland's small cultivators.

One of the most important developments in Portland's coffee industry in the twentieth century was the formation in 1952 of the Portland Blue Mountain Coffee Cooperative. The main role

and contribution of the Blue Mountain Cooperative was to provide support for coffee growers in the parish and supplement the assistance given by the Coffee Industry Board which oversaw the island-wide operations of the coffee industry. The persons who established the Portland Blue Mountain Coffee Cooperative included Joseph Oscar Baugh, Arthur Vivian Magann, John McIsaacs, Reginald Sutherland, Edgar Augustus Carby, Alva Sharpe (from Lennox), Keble Aubrey Munn (from St Andrew and then Minister of Agriculture) and Alice Elizabeth McCleary, who was the secretary. Members of the cooperative were largely small farmers from the parish, and one of the important early achievements was the purchase of the Silver Hill Coffee Factory for £3,250 out of the profits made by the members from sale of their coffee. This was an important step in self-help for the cooperative because it meant that Portland's coffee growers no longer had to take their coffee beans to the Munn family's factory at Mavis Bank. Later, coffee seedlings were grown at Caenwood in the parish and sold to farmers. The Coffee Industry Board bought the coffee from the Portland Blue Mountain Cooperative and also assisted members with transportation of the crop. Portland's coffee growers continued to be successful well into Jamaica's post-independence period.

One of the most exciting and meaningful developments in Portland's coffee industry during the later twentieth century was the extension of *Blue Mountain Coffee* growing into the Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle areas of Portland, starting from 1984 and reaching full completion in 1997. According to standards set out for the coffee industry, coffee grown in Jamaica can be designated *Blue Mountain Coffee* only if it is grown at elevations between 2,000 and 4,500 feet above sea level. The Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle (CCSC) site was ideal for the cultivation of Blue Mountain Coffee because of its location, high up on the plain to the north of the Blue Mountain Range.

This project was made possible by a 1984 loan agreement between the Jamaican and the Japanese governments, and execution of the project was carried out by a number of local agencies, including the Coffee Industry Board (CIB), the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), the National Planning Agency, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Agricultural Credit Bank and the Coffee Industry Development Company (CIDCO). Under the project, about 3,500 acres of coffee

plantations, along with infrastructure (access roads), public utility access and housing, were to be established on approximately 15,500 acres of Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle. According to the project's guidelines, 3,100 acres were to be sold to Portland farmers (who had access to loans under the plan), and 400 acres (making a total of 3,500 acres) were to be sold to the Coffee Industry Development Company for the establishment of their pilot coffee farm.

Although natural disasters such as Hurricane Gilbert in 1988 and periodic flooding in the parish delayed the final completion of the project until 1997, and although the community and housing aspects of the project had to be shelved because of financial shortfalls, the realisation of the Blue Mountain Coffee Development Project in Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle was a historic and highly significant landmark in Portland's agricultural history. The project was important because it expanded Blue Mountain Coffee production into previously underutilised lands in Portland and also because it allowed many small cultivators to benefit from the project by becoming coffee farmers in the Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle areas of the parish and so highlighted small-farmers' contribution to the coffee industry in Portland.

This was perhaps a fitting tribute to Portland's small farmers who had been so instrumental historically to the survival of the coffee industry in the parish. The majority of Portlanders who received sub-loans to buy land in the target area were small and medium sized coffee farmers, with the largest number of borrowers (239 farmers), being small-scale producers who bought between two and five acres each. The second largest group were the medium-sized farmers (109 persons), who were able to buy between five and 20 acres each. Large-scale producers (persons who were able to buy more than 20 acres each) were the smallest numerically to benefit from the project, as only 33 farmers bought over 20 acres each at the Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle site. The 239 small-scale producers developed 768 acres of coffee plantations, the 109 medium-sized farmers developed 901 acres in coffee, and the 33 large farmers brought 1,530 acres under coffee cultivation. CIDCO was able to develop 303 acres of coffee on their pilot farm.

The Blue Mountain Coffee Development Project in Claverty Cottage and Shirley Castle was not free of challenges. After historic flooding in Portland in 1998, the amount of land under coffee

cultivation dropped from a maximum 3,500 acres in August 1995 to 2,250 acres as a result of the floods. As noted before, the dream of building houses for the farmers had to be shelved. Nevertheless, the Blue Mountain Coffee Development Project has generated much success. As part of the project, a new coffee-finishing facility was completed at the CCSC site in 1997 and had the capacity to process 8,000,000 lbs of coffee each year. Also in 1997, a new coffee pulpery facility was completed at the Claverty Cottage/Shirley Castle site, and overall, according to assessments done by the Coffee Industry Board, the Blue Mountain Coffee Development Project has created 10,650 new employment opportunities so far. [47]

Twentieth-Century Developments in Small Farming in Portland

Portland has always been and remains an agriculturally-centred parish, and its historical development has given rise to estate/plantation based agriculture as well as to small-holding peasant-based agriculture. With small farming becoming well established in the post-slavery nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Portland's agricultural landscape is today still controlled by the small farmer who remains, through good times and challenging times, as the backbone of the parish's economy. By 1968, the total number of farms of varying sizes in Portland was 9,814 and of this number, 7,240 or 73.8%, were small farms of five acres and under. For those small farmers who may have concentrated on growing crops such as bananas, coffee, cocoa, coconuts and pimento for the export market, by the 1960s and 1970s, export crops provided them with between thirty to forty percent of their annual income.

As producers of domestic food crops, small farmers throughout the parish also made an important contribution, not only to Portland's domestic food economy but also to food production for the island. By 1977, domestic food crops grown in Portland were valued at $12 million, with yams and other ground provisions accounting for half of this value. In the same period, Portland farmers produced 8.7% of the red peas grown in Jamaica; 9.1% of okras; 8.7% of pumpkins; 29.2% of hot peppers; 10.9% of papayas; 13.9% of plantains; 10.3% of 'Renta' yams; and 22.9% of dasheen. Some small farmers did mixed farming, combining livestock raising (pigs, goats, cows or poultry) with crop farming.

From the early twentieth century onwards, governmental policies made it possible for more persons to have access to small land ownership for farming purposes. From the 1930s to the 1960s, government land reform programmes allowed small holders to own small amounts of land, most of which was previously undeveloped. However, there were problems which accompanied these programmes, and these challenges often limited the ability of small farmers to fully benefit from the lands acquired. Poor or non-existent access roads in and out of some farming areas made it difficult for farmers to get their crops to market, and this lack of return often discouraged these farmers from making full use of the land. Some lands acquired in this way remained under-utilized by the farmers.

Perhaps the most well-known of these land reform programmes was *Project Land Lease* which started island-wide in 1973 and which saw many acquiring farming lands and gaining access to technical advice, fertilisers and loans. Under this programme, idle lands were acquired by the government and distributed to small farmers as an aid to self-improvement and in an effort to boost domestic food production. In Portland, by 1978, 10,283 acres had been acquired by small farmers under the scheme, but only 5,609 of these acres were actually suitable for cultivation, and, according to a survey done in 1978 by the Ministry of Agriculture, only 3,253.98 acres out of the total 10,283 acres in Portland were actually cultivated. Nevertheless, some benefitted from lands acquired in areas such as Kenny Grove, Endeavour, Springfield, Drapers, Fairy Hill, Kildare, Swift River, Fruitful Vale, Breastworks, Golden Vale, Darlingford, Spring Garden, Eden Vale, Orange Vale and Egg Hill.

In addition to the farming areas which emerged from government assisted programmes, many other vibrant small-farming communities continued to grow across the parish in the twentieth century. In the Spanish River/ Bybrook area, communities of Bybrook, Chepstowe, Skibo, Claverty, Berwick Spring and Martinique practiced some mixed farming, raising livestock and growing crops such as bananas, coffee, cocoa and coconut. Root crops, yam, coco dasheen, seasonal vegetables, red peas, gungo peas and cabbage were also produced by farmers in these areas. Farmers in Spring Hill, located in the upper part of the Buff Bay River Valley grew rice, a variety of peas, coffee, bananas and food crops, while in the farming areas of Orange Vale and

Bangor Ridge, red peas was the main crop grown. Small farmers in the Hart Hill area grew onions, coconuts and a variety of vegetables including carrots and corn. Small farms were also dominant in Black Hill, Windsor Castle, Drapers and Mt. Pleasant, among other areas of the parish. Small farmers were able to benefit from farm loans which, as members, they were able to access from the *Portland Cooperative Credit Union* which had its headquarters in Port Antonio. By 1978, the Credit Union had 400 farmers as members, and this number represented 17% of the total membership.

