The Parish History of St James

By Dr Jenny Jemmott

Introduction

The story of St James began long before the parish as we know it came into existence. In the centuries before the European arrival, this lush, green and forested space was home to at least twenty-five known and studied locations where the first people of St James, the Tainos, lived. The arrival of the Spaniards in 1494 marked a turning point in the history of St James and indeed, all of Jamaica. With the exception of *Bahia de Manteca*, the Spanish origin of the name Montego Bay, the Spanish presence left very impact on the place names of the parish.

View of Montego Bay from Reading Hill Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

For the first people of St James, 1494 opened the gates to exploitation, diseases and virtual extermination. Later, colonial rule by the English reduced the parish to its present size of 591.2 square kilometres or 228.2 square miles and created the physical boundaries of St James as they exist today. Right up until the ending of slavery, it was mainly the English colonial system that shaped the economy and society of St James, allowing for the emergence of a thriving

sugar-based economy in which enslaved Africans, the victims of forced migration, brought prosperity to the planter elite of St James. African ancestors on St James plantations were far from powerless however, hastening the arrival of Emancipation by what has been termed *Jamaica's greatest war for freedom,* the Rebellion led by Sam Sharpe, National Hero.

In the century and a half after Emancipation, there was much that changed in the history of St James, while there was much that remained the same. As the parish entered the twentieth century, there were worrying signs of the widening gap between those who had and those who had not. First evident in the Montego Bay Riots of 1902, these signs resurfaced forcefully in 1938 and again in 1963 with the events at Coral Gardens. Still, the story of St James since Independence has seen the creative spirit of sons and daughters of the parish who have defied the odds and have persevered in their efforts to bring about a more vibrant economic and social life for themselves, their communities and ultimately for the beautiful north-coastal parish of St James. [1]

St James and the First Jamaicans: The Taino Presence in the Parish

Overview of the Taino Sites in St James

Midden Sites, Villages and Cave Sites

According to archaeological investigations undertaken by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT), St James was home to a substantial number of Taino sites, having at least twenty-five known and studied locations. Of these, there were approximately sixteen places across the parish where archaeologists uncovered midden sites. Among the twenty-five locations, there were also five Taino occupation and village sites. Importantly, the list of twenty-five sites also included two Taino caves. [2] These are discussed shortly.

St James' Taino Midden Sites: Overview

Taino middens were really refuse heaps which contained remains of food (fish bones, shells and animal bones) as well as pottery fragments and other reminders of the material culture of the first Jamaicans. We know that middens were usually an indication that at one time, there had been a Taino settlement or village not too far away from the location of the midden. With the passing of time, these sites were covered over by several layers of earth and so archaeologists had to carefully excavate these areas so as to uncover and preserve as much of the contents of these middens as possible. The contents of these middens can tell us a great deal about the lifestyle of these earliest inhabitants, what they ate and the food preferences they may have had, the type of tools and therefore, the level of technology that they used. Unfortunately, in

recent times, many of these midden sites have been destroyed or completely obscured by building and road construction. This makes the archaeological research and excavation which had been done earlier at these sites extremely important in preserving our knowledge of the first inhabitants of St James. Places in the parish where midden sites were located include Hartfield, Spotty Hill, Fairfield, Bogue, California, Stone Henge, Williamsfield House, Barnett View Gardens, Cinnamon Hill, Mount Salem (Catherine Mount) Virgin Valley, Spot Valley, Upper Retirement, Mamee Hill, Leader Avenue and St James Country Club. Some of these are highlighted below.

St James' Taino Occupation and Village Sites as well as Cave Sites: Overview

In addition to the midden locations, archaeologists have also found that the Tainos had occupation sites and villages at Bogue Beach, Cinnamon Hill, Salt Spring, Chew Stick and Tryall in the parish. Two very important Taino cave sites in St James which were used for ceremonial and burial purposes, include Spot Valley Cave, which is famous for its Taino paintings or pictographs and Kempshot. Some of these sites will be highlighted shortly.

Highlighting some Taino Sites in St James:

Mamee Hill (Taino midden site)

The midden site known as Mamee Hill is to be found on Tryall Estate. Tryall is located in St James, a little off the main road, about nine miles from Montego Bay. Not far from the sea, Mamee Hill (as its name suggests) is situated on a long, narrow hill or ridge, which is 230 m or 750 feet above sea level. The area covered by this Taino midden was spread out over four to five acres and archaeologists found a variety of shells, pieces of jars and other pottery belonging to the Montego Bay style pottery, animal bones and pieces of flint used in making stone axes. From the many shells belonging to a species of snail, the *Perna oblique*, it may be concluded that this was a delicacy much preferred by the Tainos.

Spotty Hill (midden)

This midden site is also situated on the Tryall Estate, near to the old Tryall Great House. At a slightly higher elevation (155m or 500 feet) than Mamee Hill, Spotty Hill is to be found about one km north-east of Mamee Hill and is about one mile from the sea. Most of the items uncovered at this midden extended over one to two acres and were similar to those found at Mamee Hill, such as shells, pottery fragments and pieces of stone tools, including an interesting one made from polished green stone. Pottery found here also belonged to the Montego Bay style of Taino pottery. [3]

Fairfield/Fairview (midden)

Today, the Fairview community is one of the significant commercial developments in St James, with a major shopping centre. However, the Fairview/Fairfield area was long ago home to many Taino settlements. In fact, archaeologists often refer to the north-coast Tainos as "the Fairfield people", so named after the large Fairfield site near Montego Bay. In the 1930s, the Montego Bay Country Club was built at this location and so Fairfield as a Taino site became linked to this famous hotel. The Fairfield midden site was large enough, spread out over four and a half acres of hilly land. In the 1930s, large amounts of Taino pottery were recovered at Fairfield and these matched the Montego Bay style and were deposited at the Institute of Jamaica. Most of the finds at this site related to Taino pottery, including an "almost intact" bowl excavated by archaeologist James Lee in 1970.

Bogue Beach (A Taino village and midden site)

The general Bogue area of St James is today significantly developed, with features such as the Bogue Heights housing development, Bogue Treatment Plant, a shopping centre and the Montego Bay Metro Centre. Long ago, the area was also home to Taino settlements and perhaps the most important of these was the site known as Bogue Beach. This was a Taino village site located on the shore of the Bogue Estate close to the mouth of the Montego River.

The site was discovered in 1931 by Cyril R. Andresen, the overseer on the Bogue Estate. It appears that this village site was extensive, covering about three acres. Archaeologists uncovered a lot of broken pottery and fragments of other utensils in middens located in shallow areas along the beach and at the water's edge. These remains were of the White Marl style. A variety of shells were also found scattered everywhere. Because the settlement had been located so close to the beach, a great deal of Taino artefacts may have been lost over time to wave erosion of the coastline. This seems to have been the case as Andresen reported that several residents of Bogue Beach told him in 1931 that the coastline had once extended at least 132 feet beyond the existing shoreline.

In 1983, James Lee succeeded in finding the Bogue Beach village site along the left bank of the Montego River's old course, near to the mouth of the river. By that year, the Taino midden materials had become even more scattered and disturbed. Modernisation had also taken a toll on the site as much of the land to the west of the river, where the village had been located, was covered by material dredged from the bay. The entire area now forms part of the Montego Freeport development.

Cinnamon Hill (A hilltop Taino village and midden site)

Cinnamon Hill, near Rose Hall, St James, is named from the grove of cinnamon trees which once grew there. In 1967, archaeologist, James Lee found a hill-top site near the Cinnamon Hill Great House, which research later showed to have been a Taino village site, complete with middens around the fringes of the hill which were relatively undisturbed. This Taino site was located about one mile inland at an elevation of 465 feet above sea level and stretched over one and a half acres. About 5,000 pieces of pottery were found, along with considerable numbers of marine shells and 793 bones belonging to twenty-one species of animals. The most significant discovery was a single human burial found at a depth of twenty inches. Although the bones were poorly preserved, archaeologists observed that this Taino native had been carefully buried in a flexed position, with the head facing north, as was typical of Taino burials. [4]

Spot Valley Burial Cave and Pictograph Site

Spot Valley in St James was probably given this name because of the number of small hills which dot or spot the landscape all over the valley. Spot Valley Cave in the parish is a famous Taino site because it is one of three sites in Jamaica where Taino paintings or *pictographs* exist. The other two are at Worthy Park and Mountain River Cave, both in St Catherine. At Spot Valley Cave, about a dozen Taino paintings are on a wall of a small cave which measures about eight metres by twelve metres but the paintings are not so clear because of the effects of dust, dirt or smoke over time. Nevertheless, archaeologists like James Lee have been able to conclude that they were applied to the cave wall in black pigment and are similar to the Mountain River paintings in style and subject matter.

Lee found evidence that Spot Valley cave was also a burial cave. Fragments of human bones and teeth were found in the floor of the cave as well as in the crevices of the cave walls. Pieces of pottery found alongside the bones show the Taino belief in burying their dead along with food for the journey to *Coyaba* (heaven). At least fifty-seven pieces of pottery (potsherds) were found at the burial site and Lee reported that with these, they were able to reconstruct about seventy-five percent of the original Taino bowl, which was roughly circular but without handles or decoration. These all matched the White Marl style of pottery used by the Tainos. [5]

Kempshot (Taino Cave with Petroglyphs)

Kempshot Cave is found on the Kempshot property, which was a livestock pen in the nineteenth century. Kempshot is located about eight miles from Montego Bay and the cave is found at an elevation of 1,000 feet above sea level. It is a natural limestone cave about twenty-five feet in length, twelve feet wide and about ten feet in height. The nineteenth-century owner of the property was Maxwell Hall, the government meteorologist in 1880 and the stipendiary magistrate for St James in 1884. He brought the cave and its interesting contents to the

attention of the curator of the museum at the Institute of Jamaica, J. E. Duerden, in the mid-1880s. Kempshot Cave is famous as one of only four Taino sites known in Jamaica before the twentieth century for their rock carvings or Petroglyphs.

Archaeologist James Lee explored and mapped Kempshot Cave in 1972. Lee noted that there were twelve, possibly thirteen Taino carvings (Petroglyphs) of upright human heads in the walls of the cave. The faces were about seven inches long, five inches wide and the distance between the centres of the eyes was about two inches. There were no markings or inscriptions beside the heads to give us any additional information. It seems that the Tainos used a sharp chisel to carve some of the heads, and these have stood the better test of time. The rest though, appear dull and worn. Lee noted that in 1972, there were signs that the carvings were being worn away by vandalism. Kempshot was definitely not used for burials by the Tainos, and the carvings may have served some ceremonial purpose, perhaps to honour important persons in the Taino community. [6]

California (Taino midden site and burial cave)

In the nineteenth century, the California estate adjoined Tryall, Running Gut and Rose Hall estates. In the late nineteenth century, workers reported that they uncovered many shells while digging on the property. Further digging on the property, at a depth of two to three feet, revealed many pieces of land and sea shells, bones from the Indian coney, as well as fragments of pottery and fish bones. What had actually been discovered was a large Taino midden, spread out over three to four acres of land at California. Very importantly, discoveries of numerous Taino artefacts in nearby midden sites at Mamee Hill, Spotty Hill and Sheep Pen Pasture all point to the fact that this part of St James was well-populated by Tainos and of great importance in the study of the people who lived in the parish before the coming of the Europeans.

A Taino burial cave was also discovered on California estate. It is located at an area called Burnt Ground pasture, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. California cave is open at each end and resembles a large underground passage in the surrounding limestone. The cave and its contents were first officially explored in 1896 by Dr Duerden, who at the time was the curator of the Science Museum of the Institute of Jamaica. Among the human remains found in the cave were three lower jaws, the frontal part of a skull which had been artificially flattened in the Taino tradition and several fragments of bones which archaeologists concluded were from about twelve individuals buried in the cave.

Large numbers of pottery fragments were also found in the cave. Archaeologists speculated that the large size of some of the ornament pieces indicated that some of the original ornaments must have been quite large, perhaps with a diameter of one to two feet. They

further concluded that the larger ornaments from the cave may have been urns in which the heads were placed, while the smaller jars would have contained food and water for the journey to Coyaba. Dr Duerden had the bones and pottery fragments relocated to the museum at the Institute of Jamaica. However, from all reports, the workers and residents in the area fearfully predicted that some catastrophe would occur as a result of disturbing the bones of the dead. Not long after the removal, their fears were realized as the district experienced one of the worst floods in living memory, dumping sixteen inches of rain and resulting in much damage to property. [7]

These examples of middens and burial caves give us an insight into the way of life and culture of the very first Jamaicans. However, these were only a small sample of the much wider network of Taino settlements in St James, as archaeologists have shown us that their settlements were fairly widespread across the parish. Sadly, life would forever change for these first inhabitants of St James when Christopher Columbus and the Spaniards arrived in Jamaica and first made contact with the Tainos of the parish in May 1494 during the second voyage.

The Spaniards and the Parish of St James

Columbus and the Early Spanish Explorers in the Vicinity of Montego Bay

It was his second voyage in 1494, that Christopher Columbus and the Spaniards first made contact with the area that we now know as Montego Bay. After exploring the south coast of Cuba, Columbus arrived on the north coast of Jamaica, anchoring off the coast of St Ann's Bay. However, they needed a better harbour to repair one of their ships, the Nina, and therefore continued sailing westwards until they arrived at the horseshoe-shaped harbour of Rio Bueno in present day Trelawny. After spending a few days there, Columbus guided his small fleet further west along the north coast until they arrived at a natural harbour in early May, 1494. The Spaniards first named this harbour *Golfo de bien Tiempo* (Fair Weather Gulf) (which was later called Montego Bay), and they anchored their ships there for a short while.

On first arriving at St Ann's Bay, the Spaniards had been met by suspicious and hostile Tainos in their canoes, but with the help of a Taino interpreter whom they had brought from Santo Domingo, the reception soon became more peaceful. As the Spaniards slowly sailed along the north coast towards Rio Bueno and then Montego Bay, hundreds of curious Tainos had followed in their canoes and when Columbus anchored in Montego Bay, the first Jamaicans brought out gifts of food to the waiting ships and were given glass beads and other trinkets in return. It seems that curiosity got the better of the Tainos, one of whom reportedly asked to accompany Columbus on his voyage back to Spain. Shortly after this first encounter, Columbus and his ships set sail for Cuba. Later in July of 1494, the Spaniards once more returned to Montego Bay, but did not remain there for any length of time. From there, Columbus explored

the western and southern coasts of Jamaica before setting sail for Santo Domingo. He was never to return to Montego Bay, but the Spaniards who came after him had a hand in shaping the early history of the area. [8]

Later Spanish Presence in St James

Beginning around 1510, the Spaniards established settlements at various places around the island. Most of these were small and sparsely populated and included the north-coast outpost of *Bahia de Manteca*, which became Montego Bay, *Sevilla la Nueva* (New Seville) in St Ann, which became the first capital of the Spanish colony, *Melilla*, which was most likely in Port Maria, *Puerto Anton*, which later became Port Antonio and *Oristan*, near Bluefields in Westmoreland. By far the most well known and most enduring settlement was on the south coast at *Villa de la Vega* (Spanish Town), which replaced *Sevilla la Nueva* as the main town or capital of the Spanish colony of Jamaica.

Bahia de Manteca

Bahia de Manteca was the name given to the bay and the little outpost of Spaniards who occupied the area that became Montego Bay. *Bahia de Manteca* literally meant "Lard Bay or Bay of Lard" and the name gives us a good idea of the activities which took place in this north-coastal Spanish settlement. Pigs, introduced by the Spaniards, had multiplied into a large, wild population of hogs. These animals supplied meat in abundance and the Spaniards also boiled the fat of the pigs to make lard. Large amounts of hog's fat or lard were exported from Lard Bay or Bahia de Manteca (as it became known) to other Spanish settlements and also to Spain. Early maps showing the north coast of Jamaica also support the idea that Montego Bay got its name from the lard producing activities of the Spaniards. One of these early maps shows Lard Bay as the name of the place that was later marked as Montego Bay. Additionally, an early deed relating to the transfer of property in St James shows a road which is marked as leading to Lard Bay.

It appears that some of the lard exported from Montego Bay also came from the large herds of cattle that were raised by the Spaniards in Jamaica. Along the southern coast of the island, from *Negrillo* (Negril) in the west to *Morante* (Morant Bay) in the east, the Spaniards had established large cattle ranches known as *hatos.* In fact, cattle ranching became a very important part of the economic life of Spanish Jamaica as the cattle provided revenue from an abundant supply of meat, hides and tallow. Hides were exported to Europe and used in the making of leather goods, while the tallow or fat of the animals was shipped as lard for use in cooking and in the making of soaps and candles.

There were no cattle ranches on the north coast. However, during the sixteenth century, there was a large population of wild cattle roaming throughout the island. North-coast Spaniards did not hesitate to kill these animals for meat and to supply hides and fat or tallow for export. Additionally, some supplies of cow hides and tallow were taken overland from the south-coast ranches to *Bahia de Manteca* by way of an early 'road' or trail. This linked the south-coast *hatos* to *Oristan* (Bluefields), and this road continued over the Westmoreland hills and down to Montego Bay. Therefore, Montego Bay in Spanish times became an important port from which large exports of lard, hides and other products were loaded onto ships for the voyage back to Spain. Lard exports dominated the trade and so the area literally became known as the 'Bay of Lard'. So this is how Montego Bay got its name, which is the English version of the Spanish name, *Bahia de Manteca* or Bay of Lard. *Bahia de Manteca* was therefore more of a trading outpost than a large settlement, and the number of Spaniards stationed there was just enough to oversee the trade in hides, lard and other commodities.

Bahia de Manteca, famous for its exports of lard, soon became the target of French, English and Dutch pirates who cut into Spain's profits, both by attacking and robbing the poorly defended outpost and by engaging in illegal trade with a few of the Spanish settlers who received scarce manufactured goods in exchange for the supplies of lard. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Spanish Montego Bay was virtually taken over by these pirates who stood their ground because they recognised that the north coast was far away from the Spanish capital in *Villa de la Vega* and that Spain took very few steps to defend its colony, especially those areas far away from the centre of government.

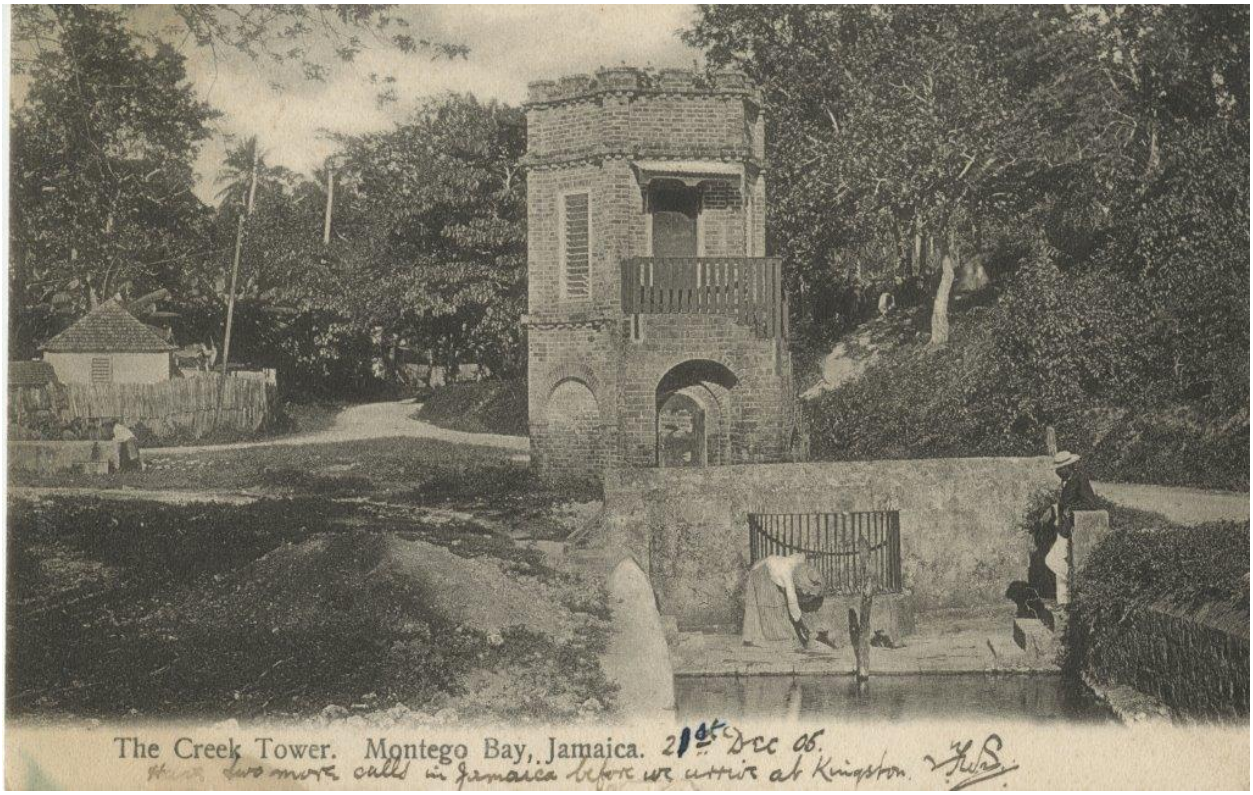
The Spanish Imprint on St James

Today, there are no structures or physical remains which have been proven to have originated with the Spaniards. In fact, the most enduring reminder of the Spanish presence in the parish lies in the name of the capital, *Montego Bay*, derived from the Spanish name, *Bahia de Manteca*. Nevertheless, there are a few interesting stories by which the people of St James still lay claim to Spanish connections with the parish.

Spanish Connections to the Creek

Perhaps the most well-known of these stories links the famous Montego Bay landmark, the Creek, with the Spaniards. According to the account, a Spanish senorita and her slave girl were hunting for crabs, one of which hid itself under a stone. When they lifted the stone, they heard the sound of bubbling water. They quickly reported this to the other Spaniards and after digging the area, the inhabitants found the stream, the source of the bubbling water. Apparently this discovery was a reason for great celebration as lack of water had been a major problem for those who lived in the area, and the enslaved girl who played a part in its discovery was

rewarded by being freed. The stream was named *El Rio de Camarones* or the River of the Crabs. As time passed, the stream became known to all living in the parish as the Creek. In later times, when the English ruled Jamaica, the famous **Dome** was built over the Creek to protect the water supply.



The Creek Tower, Montego Bay, Jamaica Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

In the history of Montego Bay, the Creek remained the all-important source of water supply until 1893 when a piped water system was installed. [9]

The Foundation Years: The English Arrival and the Creation of the Parish of St James

St James was among the second group of precincts (later known as parishes) formed by the English under Governor Sir Thomas Modyford in 1665. In addition to St James, this group of precincts included St George, St Mary, St Ann and St Elizabeth. By 1677, St James had been formally established as a parish. As was the custom in naming parishes after rulers or government officials, St James was so called for James, Duke of York (later, King James 11).

Boundary Changes of St James over the Years

Boundaries of Old St James before 1770

When it was first formed as a precinct and then as a parish, St James was much larger than it was to become in the later eighteenth century, as it included parts of what would later become Hanover and Trelawny. Before 1770, St James was much larger, having an area of about 566 square miles and occupying a large part of the "north side" of the island. The parish was then referred to as "Old St James". The boundaries of Old St James were very different then, as may be seen on John Ogilby's 1671 *Map of Jamaica*. This very large parish stretched all the way north to the Caribbean Sea, which formed its northern boundary, extended eastwards to its boundary with St Ann and southward to its boundary with St Elizabeth. Before 1703, the western boundary of Old St James was a large area of unnamed land (which later became Westmoreland). In 1703, when the parish of Westmoreland was created, Old St James' south-western boundary was its border with Westmoreland.

In 1723, Old St James saw its first decrease in size with the creation of Hanover out of parts of Westmoreland and St James. With the birth of Hanover, St James lost land on its western and south-western side. As of 1723, the Great River in St James became the natural western boundary between St James and Hanover.

Boundary Changes in 1770

In November, 1770, Old St James was significantly reduced in size when the planters of eastern St James won their petition to have the eastern part of the parish separated into a new parish which then became Trelawny (discussed later in this history). By an Act passed by the Jamaican Assembly in that year, the new eastern boundary line of St James was a dividing line which started at Mannattee Hole, to the east of Long Bay (which is about twelve miles east of Montego Bay) and ran southward, all the way to the northern boundary with St Elizabeth. All the lands to the west of this line were to remain part of St James, while the lands east of the line became the new parish of Trelawny. After 1770, a much smaller St James occupied 233 square miles compared with its original 566 square miles. From 1770 until today, St James was bordered on its eastern side by Trelawny, on its western side by Hanover, on its southern end by St Elizabeth and its northern boundary remained the Caribbean Sea. One of St James' main rivers acted as a natural parish boundary. St James has several rivers, two of the most important being the Great River and the Montego River. The Great River formed the natural boundary between St James and Hanover. [10]

Border Line: A Boundary Marker Showing the Border Line between St James and Trelawny
Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The Growth and Development of St James up to the Time of Emancipation

Early English Settlement of St James: Settlement Patterns up to 1700

Tainos and Maroon freedom fighters had their homes in St James long before the arrival of the English settlers. Nevertheless, within a few years of the English capture of Jamaica in 1655, European settlements slowly but surely got underway in St James. *Settlement patterns* in this early period were influenced by the settlers' ambitions to make an economic success of this new place that they now called home. Where they settled was usually determined by where they could get land, and in this respect, land grants by the British government played a huge role in shaping *settlement patterns*. As was the practice with all the parishes, persons were encouraged to settle in St James by the award of land grants and other incentives. What they found when they arrived in the parish was rough, uncultivated land with wild hogs and cattle roaming the area. Before too long, they had cleared the land and established farming settlements along the narrow strip of land nearest to the coast.

The abundance of rich, fertile land also shaped *settlement patterns* in the early history of St James. By 1680, these settlements extended inland about thirteen to fourteen miles from the sea. Vast amounts of fertile, hilly and mountainous lands were located further inland, but these remained largely unsettled by Europeans until the second half of the eighteenth century. By this time, the Maroon inhabitants (discussed in a later section) of the interior lands, who were perceived by the English as an ever present threat, had entered into what could be described as an agreement to co-exist peacefully with the English settlers.

Perhaps the earliest of the coastal properties settled around 1670 were those on the banks of the Little River, lands which later became part of the Rose Hall property. Richard and Mary Rutledge were among the early landowners in this part of St James. Patents of land grants in St James in this early period indicate that other settlers included Lawrence Tute, Humphrey Mumbees, Edward Boyce, George Robinson, John Hamilton, William Hall, Thomas Lilly, Paul Bryan and Edmund Thomas. Land held by these persons ranged from fifty to two hundred acres each. Interestingly, Edward Boyce's name was reflected in one of the place names in the parish long after he passed on. In the early period of St James' history, a gully was usually called a "gut", and so the gully which led from Cornwall to the then Little River Wharf was named Boyce's Gut. This may be explained by the fact that Boyce's property was located alongside the upper part of the gully or gut.

Settlement of the parish proceeded very slowly until about 1740 and, as mentioned above, this was partly explained by raids carried out by the Maroons, as well as the constant danger posed by pirates and buccaneers to settlements along the poorly defended north coast. In 1673, St James had only 146 persons, including twenty-two African slaves. Nevertheless, by 1675, St

James was represented in the Jamaican Assembly by two of these settlers, Richard Guy and Samuel Jenks. As an indication of the slow pace of development in the early history of the parish, between 1711 and 1712, both St James and St George were exempt from taxation and the explanation given was that they had "no towns, few inhabitants and little commerce."

Settlement Patterns in St James in the Eighteenth Century:

Although a bill was passed in 1733 for drawing up a plan for the building of a church, there is no evidence that the church was built at this time, and the early settlers most likely met at each other's houses for services. The signing of the Peace Treaty with the Maroons in 1738/1739 (discussed later) led to an increase in settlements in the parish and also helped to explain where these later settlements were located. As will be seen in a later section, the Maroons had already established their own settlement patterns deep within the St James areas of the Cockpit Country. By 1740, with the coming of peace with the Maroons, some of the lands further inland were being settled by more English settlers and transformed into sugar estates (discussed later). Some of the names associated with later St James settlements were Hall of Tryall, Lawrence of Running Gut, Irving of Ironshore, the Barretts of Cinnamon Hill and Stirling of Content.

As will be seen in a later section, sugar and coffee estates as well as livestock rearing properties, would dominate the landscape and settlement patterns in St James in the eighteenth century. By the mid-eighteenth century, land was granted for settlement to a number of individuals from some 15,000 acres which had been reserved as crown lands. These land grants ranged from between 150 acres to 300 acres. Some families were able to acquire a lot more acreage because land was granted to different members of the family or to their relatives. As the eighteenth century progressed, sugar production in particular expanded and more and more land was acquired and turned into sugar estates. In the second half of the eighteenth century, therefore, the main pattern of settlement could be described as the ownership of properties, with large acreages by settlers.

Very importantly, the *settlement patterns* were informed by the needs of the estates and the estate owners. Particularly for those settlers who wished to enter into sugar production, they chose to locate their properties on the banks of rivers which would provide a ready source of water for the operation of water mills and for other estate purposes. Moreover, the soil in these river valleys was rich, fertile loam which was most suited for cane cultivation. Rivers could also provide transportation networks to other properties as well. The fact that St James was served by a number of rivers and springs which crossed the parish like a network meant that this natural feature of St James would influence *settlement patterns* in the parish. The Sevens Rivers no doubt influenced both the location and the name of the Sevens Rivers Estate. Other rivers, such as the Montego River, the Retirement River, Pies River and Orange River, were

important water resources and clearly influenced locations for settlement by owners of estates such as Flamstead and Williamsfield. Offshoots from these rivers, such as Anchovy Gully, Slippery Gut and Tuckers Spring, all served as ideal locations for establishing estates, and some of these were Anchovy Bottom, Virgin Valley, Somerton, Moor Park and Fairfield.

One of the more highly settled areas was along the east bank of the Great River, which served as the border between St James and Hanover. Some of the estates which sprang up along the east bank of the Great River included Cambridge, Montpelier Old Works, Montpelier New Works, Unity Hall and Lethe. Another favoured location for settlement of sugar estates lay along the banks of the Montego River, which gave settlers the added advantage of proximity to the town and harbour of Montego Bay. Estates which were settled here included Catherine Hall, Catherine Mount, Fairfield, Irwin and Purling Stream. The importance of locating estates near to the coast, in order to facilitate easier access to Montego Bay Harbour for trade, also influenced *settlement patterns*. A look at James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Cornwall, St James*, indicates that most of the estates by 1804 were clustered near the north coast of the parish. Moreover, coastal lands tended to be flat lands which were most suited to sugar cane cultivation.

An interesting feature of the settlement pattern seen in the establishment of estates in St James was the setting aside of substantial acreage in the inland, hillier sections of the estates to which they were attached. These were the locations of the provision grounds on which the enslaved cultivated food crops for their own subsistence and that of the estate personnel. These were at some distance away from the estate and because they were to be found in hillier areas, the provision ground lands, over time, acquired the name of "mountain". An example of this was Catherine Mount Mountain (provision grounds), which was separate from the estate to which it was attached. Many provision grounds were established away from the main estates, and this seems to have been a common feature of settlement patterns in St James. According to Higman, many of these were clustered towards the border with Trelawny.

This practice of setting aside land for growing provisions away from the main property sometimes allowed for substantial acreages to be assigned to (but clearly not owned by) the enslaved. In the case of Carlton Estate for example, each nuclear family was assigned an acre, with over seventy two acres assigned to families for provision growing. Because of the location of these grounds much further inland, sometimes access could only be had by passing through the property of others. An example of this was Success Estate, where the mountain property or provision grounds, located four miles inland, could only be accessed through Cinnamon Hill, Lilliput and Spot Valley Estates.

Not all of the settlements in eighteenth-century St James followed the pattern of large estates. There were a number of smaller settlements which seemed to have consisted of houses and

small farms which cultivated non-sugar crops for subsistence and local consumption, or internal marketing such as cocoa, cotton and pimento. By 1804, there were ninety one of these non-sugar settlements. Some of the identified owners in St James at that time were doctors such as Drs Edgar, Gibbs, Kerr and Ruddoch. Some were women, and it appears from the listing on the 1804 *Map* that some were widows who were administrators of their land. Examples of these included Mrs Carr, Mrs Franklyn, Mrs Gordon and Mrs Taylor. [11]

The Establishment and Early History of the Town of Montego Bay

As seen earlier, trading by way of Montego Bay Harbour had been done from the time of Spanish control. Early English settlers had also acquired property in the vicinity of the harbour, but seventeenth-century maps of Jamaica do not show any evidence that the port town of Montego Bay was in existence in the later seventeenth century. Rather, the evidence shows that the town of Montego Bay was established in the early part of the eighteenth century. The exact year when the town was first built is uncertain, but several sources link the establishment of the town to Captain Jonathan Barnett, a wealthy St James planter who had also played a major role in efforts to defeat both the pirates and the Maroons. Thomas Craskell and James Simpson's 1763 *Map of the County of Cornwall* shows the town of Montego Bay (although the map does not name it) and locates Barnett's sugar estate and other property owned by the Barnetts on the east bank of the Montego River, very close to Montego Bay Harbour. This property was Catherine Hall Estate.

However, beyond crediting Barnett with the founding of the town of Montego Bay, there is very little historical information on his role in the establishment of the town. Captain Barnett lived from 1677 to 1744, which suggests that if he did have a hand in the founding of Montego Bay, this most likely happened in the early decades of the eighteenth century. As will be seen below, one of the principal streets of the eighteenth-century town, Barnett Street was named after him. Barnett had a son, Hugh, with his mulatto mistress, Jane Stone, and he inherited the Barnett properties after his father's death.

If the town saw its beginnings before Barnett died in 1744, there seems to have been a well-organised plan for the layout and improvement of Montego Bay as late as 1765. In that year, Samuel Vaughan, a merchant and owner of several properties in St James, drew up a plan for the laying out of the town. The plan showed Charles Square (called Charles Town on the early map) which had been laid out in 1755 by James Lawrence, the custos of St James at the time. Lawrence named the Square Charles Square after Sir Charles Knowles, who was governor of Jamaica from 1752 to 1756. Charles Square (now Sam Sharpe Square) was at the centre of the

town.

Charles Square (the Parade) Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Leading out from Charles Square and laid out next to each other were Corner Street, North Street, Market Street (named after the trading activities in the area), Lawrence Lane, May Lane and South Lane. James Street (for James, Duke of York) ran from east to west crossing the Square (as it does today), while Market Street crossed the Square from north to south just as it does today. The 1765 plan shows the Creek, which is now the site of Creek Street. Closer to the harbour, the plan shows George Street and an area known then as the Strand. Today, this has become Strand Street and is now separated from the sea by Harbour Street. Just as it does today, Barnett Street (named for Captain Jonathan Barnett) led out in an eastward direction from the town. Also marked on the 1765 plan to the west was St James Square and an area referred to as the Burying Place. As will be seen shortly, by 1765, commerce in Montego Bay was increasing, and the plan shows six wharves which opened out into the harbour.

Growth in Settlement and Commerce

By 1740, with the conclusion of peace with the Maroons, settlement of St James expanded considerably. Most early settlers before 1740 had received small to medium-sized land grants, but from the late seventeenth into the early eighteenth centuries, there was an increase in the

number of large land grants, and there was also an expansion in the sugar estates being established in the parish (dealt with later). An example of this growth was seen in the fact that between 1745 and 1774, the number of sugar mills in the parish increased from twenty to 116. This led to a massive increase in the commercial activity of Montego Bay, with the importation of slaves and manufactured goods, as well as a thriving export trade with Britain and the thirteen North American colonies (the USA after 1783) in the plantation products of all these estates. To maximise the benefits of this trade, a law was passed in 1758 establishing a Customs House at the port of Montego Bay. By this law, Montego Bay was officially made a port of entry and clearance.

Because of dangerous wave action affecting vessels entering the harbour, Montego Bay's first company of a public nature was formed by law in 1759. This was known as the *Close Harbour Company*. Its main achievement was the building of a breakwater to protect ships in the bay from the dangerous ocean swells which had often proven destructive to shipping entering the harbour. In recognition of the growing prosperity of trade in Montego Bay, free port status was granted to St James' chief town and port in 1766. This allowed ships from various destinations to conduct trade in Montego Bay.

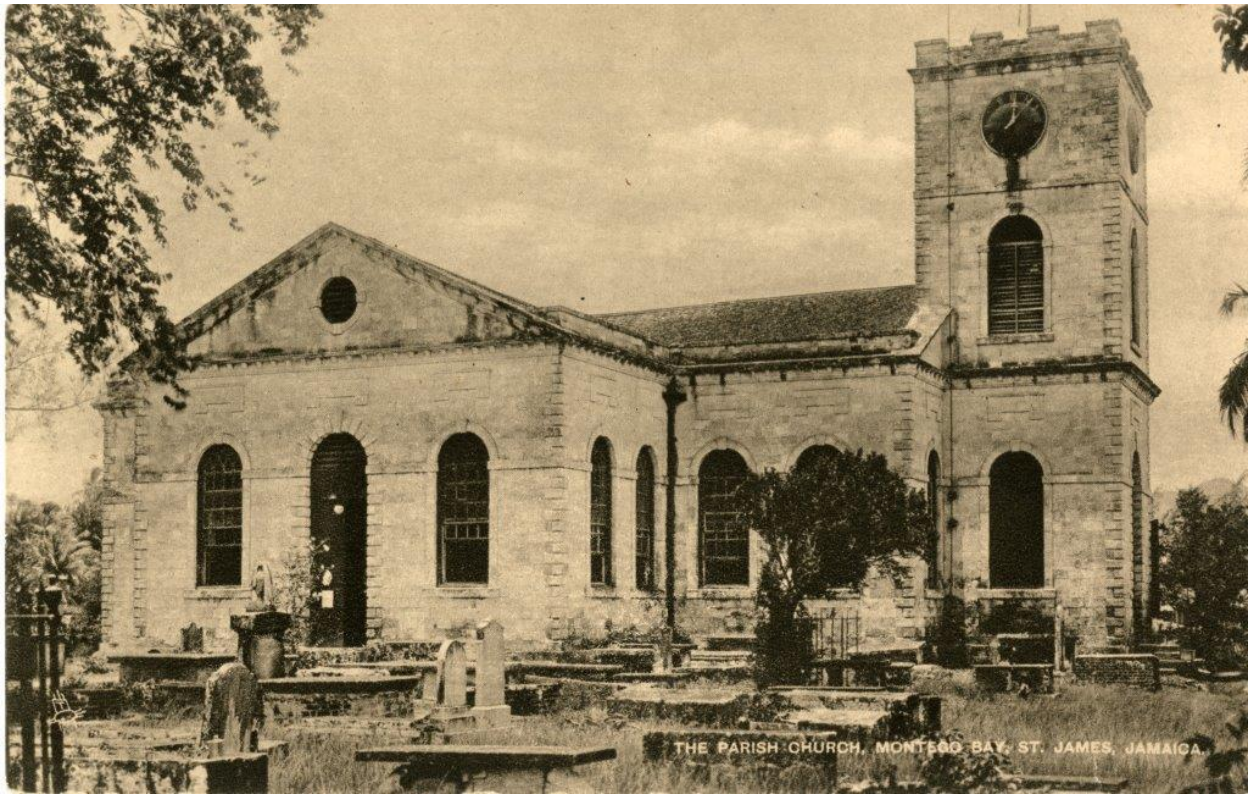
Montego Bay around 1891 Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

In 1774, Edward Long estimated that about 140 ships traded in Montego Bay Harbour each year. In just one week in April 1791, eight ships entered the harbour from Africa, Charleston, Wilmington, St John's, Nova Scotia, Greenock and Belfast, while fourteen ships were cleared from Montego Bay destined for Britain and North America. In fact, Montego Bay was doing so well in its trade that shipping traffic with Canada and with Havana (because of proximity to Montego Bay) was more than the shipping traffic between these two countries and English ports. In comparison with the commercial activities of other Jamaican parish ports, Montego Bay was second only to Kingston. For example, in 1783, Kingston accounted for seventy percent of the shipping traffic, Montego Bay boasted nineteen percent and Savanna La Mar took five percent. The value of trade from St James being conducted through Montego Bay was seen in the fact that by 1770, St James topped the list of Jamaican parishes in terms of its contribution to Jamaica's public taxes.

Montego Bay Grows

This commercial activity was matched by a corresponding growth in the port town of Montego Bay from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Edward Long, in describing Montego Bay around 1770, estimated that the town had about four hundred houses. Some were made of brick, and these were the homes of wealthy merchants connected to the trade in slaves and the export of sugar from the parish. Many other structures were made of stone and timber. As seen earlier, although a bill had been passed in 1733 allowing for the drafting of plans for a church, nothing had come of this. With the growth in importance of Montego Bay and by extension, the rest of St James, the time was right for the building of a parish church. Sometime between 1775 and 1782, the St James Parish Church was built. A stately building, it was made of limestone and

had a bell tower at its western end.



The Parish Church, Montego Bay, St James Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Montego Bay was also the location for the historic Court House, which was built around 1774. The Court House went through several restorations and today it stands as the Montego Bay

Civic Centre, which also houses the Museum of Montego Bay.

Charles Square (the Parade) showing the Historic Court House across from the Square and Fountain Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The growing importance of Montego Bay in eighteenth-century Jamaica was also seen in 1773, when the town got its own printing press and newspaper, the *Cornwall Chronicle*, which had the distinction of being the first Jamaican newspaper to be published outside of Kingston. Each week of its publication would see several columns devoted to listing imported items such as hats, boots, clothing, prayer books and medicines. Meetings of the Court of Quarter Sessions had been held in Montego Bay from 1728. In addition to this, in 1771, the decision to alternate the sessions of the Assize Courts in Montego Bay, as well as Savanna-La-Mar, indicated recognition of the town's growing importance.

Defence of the town and its growing commerce was an important concern. Fort Montego had been built around 1738 for the purpose of guarding the approaches to the town. The fort was located about half a mile from the town, overlooking the north-eastern part of the harbour. Fort Montego was a large fort which had four twelve-pounder guns and five smaller guns. Barracks large enough to accommodate a hundred soldiers and their officers, were also built

nearby. In 1760, an unfortunate incident occurred when one of the guns exploded and killed the gunner as he was attempting to fire a salute. By the early 1770s, Edward Long commented that the fort was in need of repair.

The Old Fort, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Population Growth

The total population of St James, and especially that of Montego Bay, had grown considerably since 1673 when (as seen earlier) the parish had a total population of only 146 persons, including twenty-two African slaves. Expanding commerce, centred on the sugar estates and the importation of African enslaved persons, helped to explain the growth in population which occurred in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By 1832, Montego Bay alone had a total population of 5,800 persons, of whom 2,237 were slaves. Montego Bay had the second largest total population next to Kingston, which had 32,500 persons, including slaves, by 1832. In fact, at this time, Montego Bay was second only to Kingston in terms of the large volume of the slave trade which took place in the town and second only to Kingston in the size of its slave population in 1832.

By the early 1770s, there was a small Jewish population living in Montego Bay. According to a census carried out in the town in 1774, there were six Jewish households in Montego Bay at that time. As in other parishes, the Jews were attracted to Montego Bay because of its growing trade and commerce. Two of these Jewish families were headed by merchants, while three were in the retail trade and shop-keeping. Interestingly, in 1774, the sixth Jewish household was made up of several orphans whose father had been a merchant. None of the Jewish merchants participated in the slave trade, but the six households owned a total of forty-six slaves in 1774. Because the Jews were not owners of plantations, they needed and owned only a small number of slaves, and the forty-six slaves amounted to less than one percent of the total number of slaves in St James in 1774.

Challenges in the Early History of Montego Bay: Fire Damage

Two major fires in the early history of Montego Bay resulted in serious damage and setbacks for the town. In 1795 the fire which broke out virtually destroyed the town. Flames quickly engulfed wooden structures and spread rapidly from building to building along the narrow streets. Reportedly, three out of four 'primitive' fire engines themselves caught fire as they were trapped between wooden buildings in very narrow streets. The court house and other valuable buildings were burnt in this fire. One hundred and ten of the town's hoses were burnt and large numbers were left homeless. Montego Bay's six wharves and their valuable contents were devastated by the fire. Stores and shops were not spared. Over 200 hogsheads (barrels) of sugar, 100 puncheons (containers) of rum and a great deal of provisions, wine, soap, candles and other goods were destroyed. The total loss was estimated to be between £300,000 and £400,000.

In 1796, one year after this great fire, a law was passed by the Jamaican Assembly to order improvements to the streets and structures of the town. The preamble to the Act outlined some of the weaknesses in the structure of the town which had facilitated even more damage from the fire. It spoke of "the crowding together of buildings without sufficient lanes and alleys to permit passage between them" and called for the widening of streets and lanes in Montego Bay.

How much progress was made towards improving the buildings and streets of the town remains unclear. Not long afterwards, in 1811, another disastrous fire affected portions of Montego Bay. This time, reportedly, thirty-five of the best houses, as well as wharfs, were burnt. The effects of the 1811 fire seem to have been made worse by an inability to get ready access to water and by widespread looting and plunder which occurred in the absence of 'proper policing'. According to reports, in the two months that followed this fire, five more fires (reportedly the work of arsonists bent on looting) occurred. Once more, regulations were introduced to provide better town planning and wider streets. Quite severe building regulations

were proposed, making it compulsory to make all buildings out of brick or stone. However, this was resisted by some of the town's inhabitants who argued that only the wealthy would be able to build according to these regulations. [12]

Maroon Freedom fighters in the Early History of St James

Maroon communities in Jamaica originated during the period of Spanish rule over the island, when slaves escaped from their masters and took refuge in the interior mountainous parts of the island. In 1655, when the English attacked Jamaica, many of the remaining slaves fled to the hills to join previous groups of runaways. Some retreating Spaniards also freed their slaves or simply left them behind. For the Maroons, their freedom was more important than anything else, and they refused to surrender to the new English rulers and fought to maintain their freedom in the face of opposition from Jamaica's new government. They chose instead to live in freedom in the interior, mountainous areas of the island, forming families, hunting the wild pigs and growing enough crops for their subsistence on provision grounds. One group of Spanish ex-slaves gradually moved eastwards where they eventually linked up with other ex-slaves to form the group which became known as the Windward Maroons. This group made their homes on the northern slope of the Blue Mountains, and they were important in shaping the history of parishes such as Portland and St Mary.

There was another group of Spanish ex-slaves who gradually established themselves in the western end of the island in the Cockpit Country in the 1670s. Parts of the Cockpit Country are shared by the parishes of St James, Trelawny and St Elizabeth. This group, whose numbers were increased by fleeing rebellious slaves of the English, became known as the Leeward Maroons and by the early eighteenth century, they were led by their captain, Cudjoe (Kojo). Cudjoe enforced strict rules against plundering of settlements, but in spite of this, the Maroons were seen as an ever present threat by the early English settlers who tried to make their homes on 'the north side' of the island (St James and later, Trelawny). The government saw the presence of Cudjoe's Maroons in the inaccessible Cockpit Country as an obstacle to successful expansion of English settlements in places like St James and elsewhere. Therefore, from the arrival of regular troops in Jamaica in 1731, several attempts were made to remove Cudjoe and his Maroons from their virtually impenetrable bases in the Cockpit Country.

The story of the Leeward Maroons' struggle to retain their freedom is linked to the history of St James in a very important way. Parts of the Cockpit Country are in St James, and the Leeward Maroons made the rugged terrain of the Cockpit Country their home base during the First Maroon War (1730-1739) and throughout the period until the Second Maroon War broke out in 1795. Although they travelled the length and breadth of the Cockpit Country, the Leeward Maroons, under Cudjoe's command, made the area known as *Pettee River Bottom* (Petty River Bottom) their impenetrable base, from which they defended their freedom. *Pettee River*

Bottom takes its name from the Pettee River, which is located in St James, quite close to its eastern border with Trelawny. Water from the Pettee River flowed through the sinks or depressions in the limestone surface of the Cockpit Country and so provided a steady source of water at the base or bottom of this depression. Therefore, the area was named *Pettee River Bottom,* and this was home to Cudjoe and his freedom-fighting Maroons.

As seen in the *Parish History of Trelawny*, there has been some rivalry between the people of St James and Trelawny as to which parish should lay claim to being the proud home of the very famous Maroon Base, *Petty River Bottom*. It would seem at first glance that the parish of St James may rightfully claim this famous Maroon fortress as being squarely in the parish. Indeed, there is even a Trail in St James which leads to *Pettee River Bottom*. However, as shown in the *Parish History of Trelawny*, the famous Maroon base belongs to both St James and Trelawny. It has been established that *Pettee River Bottom* was about seven acres wide and extended across the parish boundary between St James and Trelawny.

Petty River Bottom had two narrow entrances or defiles. One entrance opened up on the St James side, and the *Trail to Petty River Bottom* leads to this western entrance or defile. However, the other entrance opened up in western Trelawny, and so the proud heritage of *Petty River Bottom* may be claimed by both parishes. *Pettee River Bottom* was virtually impregnable and accessed only through these narrow spaces or defiles. Cudjoe and his people used these two narrow corridors to repeatedly ambush and repel British troops during the First Maroon War. As a result, the English were unable to win a decisive battle against the Leeward Maroons and were reportedly relieved when the Peace Treaty with Colonel Cudjoe was agreed on in 1739.

Besides *Pettee River Bottom*, there are other sites in St James which are linked to the history of the Maroons in that parish. One of these was Trelawny Town, now known as Flagstaff. As part of the 1739 Peace Agreement signed between the English rulers and Cudjoe, the Maroons were granted control over 1,500 acres of land high in the hills of the St James section of the Cockpit Country. Cudjoe was appointed commander of these lands. The Maroons named this community *Cudjoe's Town,* but the English, true to their traditions, named this Maroon settlement in St James, Trelawny Town after Governor Edward Trelawny (1738-1752) who was governor at the time of the signing of the Treaty. Trelawny Town had no connection with the neighbouring parish of Trelawny.

In 1795, the Trelawny Town Maroons protested the whipping of two of their own who had been accused of pig-stealing. This and other grievances brought the Trelawny Maroons into open conflict with the English, in what is referred to as the Second Maroon War (1795-96). Once more, *Pettee River Bottom* was the staging ground for the Maroons' guerrilla warfare against the English. With each attempt, the English forces were unable to break through and

faced increasing losses. However, when the English used artillery to bombard the base from the nearby hilltop location of Gun Hill, the Trelawny Maroons were forced to retreat deeper into the Cockpit Country away from *Pettee River Bottom* and their reliable water supply. When the English built a road completely encircling the Cockpit Country and stationed garrisons at what is now known as Flagstaff, the Maroons were effectively isolated. With the use of vicious dogs imported from Cuba, the British soldiers were eventually able to put a dent in the resistance of the Trelawny Town Maroons.

In 1796, the Leeward Maroons (Trelawny Town Maroons) agreed to the signing of the Pond River Treaty on the understanding that they would be granted amnesty. Instead, the Jamaican House of Assembly exiled 560 of them to Nova Scotia. In 1800, a surviving group of Maroons were able to make their way from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone. The ending of the Second Maroon War and these drastic measures taken against the Maroons effectively robbed St James of the possibility of distinct Maroon communities continuing in that parish after 1796.

Maroon Town in St James Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Having physically removed most of the Trelawny Maroons (Leeward Maroons) from what was Trelawny Town in St James, the government divided the 1500 acres which had been granted to

Cudjoe and his Maroons in 1739 and sold 1200 acres. The remaining 300 acres became the site of a permanent military garrison built (ironically) over the site of the Old Town (Cudjoe's Town). The English then changed the name of the community from Trelawny Town to Flagstaff. The lower section of what was Trelawny Town (which used to be called Furry's Town) then became known as Maroon Town. Both Flagstaff and Maroon Town exist as place names today. However, although this area still bears the name "Maroon Town", there are no Maroon communities in present-day Maroon Town in St James. Sadly, despite this rich historical presence of the fighting Maroons in St James, today the parish has no culturally or physically distinct Maroon communities such as Accompong in St Elizabeth and Charles Town in Portland.[13]

Economic Activities up to Emancipation: Impact on the Landscape and Importance of St James

Overview:

Between the 1750s and the 1830s, right up to Emancipation, St James played an important part in the economic life of the colony, being home to 372 estates in the early 1830s. By the early 1830s, St James boasted the sixth largest number of estates in Jamaica, with Westmoreland having the most (565). The St James properties were of varying sizes and produced a variety of commodities. According to the survey done in 1804 by James Robertson, there was a variety of property types, ranging from sugar estates, coffee plantations, livestock pens and other farming settlements. In the period before Emancipation, there were ninety-six sugar estates, fifteen coffee properties and thirty-nine properties which reared livestock. Most properties were established near the waterways. As the parish extended inward and southward, there were fewer settlements and estates as the land became increasingly hilly. St James was served by several rivers which crisscrossed the parish, and these provided water resources which helped in both transportation and production. Some of these rivers included the Great River, Orange River, Montego River, Retirement River, Little River, Anchovy Valley River, Pettee River, Pies River, Sevens River, Spot Valley River and Tangle River.

Impact of Economic Activities on the Landscape of St James

As will be seen throughout this section on economic activities in St James, the sugar estates, the livestock-rearing properties, as well as coffee-producing properties, had a significant impact on the landscape of the parish. These economic activities strengthened and extended the agricultural tradition that had existed in St James from the times of the Tainos. Farming became an important part of the economic landscape for years to come and remains that way. Moreover, these economic activities shaped the physical landscape of St James in a very important way. Lands which had been uncharted and un-cleared by European activities were

now transformed into settled, agricultural units, some small, some large, depending on the economic activity that was occurring.

The need for the settlers to communicate with each other and to reach coastal and other destinations encouraged the creation of a road network in the parish. In the eighteenth century, besides the coastal road running along the north coast which connected north coastal settlements to Montego Bay Town, Montego Bay Harbour and beyond, there was a network of inland carriage roads and bridle paths created to allow access to various parts of the parish. The earliest road had been built in 1724, and this was the road going from the Cave in Westmoreland to the west end of St James. By 1804, there was a network of roadways, including the coastal road, bridle paths which connected districts and provided access to the port town of Montego Bay. Bridle paths were only wide enough for carriages to travel.

Economic activities also determined the socio-racial and cultural landscape of St James in a lasting way before Emancipation. The desire to establish prosperous farming settlements brought white Europeans of various nationalities, but largely English, into the parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Commercial activities also attracted Jewish merchants to take up residence in Montego Bay during the eighteenth century. Through the operation of the Trans-Atlantic trade in human beings, the merchants and others who had a role in supplying labour for St James' economic activities shaped the racial and cultural composition of the parish through years of forced migration of Africans and their brutal enslavement. This will be discussed further. One of the most lasting effects of the economic activities on the landscape of the parish was the shaping of place names across St James, many of which may be traced back to the eighteenth century properties which first carried these place names.

Interestingly, not only was the landscape of St James shaped by these economic activities, but the place names were also at times shaped by the resources and the topography of the land on which they were located. For example, *Salt Spring* Estate, located in northern St James, now part of the greater Montego Bay area, reflected the geological and soil features of the area. *Fustic Grove Pen* indicated the type of vegetation or crops cultivated in the area. Similarly, *Bulls Pen* showed the traditional use of that area for herding cattle. [14]

Sugar Estates in St James up to Emancipation

Introduction

The ninety-six estates in St James which were identified in the sources as sugar estates, for the most part, produced mainly sugar and its by-products, rum and molasses. However, these estates also supplemented their income from a variety of other crops such as cocoa, cotton,

ginger and pimento. Some St James estates also made additional income from the rearing of livestock which could be hired out to other estate owners as draught animals (used for working on estates) or fattened and sold to the local butchers for meat supply. Some sugar estate owners also alternated between producing sugar and emphasising livestock rearing, and this usually happened when there was a downturn in profits obtained from sugar. In cases like these, estates which were identified as sugar estates were also listed as livestock pens (properties on which livestock rearing was done). For example, Amity, Catherine Mount, Flamstead, Montpelier and Spot Valley Estates were sugar producing, as well as livestock rearing properties.

Overview of St James' Sugar Estates from the 1750s to the Early 1830s

These many sugar estates included properties such as *Adelphi* (dealt with shortly), Amity Hall and *Anchovy Bottom,* which was located south of Montego Bay and more in the western side of St James. There is a large district in the same location today which still bears the name of Anchovy. *Belfont*, situated near to the south-west border with Hanover on the west bank of the Belfont River, harnessed this water to power its water mill for production. Other estates included *Bellfield, Blue Hole, Bog* and *Cambridge*.

Cambridge Estate was located on the east bank of the Great River and was therefore able to use a water mill in factory operations. As was the case with so many estates which shaped the place names of St James, Cambridge has given its name to the present day Cambridge community, which is a large self-contained community, with a post office, churches and schools, including Cambridge High. *Canaan* and *Castle Wemyss* were located near to the border with Trelawny, while *Catherine Hall* and *Catherine Mount* were both in the vicinity of Montego Bay. Both used water mills because of their strategic position on the east bank of the Montego River and both have left their imprint on the names of large communities in the Montego Bay area (see Catherine Hall below).

Today's District of Chatham, including the Chatham Post Office, has inherited the name of *Chatham* Sugar Estate, once dominant in the area. Other St James estates included *Cinnamon Hill* (highlighted below), *Content, Cornwall*, which was slightly south-east of *Spot Valley* Estate, *Crawle,* which was south-east of Running Gut, *Crooked Spring* and *Ducket Spring*, which was located on the east bank of the Great River, quite close to the border with Hanover. Additional estates included *Dumfries, Eastman, Eden, Equity, Fairfield* and *Flamstead,* both of which remain the place names of communities in St James today. In the case of Flamstead, the estate's name continues in the community of Flamstead, churches such as the Flamstead Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Flamstead Niagara Main Road. *Flower Hill* Estate was located slightly inland and north- west of *Blue Hole*. Other estates were *Friendship, Gilsborough, Glasgow, Great River, Green Pond, Hampden* (most of this estate crossed over the

border into Trelawny) *Hampton, Hartfield, Hazelymp, Industry* and *Ironshore* (highlighted below). *Irwin* was another estate which has influenced the names of places in the parish, with Irwin today being home to residential communities such as the Meadows of Irwin.

Among the other estates were *Kensington* in the southern part of St James. Although the full name of this property was Kensington Penn, it focussed more on sugar production combined with raising livestock on a small scale. Kensington was important as it was from there that the first fires of the *Samuel Sharpe Rebellion* were lit in December, 1831. Today, Kensington, in the same general location, is a quiet farming community. Other properties in St James included *Kirkpatrick, Latium, Leogan, Leyden, Lilliput* (which has influenced the place name of modern-day Lilliput in St James), *Lima* and *Millennium Hall*. Also included in the list of sugar estates were *Montpelier New Works* and *Montpelier Old Works* (both highlighted below), *Moor Park, Moreland, Newman Hall, Orange, Paisley, Palmyra, Porto Bello, Potosi, Providence, Purling Stream, Retreat, Richmond Hill, Retirement, Roehampton, Rose Hall* (highlighted below), *Running Gut, Salt Spring, Scarlett, Schaw Castle, Seven Rivers, Somerton, Spot Valley, Springfield, Spring Garden, Spring Mount, Success* and *Sunderland*. *Tavern, Tryall, Unity Hall, Vaughansfield, Virgin Valley, Williamsfield, Wiltshire, Windsor Lodge* and *Worcester* rounded off a lengthy but not exhaustive list of sugar-producing properties in St James up to Emancipation.

Retirement Estate, St James: Water Mill and Aqueduct (1984) Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Retirement Estate St James: Buildings and Great House (1984) Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Highlighting Selected Sugar Estates

Adelphi

Adelphi Sugar Estate, in earlier times, was known as Stretch and Tell. It was located inland, southwest of Glasgow and north east of Slippery Gut. Adelphi was quite a large property of 1013 acres, and between 1774 and 1832, the number of enslaved persons ranged from eighty two to 288. As with most sugar-producing properties, Adelphi also had livestock which averaged a high of around 216. This property was not located near to a river or stream and therefore depended on two animal-drawn mills to crush the canes and extract the cane juice. Rum was also distilled on the estate. Ownership of Adelphi seems to have remained with the Winn family throughout the period stated. An early owner was J.L. Winn who passed on the

property to Isaac Lascelles Winn, who was buried in St James in 1808. Emily Providentia Winn owned Adelphi up to 1833. Adelphi was one of the properties which suffered damage during the Sam Sharpe Rebellion, with its residence, factory works and enslaved houses destroyed. Adelphi Sugar Estate may be no more, but its name has left a permanent imprint on the landscape of St James. Today, Adelphi is a fair-sized community in generally the same location, with churches, a police station, stores, homes and schools.

Catherine Hall

Catherine Hall Estate was located quite near to Montego Bay on the east bank of the Montego River. A fairly large property of 1,070 acres, it was in operation from the early 1700s when it was owned by Captain Jonathan Barnett, who was associated with the founding of the town of Montego Bay. When he died in 1744, the estate passed to his son, Hugh. Its location on the bank of the Montego River allowed its owners to use water to power the mill for sugar production. Its main products throughout the period were sugar, rum and molasses, but the estate also grew cocoa, cotton, coffee, ginger and pimento. In later years, Catherine Hall was owned by Samuel Barnett of Redland (1762), Jonathan Beckford Barnett (1762-1774), John Jackson of Fulham (1781-1784), William Thomas Beckford (1791-1807) and John Jackson of Fulham (1809-1811). Between 1811 and 1838, the Hon. Samuel Jackson and others were attorneys for Catherine Hall. In the period leading up to 1832, the estate had about 222 livestock and about 206 enslaved persons, although this number fluctuated from time to time. Today, the rather extensive community of Catherine Hall still bears the imprint of the name of this eighteenth-century estate.

Montpelier Estates

Montpelier Estates, made up of Old Montpelier (Old Works) and New Montpelier (New Works), were part of a vast property located about ten miles from Montego Bay, closer to the border with Hanover. The entire property covered about 10,000 acres and extended across the Great River boundary between St James and Hanover. The larger part of the property (about 8,000 acres) was located on the St James side, comprising what became the Montpelier Old Works and the Montpelier New Works. The remaining 2,000 acres were situated in Hanover and were known as Shettlewood Pen. Montpelier Estates remained in possession of the Ellis family from

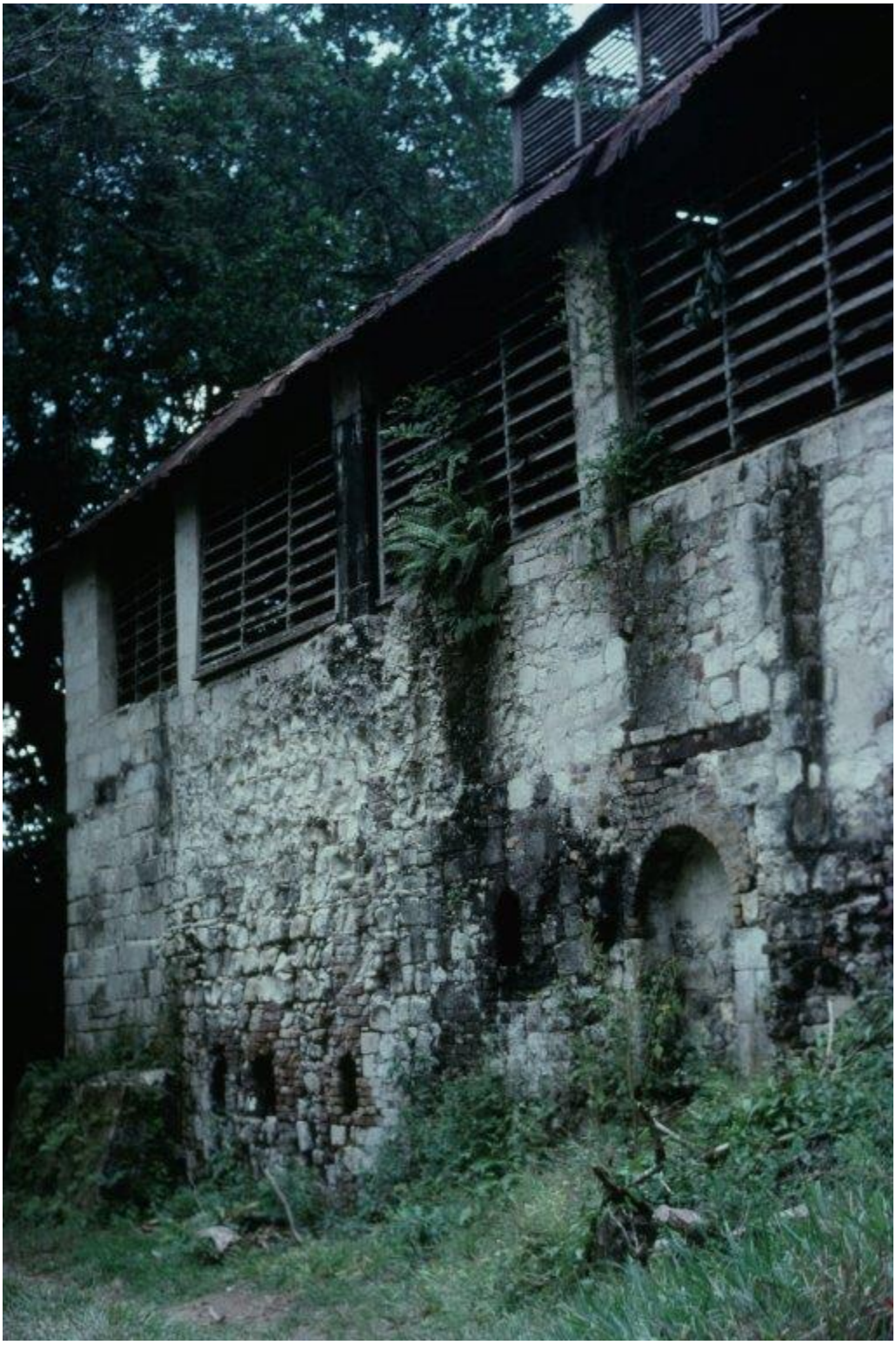
the foundation year right up to 1834.

Montpelier Estate: Site of the Slave Village (1981) Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The Ellis family had settled in Jamaica shortly after the English took possession. Colonel John Ellis settled here around 1665 and built up the family fortune. His descendant, John Ellis senior, was listed as being the owner of Montpelier Old Works from 1762 until 1784, and he was also the developer of Montpelier New Works about 1775. Montpelier Old Works seems to have existed before John Ellis senior took over in 1762 as the date 1746 is visible on some of the buildings at the Old Works location. Montpelier Estates passed on to Charles Rose Ellis, Lord Seaford in 1787 (while he was only a minor) and remained under his control until 1834. Interestingly, but hardly surprising, Charles Rose Ellis, as the leading spokesman for the West India planters in the British Parliament, was outspoken in his opposition to the coming of Emancipation.

Although Montpelier Estates were so extensive, only 1,000 acres were actually under cane cultivation (600 in the Old Works and 400 in the New Works). A lot of the acreage was devoted to guinea grass and common pasture for the estate stock. Remaining acres consisted mainly of woodland, which provided timber for making estate equipment and was also used for fuel. Very importantly, large provision grounds used by the enslaved also formed part of the land usage. In 1774, Montpelier Estates had 334 slaves, with stock numbering 326 and in total produced

361 hogsheads of sugar. By 1832, there were 386 slaves and 293 heads of livestock.



Montpelier Estate: Trash House (1981) Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Today, the thriving community of Montpelier remains in the same general area as the estates once stood with its name firmly imprinted on the landscape of western St James. It is home now to several churches, a primary and infant school and many businesses and residences.

Rose Hall Estate

Rose Hall Estate and its Great House seem to have become the source of intriguing but fictitious stories since the novelist H.G. Delisser published *The White Witch of Rose Hall* in 1929. However, the historical facts surrounding Rose Hall and the people who lived there show that the legend and the tales are just that: fictional legends meant to excite the imagination. They are in no respect connected to the true history of Rose Hall.

Rose Hall Estate was located on the north coast of St James, west of the Little River and east of White Gut. It was not a very large estate, being only 622 acres by 1832. Its history dates back to 1746, when it was owned by Henry Fanning, who was married to Rosa Kelly. Fanning died by 1747 and Rosa inherited the estate from her late husband in 1747. She subsequently married George Ash (who died in 1752) and Norwood Witter (who died in 1765). When Rosa met and married the Hon. John Palmer in Hanover in 1767, Palmer acquired Rose Hall Estate. This was Palmer's second marriage and for Rosa, this was her fourth marriage. The Hon. John Palmer was quite prominent, being the Custos (from 1774 to 1796) and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 1774 until 1787, Member of the Legislative Council of Jamaica from 1776 and President of the Council in 1797. He also acquired the neighbouring Palmyra Estate around the same time.

From all accounts, the estate did well in the early years of being managed by the Hon. John Palmer. The estate's location near the Little River meant that there was a ready source of water to operate the water mill for production, and Rose Hall produced sugar, rum and molasses with the help of an enslaved labour force which ranged from 111 to 380 slaves. Livestock on the estate ranged from 20 to 140. Provision grounds for Rose Hall were located on nearby Palmyra, and this was not uncommon when two properties were adjoining or nearby and owned by one person.

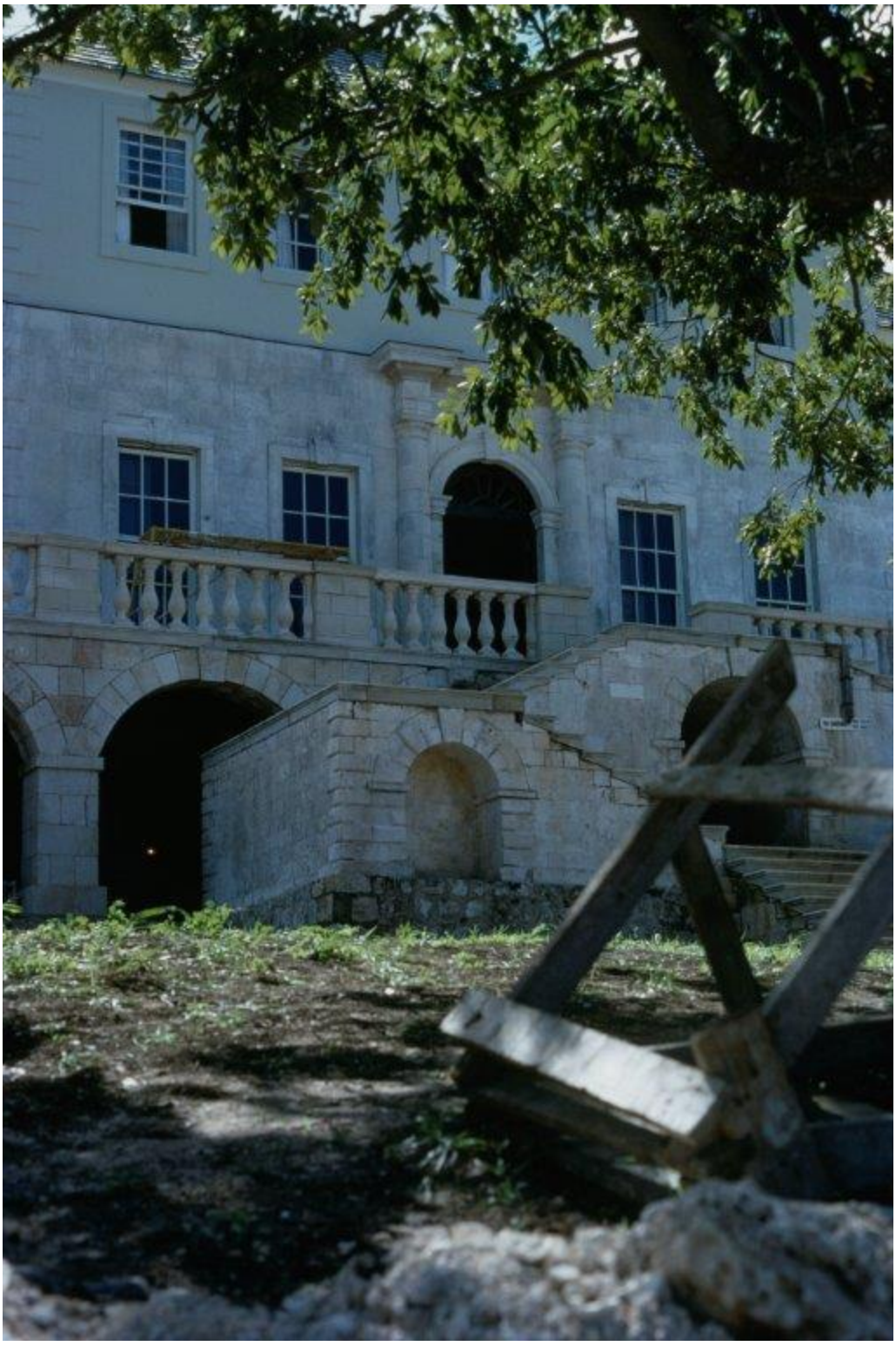
From all accounts too, the Custos and his wife, Rosa lived happily together. In fact, when they first married in 1767, the Great House associated with Rose Hall Estate had not yet been built. There was an earlier, simpler residence on the estate up to about 1770. It was the Hon. John Palmer who built Rose Hall's magnificent Great House over the site of the previous residence at an enormous cost of £30,000, and this was done sometime in the early 1770s. Rose Hall Estate was therefore named for Rosa. The Great House itself resembled an Italian villa with a view overlooking the sea and had many grand rooms, entrance hall, dining hall and reception room. Custos John Palmer and Rosa were married for twenty-three years when she died in 1790. In

her memory, Palmer had a monument erected to Rosa which is still to be seen to the left of the altar at St James Parish Church. In this phase of the Rose Hall history, there was no evidence of cruelty by Mrs Rosa Palmer to the slaves, neither was she murdered by slaves at Rose Hall.

Two years after his wife's death, in 1792, John Palmer married for the third time, on this occasion to a much younger woman, Rebecca Ann James. Extravagant spending on a lavish lifestyle had plunged the Custos into serious debt. Palmer was forced to mortgage both Rose Hall and Palmyra in order to meet the crisis, and he and his wife moved to a more modest house in Brandon Hill. In 1797, the Hon. Custos John Palmer died at Brandon Hill. Palmer had placed Rose Hall and Palmyra in trust for his two sons by his first marriage and their children. At the same time, he had made allowances for his widow, Rebecca, to earn an annuity or payment from both properties. However, both sons died childless and therefore, according to Palmer's will, both properties were passed on to his grand- nephew, John Rose Palmer although both estates still remained heavily mortgaged. Although John Rose Palmer was in charge of both Rose Hall and Palmyra from 1818 until 1832, both properties were in receivership to the creditors in order that the long-standing debts could be recovered.

In 1820, John Rose Palmer married Annie Mary Paterson, who was of Scottish connections with roots in the parish of Hanover. They took up residence at Rose Hall that same year, and the debts continued to mount even while the properties remained mortgaged and suffered reduced production. In November 1827, John Rose Palmer died at Rose Hall at age forty-two, an event which was not considered unusual because of the frequency of fevers and other illnesses. He died leaving a debt of £6,000 and his wife in a very precarious position. She had very little money, no real claim to the estates since they were both in receivership for the debts, and there were only a few slaves left at Rose Hall. In fact, after John Rose Palmer's death in 1827, the once magnificent splendour of the Rose Hall Great House was no more, as it became neglected and decayed. Down on her luck, Annie Mary Palmer sold out her rights to both Rose Hall and Palmyra for £200 in 1830 and went to live with friends at Bellevue. She died in 1846 at Bonavista near Anchovy and was buried in the churchyard at Montego Bay.

It might be worth noting that this Annie Mary out of the pages of St James' history lived a lifestyle which was very different from the "White Witch" of legendary connection to Rose Hall. After her husband died in 1827, she had no money and hardly any slaves left at Rose Hall, and there was no evidence of her having murdered anyone at Rose Hall. To the contrary, she died elsewhere, many years after slavery had ended and certainly not murdered by anyone. Nevertheless, the tale of Annie Palmer, the "White Witch" of Rose Hall, remains tied to the magnificently restored Rose Hall Great House today and continues to enhance the impact that the spin of ghosts and gore have on visitor attraction to the site. [15]



A View of Rose Hall Great House around 1971 Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Ironshore Estate

Ironshore Sugar Estate was found on the extreme tip of St James' north coast. It was a fairly sized estate of 1,152 acres with both an animal mill and a windmill to aid in the extraction of the cane juice. Ironshore was noteworthy for the fact that this property remained in the possession of one family, the Irving family, from 1755 until 1839. It was also devoted to the production of sugar and rum for this entire period. An early owner was James Irving the elder, who owned the property from 1755 until 1775 when it was passed on to several males in the Irving family, who held it as tenants in common. These included Robert Irving (1775-1794); James Irving 11 (1775-1798); John Beaufin Irving 1 (1775-1813); Jacob Amelius Irving 1 (1775-1816); James Irving 111 (1798-1839); John Beaufin Irving 11 (1813-1839); and Jacob Amelius Irving 11 (1816-1839). The official owner from 1817 to 1839 was James Irving 11.

Ruins near Ironshore, St James Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Ironshore required a fairly large enslaved labour force to produce sugar and rum every single year. In 1774, Ironshore had 254 slaves and by 1799, this number had risen to 481. In 1832, just before Emancipation, the number of slaves had been reduced to 284. The estate had only a few working stock, with twenty in 1774 and forty one in 1832. Today, the upscale residential

community of Ironshore, located in the same area as the former sugar estate, shows the continuing impact of the past on place names in the parish.

Cinnamon Hill Estate

Cinnamon Hill, with its famous great house, was located on the east bank of the Little River and south of Rose Hall Estate. A large property of 3,672 acres, earning from sugar, rum, coffee, pimento, land rental and cattle, Cinnamon Hill had a vast enslaved labour force of between 303 and 573 and between 66 and 304 livestock. The property was one of several belonging to the equally famous Barrett family (discussed later) of St James and Trelawny. Samuel Barrett owned the estate in 1760, Edward Barrett, from 1774 to 1788 and again, from 1799 to 1807. Samuel Barrett Moulton Barrett, MP, owned Cinnamon Hill from 1811 to 1837. A large imprint of Cinnamon Hill remains on the landscape of St James today in the Cinnamon Hill Golf Course, the Great House (home to Johnny Cash) and the Cinnamon Hill Nursery.

Coffee-Producing Properties in St James up to Emancipation

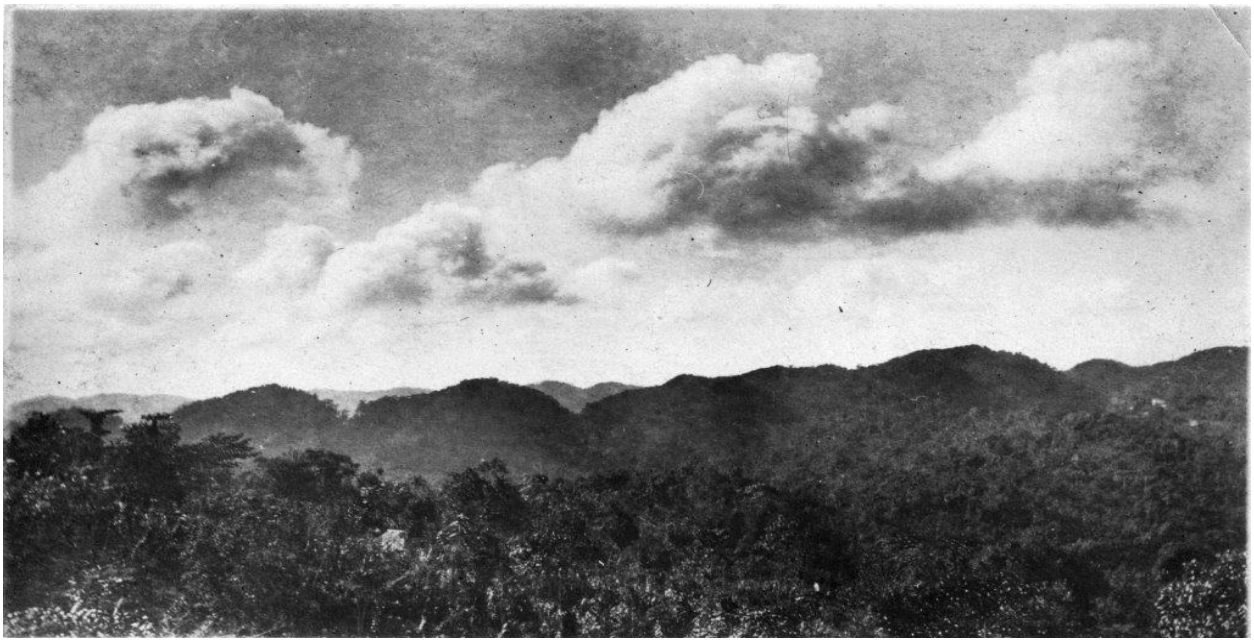
In the period before Emancipation, there were no properties in St James which could be described as dedicated coffee plantations or estates. The properties identified in the *University College of London Legacies of British Slave-ownership data-base* as coffee estates seemed to have done limited production of coffee. For most of the fifteen properties identified as coffee estates, sugar and rum seemed to have been the main products. It was not unusual for sugar-producing or livestock-rearing properties to also engage in the production of other crops such as coffee. The reverse also seems to have been true. Many properties identified as coffee plantations or estates in the sources actually produced less coffee than other products such as sugar. Therefore, they may have been listed as coffee-producing estates, because from time to time, they may have grown some coffee but this was minimal and not done every year. In fact, some such as *Catherine Hall Estate*, an established sugar producer, reported a crop of coffee in one year, only in 1801. *Cinnamon Hill*, another sugar producer, occasionally included coffee and pimento as other crops. Of the fifteen properties identified as coffee-producing, only a very few had the crop listed over several years. These included *Catadupa, Spring Vale Pen* and *Vaughansfield Pen.*

A Summary of Places which Produced Coffee in St James up to Emancipation

Bellfield Estate was owned by John Jarrett 11 from 1780 to 1782; by the Hon. John Cunningham from 1800 to 1812; and by James Cunningham from 1815 to 1839. It covered 1,432 acres and had a range of between 202 and 337 slaves and between 87 and 493 stock in the period from 1780 to 1830. Bellfield produced sugar and rum up to 1787, some cattle (1788) and then a variety of molasses, cotton, ginger, coffee, cocoa and pimento.

Catadupa was called Catadupa Coffee Plantation in 1799 and Catadupa Settlement in 1800. It was a small property of 662 acres and was owned by Nicholas Trought of St James between 1794 and 1800. Catadupa came under the control of James Hedley and William Fairclough (1808-1820); James Martin Irving (1823-1826); and Ann Williams (1826-1839). Catadupa's main crop was coffee, especially between1794 and 1800 when coffee producers in Jamaica benefitted from the decline in production in St Domingue during the revolution (Haitian Revolution). Catadupa also had other income from hiring out their slaves, raising steers and mules for hire and providing pasturage. Numbers of slaves on the property varied from a high of 168 in 1820 to 43 in 1832. Some of these slaves seem to have been transferred to York Pen. Catadupa left a lasting imprint on the place name of today's Catadupa community and Catadupa Main Road.

Spring Vale Pen was a fair-sized property of 1,972 acres, which was in operation from about 1787. It was owned by William Atherton (1787-1803); John Atherton, who was Tenant-for-Life (1803-1820); and Edward Atherton (1820-1821). William Peatt Litt had charge of the property from 1826 to 1832. Income was made from sugar, rum cattle, cotton, fustic, cattle, mules and horses. However, for quite a few years in succession (1794-1808), the emphasis seems to have been shifted to the production of coffee (because of the downturn in production in St Domingue/Haiti during that time) and the raising of cattle. The emphasis on cattle could be seen in the large numbers of stock (between 266 and 577), and Springvale maintained its productivity with an enslaved labour force of between 174 and 196 persons.



Estates in St James: A View of Vaughnsfield Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Vaughansfield Pen was a very large property of 3,100 acres located east of Crooked River and south of Long Fish River. The property was owned by Samuel Vaughn Jnr., who lived from 1762 to 1827. Born in Jamaica, the Hon. Samuel Vaughn served as Custos of St James, Assistant Judge of the Cornwall Assize Court and member of the House of Assembly. After his death, Vaughansfield remained in the family under the control of Vaughn's heirs. New owners, Walter Hamilton and William Henry Knott, took over from 1832 until 1834. Coffee and livestock were the focus of production from 1802 to about 1808. The records do not indicate crops produced after 1808, but based on the large numbers of livestock (a high of 410) and the number of enslaved (a high of 496), we may assume that the property remained quite productive up to 1832.

Other properties listed as producing coffee in St James before Emancipation grew coffee for so short a period as not to leave much of an impact on coffee production. For these properties, their emphasis was on commodities other than coffee, such as livestock or sugar. Some of these places included Catherine Hall (coffee grown only in 1801); Fairfield Estate (only in 1803); Glasgow (1789); Leyden (1801); Lima (1774-1776); Moor Park (1803); Providence (1797 and 1807); Somerton (1800); Wiltshire (1798, 1799, 1800); and Windsor Castle Pen (1794 and 1802). [16]

Livestock Production in St James from the Mid-Seventeenth Century to Emancipation

Almost all estates in St James at one time or the other had some livestock. Many estate owners reared livestock as draught animals, that is, to help with the pulling and turning of estate machinery such as ploughs, carts and animal mills. Livestock were sometimes rented out or sold to other estate owners for this purpose. Animals were also reared for beef consumption or for sale to the local butchers at markets. Some owners of livestock-producing properties or pens also dedicated some of their land to providing pasturage (grazing areas for animals), from which grass was often cut and sold as pasturage to other estate owners.

There were no properties in St James during this period that could be described as pure livestock-rearing pens. Rather, there were thirty-nine properties in the parish that undertook livestock rearing for the various purposes outlined before, along with other economic activities such as sugar production. An overview of these places included Amity Hall, Anchovy Bottom, Barrett Hall Pen (looked at shortly), Bellfield Estate (see below), Bogue (Bog), Catherine Mount, Chatham, Eden Estate, Flamstead, Glasgow, Hampton, Hartfield, Industry and Iron-Shore. Additionally, livestock rearing was done on Irwin Estate, Kirkpatrick Hall, Lethe, Lima Estate, Moor Park, New Montpelier, Old Montpelier, Newman Hall, Orange, Paisley, Potosi, Prospect

Pen, Providence, Seven Rivers Estate, Spot Valley, Spring Vale Pen, Springfield, Success, Tryall Estate, Vaughansfield, Virgin Valley, Williamsfield and Wiltshire.

Highlighting some Livestock-rearing Properties

Bellfield, a 1,432-acre property, was owned by John Jarrett 11 from 1780 to 1782 and by the Hon. John Cunningham from 1800 to 1812. James Cunningham controlled the property from 1815 to 1839. While Bellfield focussed on sugar and rum production, livestock rearing was done from 1788. From 1809 onwards, the numbers of livestock on the property increased to high levels, and this suggests that there was a growing focus on the profits to be gained from livestock rearing. For example, in 1809, livestock numbered 226, in 1815 (246), 1817 (374), 1821 (493), and in 1825, numbers fell to 338. From 1827, there were fluctuations, with 143 in that year and 204 in 1831. Still, the numbers of livestock right down to 1831 indicated that this economic activity was viewed as important. Bellfield maintained its sugar production as well, with an enslaved labour force of 204 by 1832.

Barrett Hall Pen, formerly Long Bay Pen, seems to have been in operation from around 1800. It was owned by Richard Barrett in 1808, Richard M. Barrett by 1811 and from 1823, by The Hon. Richard Barrett. Barrett Hall Pen was one of those properties which depended on a variety of economic activities for income. These included sale of timber from its forest lands, hiring out of enslaved workers, growth and sale of provisions, as well as trade in logwood. Barrett Hall's connection to the livestock industry in St James appears to have been mainly through the rearing of livestock and the provision (sale) of pasturage to other owners of livestock.

Bogue Estate, shown as *Bog Estate* on James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Cornwall, St James*, was located close to Montego Bay Harbour on the west side of the Retirement River. Bogue was owned from 1765 to 1774 by Norwood Witter, from 1789 to 1791 by Paul Benfield and by Richard Atkinson from 1789 to 1825. George Cragg took over ownership from 1826 to 1839. It was a fairly large-sized property of 1,420 acres which focussed on the production of sugar and rum from 1767 onwards. From 1798, while Bogue continued with sugar production, there was the gradual introduction of livestock rearing for income. In 1809, the property had forty-eight livestock, while by 1826, numbers increased to 213 and dropped slightly to 196 in 1831. Sugar and slaves were maintained throughout the period.

Eden Estate was located on the east side of the Great River near to the boundary with Hanover. Extending over 1015 acres, it was owned from 1792 to1798 by Charles Bernard of Jamaica and Bristol and from 1798 to 1834 by David Bernard. This property combined sugar and rum with livestock rearing, especially after 1800. In 1809, Eden reported having sixty-four livestock, but by 1815, the numbers of livestock had increased significantly to 217 and remained fairly high for the rest of the period down to Emancipation.

Flamstead was located on the bank of the Orange River and to the north of Crooked Spring. A fairly large property of 1,367 acres, Flamstead was in operation from 1761 and right up to Emancipation. For most of this time, the property was controlled by Samuel Vaughan and then by his heirs after his death in 1811. The Vaughan family also owned Vaughansfield and Pitfour. Flamstead was a good example of how these St James properties combined income from both sugar production and livestock rearing. Sugar and rum were predominant until 1807 when livestock rearing was started in earnest. Numbers of livestock increased from 217 in 1815 to 289 in 1820 and fell slightly to 257 in 1826 and then to 190 in 1831. By 1832, livestock numbers had declined to forty eight.

Glasgow, a modest-sized property of 876 acres, was located south-west of Lima Estate and west of Adelphi. This was owned by Robert Gordon from 1771 to 1774 and by John Gordon of Bristol, beginning in 1786. Between 1796 and 1834, John Gordon of Wincombe Park was in charge of Glasgow. Its owners emphasised sugar, rum and molasses from 1771 until 1779, and then from the 1790s, began to supplement income by relying increasingly on livestock rearing. Some of this was done to supply beef to other property owners and to the local market. Livestock numbers went from forty three in 1809, to 256 in 1819, then jumped to 514 in 1825. By 1831, Glasgow had approximately 219 livestock.

Irwin was located on the west bank of the Montego River in the vicinity of Montego Bay itself. Covering 1,793 acres, Irwin was owned by Thomas Hall of Dean Street, Soho between 1758 and 1772. Hugh Kirkpatrick Hall was the Tenant-For-Life of Irwin from 1772 until1788 and Thomas Kirkpatrick Hall then became Tenant-For Life from 1788 until 1839. A series of attorneys also managed the property from time to time. Sugar, rum and molasses were the focus of production between 1763 and 1787. By 1788 and then again in 1791, livestock rearing was carried out on a small scale and gradually increased. In 1797, Irwin was gaining additional income from raising steers and from the sale of beef. Some of Irwin's acreage was also used for pasturage to supply the needs of the livestock farmers who required extra. While Irwin never lost its focus on sugar, the growing importance of livestock rearing to its earnings may be seen in the increased numbers of livestock from 165 in 1809, to 263 in 1817 and then, to a high of 344 in 1820. Numbers had declined slightly to 283 in 1826, and in 1832, as Emancipation drew closer, Irwin reported 120 livestock. Like many of the other eighteenth and nineteenth-century properties in St James, Irwin has passed down its name to the modern-day community of Irwin, which is to be found in the same general area of the landscape around Montego Bay.

Lima Estate was a large property covering 2,623 acres and was located just to the north east of Glasgow Estate. It was owned by John Erskine from 1774 until 1786 and also by John Erskine from 1787 until 1803. Alexander Erskine assumed ownership in 1804 and held the property until 1839. Lima's involvement with the livestock industry in St James followed the pattern

observed so far of a focus on both sugar and livestock rearing. At first, there was a clear emphasis on sugar and rum from 1770 until 1787. Beginning in that year, some cattle were introduced and increasingly from 1794 onwards, livestock rearing and sugar production went forward together. In 1794, Lima specialised in steers, cows, heifers and calves. By 1815, Lima had 278 livestock and this number rose to 304 by 1820. There was a slight decrease in 1825 to 279, and from 1828 to 1830 there was a drastic decline in livestock numbers. Whether this was due to internal factors, such as disease among the livestock, remains unclear from the sources, but by 1831, numbers had recovered to 270. Shortly before Emancipation, numbers had again declined, this time to fifty eight.

Vaughansfield Pen, close to the border with Trelawny, has already been discussed as a coffee-producing property. As seen earlier, from 1804, livestock gained in importance and this was reflected in the large numbers of livestock reported by the owners from 1809. In that year, there were 266 livestock on Vaughansfield, and by 1820 this number had risen to 496. In spite of a slight decrease to 389 in 1825, this still represented a large outlay of livestock. In 1830, there were 314 livestock on the property. [17]

Minor Products/Income Generating Activities in St James, 1750s to 1834

St James' economic activities up to Emancipation were obviously heavily dependent on the main product of sugar and its by-products of rum and molasses. As seen before, livestock rearing and coffee production had also been done on several properties which treated these as major sources of income. Additionally, many estate owners were also able to gain income from what could be described as minor crops and other activities. Some of the minor crops grown for additional income included ginger, pimento, cocoa and cotton. Logwood trees grew naturally, although some property owners planted groves of logwood plants. Logwood was valued for the blue and black dyes needed in the textile industry in Britain. For some owners with logwood groves, the export of the wood from which the dye was extracted could prove to be more than a minor source of income. Fustic trees were also grown on some properties and the fustic or yellow dye from the tree was sold. The woodlands, which were an important part of most estates, provided timber for building and firewood for fuel in the boiling room of the factory. This wood was also used to make estate equipment such as carts and the hogsheads or barrels which were used to store and ship the sugar. Some property owners made an income from their woodlands by selling timber and supplies of firewood.

Estate owners also sold materials and old utensils accumulated on their properties, and these included old copper, iron, old brass, old stills (which were used in the making of rum) and side rollers (which were parts of the sugar mills). Income was also gained from providing services to other property owners. For example, many estate accounts showed that the owners rented out the labour of their slaves to others for agricultural tasks (jobbing) for income, and slaves were

sometimes hired out to do skilled work such as carpentry. Occasionally, land was rented out for use by others and, as seen in the accounts of Cinnamon Hill, this was listed as “land use” in the accounts.

An interesting practice used by some owners was described as “house use” or short-term rental of parts of the house. This was seen in the case of Catherine Hall Estate where rentals for “house use” may have been done, given the location of Catherine Hall close to the town of Montego Bay itself. Some estate owners were also merchants and traders as well, and income from these occupations was most times not minor. The *Jamaica Almanac* refers to the operation of the *Close Harbour Company* in Montego Bay in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The president of this company was Samuel Vaughan Jnr., who was a leading planter associated with Vaughansfield and Flamstead Estates, among other businesses.[18]

The People of St James from Early Settlement up to Emancipation

The population of St James was mixed, with blacks becoming increasingly larger in numbers as the supply of enslaved Africans grew over the course of the eighteenth century. As seen earlier, settlers from England were slow to establish their homes in St James because of the threat which they perceived from the Maroons who had made their homes in the Cockpit Country. A number of laws were passed by the English government between 1736 and 1750 aimed at encouraging more whites to settle in the island. Incentives to settle, such as the granting of land to individuals and families, were a feature of these laws. After the end of the First Maroon War, between 1741 and 1754, a number of whites were granted between fifty to 300 acres in return for settling parts of St James. In 1754, 157,068 acres of land were owned by white freeholders in the parish. Among this number, some persons may have owned as little as forty acres, while some were able to own as many as 3,310 acres in St James. This was before Trelawny was carved out of the parish in 1770. This practice by the English government to grant land to encourage white settlement continued into the early nineteenth century and land was being granted then in significant amounts. For example, Samuel Kerr got land in 1811 (300 acres) and again in 1817 (300 acres). By 1765, there were 132 white landed proprietors in St James in possession of 106,352 acres of land.