Famous for its spectacular beauty and abundant species of animal and plant life, the Blue Mountain Range also attracts heavy rainfall to the north-eastern end of the island, giving Portland the highest annual rainfall totals in Jamaica. Historically and to the present day, Portland's geography has made it vulnerable to the worst that nature has to offer in the form of hurricanes, flooding and landslides, and this reality has been one of the ever-present challenges to small farmers in the parish. In the first week of January 2018, all of Jamaica was reminded of the effects of heavy and continuous rainfall on residents of Portland's small farming communities of Darley, Bourbon and Maidstone. They suffered painful loss of livestock, crops and other property, and their movements to and from Port Antonio were severely restricted because the main access area which is called *Matty Hole* (in Maidstone) was turned into a lake with a depth of at least 15 feet from the continuous rainfall. They were cut off and forced to risk the journey by raft or remain isolated until help arrived. But for the older residents of these communities, the flooding at Matty Hole was nothing new, having occurred twenty years earlier, on 4 January 1998 (in the historic floods of that year). According to these residents, the area was first named Matty Hole after a woman who drowned there many years ago. Records show that this was actually the fourth time that Matty Hole had been flooded from the start of the twentieth century until January 2018.

Portland's history is full of these episodes of nature's wrath, and unfortunately, small farmers always suffered most and found it most challenging to recover because of their already limited resources. Outstanding for its fertile soil and high levels of agricultural production, the Rio Grande River Valley recorded nineteen major floods from 1955 to 1999, each time devastating

the banana, coffee, domestic food crops, livestock and lives of the predominantly small farming communities such as Mill Bank, Seaman's Valley and Comfort Castle. Historic flood rains resulting from disturbed areas of weather first in January, then in March of 1998, brought back to back destruction for farmers of all river valleys in Portland, but especially so in the Buff Bay and Rio Grande River Valleys.

Those hurricanes which approach the island from a south-easterly direction have been particularly feared, as St Thomas and Portland usually receive the brunt of their force. Portland's twentieth-century history has been partly shaped by the force of these hurricanes as they brought a recurring story of devastation and despair, yet hope and recovery. Some of these included Hurricane Hazel (October 1954), which destroyed Portland's banana and coconut crops and Hurricane Flora (1963), which crippled the eastern end of the island, resulting in the Buff Bay River overflowing its banks and the entire town of Buff Bay being severely flooded. Crops, livestock and properties were utterly destroyed and bananas were levelled all across the parish. Hurricane David (1978), approaching from the east, was no kinder, and in 1988, no corner of the parish or the rest of Jamaica was spared when Hurricane Gilbert hit. The Jamaican banana industry, so vital especially to small farmers in St Thomas, Portland and St Mary, lost 400 million Jamaican dollars of potential earnings. Yet the history of the small farmers in Portland (as it has been for many across Jamaica) has been equally marked by their courage and resilience in the face of disaster, and it is this endurance that ensures that they will always remain important to the evolving history of Portland and all Jamaica. [48]

Agro-Industries and Factories in Twentieth-Century Portland

As twentieth-century Portland was predominantly agricultural, it was no surprise that agriculturally linked small industries (agro-industries) should emerge at this time. In the 1970s, most of these were located in Port Antonio, the capital and centre of commerce. In addition to the Copra factories which were already discussed, *Gauron Food Products* in Bound Brook, Port Antonio made pickles, ketchup, caramel fruit and colouring and employed between thirty to fifty persons full-time and part-time. *Krunche Nut,* also located in Bound Brook, produced

banana chips, banana raisins, cupcakes, candies and roasted peanuts, while providing employment for twenty-eight people.

By the 1970s, Portland's agro-industries were mainly concerned with the assembly, grading, packing and shipping of bananas, coffee, and to a lesser extent, citrus, cocoa beans and coconuts. In 1978, there were 15 banana-boxing plants in Portland, and some of these were Shrewsbury Co-op Boxing Plant, Seaman's Valley Boxing Plant, Moore Town Boxing Plant, Darling Ford Boxing Plant, Fellowship Boxing Plant and St Margaret's Bay Co-op Boxing Plant. With Port Antonio's continued growth in the 1960s, other small business enterprises and a handful of factories were to be found in the town by 1970. In that year, Port Antonio had four bakeries which employed about 86 persons, two block-making factories which had around 37 workers, one copra factory which employed 25 persons and one pickling factory which had 10 workers. [49]

Twentieth-Century Developments in Portland's Livestock Industry: Thomas Phillip Lecky, Pioneer Scientist and Son of Portland

Combining crop farming with cattle-raising had always been done by some farmers in Portland. It was therefore fitting that the most revolutionary breakthroughs in livestock breeding were made by the son of a Portland farming family, Thomas Phillip Lecky, Ph.D., O.B.E., O.M. Born on December 31, 1904, Lecky was the twelfth of thirteen children in a family which had a long tradition of farming in Portland. Growing up on his father's farm in the Swift River community, Lecky developed an early interest in livestock, and he spent his childhood days at Swift River Primary School. Farming fascinated him and he therefore went on to study agriculture at what was then the Government Farm School (later known as the Jamaica School of Agriculture).

His research for his Ph.D., which he completed at Edinburgh University, Scotland, led him to concentrate on developing breeds of cattle which were suited to Jamaica's climate and conditions. Lecky's trailblazing research led him to develop Jamaica's first indigenous breed of cattle in 1951, the *Jamaican Hope*, which was primarily for milk production, ideally suited to a

tropical climate, was heat resistant and capable of producing a good amount of milk even on poor pasture land. His research led him to also develop three breeds of cattle for beef production, the *Jamaican Red Poll*, the *Jamaican Brahman* and the *Jamaican Black*. Lecky's love for agriculture led him to also serve his parish and his country through his many agriculturally-related roles such as farm supervisor, director of animal husbandry and livestock research. He died in 1994.

Changing Fortunes in Portland's Dairy and Peanut Production

For many years, farmers in Portland who raised dairy cattle sold their milk within the parish but were also guaranteed a market by selling milk to the milk-processing plant in St Catherine. Milk-collecting routes were set up, which linked the properties of the dairy farmers and in this way, their milk was picked up and transported to St Catherine. After a number of years, the milk-collecting routes in many parishes, including Portland, were closed down and this left many farmers without a ready market for their milk. Small farmers in particular, felt the brunt of this downturn in demand, and the milk industry in the parish declined.

However, by 1990, there was reason to hope as a new dairy project was launched in Portland. Termed the *Revolving Herd and Agro-Industrial Project*, the idea was to make Portland self-sufficient in dairy products. The government made funding available to small farmers in Fair Prospect, Sherwood Forest and Black Rock for the purchase of dairy cows and equipment and they in turn sold their fresh milk to the factory outlet established under the project. This agro-industrial project helped to revive the parish's dairy industry as the project also made cheese and other dairy products from the milk. In the same year, two experimental peanut-growing projects were also started at Sherwood Forest and Fair Prospect, and these efforts were led by the Parish Investment Committee (PIC), along with JAMPRO, RADA and the College of Agriculture. Twenty seven small farmers were initially involved and benefitted from observations of peanut-growing techniques in St Elizabeth. [50]

The College of Agriculture, Science and Education (CASE)

It was both timely and appropriate that Portland, a parish with a rich history in agriculture, should be home to Jamaica's only tertiary institution that educates students in the skills and expertise of agriculture. In its present form, the College of Agriculture, Science and Education (CASE) was established in 1995 and located at Passley Gardens in Port Antonio. However, the formation of CASE was the end-result of legacies created by four institutions which preceded it.