While the white population was largely of British descent, there were some persons of French background and German background in St James. After 1795, with the revolution and turmoil in St Domingue (Haiti), there were French immigrants (emigres) in the parish, including prisoners of war, taken during fighting between England and France. However, these immigrants did not represent a stable white population as some departed Jamaica for elsewhere. Among the white English owners of properties in St James, the population was also unstable because many of the owners of properties lived in England most of the time and were therefore absentee owners,

whose interests in St James were represented by attorneys. As seen in the earlier discussion on the development of the town of Montego Bay, there was a fairly small Jewish population which comprised mainly merchants and shopkeepers in the town.

Despite the unstable numbers among the white population, there were some persons or their families who had long term connections with St James. Among the property owners and business people, a number of names stood out in the records for the period and several of these men occupied positions of civil leadership in the parish. Examples included Francis Saddler and William Hall, who were the members of the House of Assembly for St James in 1751. Hall went on to be the Custos for the parish in that same year. Walter Murray served for many years as the member of the House of Assembly for St James over the period 1776 to 1787 and so did Robert Jackson Jnr (1779 to 1787). Some others who served as assembly men for the parish included Charles Bernard Jnr and George G. Barrett (1790); Samuel Vaughan and Gilbert Mathieson (1796); Hon. John Mowat and John Perry (1799, 1802); and Richard Barrett and William Stirling (1817). Some of the more influential custodes of St James included Hon. John Palmer (1774-1796), who was the owner of Rose Hall Estate, Hon. John Mowat (1799-1808), Hon. Samuel Vaughan (1817) and the Hon. James Cunningham (1824).

St James was 'home' to a number of wealthy families, some of whom may have lived in England from time to time. One such family was the *Scarlett family.* William Scarlett was a wealthy landowner in St James who was knighted when he became Chief Justice of Jamaica in the 1720s. Dr Robert Scarlett Jr was the son of Robert Scarlett Sr. and his wife, Elizabeth, nee Anglin. The Scarlett family owned Duckett's Spring Estate and Success Estate in the parish and had connections to several other properties. The great house of Duckett's Spring Estate was destroyed in the Sam Sharpe rebellion, but remains of this structure, as well as the ruins of the sugar works, may still be seen today.

The *Barrett family* was one of the more influential in both St James and Trelawny after this parish was created from St James in 1770. Over the years, the Barretts owned considerable acreages of land and often served in the political directorate of the island. This family was associated with Barrett Hall (Richard Barrett); Spring (Samuel Barrett); Cinnamon Hill and Cornwall Estate (Samuel Barrett Moulton Barrett); and Spot Valley (Samuel W. Barrett). Richard Barrett (1789-1839) was the second son of Samuel Barrett (1765-1794). He married Elizabeth Barrett Morris and they had a daughter, Elizabeth. The owner of Barrett Hall Estate and Barrett Hall Pen, Richard was member of the House of Assembly for St James from 1815 to 1819 and from 1826 to 1839. He died at Montego Bay in 1839 and was buried at Cinnamon Hill.

Samuel Vaughan Jr was the son of Samuel Vaughan, who was a West India merchant. Vaughan Sr. came to Jamaica from Britain in 1737 and remained there until 1752. During this period, he acquired a great deal of property and slaves around Montego Bay. Samuel Vaughan Jr (1762-

1827) was born in Jamaica and spent much of his life here. The Hon. Samuel Vaughan went on to serve the parish as Custos of St James, Assistant Judge of the Cornwall Assize Court and member of the House of Assembly for St James. Associated with Flamstead, Vaughansfield and Pitfour, Vaughan also bought Ridgeland Estate from James Ricketts in the 1820s. He later died there. The *Hon. John Palmer,* Custos of the parish and owner of Rose Hall Estate, has previously been discussed, along with his two wives in the section on sugar estates.

Samuel Sharpe, National Hero and Freedom-Fighting Son of St James

Now one of Jamaica's National Heroes, Sam Sharpe is usually discussed in the setting of the Christmas Rebellion of December 1831, historically named after him since he planned and led this protest. The Sam Sharpe Rebellion will be dealt with in its own right shortly, but in this section, we need to know of Sam Sharpe, the man and his ideas and ultimately, his quest for freedom. According to research done by the *National Library of Jamaica*, he was born into enslavement around the year 1780, and not as most sources suggest, in 1801. This earlier birth year would have made him approximately fifty one years old at the time of the Christmas Rebellion. This seems more in keeping with the mature, respected leader that he appears to have been among his people. He was given this name by his owner, Samuel Sharpe, a lawyer with business connections in Montego Bay.

As a house slave, Sam made use of opportunities to teach himself how to read, and these literacy skills were sharpened by his interest in reading the bible and also the newspapers from his owner's house. Apparently, Sharpe's love for attending church and his interest in reading were both encouraged by his owner. Sharpe's love of reading gave him a superior command of the English language, and pretty soon, he developed the reputation of being a powerful speaker who could move and impress his listeners regardless of context. He was baptised as a Baptist and quickly rose to become a lay deacon at the Thomas Burchell-led Baptist Church. His passionate and powerful speeches, his leadership position in the church, as well as his firm belief that slavery was unjust won him widespread respect and admiration, not only at the Baptist mission church that he attended, but also at congregations and meetings held secretly across the western end of the island. Sharpe was looked up to as a leader and termed "Daddy" or "Ruler" by the congregation.

Through his exposure to the newspapers at his owner's house and to conversations overheard, Sharpe became aware of discussions taking place in the British House of Commons about the possibilities of ending slavery. From April of 1831, heated discussions were being held at estate great houses in full earshot of domestic slaves like Sam Sharpe. The general impression held by the enslaved, including Sharpe, was that their freedom had either been granted or was coming very soon and that this was being strongly opposed by the planters. Sam Sharpe had a clear conviction, based on his reading of the Bible, that whites had no more right to hold blacks in

slavery than blacks had the right to enslave whites. Sharpe, therefore, had his own philosophy of freedom which he thought important enough to die for.

He also had a keen sense of when justice was being denied even to enslaved persons like himself, whom white society viewed as not entitled to the humanity, dignity and personhood accorded to free people. Therefore, when the Jamaican House of Assembly reduced the traditional three days' holiday around Christmas time to two (Christmas Day and Boxing Day), this raised some concern. More immediately, because Christmas Day fell on Sunday (a rest day for the slaves) in 1831, Sharpe's sense of justice convinced him that their traditional holidays should extend to include the Tuesday after Christmas Day. But his sense of purpose went far beyond the issue of Christmas holidays. Since, in his view, slavery was wrong and since the enslaved needed to claim their freedom, Sharpe's plan of action, shared with other enslaved Baptist leaders, was that the slaves were to refuse to continue working as slaves after Christmas. If their owners demanded that they worked, then they should be paid wages for their labour as free men. It is clear that Sam Sharpe was not an advocate of violence and bloodshed, and this was evident in his plan for a protest which would see the slaves "sitting down" or literally going on strike after Christmas Day, unless they were to be paid. As soon to be free people, Sharpe was urging his fellow men to claim the right of freedom, the right to negotiate and be fairly compensated for labour.

Word of the planned peaceful strike/protest was spread through the networks of slaves from the different Baptist congregations and through meetings held at nights on estates across St James, Trelawny, Hanover, Westmoreland and parts of St Elizabeth. As pointed out by Kathleen Monteith, Sharpe was able to pass his message and his philosophy on to such a vast number of slaves, largely through networking with other enslaved Native Baptist leaders such as George Taylor, Thomas Dove and Robert Gardner. Sharpe believed that the enslaved should stand together to protect what they thought was right and just. As seen in a later section on the events of the rebellion, Sharpe's planned path of peaceful protest through strikes was soon transformed into a violent and deadly confrontation with widespread and significant consequences. [19]

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the Enslaved: Significance to Commercial Development in St James

The success of every aspect of the economic growth of St James rested on the foundation of the labour obtained from the thousands of persons subjected to forced migration from West Africa during the Trans-Atlantic trade in human beings. In this history of St James, the contribution by the enslaved to the building of the parish, especially to the growth of the sugar and coffee economy, as well as the livestock industry and agriculture in general, must be acknowledged and credited. That the enslaved persons did so under the most inhumane,

devastating and traumatic experiences makes their role in the growth and development of St James and by extension, the rest of Jamaica, singularly important.

For most of the period, Kingston was the centre of the slave trading operations carried out by the Asiento Company. As the sugar industry and other economic enterprises expanded across St James, Montego Bay became second only to Kingston and was the chief port of disembarkation for Africans on the north coast. The English-based Hibbert Enterprise had an outlet in Montego Bay known as Barnard and Montague that sold slaves to estate owners and others in the parish. Other merchants who participated in the sale of slaves in St James included a Mr Clarke, Mr Jackson and Co., and Mr Moger. Notices advertising slave auctions appeared regularly in the town's newspaper, the *Cornwall Chronicle,* and between 1776 and 1777, they announced that new arrivals from Africa would be sold by the St James firms of William, Brown, Malcolm and Nevinson, Parkinson and Hill, as well as by Hibbert's Barnards & Montague.

According to a census done in 1774, there were 16,656 enslaved persons in the parish of St James. Of this number, 12,557 or 75.3 percent belonged to the owners of the parish's seventy-four sugar estates in 1774. According to the social hierarchy among whites in those days, the persons who were next in importance to white sugar planters were the owners of livestock pens, coffee planters and skilled whites, such as millwrights, carpenters and masons. This middle group, labelled "small settlers", owned 3,044 or 18.2 percent of the 16,656 slaves in the parish in 1774. At the bottom of the white social hierarchy were white persons living in the town of Montego Bay and who were collectively referred to as "householders" or "housekeepers". This urban group had occupations such as merchant, shopkeeper, wharfinger, blacksmith, fisherman, doctor and schoolmaster. According to the census, in 1774, this group of "householders" (including Montego Bay's six Jewish families) owned a total of 1,055 slaves or 6.3 percent of St James' slave population.

Participation in this trade of human beings proved profitable not only for the estate owners but also for the merchants and shipping companies which operated in and out of Montego Bay. For example, in 1771 alone, one merchant was reportedly able to send home (to England) £50,000 made from the sale of slaves in Montego Bay. An idea of the numbers of Africans brought in to Montego Bay at any one time on these slave ships may be had by the record of the slave ship, the *Brothers*, which delivered 358 Africans to Montego Bay in 1791.

Sale of Africans: The Wharf vs The Slave Ring

According to advertisements of slave sales which appeared in the Cornwall Chronicle, newly arrived Africans were usually sold at the wharf or at the vendor's store. There, planters or their agents, and others who were interested in acquiring slaves, would assemble on the given day,

and Africans would be sold to the highest bidders. Upon purchase, the African became the legal slave and property of the owner.

However, it is a popularly held belief that the 'Slave Ring' at the corner of Union and East Street was the site of a slave market in the eighteenth century. The 'Slave Ring' is a semi-circular structure made from stone. It was sheltered under a silk-cotton tree. Today, this structure is on the grounds of the residence of the Rerrie family. An alternative explanation is that the structure may have been used as a cock-fighting ring as a Saturday night 'sport', which was also advertised in the Cornwall Chronicle in the 1780s. [20]

The Sam Sharpe Rebellion in Jamaica, 1831: Significance for St James and Elsewhere

As seen earlier in the discussion about Sam Sharpe, the man and his ideas, Sharpe's plan of action was for a sit down or strike action immediately after the Christmas holidays. According to this plan, the enslaved would claim the right of free men, to be paid wages for work done and would continue their strike until the planters agreed to pay them. However, Sharpe's call for a peaceful strike action was not followed by all of the other enslaved Native Baptist leaders. In preparation for a possible armed conflict in case the planters refused their demands, other enslaved Baptist leaders, Thomas Dove, Robert Gardner and Johnson, all took on the title of Colonel and were placed in charge of the protest in the interior. Other leaders, John Tharp and George Taylor, were put in charge of the protest in Montego Bay. In spite of careful planning, events soon went beyond peaceful protest, and this may partly be explained by the actions of Governor Lord Belmore of Jamaica.

Because the British government had gotten feedback that the slaves were convinced that their freedom had been granted but was being withheld by the planters, the authorities in England had issued a proclamation from June 3, 1831, declaring that slavery had not been abolished and requested colonial governors to read and explain the proclamation to congregations of slaves and their representatives. Lord Belmore's failure to follow instructions until it was too late (after December 17, 1831), meant that the slaves continued to believe what they had been hearing all along, that is, that their freedom had been granted and was being withheld. The calling out of the militia in response to a confrontation with slaves at Salt Spring Estate in St James (December 15 - 17) and Belmore's sending of warships to Montego Bay, Port Antonio and Black River, in response to reports of other disturbances, convinced the enslaved that the Jamaican authorities had every intention to forcefully deprive them of the freedom which they firmly believed had been granted by the British government. The governor's reading of the proclamation at this point did nothing to convince the enslaved of the opposite.

On December 27, 1831, events moved beyond the planned peaceful strike when the Kensington Estate, owned by John Henry Morris, was set on fire. Kensington was chosen because of its

location high on a hill from which the flames would be clearly visible to the persons in the countryside around. The Kensington fire sent a quick signal that the peaceful protest had moved to a violent stage, unleashing burning and destruction of property which had been symbolic of the denial of their freedom. Taking their cue from the Kensington flames, rebel slaves set fire to cane trash on many estates in St James, including Palmyra, Blue Hole, Leogan, Hazelymph, Belvedere, Content and Windsor, to name a few. Before it was finally brought to an end in January 1832, virtually every estate, pen and plantation in St James would be brought low by a determined trail of burning and destruction. Properties in adjoining parishes of Hanover, Westmoreland, Trelawny and parts of St Elizabeth suffered a similar fate.

The Impact on St James

Property Damage and Destruction

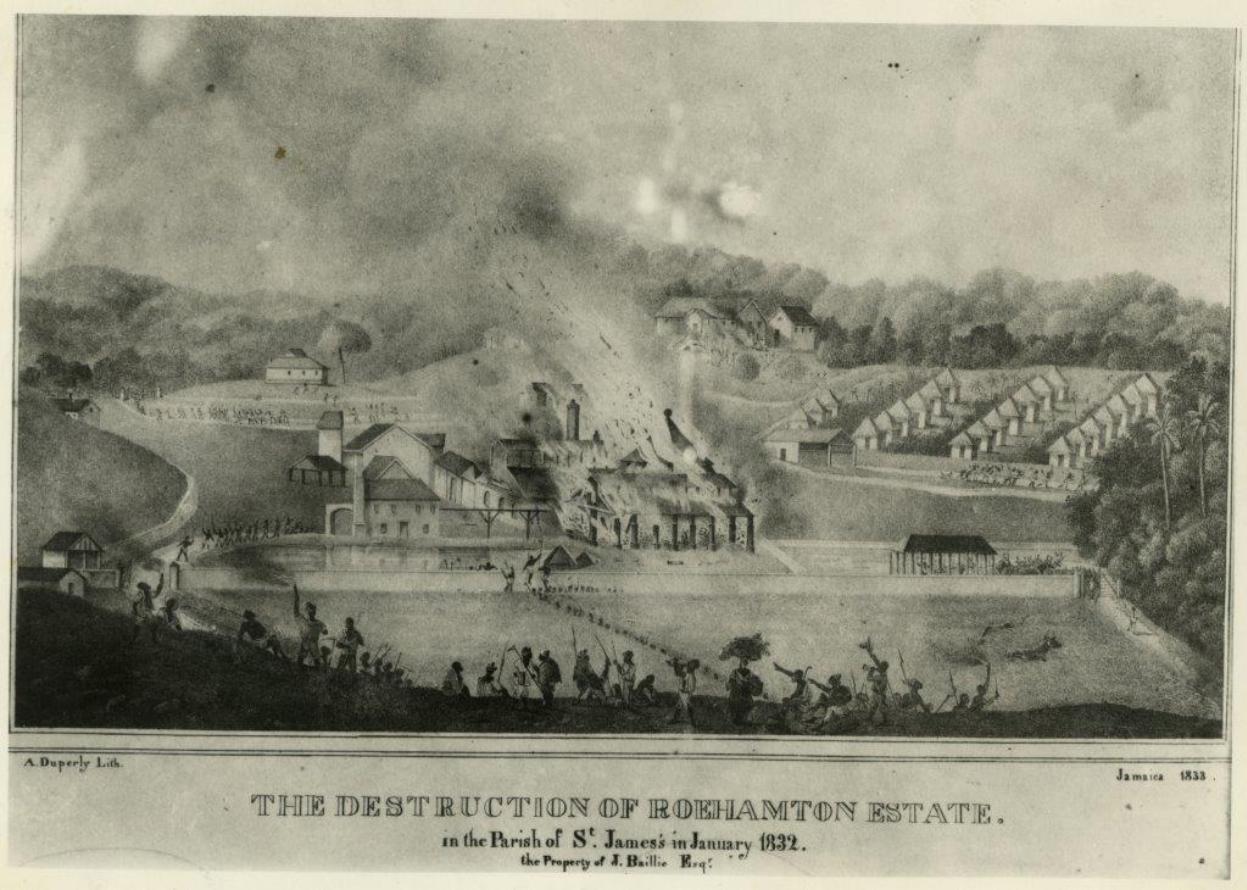
Damage and loss of property in St James was astounding. The total value of property loss by one hundred properties in the parish amounted to £606,000. As Kathleen Monteith pointed out, the destruction and loss was most apparent on the St James estates, which were largest and which had the largest numbers of slaves. Of the twenty-seven properties in the parish which had 201 slaves or more in 1831, twenty-one were destroyed. In 1831, there were fifty-one properties having between 101 to 200 slaves. Almost half of these or twenty-four properties were destroyed during the rebellion. In a breakdown of property losses in St James, Monteith showed that forty-five estates, fourteen pens and fifty-three plantations suffered losses and in most cases, the great house and the sugar works were destroyed.

In the period of the eighteenth century and leading up to the rebellion in 1831, it should be remembered that the properties in St James and the other affected parishes in western Jamaica were among the most productive and profitable on the island. In light of this, the destruction unleashed on the St James properties took an even greater toll on the economy of the parish and of the wider Jamaica. A closer look at the list of properties which suffered loss and damage in St James reads like an all-inclusive list of St James properties. As a final show of retribution, the forces of the suppression set fire to the huts and provision grounds of the enslaved on the vast majority of properties, thereby adding to the devastation that became so apparent when it was all over.

St James: Property Loss up Close: Properties on which the Great House, Sugar Works and Slave Huts were Destroyed

Kensington, the property of John Henry Morris, had suffered very early as fires were lit there to signal the start of the violent phase of the rebellion. The great house and the sugar works, including the cane trash house were lit. During the suppression, the slave huts were also burnt out. On *Lethe* Estate, with 295 slaves, the great house and sugar works were destroyed and

during the suppression, the huts of the enslaved were wiped out. *Roehampton*, with 339 slaves, suffered a similar total loss of great house, sugar works and afterwards, slave huts; as did *Eden* (209 slaves) and *Childermas* (155 slaves). *Retirement* (354 slaves) lost the great house, sugar works and slave huts; while a similar loss befell *Bellfield* (320 slaves), owned by James Cunningham; and *Orange Estate* (116 slaves). Other properties which suffered this all- inclusive devastation were *Wiltshire Estate* (189 slaves); *Moor Park* (185); *Virgin Valley* (168); *Kirkpatrick Hall* (162 slaves); *Spring Mount* (285); *Potosi* (223); *John's Hall* (85 slaves); *Spring Garden* (269); *Newman Hall* (145); *Leyden (*423); *Anchovy Bottom* (238); *Cambridge* (207); *Duckett's Spring* (233); *New Montpelier* (300); and *Old Montpelier* (420). Destruction of the great house, sugar works and later, the slave huts and grounds, was also the fate of *Flamstead* (407); *Vaughansfield* (64); *Blue Hole* (254); *Seven Rivers* (301); and *Adelphi* (249 slaves).



The Destruction of Roehampton Estate, January 1832 Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Properties on which Fewer Structures Suffered Destruction

Cottage Pen and *Content* plantation (39 slaves) lost only their great houses, while *Salt Spring* Pen (75 slaves) suffered a similar loss. Other St James properties which were spared the loss of their sugar works but had the great house destroyed were *Hazelgrove* (10 slaves); *Unity Hall*

(149); *Friendship* (19 slaves); and *Richmond Hill* (44). However, during the suppression, on many of these properties, the slave huts were burned, no doubt in retaliation for the destruction of the great houses.

On *Windsor Lodge* Estate with 339 slaves, the sugar works were completely destroyed and the slave huts were burnt out during the suppression. *Industry Estate* (164 slaves); *Williamsfield* (284); *Amity Hall* (100); *Hazelymph* (273); *Hampton* (129); and *Windsor Castle* (114) lost the great house as well as the sugar works. On *Lima Estate,* with 295 slaves and *Palmyra* with 107, damage was restricted to their cane trash houses, which were completely burnt out.

Loss of Lives

Estimates of loss of lives are generalized to include St James and the other affected parishes of Hanover, Trelawny, Westmoreland and parts of St Elizabeth. Most of the casualties occurred in St James, as this is where the rebellion originated and where a great deal of confrontations occurred between the militia and the slaves. The loss of lives among the enslaved was tremendous, amounting to well over 600 slaves. Of this number, 312 slaves, out of a total of 626, who had been put on trial were executed. In early February, in a very short space of time, ninety-four alleged rebels were hung in Montego Bay. The rest were severely flogged. During the events of the rebellion, about 200 slaves lost their lives in the fighting. Included here were some of the slave leaders like Johnson, who was shot dead by Colonel Grignon at Old Montpelier, and Campbell, who was fatally wounded and taken away to Greenwich Estate, where he died the following day. During the course of putting down the rebellion, many more slaves, some of whom were trying to flee for their lives into the woods, were shot down by militia men without benefit of a trial. In all, fourteen whites lost their lives. Sam Sharpe was the last to be executed. He was tried on April 19, 1832 and was put to death by hanging on May 23, 1832 in the same Montego Bay square (formerly Charles Square) which has been renamed *Sam Sharpe Square* and his statue erected in his honour. After his execution, Sharpe was hastily and unceremoniously buried in the sand on the Montego Bay sea shore. Around 1841, his remains were re-interred in a vault under the pulpit of the Burchell Baptist Chapel in Montego Bay.

Widespread Attacks on Missionaries and their Churches

It appears that the authorities in Jamaica did not credit the enslaved with sufficient forethought and organisational skills to plan such a widespread and largescale event as the *Sam Sharpe Rebellion*. Consequently, they turned their suspicions on the missionaries, especially the Baptists, Wesleyans and the Moravians, whom they accused of having incited the slaves to rebel. After the suppression, the Reverend George Bridges and others, along with several militia men, formed the Colonial Church Union, an almost para-military organisation which was bent on exacting punishment on the missionary churches that they thought responsible for the

rebellion. The end result was the almost complete destruction of the Baptist and Wesleyan chapels in St James, as well as those in places like Trelawny and Hanover. Several leading missionaries, including William Knibb, were arrested in the first week of January. When the Rev. Thomas Burchell, Baptist missionary, arrived in Montego Bay on January 7, 1832, he was also arrested, but along with other missionaries, they were later released. Given the hostile climate and the attempts on their lives, several of these missionaries, including Knibb and Burchell, left the island and returned home.

International Consequences of the Sam Sharpe Rebellion

Economic Impact on Britain

Jamaica's sugar-based economy had always been of economic importance to Britain, with the prosperous estates, especially in the parishes affected by the rebellion, being a major contributor to British economic and industrial growth. Therefore, the tremendous destruction of estate resources and production in the northern and western parishes of Jamaica proved an immediate and heavy blow to Britain's income from one of her most prized possessions. In an ironic twist of fate, the very profitable plantation economy which had been built up on the backs and suffering of the enslaved was, by 1832, almost brought tumbling down in parishes like St James as a result of the slaves' decision to fight for their freedom.

Hastening Emancipation "from Above rather than from Below"

In the history of the British West Indian colonies, the Sam Sharpe Rebellion was the largest of all slave uprisings, involving at least 60,000 slaves. It also was the most destructive and most widespread of all slave revolts in the British Caribbean, sweeping across the entire western and northern parishes of the island. The severity of the destruction caused by this event helped to convince the British government in their discussions in the parliament, that if they delayed the granting of Emancipation much longer, the delay could result in a much more widespread and all-inclusive uprising on the part of slaves across the British West Indies. The possibility of such an event raised the real fear of another St Domingue revolution (as had occurred in Haiti), with a collapse of white society as they knew it, whites either fleeing or being killed and estates everywhere being totally destroyed. Within two short years of the Sam Sharpe Rebellion, the British government took the decision of granting Emancipation on their own terms "from above", rather than risking a disastrous uprising on the part of the slaves across the British Caribbean (Emancipation from below). [21]

St James in the Post- Slavery Period up to 1900

Changes in Settlement Patterns and Economic Activities in St James after Emancipation

Overview: Settlement Patterns before Emancipation

Settlement patterns refer to the trends by which parts of a country, in this case, a parish, became occupied or lived in over time, giving rise to settled groups of people who formed communities. These communities may be centred on agriculture, farming the land or livestock rearing. In the history of St James in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, up to Emancipation, it has been seen that this pattern of settling the land gave rise to sugar estates, coffee plantations and livestock pens. In the same period, it was also seen that other persons who had an interest in trade and commerce settled near to the harbour and port, where an *urban settlement pattern* gave rise to the town of Montego Bay. These settlement patterns which existed before 1834 (abolition of slavery) were shaped and conditioned mainly by the economic interests of the people who settled these communities, that is, a desire to make a profitable living from the occupation of their choice. Before 1834, settlement patterns were also shaped and conditioned by the existence of a legal system of slavery in which the free people of the parish were largely white with a few ethnic groups such as Jews playing a minor role in settlement patterns in the town of Montego Bay. Very importantly, the numerical majority in St James up to 1834, who were the thousands of blacks forced into slavery, clearly had no choice in deciding where they lived and so their settlement patterns were decided by the system of slavery which legally bound them to live on the properties of their owners.

Overview: Settlement Patterns after Emancipation: What Changed, what Remained the Same

Change: Spread of Small Settlements across the Parish

The most significant and widespread change in settlement patterns in St James after 1838 was the acquisition of land in various parts of the parish by the freed persons. For the most part, these were small holdings or small plots of land, varying in size from less than ten acres to sometimes twenty acres or more. These were referred to as small holdings or freeholds and the owners as small holders, free holders or peasant farmers. Over time, these peasant plots or small holdings spread extensively across St James, with most being found away from the flat, coastal areas, which were still dominated by large sugar properties. Without a doubt, the spread of small settlements owned by the freed people and their descendants has

revolutionized settlement patterns in the parish from then until now. This will be discussed in detail shortly.

Continuity: Persistence of Settlement Pattern of Large Estates

Emancipation certainly ended the labour system, which had depended for almost two centuries on the work of enslaved people. However, it did not dismantle or change in any major way, the land settlement pattern of large estates which had dominated the St James landscape for almost two centuries. Despite economic challenges facing the sugar industry in St James in the period leading up to and following Emancipation, large sugar estates as a settlement pattern did not merely continue to exist, but they held their own quite well in comparison to some of the other parishes in Jamaica. As will be seen shortly, in addition to Clarendon, western Jamaica including St James, Hanover, Westmoreland and Trelawny, had the lowest rates of abandonment of sugar estates in the island. Large estates were to remain a feature of the settlement pattern of St James right down to the end of the nineteenth century.

Continuity and Change: Increase of Freed Population Living on Some Estates:

Not all of the ex-slaves departed from the estates to live elsewhere after Emancipation. Some remained living on the plantations if treatment, the terms and conditions of rental, as well as wages, suited their immediate needs. Some former slaves expressed a feeling of attachment to estate huts and grounds which were close to the burial places of their ancestors. Others continued to live in rented estate house and grounds until they had saved enough money to buy land of their own. This occasionally was the case on a few estates in St James.

In several instances, the freed population living on the estates increased even though the number of labourers on those estates did not increase. This happened when family members, who had been attached to other estates during slavery, migrated after 1838 to different estates in St James in order to be united with their families. A very good example of this type of post-slavery settlement pattern occurred on Montpelier Estate. Between Emancipation and 1847, the population of ex-slaves living on Montpelier almost doubled from 800 to 1,500 even though its labour force did not increase.

Continuity and Change: Urban Settlement Patterns

Settlements in the town of Montego Bay (urban settlement) had existed from the eighteenth century when the town was first established, so this pattern of urban settlement continued. However, there were two major changes in urban settlement after Emancipation. One was in the population of Montego Bay, and this was seen in the influx of freed people as urban dwellers in the town. The second and perhaps the more important change in *urban settlement patterns* was the concentration of people who were interested in trade, business, crafts and

small-scale industries in parts of the parish outside of Montego Bay. This led to the settlement and emergence over time of new towns and districts in various parts of St James, including *Chester Castle, Little River, Copse, Ramble* and *Adelphi*. These important changes in settlement patterns are discussed shortly.

Why Changes in Land Settlement Patterns Occurred

Emancipation

The single most important factor which determined *settlement patterns* in St James in the post-slavery period to the end of the nineteenth century was *the abolition of the institution of slavery by the Emancipation Act*, which took effect on August 1, 1834. As of that date, no one could enslave another human being in the British colonies. All enslaved children under six years were immediately freed. However, the Act stated that all slaves six years and older on this date were to serve a period of apprenticeship to their former masters and so in this way, the former slaves still remained under the control of the persons who had owned them, as long as the period of apprenticeship lasted.

In spite of this, the law provided that for one quarter of the work week, the apprentices were to be free to do as they wished, and if they worked for their former owners during this time, they had to be paid a fair wage. This was important because even during the Apprenticeship period (1834-1838), which placed a limit on the freedom of the former slaves, they had the opportunity to earn wages and even purchase their complete freedom before the end of apprenticeship and the arrival of full freedom on August 1, 1838. Therefore, this meant that the settlement patterns for some apprentices could change as they purchased their freedom, bought land and moved away from the estate long before 1838.

The termination of the Apprenticeship system and the arrival of full freedom for all former apprentices on August 1, 1838 resulted in significant, long-lasting and far-reaching changes in the settlement patterns across St James. Freedom at that point meant being free persons in the eyes of the law. From a practical point of view, freedom also meant that every former slave now had freedom of choice, freedom of movement or mobility and freedom to choose where they wished to live. Settlement patterns for them were therefore shaped first and foremost by the freedom of choice and movement which resulted from the Emancipation Act.

Disputes over Labour and Wages

The decision by many of the freed people to remove their place of residence from the estates and plantations as soon as they could afford to buy land of their own was strengthened by the disputes between estate management and themselves over matters of rent and wages. Planters often charged high rents for estate house and provision grounds and often charged per

capita rent or rent for each person living in the house. In some cases, ex-slaves had to live constantly in fear of eviction from estate house and grounds, usually being forced to abandon any growing crops when they were evicted. Land of their own would give the freed people a greater sense of security and control over their lives.

Ex-slaves had a deep awareness of what constituted a fair wage for an honest day's labour, and disputes over wages were often a cause of protest and increased their resolve to gain some degree of independence from estate labour through small farming on lands of their own. When sugar prices fell in 1841, some planters in St James attempted to cut costs by lowering wages from one shilling and six pence (1/-6d) a day to one shilling (1/-) a day. Workers across the parish protested as seen in the gathering of over 2,000 labourers at Salter's Hill Baptist Church in 1841. William Allen, a worker on Virgin Valley estate, addressed the crowd and voiced the reasons why the freed people should not accept what they saw as unjust payments:

"De Busha dem all hab five to six harse, dem lib well, nyam belly full, lib na good house; we lib na hut . . .we pay half a dollar rent, den dem want to gib we shillin a day. Tell me now, how much lef fa you when week out? De Busha get ten shilling a day; Dem want to rob we. . . Unoo will take one shilling a day? (Cries of no, no, no, no from the audience) Well den, tick out fe good pay and see if dem no blige and bound fee gee wha we ax a day."

Workers on many St James estates went on strike in 1841 and demanded more wages. The strikes were called off when the planters gave in and restored wages to what they were before.

Availability of Land for Sale

Availability of land for purchase by the freed people also contributed to the change in settlement patterns after 1834. In some cases, the former slaves resorted to squatting on government-owned land (Crown land), but most tried to buy even small amounts of land because this gave them a degree of independence and security for themselves and their families. Land became more available at this time because some sugar estate owners in the parish had become heavily indebted and were selling marginal lands in an effort to reduce debts, while some estate owners were willing to sell land to the ex-slaves in the hope that their living in the vicinity of the estate would encourage them to give their labour to that estate.

Owners of coffee properties in particular had been experiencing a serious fall in market prices for coffee even before Emancipation, and many were forced to put up their properties for sale. Ex-slaves in St James benefitted from the abandonment of coffee lands in particular as prices per acre were lower for the more inland properties. Generally, availability of estate and coffee lands for sale was most pronounced in the period 1838 to 1848 because of mounting costs of

labour and production, as well as competition from foreign producers of sugar and coffee, which made it difficult for many owners to remain profitable.

Recognition by the Freed People of the Importance of Land Ownership

Generally, the formerly enslaved regarded land ownership as a “badge of freedom”. Owning land meant some amount of independence from the need to work on the plantations, giving them opportunities to decide where to do extra labour if and when they needed to supplement their income from sale of their provisions. It also meant freedom to make decisions regarding family labour. Women and children could contribute to family labour on the farm in a safe environment, free from the threat of abuse by estate management. This decision may have contributed to some of the withdrawal of female labour from the estates after 1838. Land also meant a home and a greater sense of security that was not there when they rented house and grounds on the estates as they were often subject to eviction at a moment’s notice. Eventually too, land ownership could allow blacks to qualify to vote especially in vestry elections (local government) and therefore play a part in enacting the true meaning of freedom.

Land of Our Own: The Spread of Small Settlements and Small-Farming across St James after Emancipation

Newly freed people acquired land in St James in two ways. The first was through assistance given by the missionaries in the purchase of land and the setting up of free villages. The second was through self-help on the part of ex-slaves who had saved sufficient money from the sale of provisions during slavery and the earning of wages during apprenticeship and after 1838. This second avenue to land ownership saw the ex-slaves buying individual plots of land and settling down on their farms. By far, the greater number of freed people who acquired land in St James did so through their own efforts, without assistance from missionaries or any other group.

Free Villages in St James

Sometimes, planters were unwilling to sell small plots of land to individual ex-slaves for fear that they would lose the labour of the freed people. Therefore, missionaries at times purchased larger amounts of land, subdivided it into smaller portions and sold the plots to ex-slaves. In these instances, the missionaries created communities known as free villages, in which the small plots were laid out as house lots, complete with streets and gardens. The mission church and school were standard features of these villages. Usually, there was a great degree of social control exercised over the lives of the village residents, who were expected to attend church and school and abide by the teachings which were promoted by the missionary group. In St

James, the missionary assisted free villages were formed by the Baptists, Presbyterians and Moravians.

Examples of Free Villages in St James

Maldon and Mount Carey

John Howard Hinton, writing the *Memoir* of Baptist missionary William Knibb in 1849, claimed that by that year, St James had ten new free villages, with approximately 11,020 houses. One of the most successful free villages was established by the Baptists at *Maldon* in St James. Maldon was started as a free village by the Baptist missionary Walter Dendy in 1840, with financial help from the Baptists of Maldon in Essex, England. In recognition of this help, Dendy named the new community *Maldon* after the English group. Many of the new residents of Maldon were associated with the Baptist church at Salter's Hill. In free villages such as Maldon, both the church and the attached school were built entirely by labour provided by the freed people. *Mount Carey* was one of the earliest religious missions established in St James by the Baptists during the ministry of Reverend Burchell. A free village associated with the church was set up at Mount Carey.

Goodwill

Goodwill was a free village founded by the Presbyterian Church soon after the abolition of slavery. Goodwill Free Village was located on the border of St James and surrounded by the Kent and Orange Valley Estates. Reverend George Blyth was the founder and manager of this community. He bought fifteen acres and subdivided the land into plots of quarter of an acre each. Goodwill stood out as perhaps being the most strictly controlled of all the free villages in St James. Although the freed people who lived there enjoyed the sense of independence from planter control that came with owning their own house plots and gardens, they apparently had to abide by a very strict moral code laid down by Reverend Blyth and the Scottish missionaries.

Blyth's regulations prohibited, among several activities, gambling, drunkenness, cursing and concubinage (living with a partner without benefit of marriage). In order to live there, the freed people had to be confirmed members of the Temperance Society (took an oath to avoid alcohol). Failure to obey the Presbyterian code of living was punishable by expulsion from the free village of Goodwill. Before an eviction was carried out, the offending resident was repaid the money which had been paid for the house lot. Under the strict control of the missionaries, ex-slaves often found that life in the free villages was not so free after all.

Irwin Hill

Irwin Hill was a free village founded in St James by the Moravians. Though the Moravians were not as active in St James as they were in St Elizabeth, they did play a relatively small role in the growth of free villages in the parish. The Moravians seemed to have had contacts with the owners of Irwin Estate even before Emancipation and were able to acquire marginal land from the estate, on which they built the village of Irwin after Emancipation. Over the years, the village grew into the extensive community of Irwin that exists in St James today.

Maroon Town

Ex-slaves established a non-Maroon free village community on the lands in the north-western Cockpit Country, which had once been the location of Cudjoe's Town or Trelawny Town. These lands had been taken over by the government after they had exiled the Trelawny Town Maroons to Nova Scotia in 1796. When the colonial government subdivided and sold the land after 1838, freed people bought some of these lands and established a small farming community in the area. Bananas and provisions were grown on the lands which they retained from generation to generation as family land. The Maroon Town village later developed links with the Methodist Church. Over time, there was also some degree of incorporation of Maldon into the Maroon Town community.

Granville

Granville, like Maroon Town, was formed through the collaborative efforts of the freed people, without assistance from the missionary groups. Around 1848, the owners of Bellefield estate sold some marginal estate lands to ex-slaves, both as a means of raising additional funds, but also in the hope that a nearby community of freed people would be available to provide labour to the estate when needed. The lands were subdivided into small lots ranging from quarter of an acre to one acre, and a village community was laid out with intersecting pathways. Early residents of Granville were small farmers and artisans for the most part. [22]

The Growth of Individually-Owned Small-holding Settlements among the Freed People and their Contribution to Economic Activities in St James

As seen earlier, one of the pathways to land-ownership by the freed people occurred when planters took the decision to sell small amounts of marginal land to individual ex-slaves. Among the first to be sub-divided and sold off were the hillier areas or the mountain grounds, which had been used as provision grounds for the slaves. After Emancipation, these lands were seen as marginal, no longer important to the operation of the estate and therefore sold as a means to reduce debts or gain additional income.

An examination of the *Jamaica Almanacs* for St James in 1840 and 1845 gives us a good idea of the establishment and growth in numbers of individually-owned small settlements (as opposed to free villages) in the parish from 1840 until about 1845. As seen earlier, the size of the small settlements varied from under one acre (very rare) to under ten acres, to twenty acres and under. It was unusual, but not impossible for ex-slaves to own as many as fifty acres, but this size acreage would occur over a longer time, with succeeding generations adding to the amount of land owned. The typical peasant and small farmer usually owned under ten but did not usually go over twenty acres. By law, owners of land had to make returns (something like a modern property tax return) to the parish vestry each year, and these returns were recorded by parish in the *Jamaica Almanacs.*

By 1840, approximately eighty-nine persons in St James owned property under ten acres each. We may assume that most if not all of this number were from the very recently emancipated persons. By 1845, the number of persons in the parish owning small holdings under ten acres each had increased significantly to 1,089. Within such a short space of time, the newly freed were making use of every opportunity to own land, no matter how small. From 1840 to 1845, the increase in numbers of smallholders owning between ten and twenty acres was no less impressive. According to the 1840 *Almanac,* thirty-nine smallholders in St James owned anywhere between ten and twenty acres. By the 1845 record, this group of smallholders had jumped to 131.

What is truly important about these numbers for St James is what they reveal about *the rate of growth among the peasant holdings* in the parish. Simply looking at the numbers of peasant holdings in St James in 1840 and again in 1845 does not show the full significance of what was happening in St James in comparison to other parishes. If we simply compare the number of peasant holdings in St James with numbers in other parishes, it would not appear as if the growth of the peasantry in St James was significant. In fact, looking at the raw numbers alone, six parishes accounted for the greatest number of peasant freeholds in the island after Emancipation, and St James was not among the six (St Ann, Manchester, St Mary, St Thomas in the Vale, Clarendon and St Elizabeth).

However, it was *the rapid rate of increase in the number of peasant freeholds between 1840 and 1845 that made St James outstanding, ranking the parish in the top six parishes where the rate of growth was more than two and a half times more rapid than that of the island as a whole.* These six parishes were St James, St Mary, Manchester, St Elizabeth, St Thomas-in-the-Vale and St Ann and interestingly, these parishes were the location of more than one third of the major sugar estates in Jamaica in 1844. It seems that the rapid rate of increase also occurred in St James because that parish had enough functioning estates to assure the peasants that if they needed additional employment, jobs would be available on the estates. Ease of

access to the thriving port of Montego Bay for export of some peasant crops also seems to have been important.

Between 1840 and 1845, the freed people (women as well as men) of St James established peasant freeholds in several areas across the parish, many of which eventually grew into communities which shaped the changing landscape of St James and remain today as important landmarks in the parish. In 1840, most of the freeholds between ten and twenty acres each, were bought in areas such as Content, Nottingham, Grange Hill, Lucky Hill, Friendship, Bethlehem, Cooper's Hill, Williamsfield and Merrywood. By 1845, the areas where the freed people purchased plots between ten and twenty acres expanded to include Albion, Orange Land, Retirement, Fair Hill, Richmond Hill, Comfort Hall, Orange Hall, Content Valley, Belmont, Cottage, Mount Prospect, Hendon, Perth, Rock Spring, Rose Hill, Cold Spring and Retreat.

Ex-slaves sometimes gave their newly bought land names with personal significance such as "Sweet Home" and "Love Feast" and "Hine's Refuge". In many cases however, the area in which their small farms were located took their names from the surrounding properties (estates, plantations and livestock pens) from which the land may have been bought. Good examples of these naming patterns include Content, Williamsfield, Grange Hill, Albion, Orange Land (Orange Estate) Retirement, Hendon, Merrywood, Belmont, Cooper's Hill and Cold Spring.

Peasant farmers grew mainly ground provisions such as yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, pumpkin, coco and dasheen. They also cultivated a variety of vegetables, corn, plantains, bananas and breadfruit. These crops were primarily for sale in the local markets in St James, but there was also trade between St James and neighbouring parishes of Trelawny, Hanover and Westmoreland. Some smallholders also grew a small amount of cash crops such as coffee and bananas. Their contribution to the economy of St James in the post-slavery nineteenth century was mainly through the supplying of ground provisions to the internal market. By 1873, there were 2,047 acres being cultivated in ground provisions, while this increased to 2,763 acres in 1880, and by 1889, St James' cultivators were producing 2,814 acres in ground provisions. [23]

The Fortunes of the Sugar Industry in St James in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

Challenges Facing the Sugar Industry across Jamaica

Even before Emancipation, some sugar estates which had not been carefully managed under slavery were increasingly becoming indebted to overseas merchants and creditors and were faced with the possibility of being declared insolvent (unable to pay debts) and being sold off or

taken over by the creditors. Across Jamaica, the post-slavery nineteenth century brought even more challenges for the sugar industry. Emancipation meant an immediate and significant increase in the costs of producing sugar, with one of the greatest costs being the payment of cash wages to a free labouring population. Prices paid for British West Indian sugar began falling around 1841, and when coupled with the rising costs of producing sugar, this made it difficult for sugar planters to make a profit.

A bad situation was made worse in 1846 with the passing of the Sugar Duties' Act by the British government. This Act gradually made the duties on foreign and British colonial sugars equal, so that the protection once given to British West Indian sugar by charging higher duties on the foreign sugar now began to disappear. This meant that sugar coming from a British West Indian colony like Jamaica was forced to compete on the British market with cheaper and better quality slave grown sugar from countries like Cuba and Brazil. Jamaican planters found that by 1854, the price of twenty shillings per hundredweight that they were receiving for their sugar could hardly meet their production costs. This could clearly spell trouble for many sugar planters.

As the nineteenth century went on, things got worse for the sugar industry. In the 1880s, Britain increased its use of beet sugar (produced in Europe), and at the same time reduced its importation of cane sugar from British West Indian colonies like Jamaica. The result was dramatically seen in the sharp drop in the market price paid for cane sugar from twenty-five shillings and six pence per hundredweight in 1873 to eleven shillings and three pence in 1900. Therefore, for Jamaica generally, the post-slavery nineteenth century brought grim outcomes for the sugar industry, with decline in prices, profits and fortunes. Many estates across the island continued to fall into bankruptcy and were either sold to recover debt or were abandoned altogether. For example, between 1879 and 1887, thirty-nine estates in the island were abandoned, while between 1887 and 1900, a total of fifty-seven were abandoned.

The highest rates of abandonment of sugar estates were seen in the parishes of St Andrew, St Thomas, Portland, St Mary, St Ann, St Catherine and St Elizabeth. However, the lowest rates of abandonment occurred in Hanover, Westmoreland, Trelawny, Clarendon and, importantly, St James. Therefore, despite all the challenges, sugar production in the western parishes was able to hold its own, even with some of their estates going under. This meant that the plantation economy continued to be the outstanding feature of the economic life of the parish of St James, and the estates remained a continuing feature of the landscape even though a number of them went out of business over the course of the post-slavery nineteenth century.

St James' Sugar Estates: Survival despite Decline

In 1834, when slavery was abolished, St James had eighty sugar estates in production. By 1844, this number had fallen to seventy four and by 1848, two years after the Sugar Duties' Act, there were sixty two in operation. Therefore, as seen in the *Jamaica Almanac* of 1849, a total of eighteen sugar estates, with a total of 22,244 acres, were abandoned in St James between 1832 and 1848. With continued problems, by 1854, the total number of sugar estates in the parish was further reduced to fifty.

Economic Importance of Sugar: Reasons why St James Remained Successful in Sugar Production up to 1900

Despite this picture of steady decline in numbers of estates in St James, the fact remains that the post-slavery period saw western parishes like St James remaining the predominant sugar producers in Jamaica. Very importantly, it was the larger properties owned mainly by absentee planters that were the greater producers of sugar in the parish. These larger estates were for the most part located on or near the north coast and this allowed them to benefit from lower costs of transporting their sugar and other products to Montego Bay Harbour for export. Moreover, these larger estates benefitted from injections of capital supplied by British merchant companies with which their absentee owners were well connected.

These estates clearly made up for the loss of production brought on by the decline of other estates in the parish. As Holt pointed out, almost half of Jamaica's sugar produced in 1850 came from estates located in the area between Falmouth and Montego Bay. This was even more significant because these estates were picking up the slack at a time when Jamaica's total sugar production was less than half what it had been under slavery. The larger, more productive, better financed and more strategically located estates between Falmouth and Montego Bay were exporting sugar cargoes which amounted to almost sixty percent of the amount which they had been able to export under slavery. This was a picture of perseverance and productivity rather than stagnation. As an added benefit for St James, Montego Bay Port saw an uptick in exports as most Jamaican sugar continued to be shipped from the north-western ports like Montego Bay.

Those estates which survived and remained productive were also able to do so because their owners and managers were able to introduce technological improvements which reduced the costs of production. As seen before, these St James estates were the larger properties, mainly (though not all) owned by absentee planters who had other sources of finance in Britain and who also had stronger ties to British-based merchants and their sources of investment capital. A good example of this was Montpelier Estate, averaging 2,372 acres in 1840 (2,362 in 1845) and owned by Lord Seaford. He was able to finance technological improvements such as steam

mills from savings and loans gained from investments in property in England. Importantly, Montpelier's geographical location on the banks of the Great River also allowed the estate to benefit from steam powered mills. Other improvements introduced on Montpelier included the vacuum pan or disc pan, which allowed a lower drying temperature and the centrifugal drier, which allowed for the production of a finer, drier sugar crystal. Some estates in the parish added to their labour force with the use of immigrant labour and for the most part, these were immigrants from India. In 1862, there were 176 Indian immigrants at work on St James' estates, with 276 by 1863, 240 in 1864 and 240 in 1865.

A Snapshot of Sugar Estates in Operation in St James from Emancipation to the End of the Nineteenth Century

Highlighting Some Estates in 1840:

In 1840, sugar properties in the parish included:

Roehampton (1374 acres owned by John Baillie); *Lethe* (1984 acres, Robert Anderson); *Spot Valley* (1121, heirs of S.M. Barrett); *Spring* (1027, Samuel G. Barrett); *Cinnamon Hill* (3672 Edward B.M. Barrett); *Eden* (1015, heirs of D. and C. Bernard); *Leogan* (601, Sir Thomas Birch); *Retirement* (1,966, heirs of Sir S.H. Clarke); *Bellfield* (1432, James Cunningham); *Lilliput* (560, heirs of James Dunn); *Lima (*2623, Alexander Erskine); *Hazelymph* (1410, Edward and Henry Esdaile); *Unity Hall* (1165, James Galloway); *Windsor Lodge* (2236, Robert Gordon); *Irwin* (1793, Thomas K. Hall); *Tryall* (1015, Thomas K. Hall); *Kirkpatrick Hall* (818, Thomas K. Hall); *Kensington* (2884, John Hylton); *Castle Wemyss* (1177, Rev. U.S. Halliday); *Friendship* (575, William Heath); *Catherine Hall* (1070, heirs of Samuel Jackson); *Iron Shore* (1152, heirs of James Irving the Elder); *Vaughansfield* (3100, Knott and Hamilton); *Fairfield* (1121, Charles Lawrence); *Running Gut* (861, George W. Lawrence); *Seven Rivers* (2320, Michael W. Lee); *Latium* (1684, William Murray); *Rose Hall* (622, heirs of John Palmer); *Palmyra* (1180, heirs of John Palmer); *Leyden* (2018, heirs of G. Kerr); *Montpelier Estate* (2372, Lord Seaford); *Content (*1547, William and Charles Sterling); *Hampden*, mostly over the border into Trelawny (2519, heirs of Robert Stirling); *Green Pond* (434, John Tharp); *Flamstead* (1367, heirs of Samuel Vaughan); *Blue Hole* (972, heirs of Raynes Waite); *Adelphi* (1013, heirs of Isaac Winn)l *Catadupa* (662, Ann Williams); and *Potosi* (1850, Francis Watt).

Emerging Patterns in Estate Ownership in St James, 1840-1845

Most of the properties listed as estates in the parish in 1840 were again listed as estates in 1845. However, there were some interesting and important trends seen in the ownership of the estates, and these became very noticeable by 1845. The first trend was seen in the reduced acreage of some estates over the period 1840 to 1845. It was clear that these property owners chose to sell marginal or unwanted lands, such as the old provision grounds, in order to gain

additional income to address indebtedness or cover production costs. In many cases, some of the estate's acreage was sold to ex-slaves to encourage them to establish small settlements within the vicinity of the estate. As seen earlier, it was hoped that this would promote a willingness on the part of the freed people to work on that estate if and when they needed additional income.

Examples of estates where acreage was reduced between 1840 and 1845 for either of the above reasons include *Lethe*, owned by Robert Anderson in 1840 and extending over 1,984 acres then. By 1845, *Lethe*, still owned by Anderson, had been dramatically reduced to 898 acres. *Spot Valley,* owned by the heirs of S.M. Barrett in 1840, had 1,121 acres, but by 1845, under the same owners, *Spot Valley* covered a reduced 907 acres. *Hazelymph,* owned by Edward and Henry Esdaile, had 1,410 acres in 1840, and by 1845, with no change in owners, had been reduced to 881 acres. Francis Watt, the owner of the 1,850 acre-*Potosi* in 1840, had reduced his acreage to 1,652 by 1845.

Interestingly, some estates increased their acreage over time, and this may have been through inheritance or purchase. A good example of increased estate size over time was *Content Estate*, owned in 1840 by William and Charles Sterling and covering 1,547 acres then. By 1845, *Content*, still owned by William Sterling, had expanded significantly to include 2,035 acres. *Roehampton*, owned by John Baillie in 1840, covered 1,374 acres then, and by 1845, the estate had grown to 1,478 acres, owned by the heirs of Baillie. Sometimes a change of ownership brought new opportunities for growth as seen in the case of *Paradise* which amounted to 532 acres, while under the control of John Cleghorn and Company in 1840. This property grew to 951 acres by 1845, under the ownership of J. Manderson. Between 1840 and 1845, many properties remained more or less steady in size. Examples include *Lilliput* which remained the same at 560 acres, *Catherine Hall*, which saw very little change in size and *Seven Rivers*, which remained unchanged with 2,320 acres.

The second important trend which became more visible as the post-slavery period went on was the ownership of several properties by one individual or company or by different members of the same family. Even before Emancipation, the ownership of several properties by different members of the same family had occurred, and the best example of how this trend continued into the post-slavery period was seen in the Barrett family holdings. In the case of this family, death and inheritance clearly played a role. *Barrett Hall* was owned by the Hon. Richard Barrett in 1833 and remained so in 1838, while S.G. Barrett controlled *Barrett Hall* by 1845. The Moulton Barrett side of the family was dominant in the ownership of *Cinnamon Hill*, with Samuel B. Moulton Barrett having ownership in 1833 and continuing through 1838. Edward B. Moulton Barrett had control of the 3,672-acre *Cinnamon Hill* in 1840, while E.M.B. Barrett owned it in 1845. *Cornwall* was in the possession of Samuel B. Moulton Barrett in 1833 and into

1838, while by 1845 E.M.B. Barrett was the owner (of both *Cinnamon Hill* and *Cornwall*). The Hon. Richard Barrett controlled *Greenwood* in 1833 and into 1838 and by 1845, this property had passed to S.G. Barrett. *Spot Valley* was owned by the heirs of S.M. Barrett in 1840 and by 1845, it was controlled by the heirs of S. W. Barrett. Samuel G. Barrett owned the 1,027-acre *Spring Estate* in 1838 into 1840, and by 1845, this was held by S.G. Barrett. In 1845, *Spring Gut* was also owned by S.G. Barrett, who owned four of the Barrett properties in 1845.

There were other individuals who emerged in the post-slavery period in St James as owners of multiple properties. Thomas K. Hall, evidently quite well off, owned *Williamsfield* (1186 acres); *Irwin* (1,793 acres); *Tryall* (1,015 acres); and *Kirkpatrick Hall* (818 acres) in 1840. By 1845, T.K. Hall still owned several St James properties. Although ownership of *Williamsfield* had passed to G.H. Hall (uncertain relationship), by 1845, Thomas K. Hall had by then acquired a small share in *Stapleton* (185) and retained *Irwin* (1,697); Tryall (835); and *Kirkpatrick Hall* (813). Other owners of multiple properties included J. and J.E. Irving, who owned *Iron Shore* (1152) and *Hartfield* (1,162) in 1845 and the heirs of S. Jackson, who owned *Catherine Hall* (1,071) and *Amity Hall* (235) in 1845. W. H. Knott held the record in the parish in the 1840s for the ownership of the most properties (although not all were large). In 1845, Knott was the owner of *Eden* (1,015); *Adelphi* (1,013); *Vaughansfield* (2,600, subdivided); *Friendship* (55, clearly a subdivided property); *Bardon (*909); *Newcastle* (90); *Pitfour* (287); and *Spring Mount* (799 acres).

In 1840, Lord Seaford was the owner of *Montpelier Estate* (2372) and had also transformed part of his Montpelier lands into *Montpelier Pen* (4759). However by 1845, in addition to *Montpelier Estate* and *Montpelier Pen*, Seaford also owned ten acres in *Montpelier Wharf*. Three properties were owned by W. Clark in 1845, and these included *Newham Hall* (703 acres); *St James Park* (150); and *Kempshot* (227). Also in 1845, James Cunningham stood out as the owner of *Bellfield* (1,432); *Retrieve* (742); and *Grange* (420). George Cragg had ownership of two large properties in 1845, *Bogue Estate* (1265); and *Plum* (1,103), a subdivided property; *Woodlands* (58); and was trustee for *Nairn* (35 acres).

Women were owners of large properties but under varying circumstances. In 1833 before Emancipation, of the 497 property owners returned, 166 females were listed as owners. In 1838, only one woman made a return as a large landowner, and this was Ann Sill, who owned *Providence Estate* of 1,308 acres. By 1840, she seemed to have died as the property was listed as belonging to her heirs. Other women listed in the returns of larger properties over 300 acres by 1840 were usually identified as guardians of young owners. [24]

Continued Operation of Sugar Estates in St James, 1878-1900

As the nineteenth century went on, although more sugar estates were divided and sold or went out of operation altogether, as seen before, the larger and more successful estates remained afloat and continued to make an important contribution to the economy up to the end of the century. By 1878, several former sugar properties had been converted into livestock pens and this will be discussed shortly.

Sugar Estates in Operation in St James, 1878

Montego Bay's coastal surroundings were the location of several successful sugar estates in 1878. Away from Montego Bay, several inland estates also remained operational by 1878. Importantly, owners of some of these sugar estates were also the owners of livestock pens in the parish. Sugar estates included *Providence* (owned by Thomas Broadwood); *Anchovy* (owned by William Dewar); *Irwin* (Lorenzo Hall, who also owned Kirkpatrick Pen); *Bellfield* (Hawthorn and Watson); *Roehampton* (heirs of Richard Hind); *Iron Shore* (J.B. Irving); and *Catherine Hall* (Miss E. Jarrett, who also owned Barnett Hall Pen). Others around Montego Bay were *Fairfield* (John Lawrence); *Hampden* (heirs of G.M. Lawson; mainly over the border in Trelawny) *Friendship* (Charles McKie); *Catherine Mount* (J.W. Parkin); *Retirement* (Hon. G. L. Phillips who also owned Worcester Pen); *Rose Hall* (George H. Robertson); *Leogan* (C. R. Seivewright); *Green Pond* (heirs of John Sharpe who also owned Hampton Pen); and *Spring* estate (Matilda Williams).

Other sugar estates in St James which were still operating in 1878 were *Hazelymph* (W.C. Barne, who also owned Belvidere Pen); *Chester Castle* (Hon. Wm. H. Cooke, Custos); *Friendship* (Robert Jackson); *Montpelier* (Lady Howard de Walden); *Cinnamon Hill* and *Cornwall* estates (owned by Charles J. Moulton Barrett); *Success* (William Cliff); *California* (Alexander Holmes); *Tryall* (Lorenzo K. Hall); *Running Gut* (B.J. Lawrence); and *Carlton* (Edward Ogilvy). Also still under cultivation in St James by 1878, were *Eden Estate* (Leyden and Farquharson); *Content* (S. Dobree and Sons); *Sod Hall* estate (trustees of Isaac Jackson); *Wiltshire* (Hon. William Kerr, attorney); *New Milns* (Robert H. Robertson); *Mount Stewart* estate (William Dewar); *Haughton Grove* estate (A. W. Watson Taylor, who also owned Haughton Grove Pen); *Golden Grove* (owned by De Boniott Spencer Heaven); *Lima* (Charles Sterling, who also owned Content sugar estate); *Latium (*Hon. William Kerr); *Guilsbro* (also owned by Hon. William Kerr); and *Windsor Lodge* (John McFarlane).

Sugar Estates Remaining in Cultivation by 1891 in St James:

As the nineteenth century entered its final decade in 1891, economic challenges had resulted in a sharp decline in the number of sugar estates which still remained in operation in St James. By that year, thirty-two sugar estates remained in cultivation. The pattern which had been

established earlier of multiple estates being owned by one person continued. *Eden, Fairfield, Catherine Mount* and *Anchovy* were owned by J.S. Parkins; while *Retirement, Windsor Lodge, Bogue, Bellefield* and *Glasgow* were owned by D. Wills Jr. Four estates, *Rose Hall, Cinnamon Hill, Hampden* (partly in Trelawny) and *Running Gut,* belonged to G. Robertson. Other operating sugar estates and their owners by 1891 were *Providence* (De Boniott Spencer Heaven); *Iron Shore* (W. Kerr); *Spring estate* (D. Trench); *Tryall* (E. Turnbull); *Leogan* (J.C. Farquharson)*;Success* (C. D. Whittingham); *Belfield* (O.C. Houchen, lessee); *Lima* (J. Lime, lessee); *Content* (W. Sterling, lessee); *Guilsbro* (Hon. William Kerr); *Wiltshire* (E. Fray); and *Latium* (J.E. Farquharson). Also in cultivation by 1891 were the estates of *Irwin* (Hon. J.W. Fisher); *Friendship* (J. M.Wills); *Catherine Hall* (Hon. W. Kerr, attorney); *Unity Hall* (P. McFarlin); *Spot Valley* (D. Grant); *Blue Hole* (A. Davis, attorney); and *Palmyra* (M. Dyer, attorney).

The Growth and Expansion of Livestock Pens in the Economy of St James, 1838-1900

In the earlier look at the economic activities in St James during slavery, it was seen that some owners of sugar estates and coffee properties had combined their major crops with the raising of livestock. This had allowed owners to provide for the work needs of the estates (draught animals for pulling loads), gain added income from hiring out or selling the stock to other property owners and to supply meat to the estates and local markets. It was also seen that some owners began to focus more on livestock, but also combined this with the production of minor crops such as pimento and ginger.

Expansion and Importance of the Livestock Industry in Post-Slavery St James

By the early 1840s, many St James properties began to emphasise the raising of cattle for meat production, an economic activity which had earlier taken second place to production of major crops like sugar cane. This shift of emphasis was partly influenced by the consumer needs of an increasing population of freed people spread across the parish. The change of emphasis was also influenced by economic factors, since livestock properties or pens needed far less workers than a typical sugar estate. Therefore, for planters seeking to reduce the costs of paying a large labour force, livestock pens seemed like a workable alternative. Moreover, whereas the sugar industry catered mainly to an overseas or export market, which was constantly affected by competition and falling prices, the livestock industry provided for a domestic market for meat which was expanding because of the growth and mobility of a freed population. Because many sugar estates remained successful and operational in the post-slavery nineteenth century, there was also a continued demand for animals such as mules and oxen as draught animals. Horses were also in demand for transportation. Peasant farmers used donkeys and mules for transporting their goods to market, but usually raised their own animals. In this environment, it

was not surprising that livestock farming came into its own in the post-slavery period. Indeed, several former sugar estates had experienced a transformation into livestock pens, certainly by the 1870s and beyond. Most importantly, while the number of sugar estates was declining as the nineteenth century went on, by contrast, there was a surge in the number of livestock pens, especially after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Livestock Pens in St James by 1878

Some of the livestock pens were concentrated in the areas surrounding the town of Montego Bay. This was so because some of these pens were established on former sugar estates which were located in the areas around Montego Bay. However, livestock pens were spread out across the parish as a rule. Most of the pens kept the property's name from when it had been a sugar estate. The pens included Spring Vale Pen (owned by heirs of Atherton); Catadupa Pen (Richard Atkinson); Cottage and Lapland Pens (Robert Atkinson); Chesterfield Pen (William Black); Salt Spring Pen (A. Bowen); Grange Pen (H. Bruford); Villa Pen (Miss Chambers); Beaconfield Pen (S.G. Coronaldi Jr.); Plum Pen (heirs of Fairclough); Canaan Pen (James Fletcher); Porto Bello Pen (Thomas Foster); Bellefield Pen (William Fowler); Moore Park Pen (Herbert Fry); Castle Wemyss and Dumfries Pens (Henry Goodall); Albion Pen (Alfred Grant); Retrieve Pen (Henry Gray); Gunson's Lodge Pen (John Gunson); Kirkpatrick Hall Pen (Lorenzo Hall); Kempshot Pen (Maxwell Hall); Bull Pen (David and William Hewan); Mt Carey Pen (Rev. Edward Hewitt of Mt. Carey Baptist); Barnett Hall Pen (Miss E. Jarrett, owner of Catherine Hall Estate); Summer Hill Pen (John Kelly); and Richmond Hill Pen (John E. Kerr).

Other St James pens included Pitfour (Hon. William Kerr); Chatham (Alexander Levy); Spring Mount (George Levy); Adelphi (Benjamin Lowe); Bogue (John Malcolm); Glendevon (Amelia Manderson); Leyden (John M. McFarlane); Spring Garden (F.W. Mortlock); Mt. Pleasant (heirs of Alexander Mudie); Hendon (M. Naylor); Pleasant Hill (heirs of Benjamin Nunes); New Market (Theodore Nunes); Pleasant Valley (Walter Ogilvy); Nairne (George Osborne); Worcester (Hon. G.H. Phillips, who also owned Retirement Estate); Chatham (John Record); Retreat (Samuel Ricketts); Brandon Hill and Rosemount Pens (Hon. Findlater Roper); Red Hill (W.K. Sewell); Hampton (heirs of John Sharpe, who also owned Green Pond Estate); Paradise (Mrs. Stewart); Duckett's Pen (Joseph Whittingham); Buena Vista (Hon. Frederick Williams); Bandon (John Wilson, M.D.); and Redding Pen (Rev. Sydney J. Woolett).

Additionally, there were Belvidere Pen (W. C. Barne); Seven Rivers Pen (Thomas Breakspeare); Kew Park (Mrs James Williams); Argyle (Hon. Neli Malcolm); Struie Pen (Dr R.S. Harvey); Hopewell (William K. Hylton); Witchpole and Darlinton Pens (Mrs Ingle); Barneyside (Robert McFarlane); and Greenwich Pen (David Scott). Interestingly, Blue Hole Pen (owned by Mrs Ann Davis) and Palmyra Pen (owned by Mark Dyer); were formed from a part of the sugar estates which bore those names, but which were still producing sugar by 1891. Others were Barrett

Hall and Greenwood Pens (Hon. William Kerr); Flower Hill Pen (Mrs Masters); and Spot Valley Pen (Miss Ann Grant and Mrs S. Grant); which also occupied land on Spot Valley Sugar estate, which was still producing sugar in 1891, but under different ownership.

Other livestock pens in St James by 1878 were Lethe Pen (Henry Heaven); Burnt Ground (David Scott); Cacoon Castle (trustees of Isaac Jackson); Shettlewood Pen (Lord Howard de Walden). It should be noted that although Shettlewood was listed in the 1878 *Directory of Properties* as being in St James, most of this property was actually in Hanover. Others were Alexandria and Knockalva Pens, owned by John W. Malcolm; Ramble Pen (De Boniott Spencer Heaven); and Haughton Grove Pen (A. W. Watson, who also owned Haughton Grove Estate). Finally, there were Paisley Pen (John Daly); Glasgow Pen (Mrs Catharine England); and Millenium Hall Pen, which was owned by Alexander Shearer.

Impact of Livestock Pens on Present-day Place Names in St James

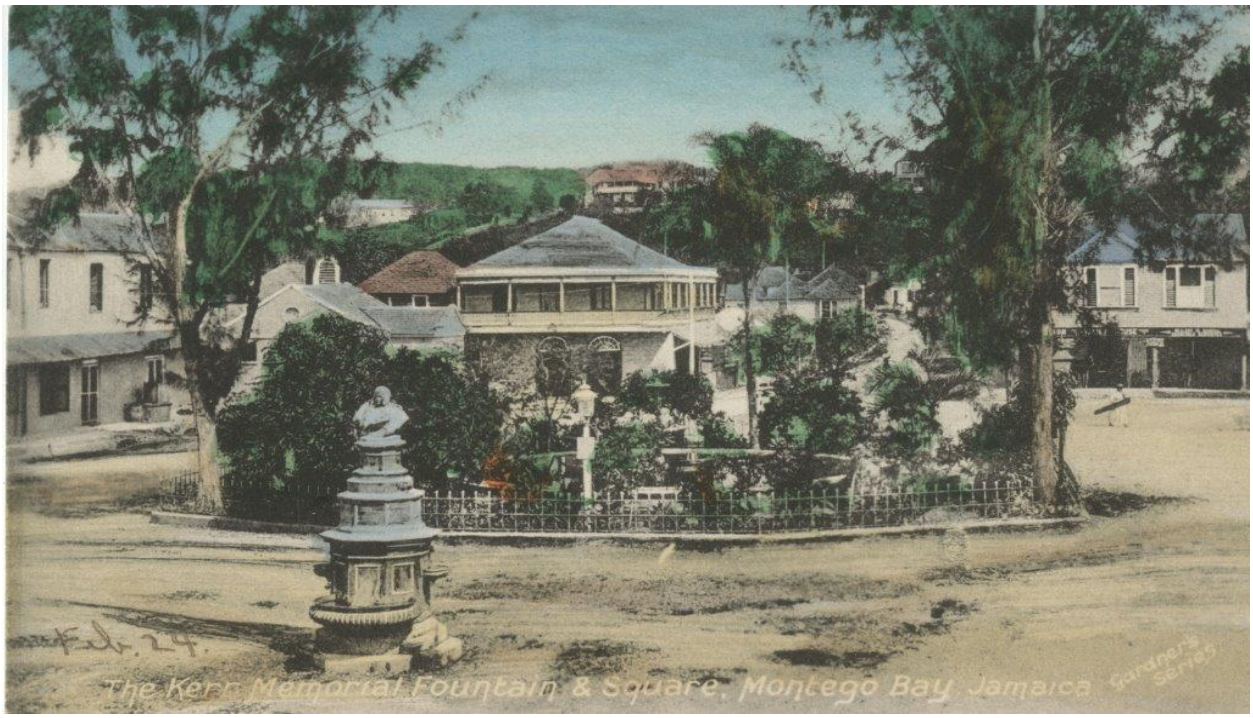
Most of the livestock properties discussed above outlived many of the sugar estates from which some had taken their names. The longevity of many of these livestock pens meant that the names of the properties, whether inherited from sugar estates or not, became permanently associated with the communities which grew up around them and remain today as place names in St James parish. Among the many names which are engraved in the St James experience today are Catadupa, Salt Spring, Albion, Kempshot, Pitfour, Chatham, Adelphi, Bogue, Glendevon, Hendon, Brandon Hill, Redding, Greenwood, Flower Hill and Spot Valley. [25]

The Banana Trade and St James in the late Nineteenth Century

In 1865, traditional export crops such as sugar, rum and coffee controlled the major share of Jamaica's export market, and as seen earlier, the sugar industry continued to do well in St James right down to the end of the nineteenth century. These traditional exports accounted for more than two thirds of Jamaica's export earnings, and most of these crops shipped from the entire island were sold to Britain. By contrast, in 1865, the fruit trade (including bananas), pimento and ginger accounted for only one eighth of the island's export earnings. By the end of the nineteenth century, the fruit trade, including bananas, made up Jamaica's most important export between 1898 and 1899, and the United States had replaced Britain as the main market for the island's fruit trade. The eastern parishes of St Mary, St Thomas-in-the East and Portland were the most outstandingly successful participants in the banana industry and export trade from the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. Although St James did not

emerge as a dominant player in the banana trade, the parish did make a noteworthy contribution to its production and export.

Successful banana cultivation required fertile soil with vegetable mould, a good amount of rainfall and drainage. The lands at the northern base of the mountains in St James did not have these soil requirements and so bananas did not do well there. However, the interior of the parish was much better suited to banana cultivation and this is where many small farmers and peasants grew their crops of bananas. In St James, as in the other parishes, bananas started out as a small farming crop, and it was the St James small holding class which first undertook banana cultivation in the parish. In fact, bananas and plantains had long been staples of the peasant farmers' cultivation and also of their diet. In the early days of the banana trade, most of the island-wide production was in their hands. Peasant farmers island-wide supplied eighty percent of bananas exported to the United States in the early period during the 1860s and 1870s. Unlike sugar, bananas did not start out as a plantation crop but rather as a small farmer's crop. It was not until much later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that the banana became firmly established as a plantation crop. Small farmers in St James transported their bananas on mules and donkeys down to Montego Bay Port where the fruit was boxed for export in businesses controlled by a rising group of entrepreneurs and merchants such as J. E. Kerr.



The Montego Bay Square showing the Kerr Memorial Fountain Donated by Banana Baron, Captain J. Kerr Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Kerr had established himself as a leading businessman in the organisation of the export trade from Montego Bay from the period leading up to 1870. At first Kerr emphasised the shipments of logwood from Montego Bay Harbour to North America and the importation of shipments of flour into Montego Bay. Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker, operating out of the United States, and realising the potential of the banana trade if production and exports could be increased, took steps to expand his shipping business into Montego Bay, and J.E. Kerr became his agent. The combination of capital investment in banana cultivation and the organisation of the export shipping business from Montego Bay helped to shift the banana industry from being purely a small farming activity to increasingly becoming a plantation crop.

By the early 1880s, Kerr had shifted from the logwood and flour trade to the more profitable business of exporting bananas and oranges from Montego Bay. Having acquired a fleet of ships, including steamships, Kerr was able to become one of the largest shippers of bananas and other fruit from Montego Bay to New York. Kerr's first fruit and banana ship was the *Edith Godden.* He later increased his fleet with the addition of the *Pemona,* the *Vertumnus,* the *Neptune*, the *Argonaut*, the *Jason*, the *Golden Fleece* and the *Atlanta*. Vessels like the *Atlanta* could travel at great speed and could complete the journey from Montego Bay to New York in four days or less. This meant good business and profits for entrepreneurs like Kerr, and Montego Bay also benefitted. The banana and fruit trade in general allowed Montego Bay to quickly grow in importance as a centre for fruit exports to the United States from 1883 onwards. Hectic commerce at the port provided additional employment for workers, some of whom had moved towards the town seeking employment. Montego Bay also experienced added benefits from frequent return visits from New York-based vessels, which brought not only trade goods but also visitors to the north-coastal capital of St James. By the early twentieth century this would encourage the growth of tourism in the parish.

Dr John Pringle, a medical doctor of Scottish ethnicity, also made a significant contribution to the growth of the banana trade, not only in St Mary and St Thomas, but also in St James where he owned Tulloch Castle Banana Plantation. Starting in 1887, Pringle purchased many properties (including Tulloch Castle) across several parishes for the purpose of establishing banana plantations. By 1912, the Hon. Sir John Pringle had nearly 5,000 acres under banana cultivation in St Mary and St James, thereby improving the employment prospects for labourers in the parish. [26]

Urban Settlements in St James, from Emancipation to the end of the Nineteenth Century

Background: Population and Growth in St James

According to the census conducted in 1844, St James had a total population of 25,542 persons in that year, with 11,988 males and 13,554 females. Of the total population, there were 970

whites, 5,002 coloureds and 19,570 blacks. By 1861 when the next census was done, the total population of St James had not grown beyond 26,904 persons, of whom 12,727 were males and 14,177 were females. The white population had declined slightly to 768 whites; the brown or coloured persons had increased slightly to 5,172; and the black population had also increased slightly to 20,964 persons.

Only 4,553 persons out of the total population of 26,904 were living in the capital town of Montego Bay in 1861. Of this number, there were 448 white residents in the town, with white men (258) not surprisingly outnumbering white women (190). Montego Bay's brown population numbered 1,978, this time, with brown women (1211) outnumbering brown men (767). By 1861, there were 2,127 blacks living in the town, among them, 842 men and 1285 women. For a long while, at least until about the late 1860s, Montego Bay was the only recognised town in St James. This is evident from the 1861 Census, which identified Montego Bay as the only town in St James at that time, while it gave population figures for all towns in parishes such as Trelawny.

In the immediate post-slavery period, there were no inland market towns or villages. It was the movement away from estates that drove the formation of other towns and villages. Life and economic activity had been focussed on the coastal area of St James for a long while, and even after Emancipation, estates that were distant from the mountains had been able to keep their labour force. Under these circumstances, the emergence of new villages might not have been rapid. However, from the mid-1840s, with economic challenges facing both sugar and coffee planters, some estate land was broken up and sold as freed people established themselves in communities which gradually developed into villages and even towns, away from Montego Bay. By 1878, there were other urban settlements which had developed outside of the port city of Montego Bay in places like Little River and Adelphi.

Growth of Commercial Activity across St James

The economic activities which characterized the parish required supporting institutions to serve the economic demands of St James. Some of these institutions were revenue centres or tax collection centres, banks and customs houses. Also, it was important to strengthen the network of communication beyond the basic roadways which linked parts of the parish to the capital town of Montego Bay. This was achieved in the late nineteenth century by railway communication.

As the capital town of Montego Bay was the centre of a thriving import and export trade during the nineteenth century, it was logical that revenue-collecting institutions should have been located there. By 1870, St James was served by a Collector of Taxes, an Assistant Collector and two clerks, all based in the Tax Office located in Montego Bay. With the Montego Bay Harbour

being the point of entry and departure for all commercial vessels doing business with the north coastal parish, it was also of strategic importance to place the Customs office near the wharves in Montego Bay. Therefore, by 1870, there was a Collector of Customs, a Customs clerk and a warehouse keeper, operating customs in Montego Bay. Formal banking services were offered through an agent for the Kingston-based Colonial Bank, who was based in Montego Bay. The St James Savings Bank, whose patron was the governor, had been established in the parish from 1838. These financial institutions served the needs mainly of the better-off planter class and a middle class of store-keepers and business people. There is evidence that small farmers tried to organize their own marketing and agricultural associations, but these failed because of lack of support from the government.

As seen earlier, all of the commercial activity involving the export trade was centred in Montego Bay. An example of this was the trading business started by J.E. Kerr in Montego Bay in 1870, in which logwood was shipped from Montego Bay to Boston, U.S.A., and flour brought back to Jamaica from New York. As seen earlier, Kerr's business shifted gears to the fruit trade, especially banana export, by 1880. In spite of this focus on Montego Bay, small-scale commercial activity expanded across many areas of St James in the post-slavery nineteenth century, and this was operated through the variety of stores and shops which marked the urban settlements around the parish (looked at shortly).

Some of the most lucrative and widespread of these businesses seemed to have been in the retail trade in spirits, liquor, petroleum and agricultural produce. According to the 1891 *Jamaica Gazette*, retail spirit licenses were granted to individuals in Spot Valley and Dumfries, while nineteen petroleum licenses were granted to persons in different communities such as Mount Carey, Littlefield, Potosi, Mount Lebanon, Adelphi, Montego Bay, Maroon Town, Horseguards, Dumfries, Somerton, Marley, Palmyra, Cornwall, Spot Valley, Running Gut and Millennium Hall. Outside of Montego Bay, it was clear that many of these locations were settlements that had grown up around former sugar estates bearing those names, or more possibly communities which had emerged in the vicinity of livestock-rearing pens which bore those names.

Railway Connections across St James, Late Nineteenth Century

Railway lines and railway stations became a part of the Jamaican landscape in the post-slavery nineteenth century, providing vital links between the capital, Kingston and various parishes across the island. Railway transportation was an important means by which people, goods and services were moved from one section of the island to another. It was perhaps the single most important development which encouraged the expansion of inland trade and settlements as people, goods and services were being moved from one distant location to another in a relatively short space of time. Railway links also fostered the further expansion of St James'

export trade, moving perishable, easily damaged items, such as bananas, to Montego Bay for export.

Montego Bay Grows in Importance and Gains the First Railway Link to St James

As the rail network expanded across the island, St James became a part of that network. At least five railway stations were established, beginning in 1894, when the railway line to Montego Bay was established. It was no surprise that Montego Bay should have been the first place in the parish to have a rail link. It was a rapidly growing town. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Montego Bay's population had expanded from the 4,553 persons living there in 1861, to about 7,000 persons by the late 1890s. By this time Montego Bay had firmly established its reputation of being the second most important town in Jamaica, next to Kingston. This importance was seen in the size of its population and in terms of its valuable commerce. Montego Bay was rapidly gaining significance as a centre for the export trade to the United States and was a busy port of call for steamships trading with the USA and for coastal steamers. It had also become a very busy centre for local commercial activities (looked at shortly).

Earlier in the middle of the century, railway links had been established from Kingston to Spanish Town and later, to Old Harbour by way of May Pen and then on to Porus (1885). However, the north coast had still not been connected by rail. This was achieved in 1894, when the rail line to Montego Bay was opened. This was sixty-six miles long and connected Porus to Montego Bay. The line linking the capital city of Kingston to Montego Bay was 113 miles long and tunnels had to be cut through rocks in mountainous areas for this to be accomplished. Montego Bay's Railway station was built in the same year, 1894, and this simple timber building is today a declared St James heritage site by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT). In the same year, the railway line was extended to Anchovy, and the Anchovy Railway station was built. This is a two-storey timber building which reflects the Jamaican/Georgian style of architecture. Anchovy Railway Station has also been declared a St James heritage site by the JNHT.

In 1894, the railway was also extended to Cambridge, located on the banks of the Great River, near to the border between St James and Hanover. In the same year, the two-storey Cambridge Railway Station was constructed out of timber, and this is one of St James' declared heritage sites today. There was also an extension of the railway line to Montpelier district in 1895. The Montpelier Railway Station was built in 1895, and this uniquely designed building was declared a St James heritage site by the JNHT. Formerly New and Old Montpelier (estate and pen), Montpelier had become an important part of the St James landscape by 1895. Montpelier's importance was seen in the fact that two courts, the Resident Magistrate's Court and the Petty Sessions Court were held there. What used to be New Montpelier Estate had a two-storied Great House which could be seen from the side of the road.

The final rail link in St James was laid in 1895, linking the other rail stations in the parish to Catadupa. Built in 1895, the Catadupa Railway Station is a two-storey Jamaican/Georgian timber building which has been declared St James heritage site by the JNHT. Halts were smaller stops along the railway route that would have indicated that a village or district was nearby. However, halts did not have a railway station house, as they were not major stops along the route. There were two halts between Anchovy and Montego Bay and these were Ailford's Halt and Gordon's Halt. [27]

Growth of Urban Settlements in St James by the Late Nineteenth Century

Montego Bay in the Later Nineteenth Century

In the post-slavery nineteenth century, not only had Montego Bay strengthened its position as a leader in the import/export trade, especially with the United States, but the town had also developed as a busy hub of local commercial activity, with the town residents engaged in a wide variety of urban occupations linked to life in the port town. By 1854, the distinguishing structures in the town were its court house, the St James Parish Church, along with churches and chapels associated with the Baptists, the United Presbyterians and the Wesleyans, as well as their attached schools. The Church of England's National School was also located in the town.

St James Street, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Up to the time of the cholera outbreak in 1851, the Police Station was located at the end of St James Street, near to the North Gully. Around the middle of the century, there was also a prison for male offenders, and this was located between Barnett Street and Creek Street. A prison for females was located about a mile outside of the town centre in the building that had housed the old Barracks.

As part of the reforms introduced after the Morant Bay Rebellion, the Jamaica Constabulary force was created in 1867. By that year therefore, Montego Bay had a new Police Station on Barnett Street and a police force comprised of seventy men, in addition to the military barracks and fort built from the earlier days of the town. Montego Bay's post office served not only the residents of the town, but also outlying districts until the early 1870s. In 1878, the postmaster was S. Solomon. There were two hospitals in the town by 1870, and these were the General and Marine Hospital and the Montego Bay Hospital (discussed in the section on health care).

By 1878, the people living in Montego Bay represented a blend of agricultural interests and urban occupations. There were fifty-seven owners of the many livestock properties located in the parish who were living in Montego Bay at this time. A few of these were Thomas Foster (Porto Bello Pen); J.E. Kerr (Richmond Hill Pen); and Miss Chambers (Villa Pen). Even with the decline in the number of sugar estates across the parish, twenty owners of mainly coastal sugar estates were living in Montego Bay in 1878. Some of these estate owners included J.B. Irving (Iron Shore Estate); Miss E. Jarrett (Catherine Hall Estate); and Lorenzo Hall (Irwin Estate). By 1861, most of these owners of estates and livestock pens were from Montego Bay's white population of 448 and the brown population of 1,978, with both men and women owning property.

Shops, stores and general merchant dealers supplied the needs of Montego Bay's growing population for consumer goods. Shops were the smaller businesses which sold retail goods of a wide variety, including small quantities of dry goods, but mainly foodstuff, especially provisions purchased from the small farming communities. A few shopkeepers had Spirit licenses and sold small quantities of liquor at their establishments. By 1878, there were sixteen of these shops dotting the streets of the town. Each shop was owned by one individual (males as well as females) who was referred to as the shopkeeper and who may have employed two to three workers to help in the shop.

Some shopkeepers in the town by 1878 included Charles Grant, Baylis Reid, Theodore Messop, Jemima Parkinson, Anna Halse and George Reid, who was also a tinsmith (worked with metals). Stores were usually larger than shops, and though retail provisions were also sold in stores, there was a greater variety of goods sold including household goods, men's and women's clothing, hats, shoes, cloth and bags (dry goods). There were five stores operating in Montego Bay in 1878, and some owners (mainly with Jewish connections) included Edwin Aarons, Joseph

D. Levy, Jane Magnus, who advertised her store as selling “Dry and Fancy goods” and M. G. Carter. Store and shop owners would have been from Montego Bay’s brown and white population, with several being from the town’s Jewish families.

Both shopkeepers and store owners at times bought their provisions directly from St James small farmers who came into town to make these transactions, but also to sell their goods at the market. However, provisions and dry goods, especially imported goods, were usually obtained through larger merchant dealers who then retailed these items to store owners and shopkeepers. These larger merchant dealers were known as “produce, provision and dry goods merchants” and among the eight dealers operating in Montego Bay by 1878, perhaps the better established were John E. Kerr and Company, as well as Abraham Hart and Son, George Lyons and Phillips and Company.

In the immediate post-slavery period, some of the freed population migrated towards the town of Montego Bay in search of employment. Some had skills which would gain them employment in a rapidly growing urban community. Others sought to supplement their income as fishermen in the coastal waters of the town. By 1861, the black population of Montego Bay numbered 2,127 and of these, some provided the work force for the many shops and stores, while others gained employment at Montego Bay’s wharves and at the port, loading and unloading cargoes of sugar and later bananas as well as other goods. Not everyone was able to find work, however, and as the nineteenth century wore on, there were growing numbers of unemployed, poor and disenchanted people. Despite this, by 1878, quite a number of the freed people had established themselves as the backbone of a growing urban class of skilled workers, who supplied the needs of the community and in this way, helped in the growth of Montego Bay. The town’s brown or coloured population were also engaged in skilled occupations.

By 1878, Montego Bay’s skilled residents included seven carpenters like Charles Clarke, Charles Elliott and Isaac Murray and eight cabinet makers such as David Bell and John Binns. There were ten tailors, including Robert Golding, Charles Reid and James Murray, and four dressmakers, including Miss S. Gordon. There were also five masons, for example, William McCallum and George Farron; nine painters, including Thomas Gray and Joseph Murray; three tinsmiths; three blacksmiths; and eleven shoemakers like Albert Lawson and George Ogle. The town’s four upholsters, including Joseph Pixley, were most likely well established in their trade and catered to Montego Bay’s more prosperous residents. Usually males, Montego Bay’s ten bakers included John Reid, Alfred Reid and Emanuel Isaacs, who seemed to have combined his skills as a baker with shop keeping. Interestingly, the 1878 listing did not include a designation known as “barber” but it did indicate that there were two hairdressers in the town who were both males, George Cunningham and S. Reid (females were listed as Miss or Mrs.)

A number of persons worked in occupations which were linked to the livestock-rearing industry and to transportation by horse and carriages. For example, by 1878, there were four saddlers including Samuel Taylor, Thomas Cousins and Franklin Thomas, whose job it was to make or repair saddles for horses. There were also three farriers (James Crooks, Benjamin Lawson and James Leonard) who worked at shoeing horses in Montego Bay in 1878. The four livery stable operators in the town, including Henry Downs, provided boarding accommodation for horses and also kept some for hiring out to travellers. Alexander Levy, the owner of Chatham Pen, also owned and operated a livery stable in the town. There was always a need for butchers, especially as some of the many livestock pens raised animals specifically to supply meat. Interestingly in 1878, the only butcher listed in Montego Bay was D. Mills. Because Montego Bay was a busy hub of persons travelling in and out of the town to do business, there was a need for accommodation, and for most of the nineteenth century, this was provided by taverns. Operating taverns was an area in which women could be successful, and by 1878, of Montego Bay's six taverns, three were managed by women, Malvina Price, Mary Small and Jane Mowatt. One of the men who owned and operated a tavern was S.E. Payne, who was also an auctioneer.

As seen earlier, the parish had its own newspaper, the *Cornwall Chronicle,* which provided a variety of reports on the latest events of interest. Four printers, among them William Rusea, Joseph Gabay and James Whittaker, were a part of the printing operations connected to the newspaper. There was a range of other occupations which provided specialized services in the town, and these included tobacconists who obtained and sold the finest cigars. In 1878, some of the town's nine tobacconists, included John Campbell, James Grahame, Edward Grant, John Pedlar and Isaac Rebeiro, as well as Pedro Martinez (the last may well have been Cuban, given the contacts between ships' captains sailing between Montego Bay and Cuba). Watchmakers and jewellers, as well as goldsmiths (seven in 1878), including John Cooper, D.A. Corinaldi, John Dunbar, John Manderson and Charles Gray, all catered to the exclusive tastes of the well-to-do. Montego Bay was served by a few representatives of professional groups such as attorneys-at-law (five, including D. Hart) and medical practitioners. In 1878, there were three doctors in the town, including John Wilson, M.D., Lewis Alexander and A. G. McCatty, who was also a druggist. There was limited hospital care (see later section) in the parish at this time, but some residents found that they could neither obtain nor afford medical care from these practitioners. There were four druggists (early version of pharmacists), including Alexander Cohen, C.B. Gourzong, Dr A.G. McCatty and Ivor Levy.

In 1878, one of Montego Bay's renowned residents was the Hon. Frederick Williams, who was Judge of the District Court. Perhaps a not very popular resident was George Hague who was the Collector of Taxes in 1878, along with L.A. Rattigan, the Assistant Collector of Taxes, L. M. Lynch and J.L. Ramson Jr., who were clerks at the Collector of Taxes office. Connected to the commercial activity of the port town were two pilots, John Chambers and John Melbourne, who

had the responsibility of safely guiding vessels into Montego Bay's harbour. In related occupations, there were four auctioneers and commission agents, including Aaron Hart, S. E. Payne, Joseph Levy and Wilfred Nunes.

As will be seen in a later section, Montego Bay, and indeed the rest of St James, were well served by various Christian churches, and by 1878, Reverend T. Geddes, Reverend Garcia Del Rio and Reverend James Byne represented the Church of England in Montego Bay. Reverend John Thomas (Moravian); Reverends Walter Dendy, J. L. Henderson, Edward Hewitt, Thomas Hutchings and James Reid (Baptist); Reverends A. Thomas and Robert Gordon (Presbyterian); were among the main clergy listed in Montego Bay in 1878. Some of the teachers who taught at the schools which were attached to the churches in Montego Bay were Osman Dolphy (Presbyterian school); J.E. Henderson (Baptist); and H. S. Page (the Wesleyan school).

Kidnapping of Children from Montego Bay in the Post-Slavery Period

As beneficial as the expanding commerce of Montego Bay proved for some residents, there was a downside to this which ultimately had serious effects on some families living in the area. The busy import/export trade between merchants in Montego Bay on the one hand and the United States and Cuba on the other hand provided opportunities for unscrupulous persons to take advantage of poor black children in particular. Beginning shortly after Emancipation, reports reaching the Jamaican government told of incidents of kidnapping of black children and juveniles, usually boys, from seaport towns like Montego Bay and Lucea as part of a scheme to sell them into slavery in places like Cuba and the southern United States, where slavery still

existed after it had been abolished here.

An Early View of Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Especially in the 1840s and 1850s, the traffic of foreign vessels to seaport towns like Montego Bay provided temporary employment for juveniles and adults, but also encouraged much curiosity among children, especially boys, who tended to hang out in the vicinity of the harbour. Such a scenario allowed unscrupulous ships' captains opportunities for additional profit from the illegal activity of kidnapping and trafficking children into slavery. Boys were usually enticed on board the vessel for "a quick look", or with promises of well-paying jobs at sea for short periods of time. Some boys who went on board under these circumstances were never heard of again.

Among those boys kidnapped from the beach in Montego Bay and sold into slavery in Cuba were George Crawford, Francis Grant and William Mitchell. Shortly after the abolition of slavery here, the boys were abducted on separate occasions by the same person, a Captain James, who

then sold them to a Cuban planter by the name of Garcia. After the incidents were reported to Governor Elgin of Jamaica in 1838, and after lengthy investigations and negotiations between the British Foreign Office and the Spanish government (Cuba was still a colony of Spain at the time), the boys were located on Garcia's plantation in Cuba. All three boys were returned to Montego Bay and reunited with their families by 1841. Spanish authorities ordered the imprisonment of Garcia, but apparently Captain James was able to escape punishment by not returning to Montego Bay.

These cases were a mere fraction of the many reported incidents of kidnapping in Montego Bay between 1834 and 1860, and most of the children were never recovered (See end note 28 for further information on these incidents). Fortunately, the abduction of three black youngsters from Montego Bay in 1860 by the British-born Captain Brayley ended well for the three boys, John Chisolm (ten years old); William Raeburn (fourteen); and Jackey Vaughan (eighteen). Apparently Captain Brayley was well known by persons who frequented the wharves at Montego Bay because he made many trips on his vessel, the *Alice Rogers*, between Montego Bay and the United States. All three youngsters were enticed on board the *Alice Rogers* with offers of work and "good money" but once on board, they were confined below deck while the *Alice Rogers* sailed away from Montego Bay.

The mothers of the missing boys made reports to the Stipendiary Magistrate for St James, Richard Chamberlaine, who then reported the matter to the Governor. Swift action by the Jamaican authorities and the British Consul in Virginia resulted in the arrest of Captain Brayley in Virginia as he was about to sell two of the boys to "a gentleman from Hampton" for the sum of nine hundred dollars. All three boys were returned to their homes in Montego Bay by May of 1860. Under the terms of the Extradition Treaty between Britain and the United States, Brayley was handed over by Virginia police to the British authorities who fined him $1,000 and imprisoned him for three years.

Meagre Bay vs 'Fat Bay'

By 1878, in spite of the growth in urban commercial activities and occupations, not all residents of Montego Bay were able to gain employment. This was particularly true for several of the over 2,127 blacks living in the town. In the last three decades of the century, as more estates in the parish went out of business, more persons became unemployed. Livestock pens, although numerous, could not absorb the unemployed labour force displaced by the downturn in the sugar industry. Many of the unemployed flocked to Montego Bay in search of jobs, especially around the port loading bananas, but many remained disappointed and frustrated.

The end result of this was an unplanned and informal settlement on land in the environs of Montego Bay in an area that became known as *Meagre Bay.* This community grew out of a

fishing location known then as Gichie's Fishing Beach. Even before the end of the nineteenth century, *Meagre Bay* gained the reputation of being Montego Bay's first informal or "squatter settlement" .The largely unemployed residents of *Meagre Bay* would hang around at the docks or venture into town, hustling at any jobs that came their way.

Meagre Bay stood in sharp contrast to the part of Montego Bay where the well to do white and brown residents had their homes. They lived in the area along Fort Street that is now Gloucester Avenue, an area that became appropriately known as *'Fat Bay'*. As the century drew to a close, the situation was made worse by an ever-increasing population. In the period between 1881 and 1900, Montego Bay's total population had grown significantly from 4,651 to 7,000 persons. By 1900, the situation for Montego Bay's unemployed would reach crisis proportions and their frustration would play out in the Montego Bay Riots of 1902 (examined in the section on the twentieth century). [28]

The Emergence of the Township of Little River in the 1870s

In the post-slavery period, the urban community of Little River gradually developed as a north-coastal township. Located to the east of Montego Bay, on the north coast next to Rose Hall, Little River was home to a mix of residents in its early years. Owners of eight sugar estates still in operation by 1878, including Charles J.M. Barrett (owner of Cinnamon Hill and Cornwall Sugar estates); George Robertson (Rose Hall Sugar estate); and Mrs Matilda Williams (Spring Sugar estate), made their homes in Little River. With the growth in livestock pens in St James, six owners of these properties also lived in Little River at this time, including the Honourable William Kerr, who owned Barrett Hall and Greenwood Pens.

By contrast with Montego Bay, Little River was in its infancy as an urban community, and no doubt, some of its more affluent residents made the journey to Montego Bay for necessities and luxuries. Nevertheless, there were signs by 1878 that the community had a few of the features and infrastructure that would allow the town to develop over time. There were Presbyterian and Baptist churches which served the community, including Mount Zion Presbyterian, led by Reverend James Bayne and the Baptist Chapel, led by Reverend George Henderson. As was typical of most communities at that time, there were schools (elementary) which were attached to the various denominations. Mrs C.B. Henderson was the teacher at the Baptist school, while William Reid taught at Mount Zion and Samuel Jarrett at Tryall Presbyterian.