The first of these was the Government Farm School (GFS), which existed from 1910 to 1942 and was located at the Hope Estate on grounds which now house the University of Technology (UTECH). When it first started in 1910, one of its first students was Thomas Phillip Lecky, outstanding agricultural scientist and son of Portland. In 1942, the Government Farm School was renamed the Jamaica School of Agriculture (JSA) and relocated to Twickenham Park in St. Catherine where, as a co-educational institution, it continued to train young devotees of agricultural science until 1981, when it transitioned into a new institution, this time based in Portland.

In 1981 the new institution, the College of Agriculture (COA), located at Passley Gardens, began its programme of teaching, researching and practicing agriculture. In the same year, Portland also broke ground in the creation of an important institution for training of teachers in Portland, and this was the Passley Gardens Teachers' College (PGTC) which prepared students to teach at the primary and secondary levels. In 1995, the College of Agriculture was merged with the Passley Gardens Teachers' College to form the present College of Agriculture, Science and Education. [51]

Twentieth-Century Changes to Infrastructure in the Parish

In 1968, Portland had a total population of 69,243, of which the rural population was 53,675, and the urban population was 15,565. Economic development did not always keep pace with population growth and the parish lost some of its people who migrated to other parishes (especially Kingston) in search of improved economic opportunities. Between 1960 and 1970, approximately 4,500 persons or 6.25% of the 1970 population moved away from Portland. Indeed, Portland by 1978 was less populated than most of the other parishes, ranking eleventh out of thirteen parishes (counting Kingston and St Andrew as one). According to the census of

2001, Portland's population had increased to a total of 82,000 persons, 15,000 of whom lived in the capital of Port Antonio. Eleven years later, in 2012, the total population of the parish was 82,183, only slightly more than it was in 2001. Despite these fluctuations in the population, improvements in infrastructure were essential to the development and progress of the parish over the course of the century.

Roads, Water, Electricity, Telephones, Post Offices, Hospitals and Police Stations in Portland by 1978

By 1978, several areas in Portland were still lacking in driveable road access, or the roads that did exist were not in the best condition. In that year, there was a coastal highway which runs from St Mary, to St Thomas and into Kingston. This formed part of Jamaica's national road network. A road ran from Buff Bay through the Buff Bay River Valley to Kingston, and one also ran from Buff Bay to Annotto Bay. By 1978, there was also the Blue Mountain Ridge road, located about 3,000 feet above sea level.

According to a study done by USAID/Jamaica in 1978, one of the challenges posed by the road system in the parish by then was that each road ran along its valley to a dead end in the mountains, and these roads lacked connection to other roads and markets. As a result, goods and services coming from each river valley (Rio Grande, Buff Bay, Swift River and the Spanish River), had to flow down to the coastal plain before another valley could be entered. Many roads, especially in the interior of the parish, were upgraded over time from the trails that existed in the 18th and 19th centuries, to roadways in the twentieth century. Moreover, Portland's vulnerability to frequent and heavy rainfall meant that without proper drainage, the water flow gradually eroded the road surface at times leading to collapse of parts of the road. By 1978, there was a fairly large network of secondary and tertiary roads (linked smaller settlements outside of towns) throughout the parish and hundreds of miles of trails or bridle roads which were meant for persons travelling on foot or on donkeys/mules. As noted above, over time, some of these bridle paths were simply widened to form tertiary roads.

A Bridle Path in the Blue Mountains. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

By the 1970s, most communities in Portland which had over 500 persons living there were served by a piped and inspected water system. The same could not be said for communities with less than 500 residents. According to Portland's Health Report of 1978, 52,000 persons in the parish were receiving treated water, while 15,000 had access to untreated water, and 7,000 persons had no access at all. The population which was served by house connection lived mainly in towns like Port Antonio and Buff Bay and numbered about 32,500, while the number of persons who had to walk to the nearest standpipe for water stood at about 34,500.

The larger coastal communities and towns had enjoyed electricity for many years before the 1970s. Smaller communities in Portland's river valleys received electricity between 1977 and 1978, while some of the more remote interior places obtained electricity supplies around 1980. Fruitful Vale, located in the Swift River Valley, with a population of 431 persons in 1978 and Comfort Castle on the Upper Rio Grande with a population of 707, both received electricity in 1977.

For a long while before 1970, landline telephone services were a scarce commodity, limited to major towns like Port Antonio and were extended as a priority to areas connected to the banana and tourist trades. Before 1970, there were no public post office buildings as exist today. Instead, one or two rooms in the postmaster's/ postmistress's house served as the post office, and at times, the local library. In the years before 1970, if there was a landline in the district, it was usually located at the post office, as was the case in Moore Town and Skibo. As the 1970s wore on, Port Antonio had about 600 telephones in all, 200 of which served the stores and businesses and only 400 homes had landlines. The area served by landlines extended from Bound Brook on the west to Fellowship to the south and to hotel areas like San San Bay to the east. Outside of this area, persons had access to a few call boxes and these were located at Breastworks, Boston Bay, St Margaret's Bay, Hope Bay and the Ken Jones Airport (discussed shortly).

By the 1970s, Portland's main hospital was Port Antonio Hospital, which was located on Nuttall Road overlooking the West Harbour. This hospital had a capacity of 112 beds for general patients and 20 maternity beds and served the residents of eastern Portland from Hope Bay to Hector's River. West Portland was served by Buff Bay Hospital with around 80 beds. The rural population either had to make the journey to one of these hospitals or depend on visiting doctors and public health centres and pharmacies. Police stations were extended to ten areas in Portland during the 1970s, with the largest and most important one understandably being the Port Antonio Police Station. In order of importance, Port Antonio was followed by Buff Bay, Hope Bay, Manchioneal and San San. The remaining five police stations were located at Castle, Swift River, Mill Bank, Spring Hill and Orange Bay.[52]

Tourism in Portland in the Twentieth Century

The story of tourism in twentieth century Portland is one of ups and downs. As was the case in the late nineteenth century, the success of the banana trade with its frequent sailings of steam ships carrying cargo and passengers between Port Antonio and the United States contributed to the increased number of visitors to Port Antonio and other parts of the parish during the first decades of the twentieth century. With Port Antonio as the centre of the banana trade and

with the presence of so many American business interests there, it followed that the majority of visitors, especially from the United States, would also flock to Port Antonio. In the first two decades of the twentieth century therefore, Port Antonio in particular, strengthened its reputation as a very popular destination for visitors and was easily the first resort town on the island, with visitor arrivals averaging well over 1,000 each year.

Between 1901 and 1902, the number of tourists visiting the parish stood at 1,201, and between 1902 and 1903, this figure had climbed to 1,785. Largely because of the fearful hurricane which hit the north-eastern part of Jamaica in 1903 and devastated Port Antonio, the number of visitors from 1903 to 1904 fell to 1,437. With American assistance, Port Antonio quickly recovered and visitor arrivals between 1904 and 1905 increased to 1,673 and remained more or less steady, with 1,592 tourists between 1905 and 1906. Nature again intervened with the terrible earthquake of 1907, and visitors arriving in that period fell dramatically to 607.

As seen earlier (see the section on the Banana Trade and the Beginnings of Tourism), tourists visiting towards the end of the nineteenth into the early twentieth century could expect to participate in a variety of tours arranged from the Titchfield Hotel. Even though the Titchfield Hotel in Port Antonio saw most of the tourist activity, there were at least three guest houses located in Buff Bay which also accommodated visitors to the parish. These included Mrs Crosby's Lodgings, where the daily rate was $2 (compared to Titchfield's of $3 to $6 a day); Buff Bay Tavern, operated by V.E. Silvera, where the charge was £2 a week; and Miss Crossley's Lodgings, operated by Miss Anna Crossley.

In Port Antonio, the Victorian-styled De Montevin Lodge, which was built in 1881 by the Hon. David Gideon (later Custos of Portland), was most likely a private mansion in the early years of the twentieth century as there are no references to its use as a guest house initially. However, by the mid-twentieth century, it was operated as a guest house and hotel, and among the distinguished guests who have stayed there were the Queen Mother and Queen Elizabeth 11. De Montevin Lodge has been declared a Protected Heritage Site by the Jamaica National

Heritage Trust.