Little River had about three shops which sold retail dry goods, provisions and other necessities to the residents of the town. The shop owners and operators included S. Naghie, John Sylvester, who was also a carpenter and builder and Alexander Sterling. Although there was no information about the population size of Little River in 1878, it seems clear that it was a

growing community which had a need for skills offered by carpenters and builders. Edward Stephenson, John Sylvester (who also owned a shop) and William Taylor were the three carpenters living there in 1878. There was also a need for blacksmiths who made and repaired tools by hand. The demand for blacksmiths was met by Daniel Reid and James Thomas.

Urban Settlement in the Town of Adelphi in the 1870s

Located further inland from the north coastal community of Little River, the township of Adelphi was to the east of Montego Bay and closer to the border between St James and Trelawny. North east of John's Hall, Adelphi included the districts of Somerton and Marley and seemed a bit more developed than Little River as an urban community. Like Little River, Adelphi was also home to residents who were owners of sugar estates as well as livestock pens. Owners of seven sugar estates still in production by 1878, including the Honourable William Kerr (Guilsbro and Latium estates), lived in Adelphi. Four owners of livestock properties, including Mark Dyer (Palmyra Pen), made their homes there.

Adelphi was clearly a growing community by 1878 as there were two general stores which supplied retail consumer items such as clothing, hats, drapes, dry goods as well as provisions. One of these was Somerton General Store, owned by Mrs Packer, while the other was Windsor Lodge General Store, owned by George Hind. There was only one shop in Adelphi in 1878, and this was owned and operated by James Popkins. Two carpenters, who were also painters, William Henderson and William Wilkinson and a blacksmith, John Hamilton, provided the services needed by an expanding township. Ready-made suits were not readily available nor were they always affordable when they were available. Therefore, two tailors, James Gow and John McLennan, catered to the clothing needs of some residents. Boot and shoe makers seemed to be in heavy demand in Adelphi as there were four in 1878, including Alexander Chambers, William Hind, Joseph Smith and William Virgin. C. R. Francis was the town's only druggist (early pharmacist), who supplied medicines and cure-alls for the people who could afford these. Otherwise, residents turned to herbal remedies for various ailments. Breads and cakes were prepared and sold by three bakers, Thomas Touzon, John Williams and Thomas Williams.

As was the case with several communities which had links to livestock properties, Adelphi had its own butcher, John Innis, who ensured that the community's need for meat was supplied at the local market place. Reverend Walter Dendy of Salter's Hill Baptist Church; Reverend Thomas Downie of Somerton Presbyterian Church; and the Reverend Garcia del Rio, the Anglican curate at Christ Church in Marley, catered to the spiritual needs of Adelphi's residents. Mrs Guichett was the teacher at the Marley Church of England School, while J. Armstrong taught the children at Orange School. Although by comparison Adelphi had a few more facilities than Little River, the community also had a long way to go by 1878. [29]

Church and School in St James in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century: The Religious Life of St James

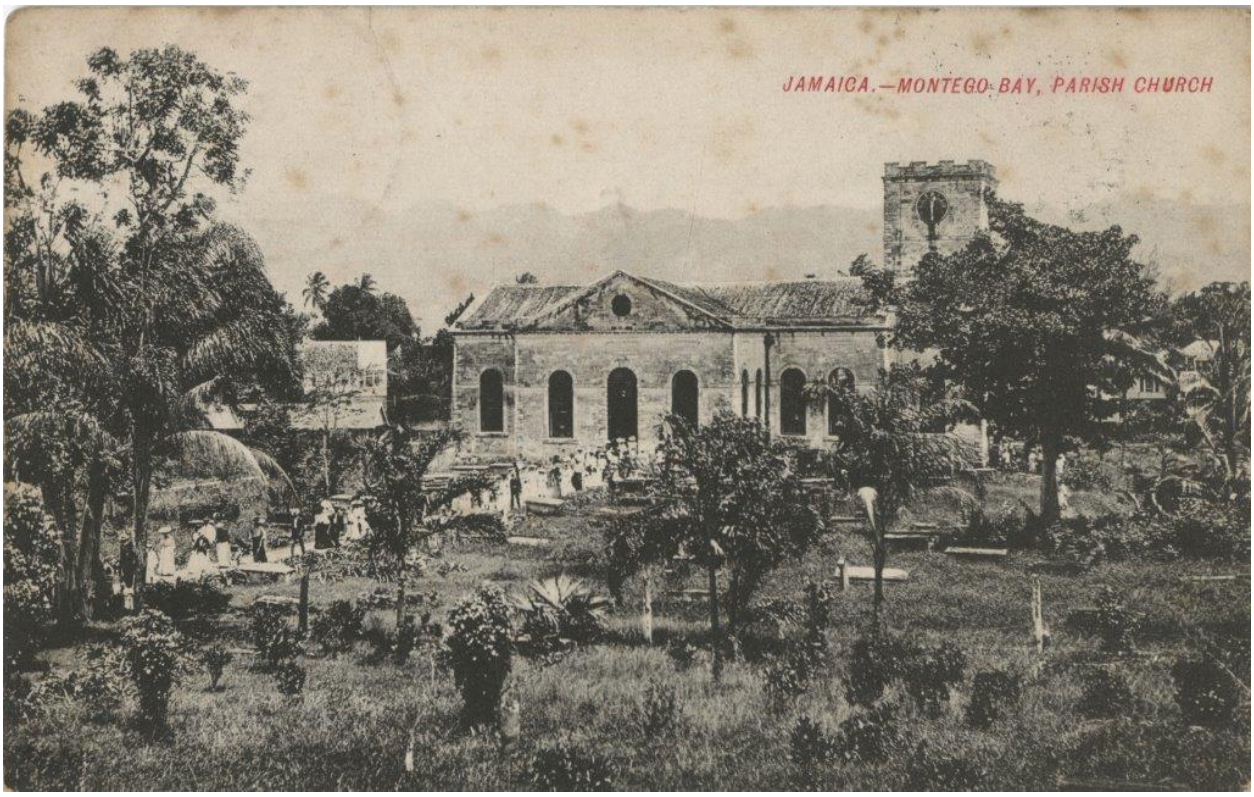
Christianity was the official religion and was represented by the Church of England/ Anglican Church, which was the official denomination of the English rulers of Jamaica. In addition to the official Church of England, there were a number of non-conformist churches (so called because they did not agree with or conform to the official Church of England) which were active in St James. Outside of the European belief system, there were African derived and afro-centric beliefs and practices which had persisted throughout the period of slavery and beyond. Even before the ending of slavery, there was an effort to Christianize and in the view of the colonial rulers, civilize the enslaved. Once slavery ended, the mission of using the Church and the schools to "Christianize and civilize" the black population became a more urgent one because, from the point of view of the colonial rulers, this would allow them to adapt peacefully to living in a free society. However, the Christian churches also regarded it as their mission to minister to the spiritual needs of the white and brown population, a role which they carried out from the early existence of the parish of St James.

Christian Churches in St James, 1834-1900

There were several Christian churches which were active in St James in this period. These were the Church of England/Anglican Church, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Wesleyan Methodists, and to a lesser extent, the Moravians and Roman Catholics.

The Church of England and its Activities in St James

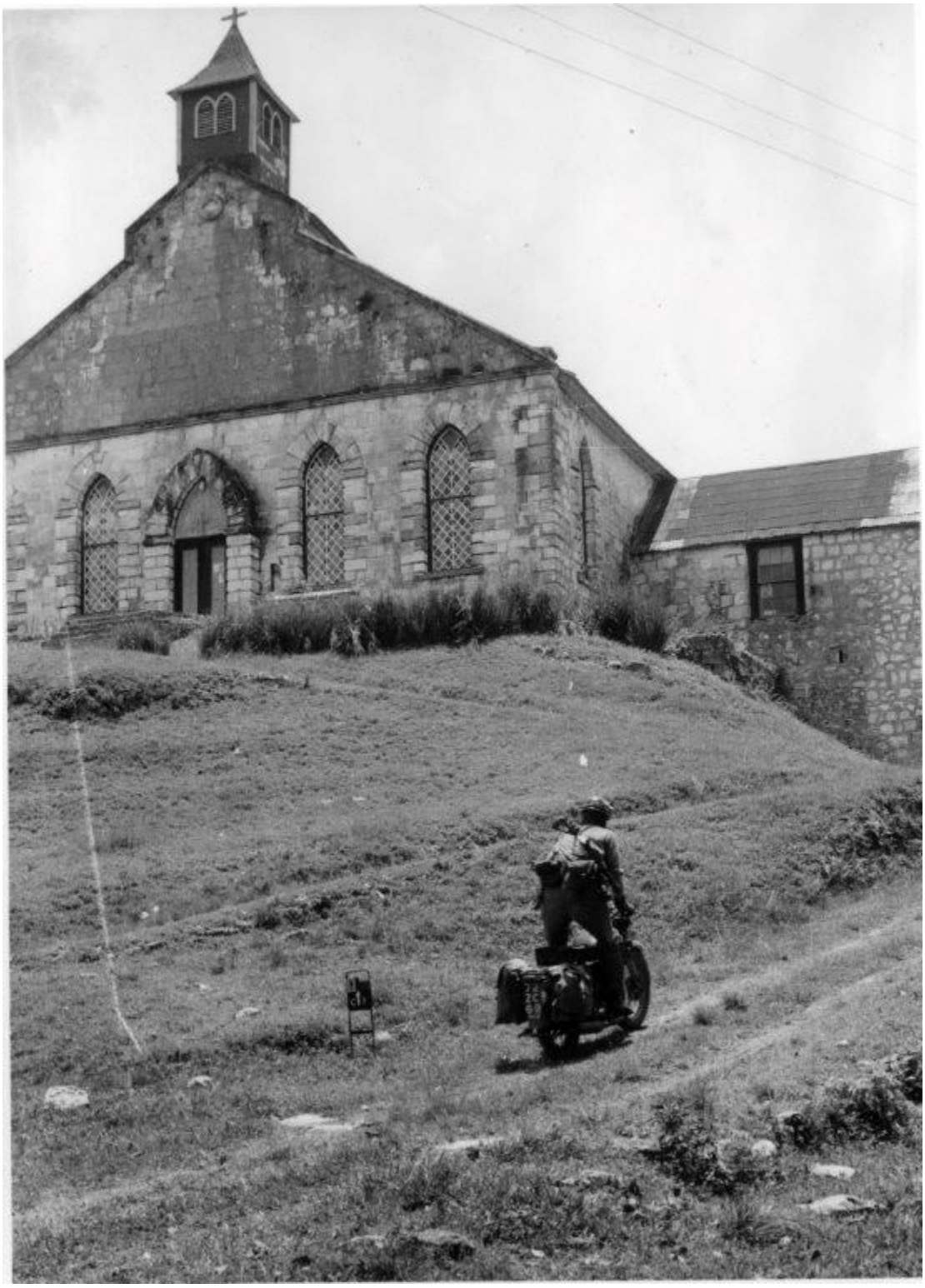
The Church of England was the first Christian church established in St James. This was not surprising because the English colonial rulers believed that it was important to have the official church represented in every parish, physically by the erection of a parish church, as well as other churches throughout the parish. In keeping with this, the first church built in St James was the parish church, the St James Parish Church, which was built between 1775 and 1782. Before then, the settlers in the parish probably gathered at each other's homes for prayers as was the custom among early settlers. The St Mary's Anglican Church, which was situated on the Montpelier Estate, dates back to the days of slavery. Clergy, including a rector and two island curates, as well as other clergy, served the needs of the parish. In 1878, the clergy which served Montego Bay included Reverend T. Geddes, Reverend Garcia Del Rio and Reverend James Byne. However, from the very outset, the Church of England was viewed as the church of the white planters, merchants and their families, as well as the brown or coloured population. As a result, after Emancipation, the Church of England was never able to gain much support among the population of freed blacks, who looked to the non-conformist groups for guidance and support.



Montego Bay Parish Church Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

In the years after Emancipation, the Church of England established more churches in St James as it tried to reach more persons in the society. By 1870, St James Parish Church had a capacity to hold 1,000 persons, but the average attendance at Sunday services in that year was 400 persons, increasing slightly to 500 by 1873. The St Mary's Church at Montpelier could hold 300 worshippers, but in 1870, only about eighty persons were attending on average. Additions were made to the Montpelier church, allowing 400 persons to be seated, but the average attendance

by 1873 still remained at eighty.



St Mary's Anglican Church at Montpelier Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

By 1870, churches had also been built at Chichester, Marley, Cambridge, and also at Trinity in Montego Bay.

The Rectory, the Holy Trinity, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The church at Chichester could seat 300, and the average attendance in 1870 was 150. Christ Church was the Anglican Church at Marley and this church seems to have had a more favourable experience in terms of support. Reverend Garcia del Rio was the curate at Christ Church in Marley. In 1870, the Marley church could hold 400 persons and at that time as well as in 1873, the attendance held steady at an encouraging 350 persons. Cambridge started out slowly in terms of attendance, as in 1870, although the Cambridge church could seat 150 persons, only forty attended regularly on average. This had improved by 1873 when Cambridge saw an average attendance of 100 persons.

Most of the Anglican churches in St James saw improvements in the physical structure, allowing for the possibility of accommodating more worshippers. By 1889, St James Parish Church could seat 700, and the Trinity Church could hold 350. Montpelier and Marley remained more or less at their former capacity. It seems however, that the real problem for the Anglican Church was its limited appeal. Up until the end of the nineteenth century, they seemed unable to win over many congregants from among the parish's black population, who were more swayed by the message offered by the non-conformist groups.

The Baptists in St James

The Baptists were present in St James from the period of slavery and were represented by English Baptist missionaries from the parent organisation in England, as well as by ministers from the Jamaica Baptist Union. In the post-slavery period, the Baptists seemed to have had a lot more influence among the freed people, many of whom regarded them as helpful in achieving their everyday goals, such as acquiring land, as well as in their spiritual lives. One official assessment of the achievements of the Baptists among the freed people was given by Governor Barkly in 1854, when he described their mission as having accomplished much good. In his assessment, Baptist congregations were orderly and the "most civilized" of the emancipated people. Throughout the post-slavery period, of all the Christian denominations in St James, the Baptists continued to have the largest number of churches and chapels, as well as congregations. In all, the Baptists established eleven churches and chapels throughout St James over the course of the nineteenth century.

Baptist Churches/Chapels in St James

Long before Emancipation, the church, which is now known as the Burchell Memorial Baptist Church (the church of Sam Sharpe), was established in 1824 with twelve members. At that time and for the rest of the nineteenth century, the Church was known as the First Baptist Church or the Big Baptist Church. Revered Baptist missionary, Thomas Burchell, laid the cornerstone for the church. In 1928, the church was destroyed by fire and later rebuilt. In April 1940, the First Baptist Church at Montego Bay was officially re-dedicated. The church was then re-named the Burchell Memorial Baptist Church in tribute to the work done by Reverend Thomas Burchell.

The historic Mount Carey Baptist Church was built around 1842, although mission work started there in 1835. Located near to Montpelier, Mount Carey Baptist was regarded as one of the leading Baptist churches in St James during the nineteenth century. By 1849, the pastor was the Reverend Edward Hewitt, and the church had a total of 710 members in that year. Not surprisingly, the Baptist influence at Mount Carey grew over the years, and by 1873, although the church had a capacity of 1,000 persons, the average attendance exceeded capacity at 1,187 and was still impressive at 940, by 1889. By 1870, Reverend Hewitt was also the pastor of the Shortwood Chapel which had been built around 1842 and which had a membership of 520 persons in 1849. As was the case with Mount Carey, attendance at Shortwood exceeded the seating capacity, which in 1870 to 1873 stood at 750 persons. However, in 1873, the average attendance was 903. The church was expanded by 1889 to hold about 4,000 persons, but by that time, attendance had declined to 940 persons.

As seen earlier, there were two Baptist churches in Montego Bay, one of which was the First Baptist Church, (Burchell Memorial Church). By 1873, the First Baptist Church could

accommodate 2,000 persons, but the average attendance was 651. By 1889, the attendance was about 807 persons. The other Baptist church in Montego Bay was known as the Second Baptist Church. At this church, the seating capacity in 1873 was 800, and attendance was reportedly at 1,101 and in 1889, it was at 1,029. Baptist clergy in Montego Bay by 1878 included Reverends Walter Dendy, J.L. Henderson, Edward Hewitt, Thomas Hutchings and James Reid.

In 1825, Salter's Hill Baptist Church was voluntarily constructed by enslaved labourers who belonged to the Baptist congregation. Located on the road to Maroon Town, Salter's Hill Baptist Church was identified by Governor Barkly in 1854 as one of the leading Baptist churches in St James. Reverend W. Dendy was the pastor in 1849 when the membership was at 1,234 persons. The impact of this church was seen in the growth in its attendance over the years, with 1,671 attending in 1873, exceeding the seating capacity of 1,300. There was a smaller chapel located at Bass Grove, which between 1870 and 1873 could hold 300 persons, and by 1889, when seating was reduced to 200 the numbers in attendance were around 169.

Maldon was the location for another Baptist church which, in the 1870s, could seat about 700 persons. Attendance ranged from 597 in 1873, to 320 in 1899. The Baptist chapel at Sudbury had room for 300 in 1870, but when the space was enlarged to accommodate 800 in 1889, the average attendance was 385. There was a Baptist chapel at John's Hall, but there was no information in the sources about attendance. Springfield Baptist appears to have grown in structure and support over the years, as in 1870, it could seat 150, but that capacity was increased to 400 by 1889. In that year, an average of 330 persons attended the church. Bethelphil was one of the more influential Baptist churches in St James during this period. The station began in 1835, and the church was built in the same year. By 1849, when its membership was 506 persons, Bethelphil was led by Reverend T. Pickton. An indication of the success of the Baptists at Bethelphil may be seen in the fact that its seating capacity of 600 was exceeded in 1873, with an average attendance of 792, a trend which continued up to 1889, with 680 persons attending church.

Presbyterians in St James

The Presbyterian Church in Jamaica during the nineteenth century was connected to the United Church of Scotland. They were fairly active in St James among all social classes in the post-slavery period, with four churches in the parish and having assisted in the formation of a free village (Goodwill). However, compared to the Baptists, the Presbyterians did not have the same extensive influence among the freed people. Presbyterian churches in St James were at Mount Zion, Mount Horeb, Montego Bay, Mount Hermon and Somerton.

Mount Zion was established early in the post-slavery period in 1839 and was served by Reverend William Lawrence in 1857 and by Reverend James Byne in 1878. By the 1870s, the church at Mount Zion could hold 650 persons, and the number in regular attendance ranged between 450 and 500. Montego Bay's Presbyterian Church was established in 1843, and during the 1870s, it had a seating capacity of 400 persons. Attendance throughout that period ranged between 220 and 230, which was a little more than half the seating capacity. In Montego Bay, by 1878, the Presbyterian ministers were Reverends A. Thomas and Robert Gordon. Attendance at the Presbyterian Church at Mount Horeb was encouraging as the church was filled to its capacity of 150 persons in 1870, but numbers fell slightly to 100 by 1873, when the church could have seated 250 persons. In 1870, Mount Hermon's attendance was at 110, while the church could hold about 150 persons. Somerton Presbyterian Church was located near to Adelphi and served the people of that community. By 1878, Reverend Thomas Downie was the pastor in charge of Somerton.

The Wesleyan Jamaican Mission in St James

In 1828, Montego Bay was one of eleven circuits of Wesleyan churches. At this time there were 748 members at Montego Bay. In 1851, the Montego Bay circuit had twelve places of worship with 856 members. There were 1,570 persons attending these churches. The Wesleyan Church in Montego Bay was established as a new station from as early as 1819, and by the following year, it was being pastored by Mr Shipman. There were reportedly a sizeable number of free coloureds who attended services at the Wesleyan Missions in Montego Bay. By March of 1830, a new chapel, made from durable stone with a brick exterior, and capable of holding 800 persons, was opened in Montego Bay. The post-slavery period saw an expansion in the number of chapels and in the support for the Wesleyan mission. There were other mission stations located at Gordon Hill, Maroon Town and Mount Reece. By 1848, there were six chapels and five preaching stations, three missionaries and five local preachers. In 1848, there were 1,646 members and in all, 3,050 were attending public worship.

From the reports of the Wesleyan missionaries in St James, there was full attendance at most of their churches and chapels, indicating a positive impact of the Wesleyans in the parish in the post-slavery period. With a capacity to seat 800 persons, the church in Montego Bay had 800 persons attending in 1870 and 1873. The church at Maroon Town, which could hold 300, saw 200 attending, both in 1870 and 1873, while the church at Mount Reece was filled to its capacity of 300 in both years. Built to accommodate 100 persons, the chapel at Gordon Hill had fifty percent attendance in the same period.

The Moravians and the Roman Catholics in St James

The United Brethren Mission (Moravians) arrived in Jamaica in 1754. They seem to have had connections with the owners of Irwin Estate which was near to Montego Bay. Therefore, they built their mission station on Irwin Estate in 1815 and named it Irwin Hill. Their purpose was to serve all the estates around Irwin. One of Irwin Hill's converts among the enslaved people was William Hall, who worked with the mission after he was converted. From all reports, he was highly respected by the owner and the attorney of Irwin Estate. Because of his loyalty and his efforts to bring other enslaved persons to Christianity, Hall was given a superior house in the estate's village. Hall remained at Irwin as a free man after Emancipation and continued to serve the Irwin Hill Mission until his death in 1851.

In the immediate post-slavery period, the chapel at Irwin was enlarged, and by 1851, the pastor at Irwin was A. Lichtenthaler, who was assisted in the mission by his wife. By that year, there were two out stations and a total membership of 316, and this increased gradually to 371 in 1853. By 1870, about 400 persons were attending the Irwin Hill Chapel, which had a capacity of 700. The station at Irwin Hill was to remain the only Moravian mission in St James. By 1870, the Roman Catholics had two chapels in St James, St Ignatius in Montego Bay and St George at St George's.

Non-Christian Religions in St James in the Nineteenth Century

Jewish Congregations

There were religious groups other than those affiliated to Christian Churches in St James. Among them were the Jewish congregations. As seen in an earlier section, there were at least six Jewish families living in Montego Bay by 1878. In the post-slavery period, the Jewish Synagogue was located in Montego Bay, and this was the BETH YAHACOB – HOUSE OF JACOB. This was served by a number of officers such as the Reader, President, Vice-President, Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary.

Afro-Jamaican Belief Systems: Myalism in St James

African cultural beliefs and practices persisted during enslavement in St James and elsewhere in the island. With the ending of slavery and the greater 'freedom' of the newly freed to practice the culture of their ancestors, it is not surprising that a resurgence of these cultural practices was seen. An important belief system was Myalism. This was brought to Jamaica by enslaved Africans, and over time, the belief system developed into an Afro-Jamaican religious practice. Myal emphasized the power of the ancestral spirits to heal. Ritual drumming, loud chanting and dancing combined to summon the spirits of the ancestors, and this led to spirit possession and the power to heal. In the post-slavery period, Myalism was both feared and condemned by a

Euro-cultural outlook which could neither understand nor tolerate these beliefs and practices. Myal ceremonies were by nature very loud affairs. Therefore, participants were usually arrested for disturbing the peace, and laws criminalising practices such as these were used to prosecute anyone found engaging in practices such as Myalism.

In the post-slavery period, there was a dramatic resurgence of Myal among some of the freed population, and this was evident in the number of persons brought before the courts on charges of practising Myalism. Gardner reported that in 1842, several blacks living on an estate near Montego Bay claimed to be Myal men, and thousands of "deluded people" joined the movement. In the 1840s, there were sixty such trials in the St James Court of Quarter Sessions. Forty of the accused were sentenced to hard labour. The Christian Churches were given the task of stamping out these "heathen practices". [30]

The Education of St James in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

Introduction

Educating the freed population of Jamaica was viewed by the Colonial government and by the Church as vital to the process of Christianizing and socializing the former slaves to European values and in so doing, 'civilize' them. In the post-slavery nineteenth century, education for the masses really meant schooling of a very basic nature, with emphasis on reading, writing and arithmetic. This reflected the prevailing view held by the white elite that the black majority were not to be educated to move above and beyond their status in the society, but rather, to enable them to function as literate members of the working class. Schools were to be established and operated by the various Christian churches, and therefore religious instruction became an essential element in educating the masses. For most of the post-slavery nineteenth century, schools that were in existence in St James were mainly Elementary schools attached to the various Christian denominations. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the government attempted to introduce industrial education in what was termed Model schools in parts of the island, including St James. Additionally, efforts were made to train persons to be teachers in institutions known as Normal Schools. It was not until the final decade of the nineteenth century that a law was passed enabling the expansion of secondary education.

Elementary Schools in St James

By 1867, there were quite a number of elementary schools in St James, and they were all attached to or operated by the various Christian denominations in the parish. The two main schools run by the Church of England were at Montpelier, attached to St Mary's Anglican Church, and the other was at Marley. At this time, the Wesleyan elementary schools were at

Mount Reece and Montego Bay. Not surprisingly, the Baptists had the greatest number of elementary schools in the parish by 1867, and these were at Montego Bay, Mount Carey, Rockhampton, Good Intent, Shortwood, Hopetown, Salter's Hill, Maldon, Springfield, Bethel Town, Bethelphil and Goodwill. The Moravians had an elementary school at Irwin Hill where their long-standing mission was located, while the Presbyterians operated elementary schools at Mount Zion, Rose Hill, Mount Horeb and Montego Bay.

Elementary Schools were subject to government inspection, and the results of the inspection often determined how much aid through government grants should be given to the schools. Performance of the students at the time of inspection influenced the size of the grant given to the school. Of the twenty elementary schools inspected in St James in 1870, two were class one, which meant that they were excellent, one was very good (class two) and sixteen were average (class three). One school failed inspection. Those schools which were grant-aided also supplemented their income through fees.

The twenty elementary schools which had been inspected by the government in 1870 were all managed by ministers of religion. Most schools had one teacher who was not always trained. In 1870, St James had ten trained and ten untrained teachers. Registration or numbers of students on the books at these schools was never a reliable indication of how well the school was doing in terms of the extent to which the children of the parish were being educated. According to the 1871 census data, there were 6,942 children of school age between five and fifteen years in St James. In the twenty schools which were inspected in 1870, there were 1,294 students registered, with an average attendance of 726. Parents often blamed poor or occasional attendance on an inability to afford the fees, poor condition of clothes or, more commonly, the need for their children to help on the family farm. Among these elementary schools, the highest registration in 1870 was at Goodwill school (Presbyterian), with 202 on the books and average attendance of 129. Lowest registrations were at Montego Bay (26 on books) and average attendance of seventeen and Tryall (25 on books) and average attendance of twenty.

In 1870, there were nine elementary schools in St James which were not under government inspection. These had to rely on fees charged and much smaller grants from the churches which operated these schools. The nine schools included the Church of England's school in Montego Bay, with twenty five registered and eighteen attending on average, as well as their school at Marley, with eighty six registered and an average attendance of twenty six. By 1870, the Moravians operated an elementary school at Toxteth Park at Grantham, with twenty on the books and eleven attending. Also run by the Moravians, was St Saviour's at Horlock, which had forty four on the books, with twenty three attending. Several schools run by the Presbyterians were not under government inspection in 1870, and these were the schools at Somerton, with 186 on the books and seventy two in attendance; and Mount Zion, with 104 registered and

sixty nine attending. Rose Hill, with sixty six on the books and thirty two attending; as well as Mount Horeb, with 110 registered and seventy two attending were the remaining Presbyterian schools. The Baptist school at Sudbury had twenty nine students registered and eighteen attending on average.

By 1873, the number of elementary schools in St James which had been government inspected had increased to twenty five, compared to twenty in 1870. Numbers of students registered at these elementary schools had also increased to 1,863, compared to 1,294 in 1870. Attendance had also improved to 1,196 over the previous 726. These schools had thirteen trained and fourteen untrained teachers. After inspection, it was determined that St James had eleven class two schools (out of 125 in the island) and fourteen were class three schools (out of 274 in the island).

In 1873, four schools still remained outside of government inspection and therefore received no government grants (which were usually more substantial than private grants). These were the Church of England school at Marley, with twenty-six registered students (a drastic drop in registration) and an average of fifteen attending (parents explained this decline by the need to have their children help at home). During 1870, Montego Bay's Church of England school had an increased registration of thirty five and an increased attendance of twenty-five students. Both registration (forty five) and attendance (twenty five) remained fairly steady for the Moravian's St Saviours at Horlock. The Baptist school at Tangle River had twenty-eight students registered and an average attendance of eighteen. In total for 1873, St James had twenty-nine elementary schools, and their total registration figures did not compare well with the island total, as St James' schools ranked as having the fourth lowest registration figures among the list of elementary schools by parish across Jamaica.

Some of the places in St James which had elementary schools by 1873 were Montego Bay (Wesleyan and Anglican); Marley (Anglican); Mount Reece (Wesleyan); Buckingham (Baptist); Cross Roads (Anglican); Cambridge (Anglican);Mount Reece (Wesleyan); Mount Horeb (Presbyterian); Salter's Hill (Baptist); and John's Hall (Baptist). The Baptists also had schools at Springfield, Mount Carey, Good Intent, Roehampton, Richmond Hill, Montpelier Wharf, Maldon, Sudbury, Bethelphil and Brownsville. Presbyterian elementary schools were at Somerton, Goodwill and Eden Vale, Mount Zion and Mount Horeb. Moravian schools were at Irwin and St Saviour's at Horlock.

By 1889, there were some changes seen in elementary education. One change was that of the forty-two elementary schools which had been inspected, many had infant schools attached. However, the elementary schools still remained as church-operated schools. By 1889, there were twenty-two trained teachers and seventeen untrained. Most teachers were male at that time. The school age population (five to fifteen years) of St James was 7,805 in 1889, but of that

number, 3,888 were registered, and there was an average attendance of 2,279 students. After the government inspection in 1888, St James was shown to have three excellent class one schools, sixteen class two and twenty class three schools.

As seen above, even as late as 1889, the churches and missionary groups still remained in control of elementary schools. By that year, the Church of England had five schools, with a total registration of 588 and an average attendance of 336. Wesleyans also operated five schools, with 368 students on the books and 248 in attendance; while the Moravians had one with 106 registered and an average attendance of sixty three. Baptists continued to be the most active in elementary education, having twenty-three schools in the parish, with 1,974 registered and an average attendance of 1,777. By 1889, the United Presbyterians operated six schools in St James, with 710 students on the books and 373 attending on average.

Industrial Education: The Model School

As seen earlier, from the perspective of the government, church and the elites in general, the emancipated population needed basic education to allow them to function in a free society. The official view was that they also would benefit from industrial training, which meant teaching agricultural and other skills which would allow them to more effectively contribute to the economic needs of the society. For the girls, this meant classes in cooking, needlework and general domestic skills. Special schools called Model Schools were to be established in different parishes for this type of industrial education. In the late 1860s, a Government Model School was established at Montego Bay. There were seventy registered students, with forty-five males and twenty-five females. However, attendance was relatively low with forty seven (thirtyone males and sixteen females) attending on average.

From the outset of the school, parents were opposed to the idea of industrial education for their children, and they expressed their desire to have their children educated in the same way as the children of the white and brown population. Reports of discontent over industrial education were made to the Stipendiary Magistrate for St James who passed these reports on to Governor Grant. In informing the Colonial Office in England about black parents' opposition to the Model School, Governor Grant emphasised that the parents' main argument was that "they did not send their children to school to learn how to work. They could teach them that (sic) themselves." Largely because of black opposition to industrial education, the Model School did not last long in Montego Bay. By December of 1870, the Montego Bay Model School was closed and moved to Falmouth. Interestingly, industrial education did not succeed for any length of time in any of the parishes where this experiment was carried out.

Teacher and Preacher Training: The Normal School

The purpose of the Normal School was really to train Jamaicans to be teachers, and in some cases, lay preachers, depending on whether the school was operated by the government or a church group. From the 1850s, St James had one Normal School. This was the Montego Bay Academy, and it was a Presbyterian Training institution. Therefore, the aim was to prepare young men between the ages of sixteen to twenty four to become "native teachers and preachers of the Gospel". Additionally, according to the operators, the Academy was intended to educate "public scholars" (see discussion under Cornwall College). In 1867, the institution offered Classical Studies as well as Biblical Studies and had separate tutors for each section. In that year, Reverend George Alexander was the tutor in Classics and there were thirteen males enrolled. By 1870, there were twelve males attending the college, which was financed by fees, funding from the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and contributions from the local congregation.

Endowed Schools: The Guthrie Davidson's Charity

Endowed schools were built, operated and financed through charitable grants or endowments which had been bequeathed (usually) by wealthy settlers in the parish. These grants or endowments were usually named after the person who made the funds available. The money was usually placed in a Trust fund and persons named to administer the Trust. Most endowments of this nature were meant to finance the secondary education of children who might otherwise not have been able to afford the fees. St James had a privately sponsored endowment or endowed fund, and this was known as the *Guthrie Davidson's Charity*.

The Guthrie Davidson's Charity had a total of £ 1,000 in the Treasury, out of which, £60 was to be provided annually to allow two students, a boy and a girl, to be sent to a school in the parish or outside of the parish. The Charity was administered by the Custos and the Anglican Rector of the Parish and five other members of the Parochial (parish) administration. The 1870 *Blue Book* states that the two students who benefitted from the fund were sent to a school in Montego Bay. The school to which the *Blue Book* referred was most likely the *St James Free School*, a Public Endowed School, located in Montego Bay (discussed below). However, between 1889 and 1898, on the decision of the School's Commission, a £30 scholarship was given to a boy from St James to attend Jamaica College, and a similar scholarship was given to a girl from the parish, to be placed by the School's Commission. In 1898, four boys and four girls were given scholarships valued at £30 each to allow them to attend a secondary school in Montego Bay.

Public Endowed Schools: St James Free School, Montego Bay

Although private charitable endowments were the usual source of funding for Endowed schools, at times, the funds needed to support an Endowed school were obtained from public or government funds. This was the case in St James which had a Public Endowed school, the *St James Free School,* located in Montego Bay, which was supported by a local tax. Trustees were appointed to manage the fund, and in 1857, these included the President of the Council, the Speaker and the representatives from the Assembly, the Custos of the parish, three senior magistrates and four freeholders living in St James.

St James Free School seems to have been in existence from the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1851, the Headmaster was John Kroger Hepburn, and his wife served as Mistress at the school. By 1857, the Headmaster was Patrick Spence Jr and the Second Master was William Plummer. In 1865, Patrick Spence Jr remained the Headmaster of St James Free School, and William Plummer remained in place as Second Master. However, in that year, Mrs Frances D'Costa joined the staff as Mistress of the school. By 1870, William Plummer had become Headmaster and Mrs Frances D'Costa was the Mistress at St James Free School.

Secondary Education in St James in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

Secondary education in the form of high schools was severely lacking in St James for most of the post-slavery nineteenth century. In fact, it was not until 1892 that Law 32 of 1892 was passed which provided for the expansion of secondary education through the building of high schools, wherever such schooling was lacking and wherever it was considered as necessary. As of 1892 however, secondary schools were to be government schools funded from public revenues. The curriculum was to be geared towards preparing students for the Oxford and Cambridge examinations.

The Nineteenth-Century Beginnings of Today's Cornwall College:

The Montego Bay Academy/Montego Bay Government Secondary School/Montego Bay Secondary School

Some sources trace the nineteenth-century beginnings of Cornwall College back to 1896. However, it seems that this premier all-boys school in St James may have started life much earlier, at least from 1850, in the form of the Presbyterian-run Montego Bay Academy, also known as the Presbyterian Normal School. This earlier beginning of what was to become Cornwall College is not widely recognised, because when the Montego Bay Academy was first

started by the Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica at the Presbyterian House located at 56 Union Street, its principal purpose appears to have been the training of young men to be teachers and preachers. Therefore the institution, known as the Montego Bay Academy, was publicized as a Presbyterian Normal School, which was an earlier term for a Teacher Training institution.

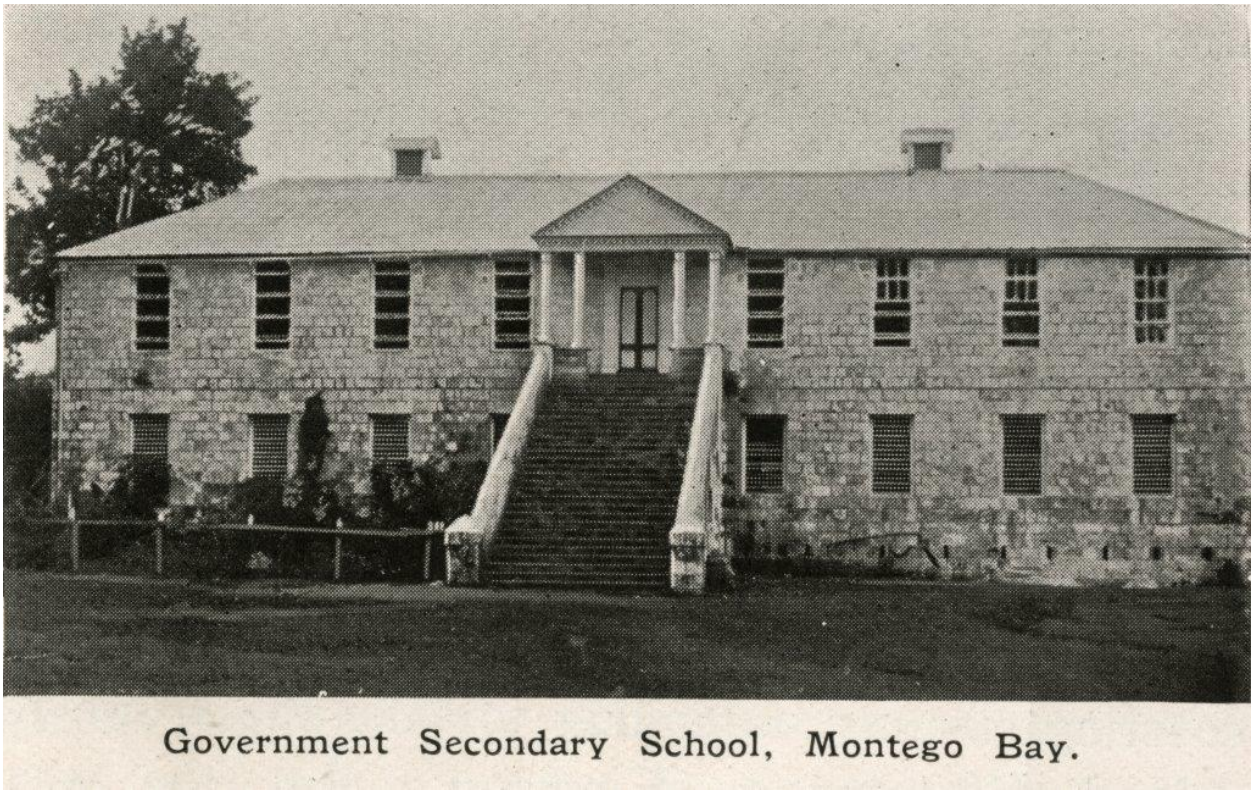
However, in addition to training young men to be teachers and preachers, the institution's mission, as stated in the *Blue Book of Jamaica,* 1867, was to provide for the "education of public scholars". This aspect of the programme offered what Governor Barkly described in 1854 as "an excellent classical and mathematical education [which] can be obtained by any boy." It was this section of the programme of studies at the Presbyterian Montego Bay Academy that saw the beginning of what would eventually become Cornwall College.

The Presbyterian Scottish educator, George Miller, is credited with having been instrumental in the establishment of the Presbyterian Montego Bay Academy or Normal School at 56 Union Street. Miller was also in charge of the programme of classical and mathematical studies offered to both the older students who were being trained to be teachers and preachers, as well to the younger boys of high school age. This fact strengthens the claim that the unit which catered to the younger boys in Classical studies and Mathematics was a physical part of the Montego Bay Academy, and it was this secondary unit that would eventually become Cornwall College. Indeed, George Miller is also credited with being the founding Master of Cornwall College. If it is accepted that the start of Cornwall College dated back to at least 1850 at this section of the Presbyterian Montego Bay Academy, then this would establish Cornwall College as the third oldest high school in western Jamaica (next to Manning's High and Rusea's).

Unfortunately, the Montego Bay Academy closed its doors in 1871, and from then until 1895, Montego Bay and the rest of St James was without much secondary education. In 1895, partly as a result of the earlier passing of Law 32 in 1892, a petition was submitted to the government by the Honourable John Kerr, representative for St James and a Presbyterian Minister, the Reverend Adam Thompson, requesting that the government allocate £500 to fund secondary education in Montego Bay, St James. The petition was successful, and £500 was allocated to build the school and a further £200 provided for its maintenance.

Located at Barracks Road on the present site of the Public Works Office, the Montego Bay Government Secondary School was opened in September of 1896 to provide boys with a secondary education. This marked the second stage in the evolution of the institution that would become known as *Cornwall College*. Montego Bay Government Secondary School would be re-named Cornwall College in the twentieth century. Fees were to be £6 a year, and boarding facilities for a few boys were to be provided. The School's curriculum included Religious instruction, English, Latin, French or German or Spanish, Arithmetic, Euclid (Geometry) Algebra, Book-keeping, History, Geography, Natural Science, the Principles of Agriculture,

Drawing and Shorthand. Teachers were to be appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Board and the Inspector of Schools. From the 1896 opening until 1903, the school's Headmaster was Mr E.V. Lockett and the Assistant Master was Mr C. C. Lewis.



Government Secondary School, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The later history of Cornwall College will be looked at in the section on St James in the Twentieth century [31]

Sanitation and Environmental Challenges: Health Care in St James in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

The town of Montego Bay was faced with environmental challenges which resulted in problems for the health of its residents, particularly so, for the poor. The town of Montego Bay was divided by the main street, St James Street, which runs from the northern end of the town to the southern end. Between St James Street and the shoreline, the land was much lower than the land on the other side of St James Street. In fact, this side of the land sloped gradually upwards to higher land. What this really meant was that Montego Bay is located almost in a basin which made it and still makes it vulnerable to flooding from nearby gullies in periods of heavy rain.

As its name implied, the North Gully is located along the northern end of the town and after heavy rains, the North Gully frequently overflowed, dumping large volumes of muddy water, silt and debris on settlements with low-lying houses such as Meagre Bay. Even before the outbreak of Cholera in 1851, this situation proved unhealthy for nearby residents who were already faced with poor and overcrowded living conditions. In the mid-nineteenth century, there was no facility for sewage disposal and whereas the more fortunate were provided with "earth closets" (an earlier version of pit latrines) the poor had no such provision. Therefore the local Board of Health designated certain locations where people were asked to use the bathroom and to apply powdered lime to the area immediately afterwards. Flooding also occurred from the South Gully and affected persons living around Creek Street. These challenges of the environment and infrastructure in the town contributed to illnesses and brought into focus the need for the authorities to pay more attention to health care and sanitation.

Before Emancipation, public health care was extremely limited. The island was served by a number of private doctors, some of whom were employed by estate owners to periodically visit the estates. A few were attached to institutions such as prisons or gaols and the Kingston Public Hospital, which came into being in 1776. With the mass of the population being emancipated and no longer tied to the estates as of 1838, there was a need to improve health care across the island, and this was also true for St James. There was a continued shortage of medical doctors in each parish and this, as well as the high cost of medical attention from these doctors, placed this source of health care out of the reach of many of the freed people. As the nineteenth century progressed, there were attempts to introduce or expand public health care systems.

By the 1870s, there were two hospitals in St James. These were the *General and Marine Hospital* and the *Montego Bay Hospital*, which was the parish hospital for St James. The General and Marine Hospital, located in Montego Bay, catered to sailors and crewmen from ships coming in and out of Montego Bay Harbour, as well as to residents. This hospital was funded by government grants, from the fees charged, and tonnage duties charged on shipping also went towards the maintenance of the hospital. Seamen using the hospital were charged differently from residents of the parish. In 1870, 153 patients were treated at this hospital, and in 1873, there were 188 patients treated there.

In the 1870s, the Montego Bay Hospital had four wards, which included the surgical ward, with eight beds; a male ward, with fifteen beds; a female ward with ten beds; and a special ward with one bed. It was sparsely staffed, with two servants and two 'partial' day nurses. Facilities and utilities were very limited. Bathing was with sea water, and sewage/waste was thrown into the sea as there was no sewage system in place. The view was that the strong sea current

would take away the impurities. In 1873, 122 males and 39 females were admitted during the year, and there was a daily average of twenty-four patients in the hospital, and in that year, there were thirty-five deaths. By 1889, the hospital was served by two male nurses, three female nurses and two 'partial nurses'. In that period, 279 male patients and 162 female patients were admitted. Examples of illnesses which resulted in admissions were malarial fever, syphilis, gonorrhoea, rheumatism, ulcers, wounds and fractures.

In the post-slavery period, there were about two to three medical doctors assigned to St James for most years. In 1861, the Medical Practitioner for St James was the Hon. Geo. Lawson, who was stationed in Montego Bay. Drs John McFarlane and John Wilson also served the parish at that time. By 1870, Dr Alexander G. McCatty was the Surgeon at Montego Bay, and he was based at the parish hospital (Montego Bay Hospital) for most of the 1870s. In 1870, a government medical establishment (similar to a clinic) was located in Bandon District, and the medical officer stationed there was Dr John Lewis. At the same time, there were two government medical establishments in Montego Bay, and the medical officers attached were Dr J. DeLeon and Dr Alexander G. McCatty.

The Cholera Epidemic and its Effects on St James

The cholera epidemic of the mid-nineteenth century (1851) resulted in a conservative estimate of between 700 to 800 deaths in the parish of St James, out of a population of between six and seven thousand. Two cemeteries were used to bury the dead. One of the cholera cemeteries is located on Gloucester Avenue, more popularly known as the "Hip Strip" in the Montego Bay tourism district. The second cemetery is located on the Jimmy Cliff Boulevard, in the Freeport area and was the larger of the two. Mass graves were dug to bury the victims. Since 2018, both were being considered as possible sites for additional parking space needed in Montego Bay, and this has led to much controversy over issues of history and legacy versus expediency.

The disease had entered Jamaica through Port Royal and spread across the island between the October 8, 1851 and the end of November, sparing only Manchester, Hanover and Westmoreland by that time. Montego Bay had been affected by the disease throughout November, and the illness spread along the sea coast from Montego Bay to Hanover by early December, 1851. In fact, the first two deaths in Lucea, Hanover on December 12 were two sailors who had been to Montego Bay, contracted the disease there and then travelled to Lucea, where they died.

According to Dr Gavin Milroy, who documented the progress of the disease across the island, the earliest confirmed cases in St James were two fishermen who died in the second week of November, 1851 and a third person who died a few days after. In the last week of November, starting on November 25, there was a more general outbreak at Spot Valley, Cinnamon Hill and

Rose Hall estates, communities which, according to Dr Milroy, surrounded the site of the original three confirmed cases. The outbreak on these estates was severe, especially at Rose Hall, where thirty-two out of forty-five residents died in the village where black workers lived. Dr Milroy reported that only one East Indian labourer, out of twenty at Rose Hall, died, and he argued that this was because the East Indians lived in healthier surroundings, with houses elevated off the ground and better ventilated. He also argued that they ate better food, namely fish, rice and goat's meat. From all accounts, cholera spread from Rose Hall along the St James coast until it reached the town of Montego Bay by the end of November, 1851, taking a mere five days to reach Montego Bay from the time of the general outbreak on the estates on November 25.

The Impact of Cholera on Montego Bay

By December, 1851, there was full spread of the disease in St James. The progression of the disease was more gradual in Montego Bay itself, and Dr Milroy attributed this to better housing conditions (where the white and brown residents lived) and to better nutrition and sanitation practices among those residents. He reported that only three or four persons died among "the well-conditioned whites, and the mortality among the respectable brown population was also very small." His report seemed to present a biased stereotyping of the lifestyle of blacks, representing them as careless and living in filthy, overcrowded shacks, where as many as five out of a family of ten blacks died of cholera. At the northern end of St James Street, which runs from north to south and divides the town into two, the community of Meagre Bay was badly affected by cholera. Dr Milroy blamed the high incidence of disease in this area on what he described as unhealthy, low-lying, overcrowded and filthy huts of the poor. But he also attributed the unhealthy environment to the fact that heavy rains had affected the town shortly before the outbreak. This had caused flooding of the North Gully, resulting in the dumping of muddy water and debris on the communities like Meagre Bay at the northern end of St James Street. When the cholera hit, the entire line of houses along the north gully, especially a place called Love Lane, was extensively affected. At the southern end of the town, there was the Creek, and many people living along the course of the Creek, in "filthy huts", became ill and died.