De Montevin Lodge Hotel. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Interior View of De Montevin Lodge Hotel. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The Room at De Montevin Lodge in which the Queen Stayed. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

As the century wore on, tourism in Portland also experienced fluctuations associated with the 1930s economic depression in the United States and the changing fortunes of the banana industry and the United Fruit Company. During the 1930s, Portland suffered a noticeable fall-off in the number of tourist arrivals (largely from the United States), as Americans' ability to travel was affected by job losses and marked decline in incomes, and the banana trade was hard hit by Panama disease. Another factor which helps to explain the decline in tourist interest in Portland in the 1930s was the decision made by United Fruit Company shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 to shift its headquarters from Port Antonio to Kingston. With this move, the American presence and the American interest in Port Antonio decreased and so did the numbers of visitors who were largely American. At the same time, the United Fruit Company placed more emphasis on Montego Bay as a shipping port for bananas,

and this helped to explain the rise of Montego Bay as a banana and tourist area, to the detriment of Port Antonio. The capital was in danger of returning to the sleepy little town that it was before Lorenzo Dow Baker sailed into Port Antonio in 1871.

From the late 1940s onwards, there was an upturn in tourism as Port Antonio in particular became the playground for Hollywood glamour and the destination for the rich and famous. The personality who spearheaded this re-birth was the then famous actor, Errol Flynn, who reportedly fell in love with Port Antonio when he sailed his yacht, the *Zaca,* into the harbour in 1946. Wishing to establish some permanency with the parish, Flynn bought Navy Island and the Titchfield Hotel, as well as several banana and coconut plantations, including Boston Estate, once owned by Lorenzo Dow Baker.

Navy Island Today. Photo courtesy of Thera Edwards

He permanently relocated to Port Antonio in 1950 and his status and fame led to a renewed interest in Port Antonio as a resort area in the late 1940s into the 1960s. Flynn apparently had

plans to build a hotel at Folly and a ranch resort at Comfort Castle, but both remained unrealized because of his sudden death. Flynn is credited with developing the idea of turning what was a regular means of transportation for farmers (rafting on the Rio Grande River) into a tourist attraction in the parish.

Rafters' Rest. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

He reportedly enjoyed rafting up and down the river, and residents of the valley still point to landmarks along the scenic route which are named *Flynn's Rest* and *Flynn's Hideaway* after the movie star, who adopted this part of the parish as his own. The world-class yachting marina which was built by the Port Authority of Jamaica in 2002 was named the *Errol Flynn Marina* in

honour of the man who helped to resurrect Port Antonio's image as an important tourist resort.

The Errol Flynn Marina. Photo courtesy of Thera Edwards

Another View of the Errol Flynn Marina. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

From the middle of the twentieth century onwards, Portland witnessed an increase, both in the guest houses and hotels, as well as the attractions marketed to visitors, and this helped to boost the interest of tourists in the parish. Leading the way was the luxurious hotel built by Garfield Weston at Frenchman's Cove. Once a part of the Cold Harbour Estate, Frenchman's Cove took its name from a battle fought between the English and French illegal traders off the north-east coast of the island. The wounded French reportedly took refuge in the sheltered cove, which was then named after them. Construction started on the 48 acre property in 1958, and the hotel was opened to visitors in 1962. The hotel consisted of several luxury houses situated on both sides of the river, beach and bay, secluded and surrounded by landscaped shrubbery.

From the outset, Frenchman's Cove played host to many distinguished guests, including Prince Philip, Queen Elizabeth 11, Richard Burton, Elizabeth Taylor, the Beatles and Ian Fleming, who wrote his first James Bond novel at Frenchman's Cove. By 1978, the hotel's guest homes had a capacity of 38 beds.

Spectacular Frenchman's Cove. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

In the 1960s and 1970s, many wealthy foreigners bought land at places like Cold Harbour and San San and the luxury homes which they built there added to the growing reputation of this part of the parish as the destination for the rich and the famous. Other hotels were built during this period to cater to the increasing number of high-end visitors and these included the Dragon Bay Hotel at Fairy Hill, and Goblin Hill, a condominium apartment hotel which overlooked San

San beach.

San San Beach. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Equally luxurious was the Trident Hotel, built on the seafront and rebuilt after being badly damaged by Hurricane Allen in 1980.

The Trident Castle Hotel. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Also built from the 1970s, the Bonnie View Hotel in the town of Port Antonio overlooks the waterfront and the twin harbours and offered guests perhaps the most spectacular view in the town. As seen earlier, De Montevin Lodge on Titchfield Street, although initially a private mansion, eventually became a comfortable guest house with a sought-after restaurant. The 64-acre property at Navy Island which had been bought by Errol Flynn was later transformed into the Navy Island Marina Resort, complete with three beaches, marina, villas and a clubhouse.

In the 1970s, tourism in the parish was also boosted by the arrival of medium-sized cruise ships which today are referred to as “boutique-sized vessels”. Each Monday morning in the 1970s, these vessels docked on the western side of West Harbour, allowing their passengers to visit

Port Antonio before departing on Monday evening.

The Ken Wright Pier. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

The shipping pier, located in today's Errol Flynn Marina was refurbished and named the *Ken Wright Pier* in honour of Kenneth G. Wright, an early stalwart of the Peoples' National Party who won the right to represent the people of East Portland by defeating Ken Jones of the Jamaica Labour Party in the 1959 general elections. [53]

Reach Falls: An Attraction for Visitors and Locals. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Folly Mansion: A Ruined Reminder of the Glory Days of Portland's Rich and Famous. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

SIGNIFICANT SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTLAND

The 1938 Labour Disturbances and Their Effects in Portland

After years of enduring poor working conditions and low wages, coupled with a steady rise in the cost of living, workers around the island rallied behind early spokesmen, such as Alexander Bustamante, St William Grant and A.G.S. Coombs, who urged them to demand and struggle for better wages and working conditions. Worker agitation spilled out on to the streets, estates and dock yards of virtually every parish in 1938, resulting in violent confrontations with the police and military, serious damage to property and most deadly of all, considerable loss of lives. Although the final outcome of the 1938 labour protests saw some move towards an improvement in wages and later, working conditions, the events of 1938 left their mark on

almost every parish in Jamaica. Portland was no different, even though events there were not as deadly as they were at Frome, Westmoreland and around the parish of Kingston.

As seen in earlier sections, the banana industry was the backbone of Portland's economy in the late nineteenth into the twentieth centuries. Of all the groups involved in the banana trade, the larger growers (the minority), were more financially equipped to deal with natural disasters and the rigid guidelines set by United Fruit Company (UFCO) on prices/compensation offered to banana growers. Yet, as seen before, the small cultivators were the main producers of bananas in Portland, and they suffered from the hard line and low compensation offered by UFCO for their fruit. Conditions were at their worst for the labourers (many of them landless) who depended for their very existence on the poorly compensated task of banana loading and the measly wages paid by the owners of banana estates. By 1938, the fruit companies, including United Fruit, had tried to improve the efficiency of their operations by closing a number of their banana ports and focussing the trade on Port Antonio, Kingston and a few other outlets. This meant that by that year a great deal of the banana loading was concentrated in Portland. UFCO's workers at their various banana loading docks in Portland and Kingston were being paid a mere 9d per hour and sometimes less. It is no surprise, therefore, that the events of 1938 in the banana parish played out mainly among the workers connected to the banana trade.

In May 1938, as the strike among dock workers spread in Kingston, the United Fruit Company's workers made it clear that they would accept nothing less than 1/- per hour and at a May 22 meeting of banana loaders and other dock workers in Kingston, striking workers were urged by Bustamante and St William Grant to hold out until their demands were met. The immediate effect of the Kingston dock workers' strike on Portland was that cargo ships had to be diverted to Port Antonio for unloading. After 28 May when the dock strike was settled in Kingston, things became relatively quiet, but disturbances spread quickly into the rural parishes, including Portland. However, discontent among banana workers especially had been simmering in Portland for some time before 1938.

As of May 1936, when the Jamaican Workers and Tradesmen's Union (JWTU) had been formed, its president, A.G.S. Coombs (Bustamante's rival), had been holding meetings of workers in Buff

Bay and in Port Antonio, urging them to support the union and to demand better pay and conditions of work. Coombs had a strong following among most banana workers in Portland, and the strength of worker demands was of great concern to the larger banana growers who were alarmed at the prospect of being forced to pay higher wages to their plantation workers. Consequently, by August 1937, these larger banana planters began to use thugs to intimidate leaders of the JWTU and to break up meetings. On 28 January 1938, one of these gangs broke up a meeting being held by Coombs in Port Antonio, and their leader's statement to Coombs was clearly a reflection of the viewpoint of the larger banana producers and did not represent the desires of most banana workers in the parish:

"Stop talk Coombs, we want no union in Portland, take it to Buff Bay, Hope Bay, Manchioneal and other districts where they have no ship to load with bananas. We want nothing in Port Antonio more than what we are getting."

Following the relative calm after the settlement of the dock workers' strike in Kingston, protests and strikes, accompanied by clashes and confrontations between protesters and security forces, spread to the rural parishes of Clarendon, St Ann, St Mary and Portland and were at their strongest by 6 June. In Portland, striking banana workers prevented containers of bananas from being transported to Port Antonio for shipment by blocking the roads and also attacked a Fruit Company's agent in Manchioneal. Units from the Sherwood Forresters, (the British regiment which was then stationed in Jamaica) had to be sent in to the parish to clear the roadblocks. On 2 June, the town of Buff Bay was the scene of a massive demonstration by over 300 workers who swarmed into the town from areas such as Rose Hill, Plum Valley, Charles Town and White River. Marching through Buff Bay, the demonstrators forced Chinese shopkeepers and other businesses, such as Buff Bay Bakery, to close and also forced workers on Kildare Farm and Woodstock Estate to stop working. Telegraph wires were cut, huge stones were used to block the main road to Craig Mill and some motor cars were damaged. Several persons were arrested by police who were early on the scene.

Although there was no serious disorder in Portland after 10 June, problems again surfaced in early 1939. By February of that year, the *Bustamante Industrial Trade Union* (BITU) was

officially registered as a trade union, and shortly afterwards, Bustamante called for a general strike to support dock workers' claims. This time, shipping at all major ports, including Port Antonio, was immediately affected. A riot erupted in Port Antonio and police were only able to disperse the protesters after advancing on the crowd with fixed bayonets and by firing over their heads. Governor Richards immediately proclaimed a state of emergency and banned all public meetings and marches until the general strike was called off. On this occasion, Bustamante gave in and called off the strike but the BITU remained strongly supported in the parish and Bustamante was impressed by the organizational skills and potential of Leopold Augustus Lynch, whom he had made the General Organiser for the Portland branch of the BITU. For Lynch, this was the start of a successful political career in Portland, in the years to follow. [54]

The 1944 Constitution and Political Developments in Portland, 1944-1980

The Constitution of 1944 granted Universal Adult Suffrage to Jamaica, thereby allowing all Jamaican citizens twenty-one years and over the right to vote. In preparation for elections under the new constitution, ten parishes in Jamaica were divided into two constituencies each and Portland was one of these ten parishes. From 1944 onwards, the parish was divided into the electoral constituencies of Portland Western and Portland Eastern. In 1944, the historic first General Election to be held under Universal Adult Suffrage occurred. In Portland Western, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP), as well as several Independent candidates contested this first election for the right to represent the people of Portland Western in the Jamaican Parliament.

Leopold Augustus Lynch, who had served in the parish as the General Organiser for the Portland Branch of the BITU, was the candidate for the JLP, while R.L. Lowe contested the election for the PNP. Lynch made good use of his earlier knowledge and experience in the parish and reportedly rode his bicycle, campaigning throughout the constituency. Lynch convincingly won (2,795 votes) over the PNP's, R.L. Lowe (1,007 votes). The outcome of the 1944 election proved historic both for Lynch and for the JLP, as Leopold Lynch and the JLP won the seat for Portland Western seven consecutive times. Beginning in 1944, Lynch went on to win Portland Western in 1949, 1955, 1959, 1962, 1967 and 1972, making him the longest

serving parliamentarian in Jamaica up to 1972. Leopold Lynch went on to become the first Local Government minister in independent Jamaica. As a tribute to Lynch's contributions to Portland Western, the Lynch Park Sports Complex in Buff Bay was named in his honour and facilitates the sporting development of young people in the Buff Bay area. Recently, in 2011, an Information and Telecommunications Centre was also opened at Lynch Park.

Lynch Park Sports Complex. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Portland Eastern, the second of two constituency divisions in the parish created its own bit of history beginning in 1944. It was the only constituency in Jamaica where an Independent candidate won the seat two consecutive times. Of importance too was the fact that neither the JLP nor the PNP took part in the historic first general election of 1944 held under adult suffrage in Portland Eastern. Harold Allan and T. Adrian Gray were the two Independent candidates vying for Portland Eastern in 1944 and Harold Allan won convincingly on that occasion. Allan went on to win Portland Eastern again in 1949, defeating the PNP's, L.E. Dillon by a wide margin

of votes. The PNP went on to win Portland Eastern in 1959, 1967, 1972, 1976, 1989, 1993 and 1997, while the JLP was victorious in Portland Eastern in 1955, 1962 and 1980.

Two of the candidates for this constituency, Kenneth A. Jones (Ken Jones of the JLP) and Kenneth G. Wright (Ken Wright of the PNP), were to have a lasting impact on Portland's landscape, with places of historical importance in the parish being named after them. Ken Jones was a son of Portland with long-standing roots in the Jones family in the parish (see section below on the Jones family of Darling Ford Estate). In 1955, Ken Jones, running for the JLP, defeated Adrian Gray and won the right to represent Portland Eastern in the Parliament of Jamaica. However, by the 1959 general election, Kenneth Wright, a stalwart of the PNP, won Portland Eastern, defeating his rival, Ken Jones, in the process. Ken Jones bounced back in the 1962 general elections and won the seat, defeating his competitor, Kenneth Wright.

Despite his defeat, Ken Wright had worked hard for the people of Portland and the *Ken Wright Pier* located in the Errol Flynn Marina and the *Ken Wright Primary School* on Wain Road, Port Antonio, are ever-present reminders of his legacy.

The Ken Wright Pier. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

After he won the seat for Portland Eastern in 1962, Ken Jones, who was seen as a rising star in the JLP and having the potential to be a unifying force in Jamaican political life, was made Minister of Communications and Works in newly independent Jamaica. Unfortunately, his potential was short-lived as the Hon. Kenneth Jones died on 11 October 1964 as a result of injuries he received when he fell from a balcony at the Sunset Lodge Hotel in Montego Bay. As a permanent reminder of his brief contribution, the *Ken Jones Aerodrome*, located 10 kilometres west of Port Antonio, serves the tourist resorts on the north-east coast and connects Portland to other parts of Jamaica.[55]

The Ken Jones Aerodrome. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

Legacies of other Personalities from Portland

The contributions of several persons whose destinies have been bound up with the story of Portland, including the Right Excellent Nanny of the Maroons,, Thomas Phillip Lecky, O.B.E., O.M., Leopold Augustus Lynch, Ken Wright and Ken Jones, have been highlighted throughout this history. This section explores the mark made by others on the fabric of Portland's history.

Evan Jones and the Jones Family of East Portland

Evan Jones, the acclaimed writer and poet, has deep historical and family ties to the parish of his birth. The potential and brief political contribution of his brother, the late Kenneth Jones (Ken Jones) has been discussed previously. Darling Ford Estate, with its long-standing history, passed into the ownership of the Jones family in the twentieth century. Evan Jones' mother was a Quaker missionary who came to Portland from America and despite her family's racial and religious prejudice, she married a hard-working coloured farmer, Fred M. Jones, who later became a successful banana plantation owner and did very well for himself. Their marriage produced three sons, Evan, Kenneth and Richard, the youngest who up to 2009 was still running the family's vast property, which at one time covered 10,000 acres. Evan's mother made her own mark on Portland's history, becoming central to the Quakers' mission based at Hector's River with its Seaside Friends' Meeting House. Indeed she managed to convert so many Indians to Quakerism that her meeting house became known within the district as "the coolie church".