Milroy argued that most of the people living along Creek Street were vagrants and prostitutes, and conditions of overcrowding, with as many as eight persons living in a room not large enough for two, contributed to the spread of the disease. In one instance on Creek Street, six out of fourteen, who were living in two small rooms became ill with the cholera and died. In the workhouse, only three out of fifty-five paupers survived.

By 1850, Montego Bay's prison was located between Barnett and Creek Streets. Only three of the prisoners died, and Milroy attributed this to the wise decision by the Medical Officer for

Montego Bay, Dr Lawson, to re-locate the prisoners to the upper floor of the prison, which was more spacious and well ventilated. At the Police Station, which in 1850 was located at the end of St James Street, near the gully, out of fifty residents, only seven became ill and of these, only three died. Milroy again explained this by the more spacious, cleaner and better ventilated conditions in the staff quarters. In the two cholera hospitals which had been set up at opposite ends of the town, so many were crowded into these two locations that half of the persons admitted died as a result of cholera. There were several recurrences of cholera in Montego Bay between November 1851 and October of 1852. Cholera appeared to linger longer in Montego Bay, taking a heavy toll on the poor especially.

By December 6, 1851, cholera had appeared in several other communities, which were not necessarily adjoining or next to each other, for example, Fairfield near Montego Bay and Newman Hall, between Montego Bay and Maroon Town. In Maroon Town, the cases were sporadic and solitary, probably because it was in a more elevated terrain. Several cases were located near to river courses and in areas where overgrown and bushy vegetation surrounded houses. Milroy reported that communities, where black labourers lived at Catherine Hall, Irwin and Latium, were severely affected. At Latium, more than three quarters of the people died. Cholera affected the body rapidly, causing death in a short while. Some of the dead remained unburied for several days, while others were buried in shallow graves, leaving a putrid smell in the air. The disease continued to be prevalent in many inland parts of the parish and lingered longer along the Great River boundary. By December 1852, St James, Hanover and Westmoreland were the only remaining locations of the disease, which had abated by then, having taken its awful toll on the parish of St James. [32]

St James in the Twentieth Century

Introduction

Like the rest of Jamaica, St James entered the twentieth century having attempted to adjust to the changes that came with the ending of slavery some six decades before. While St James underwent many changes in the nineteenth century, the parish has retained some of the historic features, its earlier footprints, which are legacies of the past. Among such retentions are historic buildings which have survived natural and other disasters, and have been rebuilt or restored, and in the St James landscape, the place names which have long histories rooted in the way the economy of the parish evolved. Later in the twentieth century, in 1980, its chief town, Montego Bay, was recognised as a *city* by Act of Parliament, a seemingly fitting acknowledgement of its premier position as a leading port town in the island.

As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, though retaining some features of the plantation era, St James continued to demonstrate some economic transformation, which brought increased opportunities to diversify and expand the ways in which the people of the parish made a living and contributed to the development of St James. At the same time, by 1910, it was also clear that the population of St James had grown considerably, to include a total of 183,811 persons. This meant that more facilities had to be in place to meet the needs of the growing population while providing more human resources for development. However, as the twentieth century went on, the numbers of unemployed, under-employed and discontented also grew, paving the way for social and political unrest.

Changing Economic Fortunes of the Parish

The Banana Trade Continues: Decrease in Numbers and Productivity of Sugar Estates Remains

St James entered into the twentieth century with continued dependence on agriculture for its economic well-being. While there was some diversification, sugar and livestock rearing continued to dominate the agricultural sector. Banana cultivation remained an important part of the economy, especially from the 1890s until 1940, driving a thriving trade between Montego Bay and the United States in particular (dealt with earlier). The banana boats were to play a significant role in the start-up of the tourism industry. As the century wore on, bananas once more became largely produced by small farmers. The 1910 *Directory of Properties* made mention of only one banana estate in St James, and this was Stevenage, owned by Paul Brown. However, by the 1930s, there were quite a few banana-producing estates around the parish which were scenes of labour discontent in the 1938 labour disturbances. These included Amity Hall, Leyden and Sutherland.

The twentieth century saw a continued decline in the number of sugar estates in production in the parish. By the end of 1910, there were fifteen sugar estates still operating in St James, compared with the thirty two which had been in production in 1891. There was also a marked decrease in the amount of acres under cane cultivation, and as a result, each estate was producing smaller quantities (hogsheads) of sugar and less rum was also being manufactured. Most of these estates had been able to survive because technological improvements such as the steam mill, centrifugal drier and vacuum pan had been adopted by the owners, allowing for the production of a better quality of sugar. At the same time, it seemed clear that the estate owners were devoting a fairly large number of acres to other income-generating activities such as the rearing of livestock and growing of minor crops such as pimento and ginger. Land was also put under guinea grass cultivation and used as common pasture and woodlands.

Sugar Estates in Production in St James by 1910

Anchovy Estate, owned by P.J. Browne, had 138 acres under cane cultivation, while 1,097 acres were devoted to other purposes as described above. In 1904, *Anchovy* was able to produce 127 hogsheads of sugar and 142 puncheons (containers) of rum. *Belfont*, owned by J. D. Fennell, was still in production in 1910, but no production figures were available. *Ironshore* was owned by A.E. Irving and had 180 acres devoted to sugar cane, while 972 acres were being used for other purposes. In 1904, *Ironshore* produced only 42 hogsheads of sugar and 48 puncheons of rum. *Catherine Hall* was owned by Jarrett & Kerr in 1910 and had 233 acres covered by sugar cane, while 737 were used for other cultivation. *Catherine Hall* produced 200 hogsheads of sugar and 82 puncheons of rum in 1904. *Hampden,* owned by D. O. Kelly-Lawson, devoted 160 acres to cane and 1,307 acres were used for other cultivation. Not surprisingly, sugar produced was down to 61 hogsheads, and only 43 puncheons of rum were available for export in 1904.

On *Spring* Estate, owned by H. & W. Kerr, the trend was similarly showing a downturn. Acres under cane cultivation had been reduced to 170, while 856 acres were being used for other cultivation as described above. Spring's production figures for sugar and rum were low at 51 hogsheads and 41 puncheons of rum respectively. *Providence,* which was owned by W. & H. King, cultivated 150 acres of cane and put 916 acres to other cultivation. Production was at 66 hogsheads of sugar and 46 puncheons of rum. *Fairfield* owned by W. F. Lawrence, dedicated 220 acres to cane, while 315 acres were used for other cultivation. Its 1904 production was at 91 hogsheads of sugar and 108 puncheons of rum. *Bellfield* was owned by Hugh Ramsden, who had 109 acres in cane and did other cultivation on 1,234 acres. There were no production figures available for this estate.

Rose Hall owned by F. Robertson, grew sugar cane on 145 acres, while putting 1,218 acres to other purposes. Rose Hall's production of sugar was really low in 1904, at 25 hogsheads, and rum production was equally dismal at 36 puncheons. *Cinnamon Hill,* whose owner was A. S. Robertson, had only 130 acres under cane cultivation, while 1,274 acres were used for other cultivation. Production was at 62 hogsheads of sugar and 41 puncheons of rum. *Content*, owned by J. B. Sherriff, had 150 acres of cane cultivation and 1,370 acres for other purposes. Content produced 78 hogsheads of sugar and 86 puncheons of rum in 1904. *Running Gut* was owned by Joseph Shore, and the acreage devoted to cane cultivation was 150, while 610 acres were put to other purposes. Running Gut produced 45 hogsheads of sugar and 46 puncheons of rum in 1904. *Success,* owned by Joseph Shore, while assigning 476 acres to other cultivation, used only 72 acres for cane, and the estate's production was the lowest of all the properties in 1904, only managing 18 hogsheads of sugar and 18 puncheons of rum in 1904.*Tryall's* owner, Edgar Turnbull, used 128 acres for sugar cane and 945 acres for other purposes. In 1904, the estate produced 40 hogsheads of sugar and 46 puncheons of rum.

The Livestock Industry in St James in the Early Twentieth Century: Growth and Significance

Livestock rearing continued to be an important foundation of the agricultural economy of St James in the early twentieth century. Very importantly, the owners of large livestock pens were not the only producers of livestock in the parish. Beginning from the post-slavery nineteenth century, small farmers had always taken part in the raising of small numbers of cows, goats, chickens and pigs on their farms. Small farmers sold their cows, goats and pigs to the local butcher, who then sold the meat to shop-keepers or at the village/town market place. This trend continued and expanded throughout the course of the twentieth century. Small farmers who raised and sold small numbers of animals in this way, played an even more important role than the large livestock pen owners in meeting the needs of the residents in the small communities around the parish.

Throughout the twentieth century, there was also continued growth in the production and importance of the larger livestock properties in St James. From the late nineteenth century, the trend of several sugar estates being converted into livestock pens had been evident. As St James entered into the twentieth century, this trend continued, with a few of the estates which had remained in sugar production up to 1891, making the change to livestock rearing by 1910. Among those sugar estates which were more lately converted to livestock properties by 1910 were *Irwin*, owned by Alexander Doull, *Eden*, whose owner was J. L. Lynch; *Bogue,* which was owned by Colonel E. Malcolm; and *Catherine Mount*, owned by John H. Parkin. The remaining thirteen livestock properties, for the most part, had been in operation from the late nineteenth century. These included *Catadupa Pen*, which was owned by R. Atkinson; *Montpelier Pen*, owned by the Hon. E. Ellis; *Grange* and *Canaan Pens*, both owned by Fletcher and Shore; *Spot Valley* and *Carlton, w*hich were both owned in 1910 by D. C. Grant; and *Dumfries*, owned by F.W. Hanlan.

G.L. MacFarlane owned and operated *Flower Hill Pen* by 1910, while Dr Alexander McCatty owned two livestock properties, *Croyden* and *Lapland Pens*. *Norwood Pen*, in operation by 1910, was owned by Mat. J. Scott; while *Lilliput*, owned by Joseph Shore, continued in operation as a livestock pen in 1910. E. Whittingham was the owner and operator of *Ducketts Pen* in 1910. A carry over from the late nineteenth century was the ownership of multiple livestock properties by one person, and in a few instances ownership included both livestock pens and sugar estates. Examples of these owners of multiple properties included D.C. Grant, who owned Spot Valley and Carlton Pens; Dr Alexander McCatty, who owned Croyden and Lapland Pens; and Joseph Shore, who owned Running Gut and Success Sugar Estates, as well as Lilliput Pen.

The Importance of the Livestock Industry in St James in the Twentieth Century

Livestock farmers, whether they were small farmers or owners of large properties, were important to the economic and social development of the parish in several ways. Through the local livestock properties, some of the parish's demand for meat/beef consumption was met. There was a profitable internal market in the supply of beef, pork and mutton. Virtually every community had its local butchers and sale of fresh beef, pork or mutton was usually done in community shops and markets. Additionally, livestock farmers also supplied the demand for chicken meat and eggs. Throughout the course of the twentieth century, livestock farmers also continued to diversify the variety of animals that they raised. Beef cattle continued to be important to the market, but as early as 1910, it was clear that some larger livestock property owners in particular, had begun to emphasise dairy cattle as well. Perhaps the best example of this was the Lapland and Croyden Pens owned by Dr Alexander McCatty, where the rearing of dairy cattle allowed Dr McCatty to develop an important industry, *Lapland Dairy*, through which milk and other dairy products were sold.

In the early twentieth century, livestock farms continued to supply the demand by livery stables for horses, in places like Montego Bay. This continued to be the case until the automobile and bicycle became more widely accessible as the century went on. Until then, horse and carriage (buggy) was still a common means of transportation for those who could afford it. As seen in the section on early tourism, the horse and carriage was an important means by which visitors were taken around places like Montego Bay. Mules and donkeys were widely used for transport of people and their goods, especially in the rural farming communities of St James. Importantly, it should be noted that although St James was not one of the leading livestock-producing parishes, especially when compared to St Elizabeth and St Catherine, its contribution to supplying the needs of people within the parish was significant. By 1996, St James produced 1500 heads of dairy cattle, 3,600 heads of beef cattle, 4,700 pigs, 71,000 poultry, 12,400 goats, 200 sheep and 200 other farm animals (horses, mules and donkeys).

Crop Farming in St James in the Twentieth Century

In terms of crop farming, the small farming communities across the parish made a valiant effort to improve and expand their productivity. Traditional crops grown by small farmers since

Emancipation were the focus of the peasant economy into the twentieth century.

Farm, Industry near Somerton, St James Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

There was a degree of increased diversification of crops as farmers began to emphasise vegetables pineapples, bananas, plantains, ginger, pimento, ground provisions and increasingly, Irish potatoes. Nevertheless, St James did not emerge as one of the leading parishes in crop farming over the course of the twentieth century. As data from the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) indicated, in 1996, there were only 16,166 hectares or four percent of total available land devoted to crop farming in the parish. This ranked St James as the second lowest parish in crop farming next to St Andrew in 1996. The situation did not improve in the early part of the twenty-first century. In 2007, only 13,893 hectares of the available land was devoted to crop farming. This ranked St James as the third lowest crop-farming parish behind St Andrew and Hanover in 2007.[33]

Businesses and Companies in St James in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

A significant development in twentieth century St James was the number of businesses and companies that developed. Some had their roots in the century before, and although most were located in Montego Bay, a few had addresses in places like Cambridge, Catadupa and Little River. Some of the companies were large entities, inclusive of many different businesses

and services while other businesses were operated by individuals who were responding to particular needs as they emerged in the environment of the twentieth century. The fact that a number of companies were involved in more than one area of business was an indication of the changing and expanding economic needs of the parish as well as the opportunities that became available as the century evolved. Some businesses were built on the needs of established industries like livestock rearing, for example, hay and feed dealers. Other businesses grew in response to emerging new industries such as tourism, for example, suppliers of *Jippi Jappa* hats.

Two of the biggest companies operating in St James in the twentieth century were J.E. Kerr and Co. Ltd. and Samuel Hart and Son. Both had strong connections to the history of St James, especially so, to Montego Bay. They also had deep roots in the history of the parish, having been started from the nineteenth century.

Samuel Hart and Son, Montego Bay

The Hart family's engagement in business in St James dated back to the days before Emancipation and continued through the entire twentieth century to be instrumental in the economic development of the parish (Ethel Hart Hotel) and (Tony Hart Montego Bay Freeport). Samuel Hart and Son was a family business which dated back generations, with the nineteenth-century predecessor (1870s) being Abraham Hart and Son, who were produce, provisions and dry-goods merchants operating in Montego Bay. An advertisement put out by Samuel Hart and Son in 1910, captured the great variety of services offered by this Montego Bay-based company in the early twentieth century. The advertisement claimed that the company held "the unique position in Jamaica of engaging in more commercial enterprises than any other firm. If you want to sell or buy anything, ask at S. Hart & Son."

Almost like an early version of a giant department store, Samuel Hart and Son offered business services as wholesale fish dealers, retail grocers, fruit dealers, flour dealers and wholesale, as well as retail dry goods. In the apparel department, the company sold gents' furnishings, ladies' furnishings, boots and shoes, wholesale and retail and a variety of clothing. They were also milliners, that is, they made hats and bought and sold hats and caps. Among one of the more highly demanded hats was the *Jippi Jappa* straw hat, a Jamaican version of the Panama hat. The *Jippi Jappa* was a popular fashion item with locals as well as visitors in the first six decades of the century. It was also an essential part of the uniform for many girls' high schools across Jamaica. Services related to clothing were also offered. For example, they provided merchant tailors and dressmaking services and sold sewing machines. Samuel Hart and Son also sold a wide range of hardware, including oils and paints, cutlery, china, glass and earthenware (pottery) furniture, rubber goods and stamps and beekeepers' supplies.

Building on the needs of the livestock industry and transportation by horse, the company made harnesses and sold them and they were also hay and feed dealers. Not to be left out of the latest trends in a growing market, the Hart business made sure to carry the popular mineral water (aerated water, later sodas) and the latest in sporting goods. The company was also one of the leading insurance agents and wharf operators in Montego Bay. Samuel Hart and Son were also owners and operators of boats and sloops (small sailing boats). At the same time, Samuel Hart was Jamaica's Vice-Consul (non-resident) to Norway in 1910. His company certainly lived up to the message carried by the advertisement. This early version of the Samuel Hart and Son Store was destroyed by a fire in the 1940s. The business was rebuilt, and when the new Samuel Hart and Son re-opened in 1950, the store gained the distinction of being the first store in Montego Bay to have electricity.

J.E. Kerr and Co. Ltd. Montego Bay

J.E. Kerr, the founding member of J.E. Kerr and Co. Ltd., was an outstanding entrepreneur and contributor to the import/export business of St James from the later nineteenth century, doing much to strengthen the reputation of Montego Bay as the leading port town in western Jamaica. He was particularly instrumental in enhancing St James' role in the lucrative banana and fruit trade with the United States of America. His company, J.E. Kerr and Co. Ltd., was the second of the two leading companies operating in Montego Bay by 1910. Although the company provided many of the goods and services that were offered by Samuel Hart and Son, J.E. Kerr and Co. Ltd. did not specialise in clothing for men and women.

The company sold estate supplies and offered services such as wholesale fish dealers, flour dealers, produce merchants and fruit dealers as well as retail grocers. They also sold *Jippi Jappa* hats, hardware and cutlery, as well as china, glass and earthenware products, rubber goods and stamps, made harnesses and sold these as well as carriages. Not surprisingly, J.L. Kerr and Co. Ltd focused on providing services related to commerce and the operation of wharfs. They were valuators and commission agents, as well as agents for shipping and fire insurance and acted on behalf of the Colonial Bank in Montego Bay. They specialised in the blending and bottling of pure Jamaican rum, as well as local wines and cordials, and were Montego Bay's leading dealers in wholesale and retail liquors, as well as wholesale and retail tobacconists. Building materials and services were provided by the company, including lumber and shingles, oils and paints and general builders' supplies for rapidly growing communities around the parish and in particular Montego Bay. They also provided cooperage services which related to the making and repairing of the barrels used to ship sugar (hogsheads) and rum (puncheons). Providing a wide range of services, J. E. Kerr and Co. Ltd. was clearly grounded in meeting the commercial needs of an expanding society. It was not surprising that the company also owned and operated boats and

sloops. The company was highly successful, extending its influence into other parishes through its branches in St Ann's Bay and Kingston.

Charles Square, Montego Bay (Later, Sam Sharpe Square) in 1924 Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

A. D. Jacobs & Co. Montego Bay

A. D. Jacobs & Company was a smaller company, established in 1890 and operating in Montego Bay in 1910. It was advertised as a General Merchants company, involved in the business of shipping fruits and produce. The company also bought and sold produce locally and were dealers in hay and feed. This last activity was a reflection of the increased diversification in the livestock industry in the parish, with chickens and pigs, in particular, being raised on a wider scale. Specialized feeds were being sold in response to this change. As insurance agents, the company worked in conjunction with Jamaica Marine Insurance Company. They were also Custom House Brokers and operators of wharfs. A. D. Jacobs also owned and operated boats and sloops (small sailing boats).

Lapland Dairy and Retirement Dairy

Also arising in connection with the changing face of the livestock industry in St James in the twentieth century were two dairy companies, Lapland Dairy and Retirement Dairy. One change that was noted earlier in the parish's livestock industry was the increased emphasis on dairy cows in addition to beef cattle. This influenced the formation of two dairy companies in St James at this time. The first was Lapland Dairy in Catadupa, formed by Dr Alexander McCatty and named after his livestock property, Lapland Pen. According to the advertisement by the company, Lapland could supply every kind of dairy product such as fresh butter and milk. The company also sold poultry and eggs. Through his company, Dr McCatty also advertised building sites by the sea near the Doctor's Cave. Retirement Dairy, located in Montego Bay, also supplied a similar range of dairy products.

Specialized Businesses in Montego Bay

By 1910, Montego Bay had a large number of smaller businesses, each usually owned by an individual or a company, but with a highly specialized focus. Although they were mainly located in Montego Bay, these all reflected the changing nature of the society during the early twentieth century and were clearly structured to meet the emerging social and economic needs of the parish. In some cases, the businesses reflected economic or social patterns which were carried over from the late nineteenth century.

Retail Dry Goods Businesses

Retail Dry Goods businesses, as they emerged in Jamaica, really referred to places that sold smaller quantities of textiles/fabric, ready-to-wear clothes, needles and thread. In some cases, dry goods also included grocery items that do not contain liquid such as tobacco, sugar, flour and coffee. Outside of the larger companies discussed earlier, the main retail dry goods suppliers in Montego Bay included Blake House, A.H Browne and Bros., John Holmes, E.R. Turnbull and B. Soares and Co., (the last also sold sewing machines). Interestingly, one of the leading suppliers of retail dry goods in Montego Bay was Nathan and Co. Ltd., which had branches in Kingston, Port Maria and Savanna-La-Mar.

Businesses Linked to Transportation: The Old and the New: Livery Stables, Carriage Dealers, Harness Makers, Bicycle Dealers and Automobile Dealers

Livery Stables in Montego Bay:

Livery stables were important to the activity of getting from one place to the next, especially before the automobile became commonplace in the parish. At livery stables, horse and carriages could be rented out by the day or for longer periods. Some customers preferred the

use of the horse alone. The livery stable was also a location where travellers could find overnight accommodation and rest for their horses. This was a business which was closely linked to the livestock industry, but one which gradually disappeared as the century progressed and as the revolution in ground transportation became widespread. By 1910, the main livery stable operators in Montego Bay were H.C. Armstrong, S.S. Bellinger, G.L. McFarlane, H.G. Murray and C.A. Wallace. Interestingly, in the early days of tourism in the town (discussed shortly), Spring Hill Hotel, which overlooked the Harbour, had a livery stable on the hotel grounds. Advertisements from the hotel indicated that all guests arriving by train or by steamer (ship) were met by a waiting horse and carriage.

Carriage Dealers and Harness Makers and Dealers in Montego Bay:

It was important to have horses well rested, watered and fed for the journey, but equally important to the safety of the passengers was the job of seeing to the upkeep of the carriage. Rough and bumpy road surfaces, especially when travelling out of Montego Bay, sometimes created havoc with carriage wheels in pretty much the same way that modern pot-holed roads result in damage to vehicles. In some cases, carriages had to be replaced by new ones. Therefore carriage dealers had links with carriage builders from whom they purchased new carriages from time to time or from whom they obtained repair services. Carriage dealers in Montego Bay worked very closely with the operators of livery stables as they were clearly indispensable to each other. The carriage dealers operating in Montego Bay were A.T. Clark, B. Pigott and J. E. Kerr and Co. Ltd. Harness makers and dealers were also important to transportation by horse and carriage as a worn or broken harness could easily lead to an accident. Montego Bay had two harness makers and dealers by 1910, and these were R. Bowen and C. Gayle.

Automobile Dealers and Bicycle Dealers in St James:

In the first decade of the twentieth century, cars were more of a rarity on the streets of the parish and certainly a means of transportation affordable only by the wealthy. By 1910, St James had no independent motor vehicle dealer of its own. However, the main automobile dealer, the Jamaica Motor Company, had its home base in Kingston, at 16 King Street. A branch of the Jamaica Motor Company was established in Catadupa, St James by 1910. It was not until the very early 1950s when the late Tony Hart, son of Samuel Hart, acquired and set up a sub-agency of the American Ford Company that Montego Bay got its own big car dealership. Hart named this the *Northern Industrial Garage* (NIG), which became almost an overnight success, selling 300 Ford cars in three months. Shortly after that, Hart opened another branch of NIG at Bogue, just outside of Montego Bay.

Charles Square (the Parade) 1924, Showing an Early Motor Car and a Bicycle around the Square
Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Bicycles were perhaps less of a rarity in the early twentieth century but were certainly not common place. Nevertheless, there was sufficient of a demand to necessitate two bicycle dealers by 1910. These were the McKenzie Bros. and C.G. Parkin, both situated in the town of Montego Bay.

Food and Drink: Retail Grocers, Bakeries, Suppliers of Mineral/Aerated Water and Liquor:

Besides the large suppliers (Kerr and Hart) of foodstuffs, groceries, mineral water and liquor, there were smaller businesses, mainly in Montego Bay, which focused on one or more of these commodities. For example, T.A. Salmon owned a retail grocery in Montego Bay, buying supplies of provisions and other food items from the larger dealers and selling retail to the customers. By 1910, there were two bakeries in the town, and these were owned by L. A. Reuben and T. A. Salmon, who also owned the retail grocery establishment. An increasingly popular item in the early twentieth century was mineral water, in some cases, referred to as aerated water, because like today's soda, the drink was carbonated and bubbly. Over time, this would develop into the sweetened soft drinks of today. Samuel Hart and Son were suppliers but by 1910, the Montego Bay Steam Bottling Company was the main producer/bottler of these aerated drinks.

Dr Alexander McCatty's drug store at 16 Market Street in Montego Bay also had what was called a "Soda Water Fountain" which sold "high class mineral waters and fruit syrups". As there was no refrigeration yet available, persons who could afford to, kept what was called an "Ice Box", which looked like an early version of the refrigerator. Persons bought blocks of ice to cool their drinks and preserve perishables from the *Montego Bay Ice Company*, the producer of ice in the town. In addition to the large suppliers of liquor, A.W. Parkin and Co. in Montego Bay was also a retail liquor dealer.

Businesses which Provided Other Services:

Photography and Hairdressing

By 1910, Montego Bay provided photography services through the town's photographer, A. O. Isaacs. As was the case in the later nineteenth century, it seemed that in the early twentieth century, there were no establishments known as barber shops, although the cutting of men's hair and other related services such as shaving were done by persons classified as hairdressers. The two hairdressers in Montego Bay, C. Simpson and Jackson (first initial unknown), appear to have been male, because there was no designation "Miss" or "Mrs" accompanying their names. Cutting and styling of women's hair must have been done by these businesses especially since

the “bob” or short haircut was coming into style for women.

Main Street, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Land Surveyors, Building Contractors and Building Supplies and Saw Mills

The early twentieth century saw an increased demand for land acquisition, especially among the wealthy. As seen earlier, Dr Alexander McCatty advertised building sites by the sea, near to Doctor’s Cave. There was an increased need for land surveying and land surveyors to determine the exact boundaries of properties. Services of land surveyors were being offered in Montego Bay in 1910 by C.J. Davis and E. Foster. As seen earlier, supplies of building materials were sold by the major companies, Samuel Hart and Son, as well as by J.E. Kerr and Co. Ltd. The services of builders and contractors were offered by the company operated in Montego Bay by N. M. Agate, who also owned the saw mill needed by the builders.

Businesses Related to Health Care: Medical Doctors, Dentists, Opticians, Druggists and Chemists:

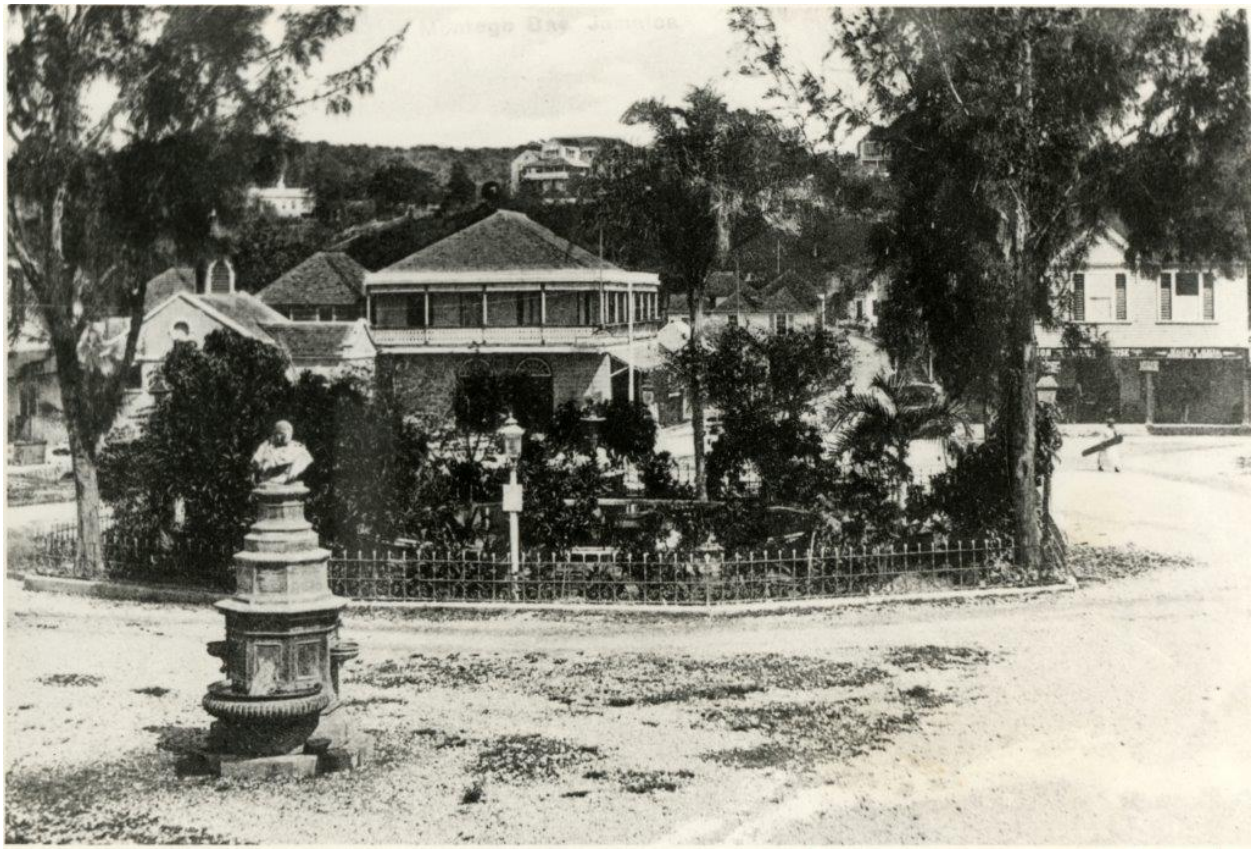
By 1910, medical doctors offering services in Montego Bay included Drs G.P Campbell, J. DeLeon, A.M. Mills, George W. Thompson, A.A. Vernon and Alexander J. McCatty. In addition to diagnosing patients' illnesses, it seems that Dr McCatty offered cutting-edge facilities for recuperation by those who could afford it. His establishment was called "*The Sanatorium Caribbee"* in Montego Bay. Services offered were advertised as follows:

"OPEN ALL THE YEAR. Modern Sanitary Arrangements Throughout [sic] The Famous Doctor's Cave in immediate Neighbourhood. All parties desiring Rest and Medical attendance should communicate with the Proprietor, Dr Alexander J. McCatty".

The town had two dentists, S.E. Gale and E. N. Lawrence. Montego Bay had one optician, Dr M. L. Tomlinson (Oph. B.) a "Graduate Optician" who established his office at 8 Market Street in the town. Services offered by Dr Tomlinson were advertised as treatment of "Eye Strain" and "Physiological Glass Fitting".

As the twentieth century went on, there was an increase in the number of drug stores/ dispensaries (now called pharmacies). By 1910, three drug stores/dispensaries were located in Montego Bay. C. A. Wallace owned and operated one of the drug stores, and a second was the *St James Dispensary*. Dr A. McCatty and Son operated the *Montego Bay Laboratory*, located at 16 Market Street, Montego Bay. The services offered there included "Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Drugs, chemicals, Patent Medicines, wines, Toilet Requisites etc. Soda Water Fountain [sic] High Class Mineral Waters and Fruit Syrups". As was the case in most of the larger drug stores in the first six decades of the twentieth century, space was often set aside for what was called a "Soda Fountain" where customers could buy cooling soft drinks and other

refreshments. Dr McCatty's *Montego Bay Laboratory* was no different.



Parade Square, in the Heart of Montego Bay, 1900-1910 Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Banks, Building Societies and Solicitors

Banks were post-slavery institutions in Jamaica. The first bank established in Jamaica was the *Colonial Bank*, founded in 1837 on Harbour Street in Kingston. The Colonial Bank had Agencies and Agents representing its interests in various parish capitals such as Port Maria, Savanna-La-Mar, Falmouth and Montego Bay. By 1910, the established Agent for the Colonial Bank in Montego Bay was J.E. Kerr & Co. Ltd. The Colonial Bank was eventually taken over by Barclays Bank of London in 1927, and Barclays Bank in Jamaica became the National Commercial Bank in 1977. The Bank of Nova Scotia opened its doors in Montego Bay in 1906. Persons who could afford to, also saved money towards the cost of building a home in the *St James Benefit Building Society*, located in Montego Bay. Leading Solicitors in the town included R.P. Rerrie, G.S.P. Brown, G.A. Campbell, F. St J. Collymore, A.C. Grant and R.C. Holmes.

Printing and Publishing Companies, Watchmakers and Jewellers and Piano Tuners

There were two printing and publishing companies located in Montego Bay by 1910. These were the New Century Printing and the Northern News Publishing Company. There were other businesses which catered to the select needs of those who could afford fine jewellery and watches. All based in Montego Bay, E. Alcock, H.N. Davis, T.J. Gray and D. Hart "Silver and Goldsmiths", specialising in the making and selling of exquisite silver and gold jewellery. There were also two watchmakers and suppliers, and these were D. Hart and L. Manderson. Montego Bay had no businesses which sold pianos, but those who were fortunate enough to own one could count on the services of H.W. Collymore and J.F. Ricketts to keep their pianos finely tuned. [34]

A Busy Shopping Area in Charles Square in the Early 1960s Courtesy National Library of Jamaica

Another View of Shopping in Busy Charles Square Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

A Street Market in Montego Bay, 1961 Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The Growth and Development of Tourism in Montego Bay, St James during the Twentieth Century

Introduction

The twentieth-century growth of tourism in St James was really centred on the capital of Montego Bay and the north coastal strip of the parish. Nevertheless, some of the benefits of this major foreign exchange earner filtered down to other parts of the parish and indeed, to the wider Jamaican economy. Over the course of the twentieth century, the success of the tourist industry in and around Montego Bay stimulated massive earnings in foreign exchange, as well as growth in other areas, such as employment of persons within the parish, increase in food production, manufacturing industries, building construction, trade, crafts and transportation. The explanation for the amazing growth and development of this industry over the course of the long twentieth century rests on three foundations. These were firstly, the factors that made

it possible for visitors to start coming and to keep coming to Montego Bay and the rest of the St James North Coast. Secondly, the factors such as attractions and accommodation that enticed them to come, and finally, the inspired vision and leadership provided by so many, from the first decade of the century until the present, which gradually transformed and expanded the industry and made the St James North coast, including Montego Bay into the Tourism capital of Jamaica.

The Late Nineteenth-Century Beginnings: Links to the Banana and Fruit Trade

As seen earlier in the section on the growth of the banana industry, a key figure in the birth of early tourism in Montego Bay was the entrepreneur, J.E. Kerr. When Kerr decided in the early 1880s to engage in the export of bananas and oranges primarily to the United States, he began a chain of events that would spark the early visitor arrivals to Montego Bay. He acquired a fleet of vessels, mainly steam ships, to make the frequent "banana boat" trips between Montego Bay and New York as well as other American ports. His famous ship, the *Atlanta,* made the trip from Montego Bay to New York in a mere four days. Very importantly for the birth of tourism, when Kerr's steamships returned to Montego Bay, they brought not only cargoes of trade goods, but also visitors to the busy port town. New York-based vessels and steamships from other destinations in America and Britain also made frequent commercial trips, and in so doing, brought visitors along with cargo to Montego Bay.

Early Twentieth- Century Arrivals Increase By Sea and By Air: The Montego Bay Airport

By the early decades of the twentieth century, the increases in visitor arrivals to Montego Bay were no longer solely dependent on sailings of the banana boats. Before the start of air travel to Montego Bay, visitors from Europe and America were booking their passages on regular sailings of Trans-Atlantic liners, which had begun a steady business of taking passengers to Montego Bay, among other destinations. But it was the building of an airport in Montego Bay and the start of regular direct flights into the north-coastal capital that really made it possible for a boost to occur in visitor arrivals.

During World War 11, specifically in 1940, the decision was taken to reclaim the mangrove swamp and to build a landing strip or runway there. When the war ended in 1945, greater efforts were made to finish building the accompanying airport. On February 18, 1947, what was first known as the *Montego Bay Airport* was opened. The first international flight to land at the Montego Bay Airport in 1947 was a Pan American Airways flight, and this was not surprising

because the airport was then being managed by Pan American.

Doctor's Cave Beach and Pan American Airline Landing Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The Jamaican government took control of Montego Bay Airport on September 30, 1949. The government renamed the airport the *Donald Sangster International Airport* in honour of

Jamaica's former Prime Minister, Sir Donald Sangster, after his death in 1967.

The Donald Sangster International Airport in Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

From its opening until now, the Donald Sangster Airport has gone through many expansions and renovations, making it the premier gateway to millions of travellers over the years. In its early phase of operations in the mid-1950s, the airport's terminal, though small, could

accommodate up to 500 passengers per hour.

Some Airline Offices at the Airport in the 1950s-1960s Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

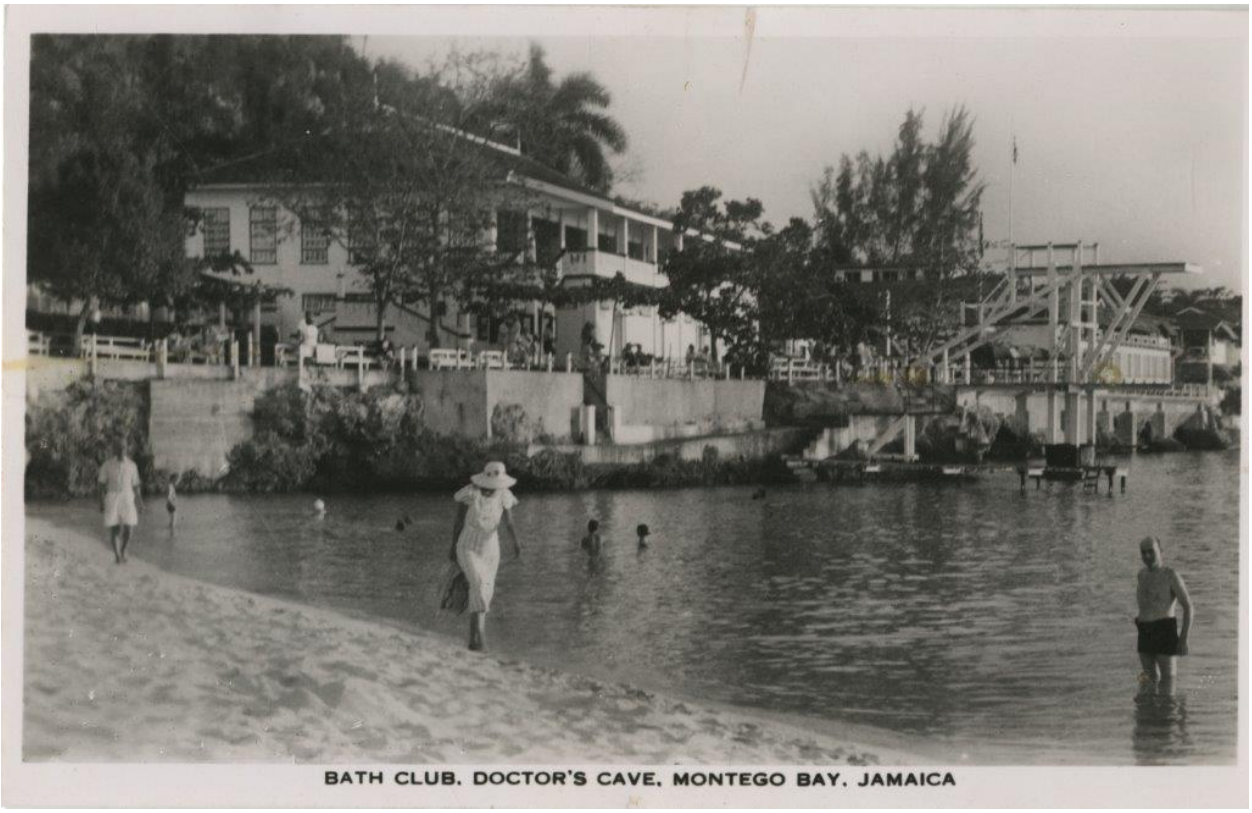
Another View of the Montego Bay Airport, with a Plane Taking Flight Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Early Attractions and Hotels

Doctor's Cave Beach

In the first quarter of the century, visitors were becoming attracted to the reported curative powers of the sea water at Doctor's Cave Beach. This was to be the first major drawing card for visitors to come to Montego Bay for what could be called health tourism. The property got that name because it was first owned by one of Montego Bay's beloved physicians, Dr Alexander G. McCatty, who helped to promote the health attractions of the site by building a sanatorium, "The Sanatorium Caribbee" right next to the Doctor's Cave Beach in the late nineteenth century. Dr McCatty senior, died in 1890, but his son, Dr Alexander James McCatty, Junior, continued the tradition. In 1910, the Sanatorium advertised year-round access and offered visitors rest, medical care and use of the healing waters of the nearby Doctor's Cave Beach. In 1906, Dr McCatty had donated the Doctor's Cave Beach to the town of Montego Bay for use as

a bathing club.



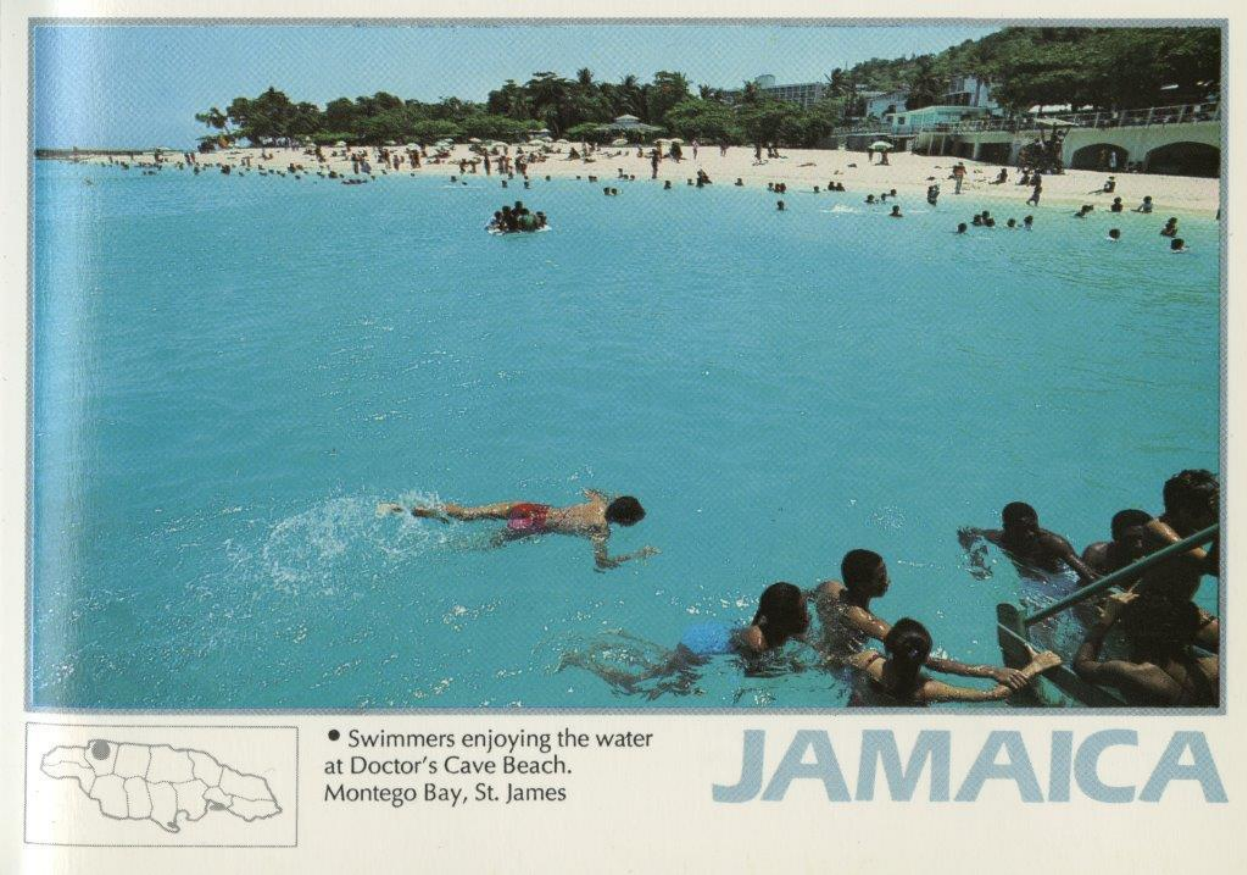
Bath Club, Doctor's Cave, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Visitors returning home to America or Britain were the best promoters as they encouraged others to come to Montego Bay to experience the curative effects for themselves. Celebrated English chiropractor, Sir Herbert Barker, did a lot to boost the popularity of Doctor's Cave by spreading word that he had been healed by bathing in the waters and by publishing articles about the facility in the British press. In 1908, a group of Montego Bay residents also put paid advertisements, mainly in American newspapers, inviting persons to "Come south to Montego Bay, the most beautiful spot in Jamaica. Here is situated the famous Doctor's Cave bathing place destined to be the favourite bathing resort of the Western Hemisphere". The advertisement further encouraged potential visitors to "leave the grim north" and "come south", emphasising that the trip from New York to Montego Bay only took four and a half days. For roughly half a century or more, Doctor's Cave Beach continued to draw tourist arrivals into Montego Bay.

Tropical Sun, Sea and Sand and Early Hotel Glamour

The lure of healthy relaxation at Doctor's Cave and the pristine white sandy beaches surrounding the facility and stretching all along the coastline and beyond presented an amazing contrast to the frigid temperatures further north. This was especially so since in the early part

of the twentieth century, the tourist season only lasted through the winter months.



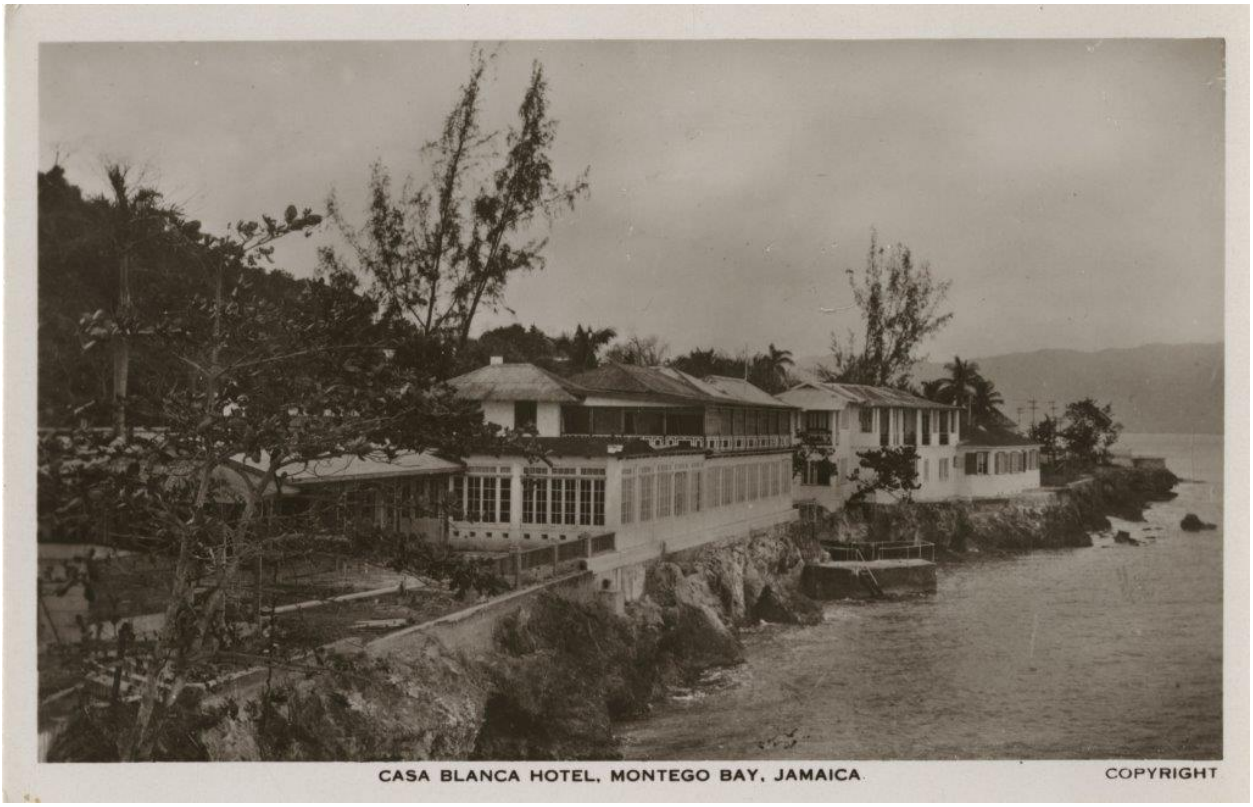
Swimmers Enjoying the Water at Doctor's Cave Beach, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

This was the era of "sun, sea and sand" and glitzy, glamourous lifestyles which continued to attract the rich, the famous and the well-heeled to Montego Bay and its coastal environs, thereby powering the expansion of the tourism industry well into the 1960s. Equally attractive calling cards were the early small hotels which grew up around Doctor's Cave, usually overlooking the beach and which developed an inviting ambience of quiet comfort and first-class cuisine.