Evan was born in 1927 in Hector's River in eastern Portland, and after attending boarding school at Munroe College, he followed the Quaker tradition of higher education by pursuing studies at Haverford College in Pennsylvania in the U.S.A. Evan had an early love for English Literature and this was what he studied. Although he migrated to England in 1956, Evan Jones' writings continued to reflect his deep connection to Portland and to the country of his birth. His 1993 novel, *Stone Haven,* reflected some of these experiences, and he titled the novel after Stone Haven, the family home in Portland. Jones is well known for the powerful script for the 1975 BBC television series, *The Fight against Slavery*.

However, it is Evan Jones' poem, the *Song of the Banana Man,* that demonstrates most of all, his deep connection to the life and times of his native Portland, and the celebrated poem has carried the images of Portland's proud banana-producing small farmers all around the world. Every line and every verse of *Song of the Banana Man* is a testament to the work, spirit and endurance of the Portland small farmers who were so important to the unfolding history of the parish. Messages of pride taken in the work done and value of self and country are powerfully represented throughout the poem, but especially in the refrain, *"Praise God an' m'big right han', I will live an' die a banana man."* Evan Jones may have left his native Portland early in life, but his *Song of the Banana Man*, spoken and loved by schoolchildren and adults all over, constantly transmits this important look into the culture and history of the parish. There rests Jones' contribution to his home parish. [56]

Edward Baugh

Edward Alston Cecil Baugh, C.D., was born in Port Antonio on January 10, 1936. Like Evan Jones, Baugh's childhood experiences in Portland were influenced by the prominence of the banana trade, especially in Port Antonio. His father, Edward Percival Baugh, was a purchasing agent for the banana trade in Port Antonio, and, as seen through the words of Baugh's poem, *"Sunday Afternoon Walks With My Father"*, his father usually took him on strolls around Port Antonio. His childhood memories of banana loading at the wharf were of the fast-paced "rhythm of loading day", "the clang of tally machines" and "the intense knee-dipping canter of the bearers/ a human millipede hurrying the green/ bunches into the sure hands of stevedores. . ."

A true son of Portland, Edward Baugh's high school days were spent at Titchfield from where he won a Jamaica Government Exhibition which took him to the then University College of the West Indies to read for his degree in English. His post-graduate years were spent at Queen's University in Ontario, Canada and the University of Manchester in England, where he was awarded his Ph.D. Emeritus Professor Edward Baugh chose to spend thirty-three years of his life (1968-2001) influencing the lives of young people from various countries and cultures through his teaching of English literature and his prolific writing at The University of the West Indies,

Mona. His brilliant command of the spoken word elevated him to the position of Public Orator in 1985. Like Evan Blake, his life experiences are brought to the world of readers through his literary works, and it is through this medium, as well as his career of teaching, that this son of Portland contributes so much to his nation and the wider world. Edward Baugh has received many awards, including the Gold Musgrave Medal from the Institute of Jamaica in 2012. He has reminded us of his passion for moulding young minds through education in his poem, "I was a Teacher Too" (1991). [57]

Carl Brissett: Giving Back to Portland and Jamaica

Born and raised in Hector's River in Portland, Carl Brissett rose to the rank of international cricketer, but has been guided by his love for the parish of his birth and for his native Jamaica and returned home to give back to the young people of Portland through sports. Like many others from Hector's River, Brissett attended Happy Grove High School, where he played in the Headley Cup Cricket matches from 1981 to 1983. He continued his love for cricket and played competitively when he went on to study at Titchfield High School. Brissett's cricketing abilities were rewarded when he represented Portland on the All-Headley Cup Team which played against the All-Sunlight Cup Team, which at the time included Courtney Walsh.

Between 1985 and 1986, Brissett moved to England where he played League Cricket with the stand-outs, Darren Gough and Michael Vaughn. For seventeen years, Brissett had an illustrious career as an international cricketer, playing cricket across several counties and scoring many centuries. On his retirement from international cricket, Brissett returned home to his native Portland, where he continues to transmit his knowledge of sporting skills to young people. Port Antonio High School, which was established in January 1960, excels in academics as well as sports, and Brissett has invested in the lives of young people there by coaching both the cricket

and the football teams.

Port Antonio High School. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

However, he has not limited his contributions to Portland alone, as Carl Brissett has also been coach of the National Under-15 Team. This son of Portland remains guided by a philosophy of giving back to his parish and his country. [58]

Portland's Cultural Heritage

The Maroon Cultural Heritage: Overview

Although the cultural heritage of the Windward Maroons is discussed in relation first to the Moore Town Maroons and then to the Charles Town Maroons, this does not ignore the fact that the heritage of the Windward Maroons has emerged from a common history and connected to a common home, the Blue and John Crow Mountains, a large part of which runs through the parish of Portland. Therefore, most elements of the Maroon cultural heritage were shared by both settlements, with the traditions of *Kromanti Play* (explained below) being

unique to the Moore Town Maroons. The cultural heritage of the Moore Town and Charles Town Maroons is intricately tied to their shared historical experiences as they fought to assert their right to recognition as free people.

The Blue and John Crow Mountains. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

All of the Windward Maroons, therefore, revere the Blue and John Crow Mountains as a sacred site, the resting place of their ancestors who were buried there and whose spirits remain close to their burial places. Likewise, the mountains are linked to their cultural heritage because everything that they needed to survive was located there, from the animals which they hunted for food, to the dense forest cover and many trails which allowed them to maintain their freedom. Methods of food preparation which were integral to Maroon heritage, such as jerking the meat of wild animals, were the result of Maroons using every available resource in the mountain environment. The network of trails which run through the Blue and John Crow Mountains and which is known as the *Nanny Town Heritage Route* is closely tied to the oral traditions which tell of the Maroon cultural heritage and experience.

Some of the trails in the Nanny Town Heritage Route include the Cunha Cunha Pass which runs across the north-eastern Blue Mountains and which led to Maroon settlements, hunting grounds and hiding places; Corn Puss Trail; and Woman's Town Trail. Look-out on the Cunha Cunha Pass Trail is linked to the Maroon heritage of military strategy and resistance. Katta-a-Wood (Woman's Town), located at the foothills of the John Crow Mountains, was originally a Taino site, and the Maroons fled there after the English captured Nanny Town, at which point Maroon oral sources indicate that the name was changed to Woman's Town. Pumpkin Hill is tied to the collective heritage surrounding Queen Nanny and the fight for freedom, because according to Maroon traditions, this is where Queen Nanny and Captain Quao met to plan military strategy against their enemies, and this is where runaway slaves were hidden by Nanny and her forces.

The Maroon Heritage of Moore Town

The Museum in Moore Town. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

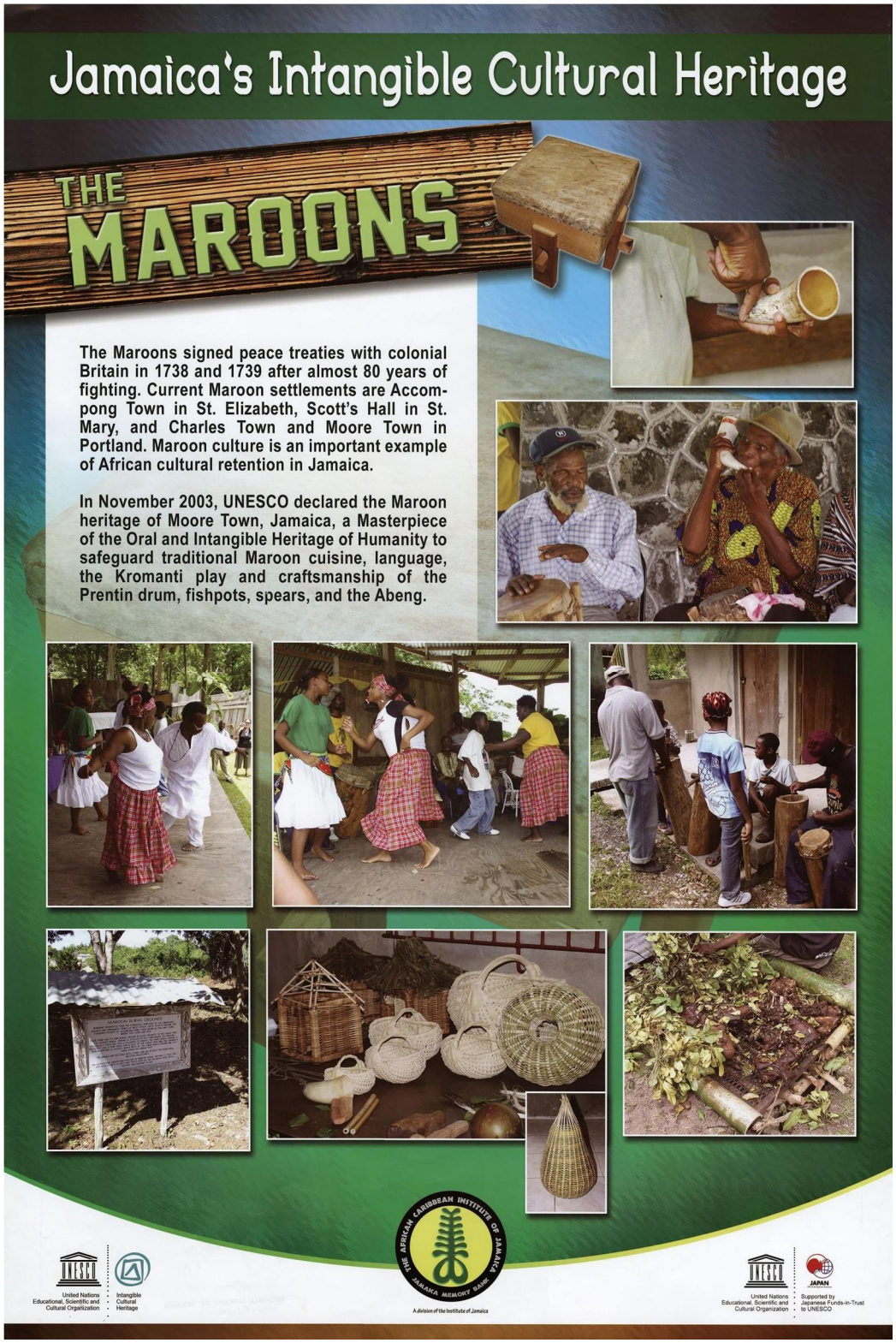
Maroon culture and identity in Moore Town has been shaped partly by the different cultural practices that their ancestors brought with them from parts of Western and Central Africa when they were taken by force to the Caribbean. To the traditions of their ancestors, the Moore Town Maroons also added new religious ceremonies that consisted of various spiritual traditions. These cultural expressions and ceremonies of the Moore Town Maroons have been named *Kromanti Play* by them and represent the very heart and basis of Maroon culture and identity. As part of their Kromanti ceremonies, Moore Town Maroons perform their cultural dances and songs and they engage in specific drumming styles in order to communicate with the spirits of the ancestors. The Kromanti drum used during the ceremony is made by hollowing out a tree trunk and covering it with goatskin. Rare and secretive herbal medicines are also used as part of Kromanti Play.

During these ceremonies, the Moore Town Maroons also communicate with each other and with ancestral spirits in a unique language derived from Africa. This language is also called *Kromanti* and was influenced mainly by the Twi language of Ghana. Kromanti is used only for religious ceremonies and is not known or used by outsiders. Many aspects of Kromanti Play are unique to Moore Town Maroons. As part of their cultural heritage, the Moore Town Maroons also have a unique system of communally-held “treaty lands”, their own political system and the use of the Abeng as a means of long-distance communication. Although the Kromanti practices and traditions of the Maroon Heritage of Moore Town are not shared by non-Maroons in Portland, other aspects of Maroon heritage, such as the Maroon tradition of jerking meat, has influenced the food culture of the wider Portland and Jamaican community.

Portlanders, visitors and persons from all over Jamaica still view Boston Jerk Pork as an important part of the Portland experience. Because of their historical importance in the parish, the Moore Town Maroons have earned the right to have their unique culture recognised as a significant aspect of Portland’s cultural heritage. These cultural practices and beliefs, defined by UNESCO as Intangible Cultural Heritage, have been recognised by UNESCO as being important to humanity and worthy of safeguarding and preservation. Long before the inscription of the Blue and John Crow Mountains as a World Heritage Site in 2015, the Maroon Heritage of Moore

Town received world recognition by being inscribed on UNESCO'S *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* in 2008. Portland and Jamaica can be justifiably proud of Maroon cultural heritage, and the Moore Town Maroons have undertaken several measures to ensure that their heritage is safeguarded and transmitted to future generations of Maroons.

Moore Town All Age School. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica



Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Maroons. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Cultural Heritage of the Charles Town Maroons

The cultural heritage of the Charles Town Maroons is safeguarded and documented by Maroons in the Maroon Museum and Library at Charles Town where there are many books and other writings on Maroon culture. However, it is at the *Asafu Ground* in Charles Town that the Maroon cultural traditions come alive, and drumming, dancing, singing and the blowing of the Abeng are performed for Maroons and visitors to Charles Town. The Charles Town Maroon community has always observed 23 June as *Quao Day Victory Celebration*, the day on which Captain Quao, the invisible hunter and Nanny's chief military strategist, led the Maroons to victory over the English at the Spanish River.

However, beginning in 2006, the Charles Town Maroons have made this celebration a public affair to which Jamaicans and visitors alike come each year to witness the best of Maroon culture and heritage at the Asafu Yard. Each year, Maroon drumming, dances, singing, poetry and traditional victory ceremonies are performed at the Asafu Yard. The Maroon tradition of jerking meat is also showcased as a vital part of their cultural heritage. Maroons developed their practice of jerking the meat of the wild hogs by digging a hole in the ground and covering the slowly cooking meat with pimento leaves. Smoke given off during the cooking was really not visible and so their enemies would not see signs of smoke and be able to find them. Jerking also preserved the meat and as the late leader of the Charles Town Maroons, Colonel Frank Lumsden explained, while they were constantly on the move against English enemies, Maroons did not always have the time to prepare a meal. Jerking therefore, served a practical purpose for the Maroons, but this important part of their heritage has become a well-loved aspect of the food culture of most Jamaicans.

A significant feature of Maroon culture, honouring their ancestors, is also observed after the Asafu Yard performances. The Charles Town Maroons make the long journey to their Sacred Cemetery, to the graves of their ancestors, where traditional ceremonies are again performed in their honour. Ultimately, the values symbolized by Maroon culture, whether these be from Moore Town or Charles Town, emphasise traditions of courage, the will to overcome and the willingness to fight for the preservation of freedom. These are time-honoured cultural values

with which every Jamaican can identify because of a shared history of struggle against oppression and injustice. In this respect, Maroon cultural heritage becomes the cultural heritage of all Jamaicans. [59]

Portland: Home to Jamaica's First World Heritage Site

The rich cultural heritage of Portland received world-wide recognition on July 3, 2015 when the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site was inscribed on to UNESCO's *World Heritage List* as a *World Heritage (Mixed) Site*. Being a mixed site means that the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site has both cultural and natural features which have universal importance or value to the whole world and therefore are worthy of special recognition and measures of safeguarding and protection. With this inscription on to the prestigious *World Heritage List*, the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site became Jamaica's first ever World Heritage Site and the Caribbean's first World Heritage Mixed Site. The site consists of two separate mountain ranges, the Blue Mountain Range and the John Crow Mountains, and in Portland, both are separated by the Rio Grande Valley. Although the Blue and John Crow Mountains run through the parishes of Portland, St Thomas, St Andrew and St Mary, a great deal of the 26,000 hectares which forms

the World Heritage Site is to be found in the parish of Portland.