Early Twentieth-Century Hotels in Montego Bay

A cluster of small hotels grew up around the Doctor's Cave attraction, or overlooking the Doctor's Cave Beach. One became known as the *Doctor's Cave Hotel,* which provided access to the famous beach, along with a bath club, diving boards and a jetty. Two of the early hotels were owned by two Jamaican women who were not afraid to brave the odds and became owners of the *Casa Blanca Hotel* and the *Ethel Hart Hotel*. Other early hotels included the *Beach View Hotel*, owned by the Edwards family; *Sunset Lodge*, owned by the DeLisser family;

the *Chatham*, owned by the Fosters; the *Spring Hill Hotel*, by the Paynes; the *Staffordshire Hotel* (operating in 1910); and *St James Hotel*, also operating in 1910.



Casa Blanca Hotel, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

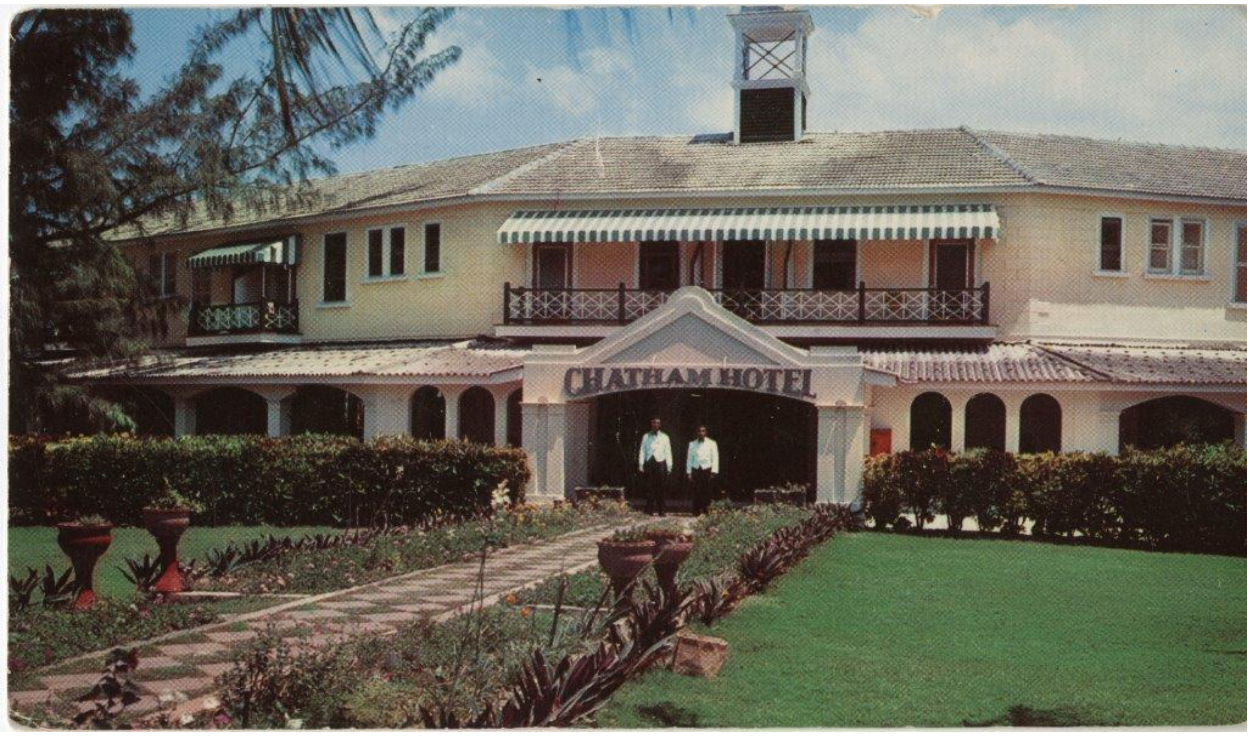
The *Casa Blanca Hotel* was located immediately above Doctor's Cave Beach. This was owned in the early decades of the century by Maybelle, 'Ma' Ewen, long regarded as a female pioneer and the founding matriarch of early Montego Bay tourism. Ma Ewen bought some American beachside cottages which had been abandoned during the First World War and transformed them into a small twelve-room hotel, which became known as the Casa Blanca Hotel. Sir Herbert Barker, whose article made the Doctor's Cave Beach so famous, seems to have been taken with the Casa Blanca, as he was a repeat visitor there. The hotel was destroyed by a hurricane in 1933 but was rebuilt afterwards.

At top*, a Part of the Rebuilt Casa Blanca Hotel* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

At bottom, *The Ethel Hart Hotel, Montego Bay* Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The second female pioneer and the owner of Ethel Hart Hotel was Ethel Hart of the long-standing business family of the Harts (Samuel Hart and Son) in Montego Bay. Located on a beautiful hill in Montego Bay, overlooking the harbour and the town, Ethel Hart Hotel was opened shortly after World War 1. Although it was later closed for a while, the Ethel Hart was afterwards taken over by James Marzouca, a dry goods merchant.

Spring Hill Hotel was one of the earliest hotels in Montego Bay, having been opened in 1906. Miss Payne was credited with opening the Spring Hill Hotel in that year. However, Miss Payne was not new to the visitor accommodation business, as her father had been the owner of Payne's Hotel (more like a lodging house) from 1890. However, it was felt that Mr Payne's accommodation would not be big enough, nor would it provide the amenities to which visitors from America and Europe might be accustomed. Therefore, in 1906, Miss Payne opened Spring Hill Hotel with this in mind. Located on a hill, the hotel provided a breath-taking view of Montego Bay and the surrounding countryside. A 1910 advertisement indicated that the hotel had been enlarged and improved and that it contained twenty-five single and ten double bedrooms. Among other well-advertised offerings was a bar which served "the famous Planters' Punch", as well as top-class cuisine. As seen in an earlier section, Spring Hill Hotel had its own livery attached, and therefore carriages were sent out to meet all visitors to the hotel who arrived by train or steamer.



Chatham Hotel, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The Mid-Twentieth Century and the Coming of Mass Tourism to Montego Bay

The opening of the then Montego Bay Airport (later the Donald Sangster International Airport) and the landing of the first international flight, Pan American Airways, at Montego Bay in 1947 launched the era of mass tourism in the parish capital.

The Colony Hotel, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Tourism was from then onwards, a much different industry, but with the bottom line always underscoring the massive profits which were possible. Increasingly from the late 1950s onwards, Montego Bay's tourism was promoted as a year-round affair and catered to visitors of different backgrounds, not exclusively the rich and famous, although they were still very much among the sought after guests. The large volume of visitors arriving by sea and more so, by air, required an equally large number of hotels, more luxurious and larger than the early hotels. Most of the early 1920s hotels had been concentrated around the Montego Bay area, largely because of the attraction of the healing waters of Doctor's Cave Beach. However, the demand for more hotel accommodation and the growing lure of sun, sea and sand meant that the entire coastal area, from Montego Bay and along the airport to Rose Hall strip, would be prime locations for hotel construction. In the late 1960s, when the Montego Bay Freeport was

developed (discussed shortly), this meant that land on the Freeport Peninsula towards the west of the town would also become sought-after locations for hotel expansion.

The Half Moon Hotel Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

From the 1950s on, some of the hotels were luxury properties, with beautiful and expansive golf courses attached, like the Half Moon Hotel, Round Hill and Tryall. Others were large multi-storied buildings like Rose Hall Beach and Country Club, Holiday Inn and Sea Wind. Yet others were fantasy-themed apartment style hotels like Montego Bay Club and Sea Castles. Still catering to a variety of tastes, Montego Bay's offerings also included clusters of luxury cottages, such as Bay Roc Hotel and small inns like Wexford Inn, Blue Harbour, Royal Court, Toby Inn and Reading Reef.

Although local developers like John Pringle contributed to this expansion in hotel construction from the 1950s onwards, foreign investment became critical to the rapid growth of the hotel infrastructure in Montego Bay and elsewhere from the late 1950s. Soon, foreign-based multi-national corporations came to dominate the island's tourism industry. This became even more pronounced because from the late 1960s onwards, the government offered loans, loan guarantees and lands to developers through the 1968 Hotel Incentives Act. The Jamaican government also bought ownership shares in some hotels. These trends remained a feature of the hotel industry until 1980.

Memories of the 1950s: Round Hill Hotel and Bay Roc Hotel

Round Hill Hotel was the brainchild of John Pringle in the 1950s. It is located on a 100-acre property on (the appropriately named) John Pringle Drive in Montego Bay. Round Hill Hotel grounds were originally part of the Round Hill Estate. One of the hallmarks of the Round Hill property was its luxury golf course which indicated that the hotel industry in St James was catering to a pool of visitors with more diverse tastes than purely sun, sea and sand. The cottages at Round Hill attracted foreign investment from persons like Noel Coward, who was the first investor. Other Americans and Europeans also invested in the luxury cottages. Among the celebrated visitors over the years have been President J. F. Kennedy and Mrs Kennedy, Errol Flynn and Ian Fleming. Round Hill was the spectacular setting for the making of the film, "How Stella got her Groove Back". Since 2001, one of the attractions of Round Hill has been the restored eighteenth-century plantation Great House.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, *Bay Roc Hotel*, which was ideally located opposite the then Montego Bay Airport, was one of the leading hotels in Montego Bay. It consisted of sixty-six spacious rooms, as well as thirty privately owned luxury cottages. The luxury cottages were a major attraction for wealthy foreigners who wanted their own piece of paradise in the tourism capital of Jamaica. However, during the 1970s, a period of political and social unrest in Jamaica, there was a fall-off in international visitors as well as a flight of the wealthy, many of whom feared the possibilities of Democratic Socialism. This adversely affected tourism across the island, and the once sought after Bay Roc Hotel became neglected.

The 1980s Onwards: Local Ownership and the All-Inclusive Concept in Montego Bay's Tourism

At the start of the 1980s, there was a change in the political administration of Jamaica, with the Edward Seaga-led Jamaica Labour Party forming the government. This period saw the government divesting its shares in hotels and generally moving out of hotel operation. Government interests in the hotel sector were either leased or sold to private individuals. While this did not end the foreign investor presence, it became more possible for more local entrepreneurs to carve out a share in the ownership and growth of the tourism/hotel industry beginning in 1980. One of these local businessmen was none other than Gordon "Butch" Stewart, whose creative vision, hard work and dedication to the Jamaican and indeed, the Caribbean people, led him to take a chance on an old, run-down property in Montego Bay, the Bay Roc Hotel. In so doing, "Butch" forever altered the path of Montego Bay's hospitality industry, allowing it to be the birthplace of the very first in the chain of multi-award winning Sandals Caribbean Resorts.

Sandals Montego Bay: The Flagship of the Sandals Caribbean Chain of Luxury All-Inclusive Hotels

Bay Roc may have been run down and neglected, but it was located on one of the largest and most beautiful white sand beaches in Montego Bay. After the Bay Roc was purchased in 1981, approximately four million dollars were spent on renovations, a task which took seven months to complete. In 1981, the creative vision of the Founder and Chairman of what would become Sandals Caribbean Resorts, backed by team work and perseverance of the highest order, paid dividends with the opening of *Sandals Montego Bay*. The Sandals Caribbean website has summed up the amazing significance of this event in 1981 for Montego Bay's tourism experience:

"Sandals Montego Bay opened: the flagship of the most popular, award-winning luxury-included resort chain in the world."

In pioneering the brand of Sandals All-Inclusive hotels right there in Montego Bay, Gordon "Butch" Stewart also underscored what it takes to have an outstandingly successful tourism product, not only in Montego Bay, but across Jamaica and indeed, around the Caribbean. The "winning formula" as he put it, "is to find out what people want, give it to them, and in so doing, exceed their expectations." This after all, is the true mission of the industry.

As mentioned earlier, a part of the old Bay Roc Hotel had been the thirty privately owned cottages. Instead of demolishing those cottages, Butch decided that it was important to preserve the property's history. After they were able to purchase all thirty cottages from their owners, the cottages were renovated and refurbished while representing the ambience and historical atmosphere of the old Bay Roc. This part of the property was then re-launched as the *Bay Roc Beachfront Villas*.

The period beginning in the early 1980s also saw the coming of the All-Inclusive concept in hotel operations in Montego Bay. All-Inclusive meant that one cost, paid for in advance, covers everything, from round trip, to transportation, accommodation, unlimited food and drinks and entertainment. Of course, this model was not adopted by all of the hotels in and around Montego Bay, but in the decade of the 1980s, the All-Inclusive hotels were well represented in Montego Bay, in the form of Sandals Montego Bay, Club Paradise and Jack Tar at Montego Beach.

A Major Milestone in Montego Bay's Tourism Development: The Montego Bay Freeport

The history of how the Montego Bay Freeport came to be, and the significance for the economy of St James and the wider Jamaica is examined very shortly. Its significance for the further growth and development of tourism in Montego Bay was nothing short of spectacular. As part

of the Montego Bay Freeport project, a deep water harbour was created in Montego Bay at a cost of US$ 2.4 million, thereby making it possible in 1968 for the first cruise ship, the "Sunward" of Norwegian Cruise Lines, to dock at the Montego Bay Pier. Almost overnight, this meant a huge boost in visitor arrivals to Montego Bay as a lot more tourists could disembark at the dock. Prior to the development of the deep water harbour, boats and ships which brought visitors had to anchor about a quarter mile offshore, and the visitors then disembarked on to smaller boats and were brought to port. But the creation of the Montego Bay Freeport also meant more resort possibilities and attractions for foreign visitors and locals alike. For example, the Montego Bay Yacht Club, located on the Freeport strip, became the terminus for the international drawing card of the annual Miami-Montego Bay Yacht Race and the venue for the yearly Marlin Tournament, which also drew Sports-fishing enthusiasts from at home and abroad.

The Story ends as how it began: What has become of Doctor's Cave Bathing Club?

The story of Montego Bay's tourism Industry began with the allure of the Doctor's Cave Beach in Montego Bay at the dawn of the twentieth century. It is perhaps fitting to conclude this account with the fact that Anthony 'Tony' Hart, son of Montego Bay, undertook massive renovations of Doctor's Cave Bathing Club, which had been given to the people of Montego Bay by his great grandfather, Dr Alexander McCatty. It is important to note that the income gained from the operations of the Bathing Club has helped many charitable causes throughout St James. An outstanding example of such benefit is the St Mary Prep School in Montpelier, which was able to increase its enrolment from seventy students to 430 because of assistance from this fund. [35]

The Montego Bay Freeport and its Significance for the Economy of St James

Perseverance through Obstacles: The Idea of the Free Port Takes Shape and is Approved

Anthony 'Tony' Hart, OJ, CD, JP, died in his hometown on August 20, 2020 at the age of eighty seven years. He was a beloved son of St James and seventh generation member of the historic Hart family of Montego Bay, having worked as a young man in his father's Montego Bay business, *Samuel Hart and Son*. Anthony Hart is credited with the creation of the monumentally significant Montego Bay Freeport, taking the project from its conception, through its birth pains and on to completion in 1968. The Montego Bay Freeport is the name given to the development of about 350 acres of reclaimed land and the resulting infrastructure and modern facilities which have since existed there. Hart was able to secure private financing for the project by 1966 with fifty-five percent of the funds coming from the United States and forty-five percent from Jamaica.

However, it was not an easy road. He encountered numerous setbacks in trying to get the government of the day to approve the project, including the Prime Minister, Sir Alexander Bustamante, becoming gravely ill three days before he was to sign off on the project. Prime Minister Donald Sangster also died before he could sign. After some hesitation, the new Prime Minister of Jamaica, Hugh Lawson Shearer, approved the project in 1967. Today, the government is the major shareholder.

How the Freeport was created

In 1967, the government of Jamaica granted the right to *Montego Freeport Limited* to reclaim and develop about 350 acres of land in the area of the Bogue Islands.

The Bogue Islands, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Upon completion in 1968, the project became known as the *Montego Bay Freeport* or the *Montego Freeport*. Hart had earlier decided that the Outer Bogue Islands, a group of offshore mangrove cays west of Montego Bay, would be the site for the new Free Port. Work entailed the dredging of three million cubic yards of sea and marshy areas around the islands and the filling in of all the mangrove-covered Bogue Islands. This resulted in the creation of 350 acres of reclaimed land in the shape of a peninsula, called the *Montego Bay Freeport.* A main road, the Alice Eldemire Drive, was cut through the reclaimed peninsula, allowing the Montego Bay

Freeport to be merged with the town of Montego Bay.

Montego Bay Freeport under Construction Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

As part of the project, the harbour had been deepened by dredging from its previous depth of five feet to a new depth of forty-five feet and a depth of thirty-two feet at pier side. So was created Montego Bay's Deep Water Harbour and Pier Side, with four berths, which allowed cruise ships and cargo ships to dock at pier side for the first time in Montego Bay's history.

The Features of the Montego Bay Freeport and its Importance for the Economy of St James and the Wider Jamaica

The development of the Montego Bay Freeport was the largest of that nature in Jamaica at the time. It consists of a deep-water harbour and 350 acres of reclaimed land which is home to a vast industrial estate known as the *Montego Bay Free Zone*, luxury residential communities, several resorts, a beach club and the Montego Bay Yacht Club. The creation of the Deep Water Harbour and Pier resulted in greater earnings of foreign exchange for the country through increased visitor arrivals. Very importantly, it also facilitated the direct unloading of huge containers of cargo at pier side. Tony Hart did a lot in 1986 to negotiate the direct connections between *Kirk Line Shipping (*later *Seaboard*) and Montego Bay in order for fortnightly cargo port calls to be made by their ships at Montego Bay. As seen in the earlier sections of this history, in

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, right up to 1968 when the Deep Water Harbour and Pier were complete, a great deal of cargo was loaded and unloaded onto smaller boats called Lighters and brought into or taken out of Montego Bay Harbour, and commerce was always vibrant. However, the cargo of the earlier period was certainly not as huge as the giant containers of the later twentieth century. In fact, before Hart's negotiations for direct container cargo landings in Montego Bay, huge cargo containers destined for the west had to be offloaded in Kingston and then trucked to Montego Bay or other western destinations. The Deep Water Harbour and Pier, in addition to Tony Hart's successful negotiations with Kirk

Shipping, made all that expense, delay and inconvenience go away.

Montego Bay Freeport from the Air Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Among the resorts in the Montego Bay Freeport are Bay Pointe (one of the first), which is a mix of residential and vacation apartments; Secrets Wild Orchids All-Inclusive resort; the Lagoons; and Breathless Montego Bay Resort and Spa. A major attraction on the Freeport peninsula for locals and visitors alike is the Hard Rock Café. Luxury residential apartments include Sea Wind on the Bay. As the Montego Freeport evolved, more facilities, such as vast shopping complexes, were added. The entire Montego Bay Freeport was ideally located to benefit from the spending power of the newly arrived visitors who disembark at the Pier side. But it was also a centre of much economic promise, being the location of the *Montego Bay Free Zone,* which had the potential and still does to employ thousands of young Jamaicans from the parish and its environs and to multiply industrial production and profits for the Jamaican economy.

The Montego Bay Free Zone

Early Industries in the Free Zone: From the Garment Industry to the Business Process Outsourcing Industry (BPO)

When the Montego Bay Free Zone was first established in the Montego Bay Freeport by the Port Authority of Jamaica in 1985, the major industry established there was the 807 Garment Industry. At that time, there were seven garment factories, three of which were owned by the Montego Bay-based *Hart Group of Companies*. These were an important source of employment for persons in Montego Bay and around the parish. However, by the late 1990s, there were challenges in the garment manufacturing sector, and some companies relocated because of what they saw as the high costs of operating in Jamaica. One garment manufacturing company, *Day Wind Manufacturing Company,* has stood the test of time and remained in the Free Zone, employing up to 146 persons. Gloria Henry, Assistant Vice-President of Operations and Customer Relations at the Montego Bay Free Zone, remains optimistic that the garment industry could regain momentum.

This giant industrial estate was destined to become home to businesses and companies engaged in the Information and Communications Technology/ Business Process Outsourcing Industry. Montego Bay's Free Zone is home to approximately sixty six percent of the total number of overseas call centres operating in Jamaica. The major contribution of the BPO sector is the revenue earnings which result for the Jamaican economy. For St James and the other western parishes, the sector provides employment for thousands of young people from this region. One of the BPO companies located there is *Conduent Jamaica* and *Conduent Call Centre*. Other businesses focus on software development, electronic assembling, medical and health care support, finance and accounting among many others.[36]

Significant Socio-Political Developments in St James in the Twentieth Century

The 1902 Riots in Montego Bay

Reasons why the Riots occurred in Montego Bay in April 1902

Rising unemployment and discontent

A long-standing problem in the town of Montego Bay and the surrounding areas was the growing number of unemployed. This had been in evidence since the late nineteenth century when more persons had been unable to gain employment after the decline in some sugar estates. This situation continued into the start of the twentieth century. Discontent and frustration became commonplace as residents of poor communities such as Meagre Bay, gathered about the town and especially on the docks seeking odd jobs here and there, with little success. Rising unemployment was made worse by the expanding population of Montego Bay, which amounted to about 7,000 persons by 1900.

Burdensome taxation and aggressive steps taken to collect taxes

As income became scarce for many, the taxes imposed became greater and more burdensome. The weight of the tax burden was heaviest on those who could hardly afford it. The mass of Jamaicans, the poorer classes, suffered under the burden of increasing taxes on small house plots, simple ways of earning a living like carpentry or tax on land, house tax or tax on food consumed by the working classes. In the two weeks before the riot in Montego Bay, there had been aggressive and unrelenting steps by the authorities to collect the taxes. A large number of poor taxpayers had been taken before the Resident Magistrate's court for failure to pay taxes. Faced with the choice of paying the tax in full or being thrown in prison, some persons borrowed money from friends or relatives to pay the tax, thereby increasing the burden being faced by others in the community. At the same time, public meetings to protest the increasing taxes were being held by leaders of the business community, like storekeepers, who were also feeling the increased weight of taxes on goods and services. The ability of the ordinary man in the street to afford the shopkeeper's goods became less and less because of heavy taxation. These public meetings held in Montego Bay a few days before the riots by persons such as Samuel Hart, who was also Chairman of the Parochial Board, served to inflame the anger of the people against the injustices of the burdensome taxes and measures taken to imprison them.

Public Resentment of the symbols of unequal justice: the Resident Magistrate, the Court House and the Police Station

The system of justice in Montego Bay by 1902 was seen to be unfair and uneven when given out to poorer people in the courts by the Resident Magistrate for St James, Mr Maxwell Hall.

Poor people had reason to doubt whether the decisions handed down by him were equally just and fair across all social classes in the town. There is no doubt that the poorer classes across the entire island of Jamaica were facing similar tax burdens. The fact that discontent and frustration erupted into the streets of Montego Bay had everything to do with the fact that Montego Bay was poorly policed in the days leading up to the riots. The Sergeant-Major had only a small group of seven policemen to assist him.

The Montego Bay Riot: Saturday, April 5 to Sunday, April 6, 1902

The riot broke out on market day, Saturday, April 5, when the town of Montego Bay was more crowded than usual, with not only residents, but also people from adjoining communities like Meagre Bay. Events quickly got out of hand at about 5:00 p.m. when a constable tried to arrest a drunken sailor named Cooper, who was resisting arrest. In the scuffle, two women, who apparently were innocent bystanders, were brutally treated by the police. Cooper was joined by his friends and companions from around the wharf and crowds of people from Meagre Bay. A crowd of around 2,000 reportedly marched to the Court House where they proceeded to hurl missiles of every kind at the windows and doors of the building, smashing many windows in the process. Samuel Hart, who tried to calm the crowd, had to beat a hasty retreat to avoid being hurt by flying stones.

Under cover of darkness, the mayhem continued as the crowd, now an angry mob went wild. A group of rioters proceeded to the house of the Sergeant-Major and smashed every window in the upstairs of the building. In the face of the angry crowd of rioters, the police released Cooper, the man whose arrest had sparked the riot in the first place. That did little to calm the crowd. More persons were arrested, but faced with the angry rioters the police were forced to release them from the guardroom. Shortly afterwards, the police station on Barnett Street was attacked, forcing the Sergeant-Major and his seven men to seek shelter in the guardroom from the hail of stones and other missiles. Repeatedly, as policemen were sent out to assess the situation, they were stoned by the rioters who appeared to be in control of the streets of the town. It was only after the Custos addressed the crowd and additional special constables were appointed that the rioters dispersed for the night.

The following morning, Sunday, April 6, started out quietly enough. By this time reinforcements had arrived, consisting of the Inspector-General, three Inspectors, a Sergeant-Major and sixty policemen armed with bayonets and guns. All remained quiet until after church services at about 8:00 p.m. Sunday night. As discontented people started to gather in the darkened streets, the Adjutant of the Salvation Army, Simons, addressed the crowd. Simons had a reputation of working well among the poorer classes and had a good relationship especially, with the people of Meagre Bay. No doubt Simons had good intentions of pacifying the crowd by leading them to the beat of “Onward Christian Soldiers”. The move had the opposite effect.

Simons was followed by a great crowd which got out of hand and attacked some policemen who were on beat duty. The police had to seek shelter in nearby houses and the crowd proceeded to the police station where they attacked the building with missiles and injured the Inspector-General. The police resorted to armed force, using forty men armed with guns and bayonets and firing over twenty-five live rounds to clear the crowd from the town square. After two and a half hours of fierce battle with the police, one man from the crowd had been shot dead, and another died soon after from injuries he received. Three or four police officers had been seriously injured, and of the seventy policemen, only thirty one were able to report to duty on the following morning, Monday, April 7. Taking no further chances, the authorities brought in 750 armed men to restore order and keep the peace in the town of Montego Bay.

In the two days of the Montego Bay riots, the people had consistently attacked the symbols of their oppression: the Court House and the Police Station. When calm was restored, it was clear that the poor and suffering people of Montego Bay had sent a clear message about the dangers of an unequal and oppressive system of taxation and about a justice system which seemed not to offer equal justice to all classes. [37]

The 1938 Labour Disturbances and St James

Oppressive conditions of poverty and unemployment, low and uncertain wages facing estate workers and unskilled labour in seaport towns like Montego Bay, as well as poor working conditions, and the rising cost of living coupled with a burdensome system of taxation, created the kind of discontent that fed into the labour disturbances that swept across virtually every parish in Jamaica in the late 1930s. St James was caught up in the general wave of discontent that took shape between 1937 and 1938.

This was hardly surprising given that St James and Montego Bay in particular, was no stranger to social and political discontent and agitation, especially on the part of the poorer classes. The Montego Bay Riots of 1902 had signalled the power and the preparedness of neglected and disenfranchised masses to confront the authorities about issues of injustice. Montego Bay also had the presence of inspirational figures like Marcus Garvey and Allan George St Claver Coombs, who no doubt helped to strengthen working-class motivation to seek better conditions, whether through negotiation or through protest. The marginalized community of Meagre Bay was active in the protests and expressions of discontent, starting with the 1902 Riots and continuing into the troubled decade of the 1930s and beyond. Not surprisingly, the people of Meagre Bay threw their numbers behind A. Bain Alves, who led a movement which supported the call to have trade unions legalized in 1919. It was at Meagre Bay that Marcus Garvey held his first public meeting in western Jamaica in 1927after he was deported to Jamaica. Garvey's presence in St James issued a strong call to race consciousness in the face of

privileged white racism among many employers. No doubt, this had a bearing on how discontented workers reacted in the 1938 disturbances.

Allan George St Claver Coombs did much to galvanise the concerns of the poor and discontented working class in St James, especially in Montego Bay. He described himself as a peasant of low birth, with very little education and of little means. It was not surprising that he identified with the people of Meagre Bay and their struggle for better conditions. Along with Hugh Clifford Buchanan, Coombs was the co-founder of Jamaica's first island-wide trade union in 1936, *The Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union* (JWTU). In the troubled decade of the 1930s, he made Meagre Bay his base from where he formed another union, the Radical Workers' Union, to represent the banana workers. From this part of St James, Coombs led the Hunger marches from the mid-1930s into the early 1940s to sensitise the government to the sheer suffering and plight of the poverty-stricken, the unemployed and the under-employed. According to Shalman Scott, these marches of the late 1930s, well-supported by the people of Meagre Bay, resulted in some assistance being given to the people by the office of Governor Arthur Richards.

Throughout the period of the island-wide labour disturbances, public meetings were held, mainly in Montego Bay, but also among workers on the various properties, particularly banana estates. Some of these meetings were held by labour leader, Allan Coombs, President of the newly formed *Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union (JWTU)*, who sought to encourage workers to stand up for nothing short of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work and to seek better working conditions. In reporting on one of these labour meetings held in Montego Bay's Square on the evening of 17 August, 1938, the *Daily Gleaner* indicated that Coombs had addressed a large meeting of about 1,000 persons and that the crowd was orderly and gave Coombs a good reception.

However, not all of the disgruntled workers in St James were supportive of Allan Coombs, and not all of them were interested in joining the JWTU led by Coombs. Banana workers from Leyden, Amity Hall and Sutherland properties, who attended a public meeting held in Montego Bay in October 1937, were critical of the union's leaders who spoke at the labour meeting. According to a report by the *Daily Gleaner*, the workers were upset because abusive statements (alleged) had been uttered by union leaders (unnamed) about two public figures, the Hon. Arthur Benjamin Lowe, the Member of the Legislative Council for St James and Inspector Harry Clark of the Police. The workers felt that these two men had been doing their best and that the Union leader's statements had hurt their cause and their chances of getting their demands met. The workers further asserted that eighty-five percent of the banana workers who attended the meeting were not members of Coombs' union, nor did they wish to become members. This was an interesting report which shows that although workers from around St James were united in

a common cause of getting better wages, working conditions and treatment, they were very discerning about who should fight their case for them. As seen shortly, the banana workers from Leyden, Amity Hall and Sutherland wanted to deal directly with their employers and did not wish the bargaining services of a representative, or for that matter, the JWTU.

These workers who seemed upset about the comments which had been made by union leaders about Mr Arthur Benjamin Lowe may have been justified as Lowe seemed to have been sympathetic to their cause. In a later discussion in May 1938 at Headquarters House, the member for St James pointed out that that the workers were willing to listen to reason and that the unemployed were not intent on doing harm but that their desire to gain employment was quite understandable. In an endorsement of how the banana workers felt about how poorly they had been treated by their employers, Lowe admitted that "some persons were not courteous or kind to subordinates". He expressed his hope to the Legislative Council that the "riots" would improve relationships between employers and their employees. Lowe also dismissed as incorrect the claims that Montego Bay's business sector had been paralyzed by the strikes. He admitted that there had been some temporary stoppage of work, but that this had since been resolved, and the banana workers had resumed work. Lowe may have been premature in his comments because things did not return to full normalcy until the summer of 1938.

Discontent over low and uncertain wages was particularly strong on the banana properties in St James during the period of the labour disturbances. As early as October 1937, the *Daily Gleaner r*eported the atmosphere among striking banana workers as being very tense. Labourers were said to be in an ugly mood, refusing any attempted conciliation unless they were given what they demanded, which was 3d (three pence) for each bunch of bananas that they picked. At a public meeting of over 300 workers held in the square near to Amity Hall in October 1937, workers from Amity Hall, Leyden and Sutherland became very boisterous when they were offered 1 ½ d (one and a half pence) by Mr C. B. Chambers, the representative of their employers, Brown and Chambers. They were very upset about the low offer and insisted they were not prepared to accept less than 2d a bunch. In a very telling comment about workers' grievances on St James' properties during the labour disturbances, the labourers reported that they had been very poorly treated by the property owners, Brown and Thomson. They indicated that they would prefer to starve for six months or more, rather than work on those properties, unless their demands were met.

As emotions ran high, the banana workers went further and insisted that since their request had been met with what they termed was "contemptuous treatment", they had changed their minds and would not under any circumstances work for anything less than 3d a bunch (which had been their original demand). What happened next was also a reminder that some workers

wanted direct negotiation with their employers. They did not wish to speak with a representative, nor did they see the need for union representatives. Armed with sticks and stones, the 300 workers of Leyden, Amity Hall and Sutherland marched forward demanding that they wanted Brown and Thomson, owners of two of the properties, to deal directly with them. As they marched forward, they also kept shouting that "we want Mr Scudamore to come". Presumably, Scudamore was the third owner.

As was the case in other parishes affected by the labour unrest of the late 1930s, the disgruntled working class in St James adopted the strategy of labour strikes as a means to send a strong message to employers about their discontent with wages and working conditions. Armed with sticks, machetes and stones, they also used threats of violence to get others to join the general strike effort. Striking demonstrators flooded the town of Montego Bay in the days leading up to June 30, 1938, using intimidation to force shopkeepers and owners of other businesses to close their doors. Witnesses reported that on June 7, 1938, groups of persons including a woman, told a Chinese shopkeeper to close his shop under threat of violence.

Striking workers on sugar and banana estates were adamant that they would not return to work until they were offered what they considered a fair wage. Workers who braved the anger of striking demonstrators were threatened with violence unless they agreed to stop working. This happened on Worcester and Georgia estates, where the workers were ordered to stop working by people carrying sticks, machetes and stones. The *Gleaner* of June 30, 1938 reported that an individual (unnamed), who was being chauffeur-driven into Montego Bay, was 'attacked' by rioters, but his driver sped up and succeeded in getting through the crowd. It was further reported that the individual asked the driver to stop at a safe distance from the group, at which time he fired his gun in their general direction. This caused some members of the crowd to disperse. Towards the end of June, 1938, twenty-one persons were arrested at Spring Mount and charged for their involvement in the labour disturbances. [38]

The 1944 Constitution: Universal Adult Suffrage and General Elections 1944-1967, St James

When the Constitution of 1944 took effect, granting Universal Adult Suffrage, it brought tremendous significance for the masses of the Jamaican people, men and women, who for the first time were granted the suffrage or the right to vote regardless of race or class. Universal Adult Suffrage also meant that no Jamaican, twenty-one years and older (the voting age was not reduced to eighteen years until later) could ever again be deprived of the right to vote because of lack of formal education, poverty, non-ownership of land or other property.

In preparation for the first General Elections to be held in 1944, the parishes were divided into constituencies. St James had two constituencies in 1944, North Western St James and South

Eastern St James. This remained the case until 1962. Between 1967 and 1972, there were three constituencies in the parish, with the creation of Central St James. By 1976, there were four constituencies, with North Western, West Central, East Central and Southern St James. This continued until 2002.

General Elections, 1944-1967, St James

In the 1944 Elections, St James North-West was won by Iris Collins of the Jamaica Labour Party, while St James South-East was taken by Cecil McFarlane for the Jamaica Labour Party. By 1949, Allan George St Claver Coombs had won St James North-West for the PNP, a seat which he retained in the 1955 and 1959 General Elections. In 1962, Herbert Eldemire of the JLP won the right to represent St James North-West, and this constituency passed to Howard Cooke of the PNP in 1967. St James South-East was won by an Independent candidate in 1949, Stanley Scott. By 1955, Cyril Morgan of the PNP had won St James South-East, a seat which he retained in the 1959 Elections. However, in 1962, Robert McFarlane won St James South-East for the JLP, a seat which he retained in the 1967 General Elections. In the same General Elections of 1967, Herbert Eldemire won the St James Central Constituency for the JLP.

The End of Meagre Bay and the Rise of other Informal Settlements across St James after 1944

To the credit of the people of Meagre Bay, Shalman Scott and Arnold Bertram have highlighted their historic contribution to advocacy on issues of social and political significance to the development of St James over the years. This acknowledgement is particularly important as establishment St James or elite society in St James has never seen the people of Meagre Bay as anything else but “less than”. As seen earlier, and as indicated by Scott, Meagre Bay was the first major ghetto and informal or squatter settlement to have emerged in and around Montego Bay. Despite being plagued by high levels of poverty and unemployment, the people of Meagre Bay have always been prepared to exercise their strength in numbers and their commitment when faced with issues of injustice, and this has been seen from the 1902 Riots to the marches with Allan George St Claver Coombs in the 1930s.

Not long after the General Elections of 1944, the North Gully overflowed its banks and wreaked serious havoc on the people of Meagre Bay and surrounding areas. According to Scott, many of their homes were washed away, leaving a total of thirteen persons dead. In the presence of police and soldiers, bulldozers were brought in to demolish the remaining structures of Meagre Bay, a community which had long been viewed by the authorities as a social nuisance. By 1949, Meagre Bay was no more. Scott indicates that surviving residents re-located to other areas like Paradise Crescent. Over time, several other informal communities have emerged across the St James landscape. These communities include Blood Lane, Canterbury, Glendevon, Hendon, Bottom Pen, Norwood, Quarry, Rose Heights, Flanker, Lilliput and Mt. Salem, among others.

While not unique to St James, this proliferation of informal settlements has rendered modern St James as a parish of stark contrasts accompanied by debilitating social and economic challenges. [39]

The Coral Gardens Incident, 12-13 April, 1963

Introduction

Coral Gardens in St James is located about ten miles to the east of Montego Bay. It comprises a farming community, as well as a residential community. On Good Friday, April 12, 1963, Coral Gardens was the setting for a violent confrontation between members of the Rastafarian Sect and a contingent of policemen from the Barnett Street Police Station in Montego Bay. The police were responding to reports that the Ken Douglas Shell Service Station in Coral Gardens was on fire. This event quickly mushroomed into a massive operation by the security forces to find and arrest members of the Rastafarian group that had engaged the police at the gas station. By the time the security forces ended their operation several people were dead, including policemen, civilians and members of the Rastafarian group. Events that unfolded at Coral Gardens on Good Friday, 1963, did not occur in a vacuum and were the culmination of a long-standing history of society's animosity towards Rastafarians across Jamaica, who were stereotyped as social threats and treated as outcastes. The Coral Gardens incident left a bitter legacy among the Rastafarian community across Jamaica, as well as their supporters, who felt that the state had acted with a heavy hand and had breached the human and constitutional rights of the Rastafarian community in the aftermath of the Good Friday attack.

In the decade before the events at Coral Gardens unfolded, Rastafarians across the island were a misunderstood group who were feared by members of the society who branded them as undesirables and threats to social order. Many members of the group, fearful of persecution, lived away from regular communities. They came under increased scrutiny by the state in 1959 when one of their leaders, Reverend Claudius Henry, was alleged to have written a letter to Castro which discussed plans for the takeover of Jamaica. The Rastafarian group led by Claudius Henry and his son, Reynold Henry, also started to forge dangerous links with USA-based Black militant groups which targeted white Jamaicans from their camp in Red Hills. In 1960, two white soldiers were ambushed and killed near the Red Hills camp. Reynold Henry and his group of black militants were also found to have been plotting to overthrow the government of Jamaica. Reynold Henry was tried and hanged for treason and his father, Rev. Claudius Henry, sentenced to prison.

The Background to the Events at Coral Gardens

These events, though occurring far from St James, strengthened the opposition to Rastafarians across the island. In Coral Gardens, a member of the Rastafarian community, Rudolph Franklin, who had graduated from Cornwall College, lived at Rose Hall and did farming on a plot of land at Coral Gardens. Franklin always claimed that he was not a squatter as his father had left the piece of land for him. However, the powerful Kerr-Jarrett family laid claim to the lands in the area, which they required for a resort development and took police action in 1961 to have Franklin removed, as they claimed that he was a squatter. When police visited the property in 1961 to have him evicted, they claimed that he had refused their orders to put down the machete with which he had been working. Franklin was shot several times by the police and left for dead but was discovered by schoolchildren and taken to hospital. After his release, Franklin was charged with possession of ganja and imprisoned for six months. It was a very embittered Franklin who was released from prison in early 1963.

The Coral Gardens Incident/ Coral Gardens Massacre/ Coral Gardens Atrocities/ Bad Friday

On Good Friday, April 12, 1963, then Detective Selbourne Reid received a report that the Ken Douglas Shell Service Station in Coral Gardens had been set afire. A group of policemen were despatched from the Barnett Street Police Station. On arrival, they saw the gas station on fire and ordered a group of Rastafarians who were waving spears, machetes and hatchets on the outside to drop their weapons, which they did. However, the police had not yet loaded the ammunition into their guns, and when the Rastafarians realised this, they picked up their weapons and attacked the police. During the attack, the ill-prepared police managed to load their weapons but not before twenty-three year old Constable Campbell was chopped all over his body. Miraculously, he managed to survive.

It was discovered that the embittered Rudolph Franklin was the leader of the group that attacked the gas station and engaged the police on Good Friday. Reportedly, the gas station attendant was allowed to run for his life before the station had been doused with gasoline from the pumps and set ablaze. In the violence that unfolded that afternoon those killed were two policemen, Assistant Superintendent Bertie Scott and Detective Corporal Clifford Melbourne, the property headman at Rose Hall Estate, Edward Fowler, Assistant-in-bond-shop manager, Albert Causewell and Kenneth Marsh, who went to see what was happening and was chased into a nearby motel where he had been staying and killed. Among the Rastafarians killed in the violent confrontation were Rudolph Franklin, Lloyd Waldron and Noel Bowen. Others among the attacking group managed to make good their escape.

Then Prime Minister, Sir Alexander Bustamante's call to the security forces to "Bring in all Rastas, dead or alive" was a grim foreshadowing of what was to follow in the evening of Good

Friday into Saturday and the days thereafter. A massive air and ground response was launched by the security forces to hunt down and capture those who had escaped. Members of the political directorate, including the Member of Parliament for the area, Dr Herbert Eldemire, accompanied by the top leadership of the army, as well as the police, rushed to Coral Gardens and surrounding areas. Civilians joined the search party, including persons from Flower Hill, led by Holness Rhoden, who reportedly shot one of the Rastafarians. Between April 12 and April 20, raids were carried out in St James and the surrounding parishes of Trelawny, Westmoreland and Hanover. Some of the guilty were arrested, including Leabert Jarrett, Clifton Larman and Carlton Bowen. By July of 1964, Carlton Bowen and Clifton Larman were put on trial for murder, found guilty and hanged on December 2, 1964.

In the aftermath of the events, a large number of Rastafarians, 160 in all, most of whom had nothing to do with the events at Coral Gardens, were rounded up and arrested. Once detained, they were beaten, tortured and their locks shaved. The general hostility to the Rastafarians and the events at Coral Gardens which had fuelled society's fear of every member of the group had led to excessive measures which would bring into question the government's handling of the Coral Gardens incident for many years to come. On April 4, 2017, the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Hon. Andrew Holness, made an official apology to the Rastafarian community for what he admitted was "a grave injustice". Human and constitutional rights of innocent Rastafarians had been seriously breached in the aftermath of the events at Coral Gardens. Prime Minister Holness also indicated that the government was working closely with the *Rastafari Coral Gardens Benevolent Society* and the Office of the Public Defender to identify survivors of the group who would become the beneficiaries of a Trust Fund of no less than ten million dollars. [40]

Beyond Montego Bay: A Snapshot of other Communities, Towns and Villages in St James

The early twentieth-century development of some of these communities outside of Montego Bay has already been examined, for example, the commercial growth of towns like Adelphi and Little River by 1910. This section takes a bird's eye view of some of the other communities which shape the twentieth-century landscape of St James.

Anchovy is located south west of Montego Bay, with a population of 3,633 in 1991. It was located on the Kingston to Montego Bay railway service which operated from 1895 to 1992. Anchovy hosts a primary school, a high school, police station, an electoral office, a number of churches and small retail businesses. The unemployment rate is high, but opportunities exist in Montego Bay in the main industry, tourism and in the growing BPO sector in the Montego Bay Freeport.

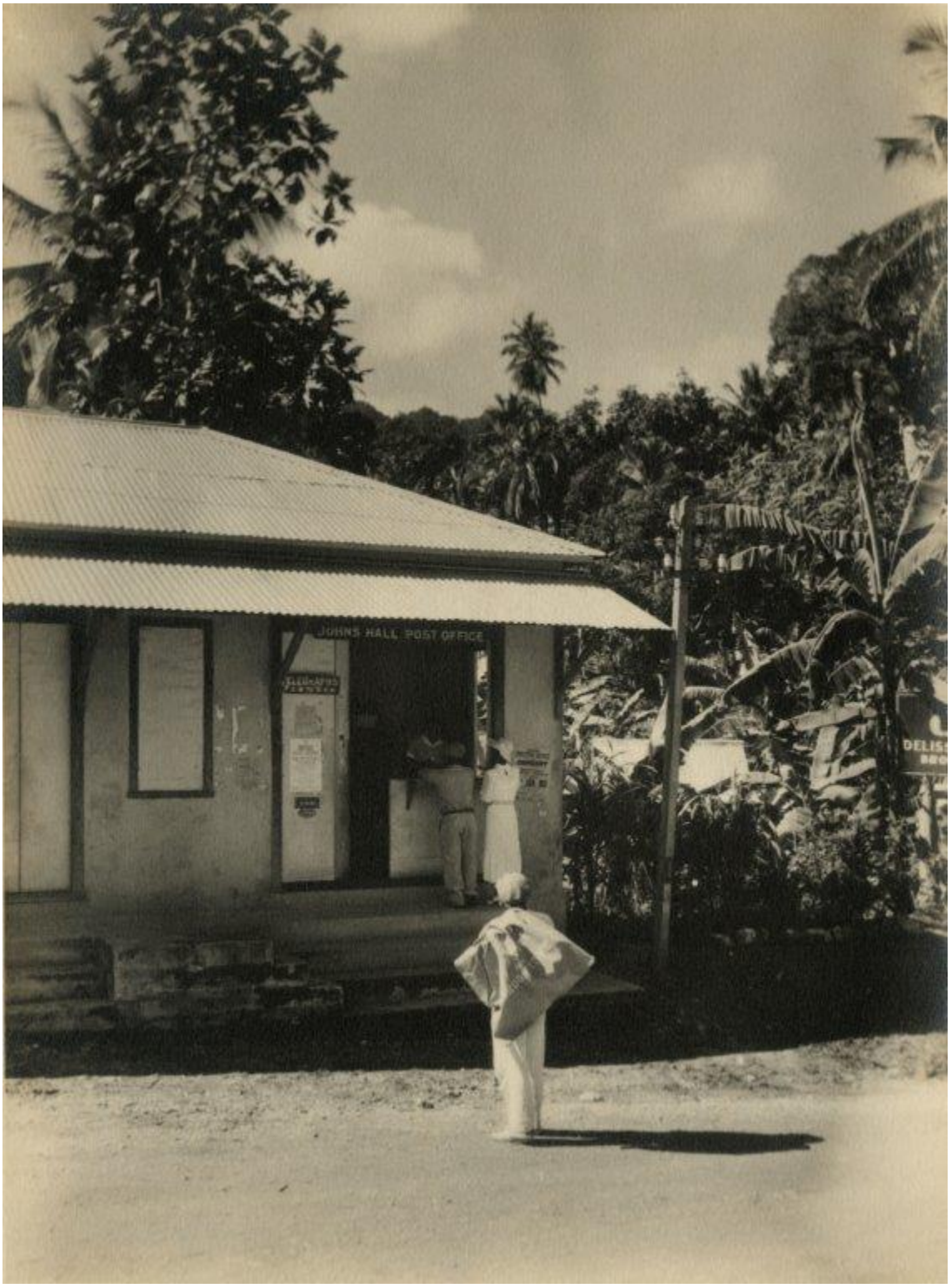
Cambridge is located fifteen miles south east of Montego Bay, with a population of 3,384 in 1991. In 1910, Cambridge had railway connections and an increasing banana trade in a fertile district with good rainfall. Fruit production was encouraging in Cambridge, resulting in the area being referred to as the fruit basket of St James. There are a number of churches representing the different denominations here. This district seems to include communities like Richmond Hill, Mount Horeb and Ducketts.