The Blue and John Crow Mountains: Jamaica's First World Heritage Site. Photo courtesy of JN Foundation

As a Cultural Site, the tangible or physical features of the Blue and John Crow Mountains are monumentally linked to the cultural heritage and history of the Windward Maroons. As seen in the discussion on the cultural heritage of the Windward Maroons, the network of trails termed the *Nanny Town Heritage Route* are at the heart of the Maroon historical experience, oral traditions and cultural heritage of the Windward Maroons, as trails and places like Cunha Cunha Pass, Look-Out, Pumpkin Hill, Nanny Falls, Quaco Falls, Three Finger Spring, Mammee Hills, Corn Puss Gap Trail, Woman's Town Trail and Katta-a-Wood all helped to shape the lived experiences and beliefs of the Maroons. Because the connection to their ancestors is central to the cultural heritage of the Maroons, the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site is a sacred place and of tremendous cultural significance because the mountains are a spiritual monument to their ancestors, being the resting place for the remains and spirits of their ancestors.

As a World Heritage Site of Natural value, the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site is home to a large variety of endemic (found only in that location) species of plants and animals. The natural features of the site also include the springs and rivers (such as the Stony River near to Nanny Town), the mountain peaks and ridges and the trails which form a part of the Nanny Town Heritage Route. Of amazing natural value also is the fact that the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site is home to *Tropical Montane Cloud Forest or Mist*, which is to be found only in the Blue and John Crow Mountains. The animal (fauna) species found at the site include amphibian, bird and mammal species, and the natural value of the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site is enhanced by the fact that a number of globally endangered species of plants, frogs and birds are to be found there.

The *Arntully Robber Frog* and the *Jamaica Peak Frog* are two of the rare and threatened species of frogs found there, while the *Petchary, Bicknell's Thrush, Swainson's Warbler*, *Jamaican Black bird, the Yellow-billed Parrot and the Black-billed Parrot* are among the threatened species at the site. After centuries of being hunted to near extinction, the mammalian species, the *hutia* is found only in the John Crow Mountains. With the 2015 inscription of the Blue and John Crow Mountains Site on to the List of World Heritage Sites, the people of Portland and all Jamaica may be justifiably proud of this amazing piece of our natural and cultural heritage, but it also brings the re-assurance that the tremendous cultural and natural values found there will be safeguarded for generations to come. [60]

Kumina and Bruckins in Portland

Kumina

African derived cultural legacies, especially in dance, music and religious beliefs, form an important part of Jamaica's cultural heritage. Kumina religion, music and dance are time-honoured features of the cultural heritage of Jamaica, and although Kumina has been historically strongest in St Thomas, Kumina groups were very much in evidence in Portland, St Mary and St Catherine. Kumina was brought to the island in the post-slavery period between the 1840s and the 1860s by large numbers of free indentured Africans, especially those who came from the Congo where Kumina was dominant. Indeed, *Kumina* is a Ki Kongo word, which

means to move rhythmically. In Portland, as elsewhere, Kumina ceremonies were always held to mark critical events in life such as death and the wake or ‘nine night’ which accompanied the person’s passing. Kumina was also a practiced as a celebration of a birth or a wedding. Kumina ceremonies consisted of singing, drumming and dancing and usually ended with ancestral spirits being invoked. The leader of the Kumina ceremony controlled the spirits and different drum rhythms were used to summon different types of spirits. Revival groups across Portland have been the main guardians and practitioners of Kumina.

Folk Dancers in Performance: A Couple Performing 'Bruckins'. Courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

'Bruckins'

Portland is the last remaining parish where communities still practice Bruckins. Historically, Bruckins was a combination of dancing, singing, feasting and speechmaking in which the freed people around the island participated in order to celebrate their emancipation from slavery. Traditionally, Bruckins celebrations started in the evening of 31 July and continued through the night into the morning of 1 August, the anniversary of Emancipation. These Bruckins celebrations most likely got underway during the first full Emancipation day, 1 August 1838, but became more widespread by 1839. As the years passed and Jamaicans marked Emancipation Day in different ways, they no longer held island-wide Bruckins parties. The tradition gradually faded from people's cultural activities, but very importantly, Bruckins continued to be held each year in two places in Portland, in the community of Kensington which is inland from Hope Bay and in the district of Manchioneal. The participants who took part in Bruckins in Portland were usually the older generations who still kept these traditions going. Outside of Portland, Bruckins is usually only performed as a cultural item during Festival competitions leading up to Independence or at public Emancipation vigils.

Bruckins was a combination of European and African dance influences, with the European style being reflected in the long, gliding steps that the men and women of two rival sets make in the dance. The African Influence is clearly visible in the rhythmic moving of the lower body bending it backward and forward, making it almost seem as if the body was broken at the waist. Moving or 'brucking' like this was the highlight of the dance, hence the name Bruckins. The female leaders (Queens) of the two rival groups would see who could 'bruck' the best, and afterwards the men came out with their leaders (Kings) and also had a brucking competition. A great deal of singing, eating and merry-making accompanied these celebrations. Jamaicans still use the term 'bruckins' to mean a lively, fun-filled dance party. [61]

Concluding Thoughts

Portland's long and varied history and landscape have been shaped by the many groups of people who came into the parish over the centuries, by the economic activities which took centre stage in its development and not least, by the geography, location and climatic conditions of this parish. Archaeologists may not have uncovered many Taino sites in Portland, but what they did find was remarkable enough to prove that the Tainos left strong evidence of their time in Portland and that they may have been the first 'Maroons' having run away to the Blue Mountains and having lived for some time in the location that became Nanny Town, even before the African Maroons arrived there. Tainos then interacted with African Maroons once they came to Portland's mountains.

English settlers, arriving almost hesitatingly at first, eventually had a great influence over the emergence of towns, institutions and infrastructure in the parish. Through their years of fierce resistance and proud assertion of their freedom, the African Maroons have filled the landscape of the Blue and John Crow Mountains with a rich cultural legacy of which Portland and Jamaica may be justly proud. Freed descendants of African enslaved persons brought into the parish shaped its economic development before and after 1838. Portland's reputation as an abundantly agricultural parish has a lot to do with the hard work, perseverance and initiative shown by the small cultivators over the years. Indeed, they have earned their recognition as the backbone of Portland's agricultural economy.

For many who almost always associate Portland's economic activities solely with the banana boom, this history serves to remind us that before the heyday of bananas, the sugar industry also contributed to the early economic development of the parish and left a lasting influence on the landscape of place names all around Portland. By the late nineteenth century, however, the banana ruled this parish, and the banana boom then went on to transform Portland in all the ways previously discussed.

In the first week of January 2018 when several communities across Portland, including Darley, Bourbon and Maidstone, suffered traumatising loss of property and dislocation as a result of heavy rains, many Jamaicans heard the story of the flooding of *Matty Hole.* Yet what stood out

in the televised accounts of the distress were the many examples of Portland residents and others, from the Member of Parliament to the young men of the area, who reached out to help each other and the creative, even if risky steps taken by some to get around the seemingly impassable Matty Hole. For those who take the time to reflect on this “History of Portland Parish”, what becomes clear is that the story of Matty Hole is the story of Portland throughout its long and varied history.

Natural disasters, namely hurricanes and floods, to which the parish is so vulnerable, repeatedly destroyed hard earned agricultural prospects, with fields of bananas and food crops laid low, while the outlook for recovery seemed dim for many, especially Portland’s faithful small farmers. Yet recovery usually came, and when it did, people and communities were able to restart their lives because of that spirit of perseverance, self-help and helping each other which was so typical especially of rural communities across the parish. Crises and challenges were not recent developments in the history of the parish, and the fierce determination of the Windward Maroons expressed in the proud defence of their freedom and culture established a legacy of courage and resilience that has been shared by so many others in the parish over time. It is this spirit of the proud Portlander that has helped to overcome the adversities that history had to offer and perhaps will continue to shape a hopeful future for years to come.

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