Catadupa was considered one of the main towns in twentieth-century St James. It is located in the Southern St James Constituency and in 1910 had an operating railway connection to other parts of the parish.

Granville was a thriving freed-village settlement from the post-slavery nineteenth century onwards. It was economically self-sustaining until 1967 when the nearby Barnett sugar factory closed operations. Some workers went into tourism, while others 'hustled". Today, Granville is seen as an inner-city community, with a high crime level and a rising population of "scammers". Nevertheless, the social infrastructure holds promise for social change. Heart Trust/NTA operates in the community, which also has a health clinic, transport systems, basic and primary schools, as well as a number of churches. Granville is considered a suburb of Montego Bay.

John's Hall District is a clearly defined community which lies between the Fairfield to Point Road and John's Hall main road. Located north of Spring Mount, John's Hall seems to be a substantial community, with an estimated population of over 35,000. John's Hall is the home of the John's Hall Aggregates and seems to be a major destination for an adventure tour, which includes exposure to Jamaican heritage in plants, herbs and the performance of folksongs by

the children of the basic school.



John's Hall Post Office in the District of John's Hall Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Montpelier was considered one of the main communities in St James. The place name is the legacy of the Montpelier estate, which produced sugar in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century railway station house was still there in February 2019, but in disrepair. Montpelier was once a busy hub for the Jamaica rail service, connecting Hanover and Westmoreland with other towns across Jamaica. The station is across the road from where the great house was located.

Mount Horeb is located in Central St James, to the west of Maroon Town, east of Montpelier, north of Cambridge and south west of John's Hall. It is an agricultural community which produces coffee and bananas.

Reading is less than three miles away from Montego Bay. It is really a small town to the west of the capital. Reading has developed more along the lines of community tourism, and there are vacation rental spots operated by local hosts.

Salt Spring District lies across the constituencies of North West and West Central St James. Salt Spring is bordered to the north-east by Flower Hill, to the west by Norwood and to the south by Green Pond. Salt Spring gives its name to a main road stretching across the parish from King Street towards the east. The district hosts several churches and a primary and infant school.

Stonehenge is a village which is located on the banks of the Great River and near to the border with Westmoreland. It lies to the south of Catadupa. Stonehenge once housed a rail station on the route to Montego Bay. Up to 2010, the station house had survived, although the rail lines were largely covered by ferns. Part of the station house was made of cut stone which seems different from the trend for other station buildings.

Canterbury is part of the Greater Montego Bay area. It is located between Albion Road and Upper King Street in the North West St James Constituency and is seen as an inner city community on the outskirts of Montego Bay.

Flanker is one of the later twentieth-century communities which is now considered to have great social challenges of crime and unemployment. Flanker is edged by the Montego Bay business district, with Norwood to the south and Ironshore to the east. It is one of those communities which were formed by some of the residents of Meagre Bay who were displaced by flooding from the North Gully and by the bulldozing of the community.

Garlands is a part of Upper St James. It is a rural farming community about seventeen miles from Montego Bay in the foothills of the Cockpit Mountains. Employment was mainly through agriculture, and some fishing was done. The community prospered during the heyday of the banana industry, and there were signs associated with a vibrant community such as a horse-racing track, an entertainment centre and a growing middle class of professionals like dentists

and teachers. However, there was a marked downturn in the banana trade after 1972, and the banana boxing plant which previously provided much employment ceased to exist. This decline in the banana trade also affected Kensington, Maroon Town, Flagstaff, Horse Guards and Catadupa.

Lilliput is the home of several of the hotels in St James, a parish whose economy depends largely on tourism. Located in the Lilliput area are historic hotels like Doctor's Cave Beach Hotel and Half Moon Hotel. Other more recent hotels include Wyndham Rose Hall, Sandals and Beaches Resorts, the Ritz Carlton among others.

Mount Salem community, located in the West Central Constituency, is edged by the Montego Bay business district, Catherine Mount and Fairfield. [41]

Secondary and Tertiary Education in St James in the Twentieth Century

Cornwall College Continues: The School in the Twentieth Century

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Cornwall College (then still Montego Bay Government Secondary) was removed to its present location. In 1911, the school was removed from its Barracks Road address to Pleasant Hill. The Hon. D.H. Corinaldi raised £2,500 to assist with the costs of land and buildings. Thirty-four acres of land were bought at Pleasant Hill Estate in 1910, and construction was started on new buildings for the school. In 1911, the new site for Cornwall College was officially opened by Governor, Sir Sydney Oliver. After Mr Lockett's term as Headmaster ended in 1903, Anglican priest, Reverend George Hibbert Leader, took over as Headmaster and remained as the Head until 1923. One year before the end of his term, the Headmaster oversaw the official change of name to Cornwall College, a fitting representation of its status as the leading boys' high school in the county of Cornwall.

Cornwall College saw several 'firsts'. Almost ten years before Jamaica became independent the school got its first Jamaican Headmaster, Mr E.A. Barrett. Under his guidance, the school's population grew to over 650 boys. The school was named the first Government school in Jamaica and was the first high school to offer Chemistry and Physics in its curriculum. For many years, a number of doctors and pharmacists were graduates of Cornwall College, having benefitted from this emphasis on the sciences in its curriculum. Cornwall College was highly decorated in sports achievements as well, having won the Olivier Shield over eleven times and the DaCosta Cup twelve times between 1953 and 2016.

Many graduates of Cornwall College have gone on to make outstanding contributions to the development of Jamaica. Included among these was Anthony Winkler (1942-2015), a noted

author who was awarded the Gold Musgrave Medal in 2014 for distinguished merit in the field of Literature. Other noted figures that have passed through the gates of Cornwall College include Lloyd B. Smith, Chief Editor of the Western Mirror; Chief Justices, Sir Rowland Phillips and Sir Herbert Duffus; Ambassador Derrick Heaven; William Billy Craig, former Custos of St James; and Members of Parliament, Dr Horace Chang, Dr Kenneth Baugh, Dr Karl Blythe and Mr Heroy Clarke.

Montego Bay High School

Montego Bay High School was established in 1935 as the first Government-owned high school for girls on the island. This school filled a need created by the closure of the Anglican-run private St Helena's High School, which was located at 46 Market Street. Financial challenges had forced this closure. The Custos of St James at the time, the Hon. Francis-Kerr-Jarrett, Archdeacon E.S. Harrison of the Anglican Church and the Hon. Phillip Lightbody, Member of the Legislative Council for St James, successfully petitioned the government to establish a school for girls in the parish. A two-acre property with a two-storey house known as Beaconsfield, located at 51 Union Street, was purchased as a starting place for the school. The school at first took the name of the property, and so in 1935, Beaconsfield High School for Girls opened its doors to the first set of girls. Girls who had been displaced with the closure of St Helena's were among the first students. In 1935, Beaconsfield opened with forty girls, three teachers and Miss Blanche Jeffrey-Smith as principal. Beaconsfield was renamed Montego Bay High School by the government.

At Montego Bay High School, the students were prepared for the Junior and Senior Cambridge examinations and by 1949 for the Higher School Certificate. Some classes were shared with Cornwall College. As the student population increased, expansion of the buildings took place between the 1940s and the 1950s. With the help of past students and parents, building expansion continued into the 1980s. By 1978, the sixth form at Montego Bay High was discontinued as this programme became a part of the offerings at Montego Bay Community College.

Herbert Morrison Technical High School

Herbert Morrison Technical High School, a government-owned high school, is located on Alice Eldemire Drive in Montego Bay. Established in 1976 and first known as Catherine Hall High School, the institution was headed by Principal, James Lloyd Whinstanley, who served until 1999. In its early years, the school had an enrolment of 480 students along with sixteen teachers. The school's name was changed to Herbert Morrison Comprehensive High School in tribute to philanthropist, Dr Herbert Morrison. In 1988, the school became Herbert Morrison

Technical High School, the only technical high school in St James. Over the years, its student population has grown to approximately 1,540, and the school has continued to live up to its motto, “Strength and Perseverance”.

Mt Alvernia High School for Girls

Mt Alvernia High School, located at 2 Queen’s Drive, is a Roman Catholic-administered school for girls. It was established in 1925 by the Franciscan Sisters of Allegany, who started it as a small boarding school, which they initially named St James Academy. The name was later changed to Mt Alvernia. Its first principal was Mother Theophane, who was succeeded in 1939 by Mother Antoninus. In its earliest days, Mt Alvernia had a small enrolment of thirty-seven girls, but by 1959 when it became a grant-aided school, there were seventy-one students. Between 1971 and 1986, student numbers grew from 347 to 1,516. Mt Alvernia prepared its girls for the Cambridge University Junior Examinations and also for the London Royal School of Music Examinations. Later principals of the school included Sr. Eloine Marie Palomino (1953); Sr. Joan Clare (1971); Mrs Marguerite Vernon (1992); and Sister Angella (1995). In 2000, Mt Alvernia celebrated seventy-five years of existence.

Other High Schools in St James

Other high schools in the parish include *Harrison Memorial High*, a Seventh Day Adventist institution, which was established in 1953. It began with twenty-three students. The school was first held in the Seventh Day Adventist Church building, but was later removed to Cottage Road. With continued growth, Harrison Memorial High was removed to its permanent home in Catherine Hall, Mount Salem. Most of the other high schools are government owned.Anchovy High, located in Montpelier, started out in 1972 and acquired a second campus which was opened in 2015. Others include Irwin High in Irwin District, which was started in 1969 and Green Pond High, located at Cornwall Courts in Montego Bay and first started in 2005. Maldon High in Summer Hill District in south St James started in 1969 as a junior secondary school but graduated to a high school by 1999. St James High started out in 1961 as Montego Bay Senior School.

Post-Secondary Educational Institutions in St James

Montego Bay Community College

Montego Bay Community College is today located on Alice Eldemire Drive in the Free Port area of Montego Bay. It was started in 1975 as a sixth-form college and catered to students from Mt Alvernia and Cornwall College, who had completed Fifth form. With limited space in its early

days of operation, students sometimes had to commute between the two mentioned high schools and the Community College. In 1978, the college was relocated to its present Free Port site, even while construction was ongoing. Therefore at first, only students of Upper Sixth form could be accommodated at the College, while Lower Sixth formers remained at Cornwall College. Ms Olive Lewis oversaw the beginning of classes on the new site in September 1978. By 1979, Montego Bay Community College produced its first batch of graduates, with the distinction of one of its graduates, Yvette Lemonius, being awarded the Jamaica Scholarship for Girls in 1979. The College presently serves the graduates of three schools in St James.

Sam Sharpe Teachers' College

Sam Sharpe Teachers' College, an institution for the education of teachers, is located in Granville, St James. In fact, the college was first named Granville Teachers' College after its location, when it opened its doors on September 29, 1975. At that time, there were 150 students, and its first principal was Dr Simon Clarke. One month after opening, the college was renamed Sam Sharpe Teachers' College in honour of National Hero Samuel Sharpe. The college sits on top of a hill surrounded by the communities of Granville, Irwin, Tucker, Pitfour and Retirement. It is the only Teacher Training institution in North Western Jamaica.

Other principals who have led the institution include Dr Cecile Walden and Dr Ashburn Pinnock, a past student of the college. Sam Sharpe Teachers' College was one of the early institutions to establish a computer lab and is the site of the Caribbean Mathematics and Science Centre. At first, the college offered the Diploma in Education, and in 2010 it went on to introduce the Bachelor's Degree in Education, while phasing out the Diploma in Education. [42]

Cultural Legacies Associated with St James

Historical landmarks in St James

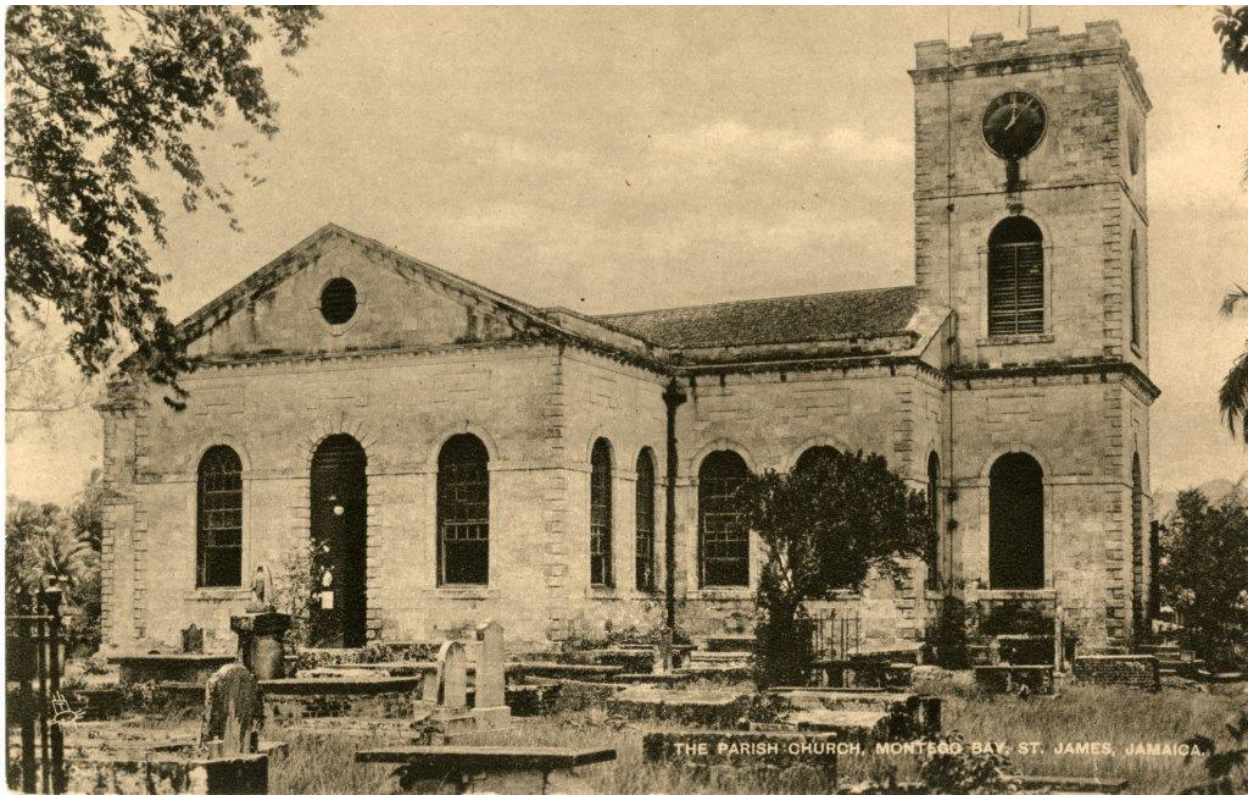
Introduction

Settlement of St James from the seventeenth century shaped the cultural legacies of the parish. Many of the buildings which date back to the colonial period formed an integral part of the history of St James and are today considered historical landmarks in the parish. Among these buildings which have been deemed to be of historical significance are some of the older churches in St James. The churches discussed here have all been declared as important heritage sites in St James by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT).

Historic Churches in St James

St James Parish Church

According to the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, the St James Parish Church was built between 1775 and 1782. It is located at Payne Street, off Church Street. This eighteenth-century church was the first church built in St James and also the most important as it was the Parish Church. In the grounds of this historic church are the gravestones of residents of the parish, some of which date back 200 years. The church was built from white limestone and features a bell tower at the western end. The foundation stone for the church was laid on May 6, 1775. There was damage done to the Parish Church by an earthquake in the early 1950s, but it was repaired by 1957. Inside the church, there are two monuments done by eighteenth-century sculptor, John Bacon. One of these, located to the left of the altar, is dedicated to Rosa Palmer of Rose Hall by her husband of twenty years, Custos John Palmer, and this was carved in 1794. There are other plaques and memorial stones to other important persons from Montego Bay's past. The eastern stained glass window was installed in 1911.



St James Parish Church, Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

St Mary's Anglican Church, Montpelier

St Mary's Anglican Church was built on what was then Old Montpelier Estate and dates back to the days of slavery. It stands on a grassy hill which overlooks the ruins of the sugar factory. Not far away are the remains of the Montpelier Great House. This beautiful structure was made of cut stone, and there are pointed arch windows along the sides of the building which is typical of Gothic architecture. At the rear of St Mary's Church is a remarkable pointed arch window. The site on which St Mary's Church now stands was once the location of protests during the Sam Sharpe Christmas Rebellion which swept across St James and other western parishes of Jamaica between December 1831 and 1832.

Burchell Memorial Church, Montego Bay

Burchell Memorial Church, located on Market Street, Montego Bay, was built in 1824. For a long time, the church was known as the First Baptist Church, also as the Big Baptist Church. Reverend Thomas Burchell laid the cornerstone, and its history is tied into the history of anti-slavery protests in the parish. Sam Sharpe served as deacon of this church. In response to the Sam Sharpe Rebellion after Christmas, 1831, the church was burnt by slave owners who blamed the rebellion on Baptist missionaries. By 1834, the church was rebuilt. In 1928, the church was destroyed by fire and later rebuilt. In 1940, the First Baptist Church was officially re-dedicated. It was then renamed the Burchell Memorial Baptist Church in tribute to the work done by Reverend Burchell to end slavery. Around 1841, the remains of freedom fighter, Samuel Sharpe, were re-interred in a vault under the pulpit of the Burchell Memorial Church.

Salter's Hill Baptist Church

Salter's Hill Baptist Church was built by enslaved Africans in 1825. It was destroyed by fire in the early nineteenth century, but the original basic structure survived. It was built from cut stone and in the Georgian style. The arches of the windows and doors and the baptismal font have survived. Salter's Hill Baptist served the communities of enslaved during slavery and the freed people afterwards. Reverend Walter Dendy and Reverend William Knibb served the church. The Walter Dendy Memorial stands on the grounds of the church, in memory of the persons who began the Baptist Ministry in Jamaica and assisted the freed people as they entered the early period of freedom.

Mt Carey Baptist Church

Located in Anchovy, St James, Mount Carey was one of the earliest mission communities to be established after the arrival of Rev. Thomas Burchell in Jamaica in 1824. There were several setbacks over time for this historic church. It was destroyed in 1831 by the Colonial Church Union, a group of planters and their supporters, who blamed the Baptist missionaries for the Sam Sharpe Rebellion in December 1831. Mt Carey Baptist Church was rebuilt between 1839 and 1840, with assistance from the freed people who were a part of the congregation. The building suffered serious damage during a hurricane of 1912, but was again rebuilt. By 1957, misfortune again visited the church in the form of an earthquake. As always, the church was restored, rising anew from ruin. A devastating fire in 2010, thought to be the work of arsonists, did major damage to the nearly two hundred year old building, but like the phoenix arising from the ashes, Mt Carey Baptist was again rebuilt through fund-raising projects.

Historical Landmarks in Sam Sharpe Square

The parish of St James, with its centuries of history, has a rich legacy of historic sites. This legacy is seen in the number of buildings and other sites which relate a part of the history. Many of these buildings and sites are located in Montego Bay and its environs. This is hardly surprising since Montego Bay was the chief town of the parish, the location of court sessions, meetings of the parish vestry (parish council) and the centre of a busy commercial life. These sites have survived into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and most are recognised and protected as heritage sites in St James by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Several of these sites are to be found in the historic *Sam Sharpe Square.*

Sam Sharpe Square

Before it became known as Sam Sharpe Square, this historic area was first called Charles Square and then simply Parade Square. In 1976, the decision was taken to rename the Square Sam Sharpe Square in honour of the Rt. Excellent Samuel Sharpe, National Hero of Jamaica. Sam Sharpe Square is of great significance as a historic site. It was here that final judgement by the colonial justice system was meted out to Samuel Sharpe and several other freedom fighters in the Emancipation war of December 1831 - January 1832, also referred to as the Christmas Rebellion or the Sam Sharpe Rebellion. Under martial law, Sharpe and the other enslaved participants were tried at the Court House, and over 300 of them hanged at the parade, where there is now a memorial to Sam Sharpe.

However, Sam Sharpe Square has additional historical value as a site because the Square contains the most concentrated set of memorials and historic sites related to the history of St

James, and indeed of significance to all of Jamaica. The Parade, or Charles Square as it was previously named, was the focus of several events of significance throughout the history of St James. In the twentieth century, the Parade was the gathering place for demonstrators engaged in the 1902 riots and provided the setting for political meetings during the period 1937 to 1938. Located in Sam Sharpe Square are the Old Court House, the Cage, the Montego Bay Civic/Cultural Centre/the Sam Sharp Monument, the Freedom Monument and the Montego Bay Market Place.

The Old Court House in Montego Bay

The old Court House in Montego Bay was built around 1774. The site is of historical importance, having borne witness to well over 200 years of the parish's history. Depending on the perspective taken, the Court House may be seen as an important symbol of the struggle for justice, as visualised by Sam Sharpe and other enslaved persons, whose 1831 protest against the system of slavery contributed to the final ending of that system in 1834. From another perspective, the old Court House may represent the place which deprived freedom fighters of life. This was the location for the trial of National Hero Sam Sharpe and others who took part in the 1831 Christmas Rebellion. The Sam Sharpe Rebellion has been shown to have hastened the British government's decision to abolish slavery in1834. It was from the balcony of this Court House that the Emancipation Proclamation was read. The building was destroyed by fire in 1968, but was restored between 1999 and 2001 by the Urban Development Corporation, maintaining the same Georgian style as the original building. The restored building was opened in 2001 and named the Montego Bay Civic Centre. In 2008, it housed the Museum of St James, an art gallery and a theatre.

The Montego Bay Civic Centre becomes the Montego Bay Cultural Centre (MBCC)

The Montego Bay Civic Centre became the Montego Bay Cultural Centre on July 11, 2014, and is "dedicated to the retention of Jamaica's rich history [and] the promotion and development of its artistic treasures". Currently housed in the MBCC are:

- *The National Gallery West* (an extension of the National Gallery of Jamaica)
- *The National Museum West* was formerly the Museum of St James which had been incorporated into the restored Court House in Sam Sharpe Square. The National Museum West displays the history of the parish from the early inhabitants to the modern period. The National Museum West features *Montego Bay to the World Exhibit*, which displays artefacts particularly from Montego Bay and its environs from the eighteenth century to the post-independence period. It also has a revolving Museum feature which highlights different aspects of Jamaica's past.

- *The Freedom Monument* records the names of the enslaved persons who were harshly sentenced for their participation in the Sam Sharpe Rebellion.

The Sam Sharpe Monument

The Sam Sharpe Monument was designed by Kay Sullivan. It depicts Sharpe holding his bible and speaking to his people. As a part of the monument, there are five bronze statues which were all cast in Jamaica. On October 16, 1983, Prime Minister of Jamaica at that time, the Most Honourable Edward Seaga, unveiled the Monument.

The Freedom Monument

The Freedom Monument is a more recent addition to the heritage-rich landscape of Sam Sharpe Square. It was erected in 2007 at the rear courtyard of what was then the Montego Bay Civic Centre, now the Montego Bay Cultural Centre. This monument to Freedom stands ten feet tall and was erected by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust and the St James Parish Council, now known as the St James Municipal Corporation. Honoured by this Monument are the many freedom fighters among our ancestors who courageously fought to register their opposition to enslavement during the Sam Sharpe Rebellion or the Emancipation War of December 27, 1831 to January 31, 1832. Their courage, love of freedom and self-sacrifice are memorialised here. The names of all those who were punished for their roles in this freedom fight are inscribed on the Monument. In 2004, Professor Verene Shepherd, who sat on the Board of the JNHT, proposed the idea of a Freedom Monument in the context of the UNESCO declaration of 2004 as the International Year to commemorate the struggles against slavery and the bicentenary of Haitian Independence. Montego Bay was the location of the first of several planned Freedom Monuments. The Freedom Monument in Sam Sharpe Square was unveiled on Emancipation Day, 2007, by the Prime Minister of Jamaica at that time, the Most Honourable Portia Simpson Miller.

The Montego Bay Market Place

Located to the front of the Montego Bay Cultural Centre is an area known as the Montego Bay Market Place. This was the section of the Parade where Sam Sharpe was executed on May 23, 1832.

Other Historical Landmarks in St James

There are other sites in St James which are part of the built, as well as the natural landscape. These have also been an integral part of the history of the parish and are therefore historical landmarks worth noting. Most of these have also been declared as important heritage sites in St James by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Some of these sites have already been fully

discussed in the body of this History of St James, and information on these may be accessed through the Index provided at the end of this work. These sites already fully discussed are, the Old Slave Ring (Cotton Tree Lodge) Fort Montego and Flagstaff and all the Railway Stations at Anchovy, Cambridge, Catadupa, Montego Bay and Montpelier.

Doctor's Cave and Beach

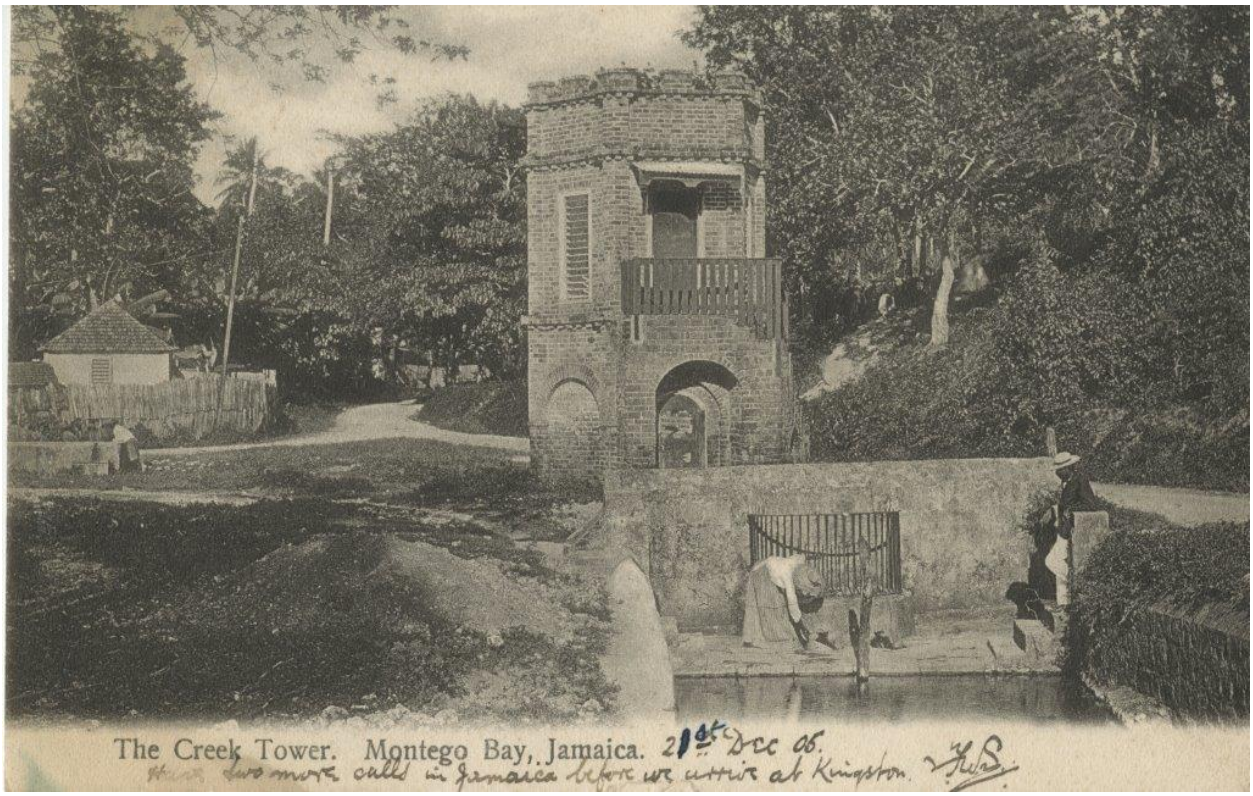
Doctor's Cave and Beach make up a built, as well as a natural landscape. Dr Alexander McCatty Sr. was the first owner and in 1906, his son, Dr Alexander McCatty Jr. gave the site to the town of Montego Bay for use as a bathing club. Doctor's Cave was so named because it was used by Dr McCatty and some of his friends who were also members of the medical profession. At that time, they entered the tiny beach through the cave. Visitors to Doctor's Cave helped to strengthen the popular view that the waters at the location had curative powers. This aspect of Doctor's Cave, as well as its scenic beauty, proved to be quite an attraction for visitors and helped to fuel the early growth of Montego Bay's tourism. A hurricane in 1932 damaged much of the cave. To his credit, the late Tony Hart, the great grandson of Dr Alexander McCatty, made significant renovations to the site.

The Baptist Manse, Number One King Street

The Baptist Manse, located at the corner of 1 King Street and Market Street, was the residence of the Baptist Missionary, Thomas Burchell. This building has two stories and was built in the Jamaican Georgian style of architecture, adapting certain features such as the windows to the tropical environment. The Manse has a gable roof and there are fixed louvre arched windows on each end of the roof to allow fresh air to circulate. On the first floor, there are six panel sash windows set in wooden frames, allowing for maximum ventilation. The ground floor walls are made from bricks and features sash windows throughout to allow circulation of air.

The Creek and the Creek Dome

A natural spring, known as the Creek, was discovered during the early period of Montego Bay's settlement. The *Creek* was located near to what was named Creek Street. This source of fresh water was very important to the people of the town and became Montego Bay's first reliable source of fresh water. Initially, a simple, rounded roof was built to cover the flow of water from the head of the creek. This became known as the *Creek Dome*. At a later point, the Creek Dome was improved with the building of a yellow brick tower with white wooden fixed louvres over the source of the water. By 1893, a piped water system was introduced in Montego Bay (for the homes of those who could afford it). As time passed, reliance on the Creek as a source of water decreased, but it still proves a valuable source when water is scarce for one reason or another.



The Creek Tower Protecting the Creek Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

The Cage

The Cage is a legacy of the nineteenth century history of the parish and is a not too pleasant symbol of some of the harsher realities of life in Montego Bay. It was built in 1806 as a temporary holding area for runaway enslaved Africans, unruly seamen and persons who were determined to be vagrants. At first, it was built out of wood, but the St James Parish Vestry replaced it with stone and bricks in 1822. Today, the site has been re-purposed and is now used as a tourist information centre and museum.

The Barnett Street Police Station

The Jamaica National Heritage Trust has recognised the Barnett Street Police Station as one of St James' important heritage sites. It is a historic building as it dates back to the late nineteenth century and cut stone, the building material of that period, was used in its construction. Like most buildings from that period, the Barnett Street Police Station was built using the Georgian style of architecture. Of note is the fact that the stone wall which surrounds the property is one

of the few remaining walls of its kind in Montego Bay. Very importantly, the Barnett Street Police Station is closely linked to the history of protests in St James during the twentieth century, beginning with the Montego Bay Riots of 1902, which tested the courage and dedication of the Jamaican policemen who were serving there in 1902. It was also from the Barnett Street Police Station that action was taken in response to the events at Coral Gardens in 1963.

Historic Great Houses in St James

Greenwood Great House

Greenwood Great House is located on St James' north coast, near to the border between St James and Trelawny. It was built by the Barretts who first arrived in Jamaica in the seventeenth century. Located on a hill, approximately fifteen miles from Montego Bay, the Greenwood Great House was built between 1780 and 1800. The two-storied house was made of cut stone and timber and was closely associated with its later owner, the Honourable Richard Barrett, a wealthy planter, who was also at one time Speaker of the House of Assembly and Custos of St James. Barrett Hall, located a short distance away from Greenwood, was also owned by the Barretts. This important heritage site has housed a museum since 1976 and the original library of the Barrett Family is housed there.

Rose Hall Great House

Most persons think of the legend of "the White Witch of Rose Hall" when the topic of Rose Hall Great House is raised. However, as discussed in the section of this history which dealt with Rose Hall Estate, much of this famous story is based on fiction and creative imaginings. (See Index for a guide to the discussion).

Rose Hall Great House is very prominently located on a hill overlooking the Rose Hall Estate and surroundings. This splendid house was built in the 1770s by George Ash for the Honourable John Palmer, who at one time was Custos of St James. It stands out as a multiple-storied building, constructed in the Georgian style of architecture. The first two stories are built from cut stone and the third and fourth levels are made from stucco (a plaster used to cover walls). Visitors to Rose Hall are greeted by a grand staircase made of cut stone and iron rails which leads up to the veranda. All floors of the great house are fitted with sash windows which are on all sides of the house.

Historical evidence may point to the contrary, but visitors to this site are drawn by the allure of the legend of Annie Palmer, the White Witch of Rose Hall. Tales and imagination have obscured the true history of Rose Hall Great House, and courageous visitors still take the challenge of remaining inside the house for the length of time which allows them to hear the ghostly whispers of the White Witch herself. [43]

Twentieth-Century Cultural Festivals and Events Associated with St James

St James has been the venue for the hosting of a variety of festivals which represent aspects of the diverse Jamaican culture. Most of these festivals became annual events. For water sports and fishing enthusiasts, the annual *Marlin Tournament* has been held in Montego Bay each September for over forty years. The event attracts local and overseas fishermen who compete for the trophy awarded to the person who catches the biggest Marlin. The Marlin is caught, tagged and released. Between March and April each year, the Montego Bay Yacht Club was the terminus for the annual *Miami to Montego Bay Boat Race or Regatta*. Also held annually, this time at the Sun Spree Resort, was the *World Dominoes Championship* held in October. Participants from Jamaica, the rest of the Caribbean, the United States and Latin America have been attracted to the Dominoes Championship. This event started out as an Air Jamaica World Championship of Dominoes in 1999, held at the Holiday Inn Sun spree Resort in St James and combined the well-loved sport with the best that St James had to offer. The *Montego Bay Jerk Festival*, held at the Catherine Hall Entertainment Complex in Montego Bay, showcases the unique food culture of Jamaica.

Reggae Sun Splash and Reggae Sum Fest

Jamaica's musical history has been an important influence on the emergence of our cultural identity and the nation's concept of who we are as a people, while establishing our unique music legacy. St James has in several important ways helped to strengthen our musical brand even as we share the best of our culture with the world. By hosting annual music festivals, St James has played a significant role in promoting Jamaica's musical culture at home and abroad. As initially conceptualised, these music festivals were deliberately scheduled for the summer months when hotel bookings were down and the tourism industry in the parish experienced its "off season". The plan to attract more summer visitors worked very well, but these festivals also captured a significant number of Jamaicans who flocked to St James each year, thereby contributing to the economic gains.

Reggae Sun Splash started in summer 1978, and the event, lasting several days, was held at Jarrett Park. This was the first Caribbean music festival to promote reggae to a world audience. The 1978 launch featured artistes like Third World, Bob Andy and Toots and the Maytals. After

organizational challenges in the first year, Reggae Sun Splash returned in the following year to a resounding success. This time, the greatest drawing card of our musical culture, Bob Marley, came to perform in Montego Bay and so he did, along with Peter Tosh, Third World and Burning Spear. For sixteen years, Reggae Sun Splash and St James remained closely linked. After 1996, the promoters shifted the concert to Ocho Rios.

Reggae Sumfest was launched at the Catherine Hall Entertainment Centre in Montego Bay in 1993 and featured Jamaican artistes like Shaggy and Sean Paul and a variety of international music stars. Additionally, *Africa Jam Fest* celebrates the African roots of Caribbean music and features African and Caribbean performers. For the long term, Montego Bay and the best of musical culture were inseparable.

Air Jamaica Jazz and Blues Festival/ Jamaica Jazz and Blues Festival

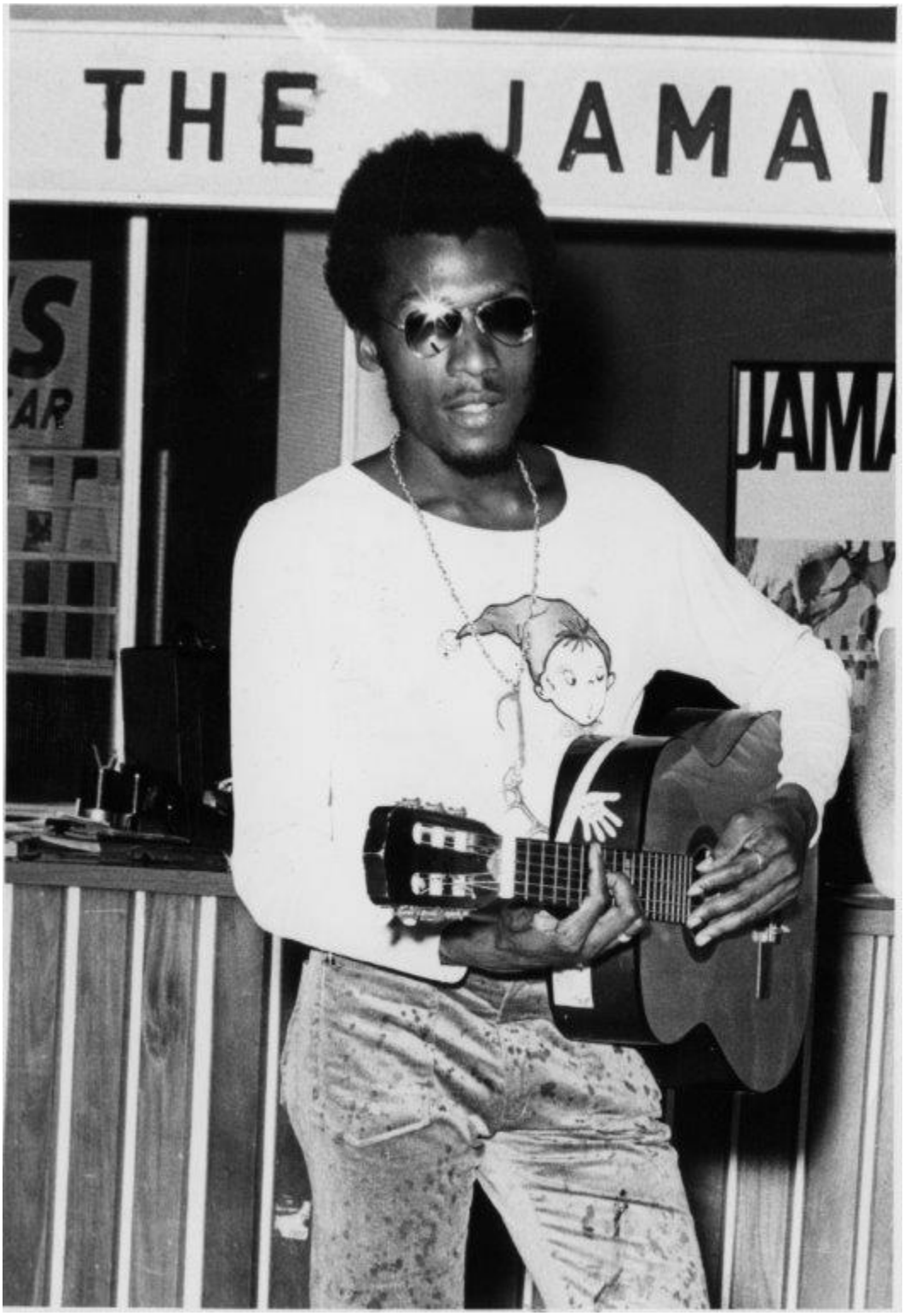
While the musical genre of these music festivals was not born in St James and indeed, the people of St James never laid any claim to ownership of these events, the annual staging of the festivals in Montego Bay/St James created and reinforced an image that Montego Bay/St James was home to these musical celebrations. Nowhere was this more evident than in the annual staging of what used to be known as the *Air Jamaica Jazz and Blues Festival*. This festival was first launched in November 1996. Even after the final departure of our national airline, the festival continued, simply but powerfully, as the *Jamaica Jazz and Blues Festival*. Months in advance, flights were full and Jamaican and foreigners alike adjusted their social and work calendars to accommodate this premier event each year on the lawns of the famed Rose Hall Great House.

Like most of the music festivals launched from St James, Jamaica Jazz and Blues saw an exciting blend of local and international stars of the music industry. Drawing the crowd were stars like Beres Hammond, Shaggy, Chakka Khan, Toni Braxton, John Legend, Celine Dion, Alicia Keys, Damian 'Jr Gong' Marley and Tessanne Chin. The last staging was in 2015, but there are plans afoot for the return of the festival in a digital format on January 28 - 30, 2021. [44]

Making their Contribution: Personalities from St James in the Twentieth Century

Over the centuries since its foundation, the parish of St James has been shaped and developed by the people who lived there and who would have made their contribution, each in their own way. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the growth and development of St James was the end result of the efforts of settlers and the enslaved labourers who continued to shape the economic development of the parish after Emancipation. Their contributions and their legacy are acknowledged even as they remain largely unnamed. Twentieth-century St James is also a

reflection of the people of this parish, for better or for worse. This section acknowledges but a few of the many who have left their mark on St James, and at times on the nation as a whole.



Jimmy Cliff Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Jimmy Cliff

The Honourable Jimmy Cliff, OM, is a son of St James, who has taken the musical culture of Jamaica to the world. Born in Somerton District, St James in 1948, he rose to become a well-established and internationally known and acclaimed reggae musician, singer and actor. Star of the 1972 film, *The Harder they Come* he took reggae music to the international arena with the help of this film. Jimmy Cliff is the only living Jamaican musician to hold the Order of Merit, which is the highest honour that can be awarded by the government of Jamaica for achievement in the Arts.

Yohan Blake

Through his athletic ability, Yohan Blake has been doing his parish and his country proud since 2011. Born in St James in 1986, he went on to establish his reputation as a world-class Jamaican sprinter in the 100-metre and 200-metre sprint events. At the 2011 World Championships, Blake won the gold medal at the 100m race and in so doing, went into the record books as the youngest world champion ever at that time. No doubt, Blake will continue to give of his best for self and country.

Sir Howard Cooke, Former Governor General of Jamaica

Sir Howard Felix Cooke, ON, CD, GCMG, GCVO, was born in 1915 in the historic free village community of Goodwill in St James. His mother, Mary Jane Minto, was a seamstress, and his father was a wheelwright and carpenter. He rose to become the third native Governor General of Jamaica since the nation became independent in 1962 and served in that capacity from 1991 until 2006. A devoted member of his church, he served as Elder and Lay Preacher in the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman. In this respect, Cooke played a significant role in the development of the United Church in Farm Heights in St James. This beloved Governor General of Jamaica died on July 11, 2014.

Sir Francis Kerr Jarrett

In 1885, Sir Francis Kerr Jarrett was born into a family that had deep roots in St James. He also came from a family with a tradition of public service and remained faithful to this tradition. Like his father and grandfather, who were Custodes, Sir Francis Kerr Jarrett served as Custos of St James from 1933 until 1965, making him the longest serving Custos of the parish. His was a wealthy, land-owning tradition, laying claim to a great deal of land in Montego Bay. Being a leading businessman and sugar-manufacturer from St James, it was no surprise that Kerr-Jarrett chaired the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association for the decade from 1935 to 1945. He may

have been very wealthy, but he was not selfish with this wealth and contributed towards the development of his parish. Land on which the Cornwall Regional Hospital, the Charles Gordon Market, the Airport and Jarrett Park were built was donated by Sir Francis Kerr-Jarrett. Jarrett Park was appropriately named in his honour. Kerr-Jarrett sold some prime lands at Rose Hall to US real estate developer, John Rollins, and in so doing, contributed to the Rose Hall development and the expansion of tourism in Montego Bay. For his lifetime of service to the parish of St James, Kerr-Jarrett was knighted in 1965 by Governor General, Sir Clifford Campbell at Jarrett Park. Sir Francis passed away in Jamaica on December 13, 1968.

Dr Herbert Eldemire

Dr Herbert Eldemire was born in 1930 in Montego Bay to parents, Arthur Wellesley Eldemire and Alice Hyacinth Eldemire (in whose honour the *Alice Eldemire Drive* in the Montego Bay Freeport was named). Dr Eldemire gave a lifetime of commitment and service to health care in his beloved Montego Bay. For over forty years, he treated the sick at his private medical practice in St James and along with his brother, Dr Arthur Eldemire, also established a private hospital, the *Herbert Eldemire Hospital*. The Herbert Eldemire Hospital was an important part of the Montego Bay landscape for over fifty years from the time of its foundation in the mid-1950s until the early 2000s. Dr Herbert Eldemire's commitment to health care and its delivery was evident in the parish of his birth but extended to the wider Jamaica.

Part of the explanation for his successful outreach and accomplishments lay in his public service as independent Jamaica's first Minister of Health from 1962 to 1972. Dr Eldemire was instrumental in the establishment of the *Cornwall Regional Hospital* and the *Cornwall School of Nursing,* as well as being responsible for the introduction of the *National Family Planning Programme*. He played a significant part in the construction and development of the *Savanna-La-Mar Hospital, the Bustamante Hospital for Children* and the *Dental Auxiliary School*. True to the tradition which he inherited, Dr Eldemire thought it important to improve the training of nurses, and therefore in addition to overseeing the creation of the Cornwall School of Nursing, he also introduced the *Enrolled Nurses' Programme.*

Dr Herbert Eldemire also found the time to give committed service to the people of St James through his role in representational politics. He served as the Jamaica Labour Party's Member of Parliament for different constituencies in the parish. From 1962 until 1967, he worked on behalf of North-West St James, then Central St James from 1967 until 1972. From 1976 until 1980, he represented East Central St James and was the first Member of Parliament for East Central St James. In 2010, Dr Eldemire passed away, having given a lifetime of service to health

care, to his parish and to Jamaica.

Cornwall Regional Hospital Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

Dr Herbert Morrison

Dr Herbert Morrison was a distinguished medical doctor and a well-loved philanthropist who served Montego Bay and the rest of St James up to the early 1980s in many ways. After graduating from the University of Edinburgh, he worked at the Kingston Public Hospital from 1930 until 1935 but then he moved to St James, where he would live and work for the rest of his life. Dr Morrison set up a private medical practice on Market Street, but it was anything but a private practice. He knew that many of the persons who turned up at his office could not afford the charges, but he never turned them away and in the process, treated many people who could not afford a private doctor. In this respect, he offered free medicals each term and provided free medication for minor illnesses. A nursing home for the elderly was also established on Market Street by Dr Morrison. He was particularly concerned about the children who hung around the streets of Montego Bay when others were in school and he soon found

out that poverty prevented payment of school fees. Even for those who went to school, attendance was sporadic because there was no money for school lunch. To help these students, Dr Morrison provided lunch money, bus fares, books and shoes for needy students. Boys hanging around on the street were often given lunch by Dr Morrison.

His concern for the young and underprivileged led him to support several charitable organisations, including the Montego Bay Boys' Club. He firmly believed that intervention of this sort could help prevent many boys in particular from engaging in anti-social behaviour later in life. Charitable service was matched by his dedication to a life of public service. From 1959 until 1962, he served the St James Parish Council as Mayor, and he was also Custos of St James. For a very long time, from 1936 until 1958, Dr Morrison was the Senior Medical Officer at the St James General Hospital, all the while finding time to pursue his love of church and cricket, being a member of the St James Cricket Club and the St James Cricket Board. For his lifetime of public service to the people of St James, Dr Morrison was awarded the Order of Jamaica (OJ) in 1978. He passed away at the age of ninety two on October 14, 1991. As a well-deserved tribute to the person who worked tirelessly to assist needy children and the society in general, the Catherine Hall High School was renamed the Herbert Morrison Comprehensive High and then the Herbert Morrison Technical High School.

Dr Kenneth Baugh, OJ

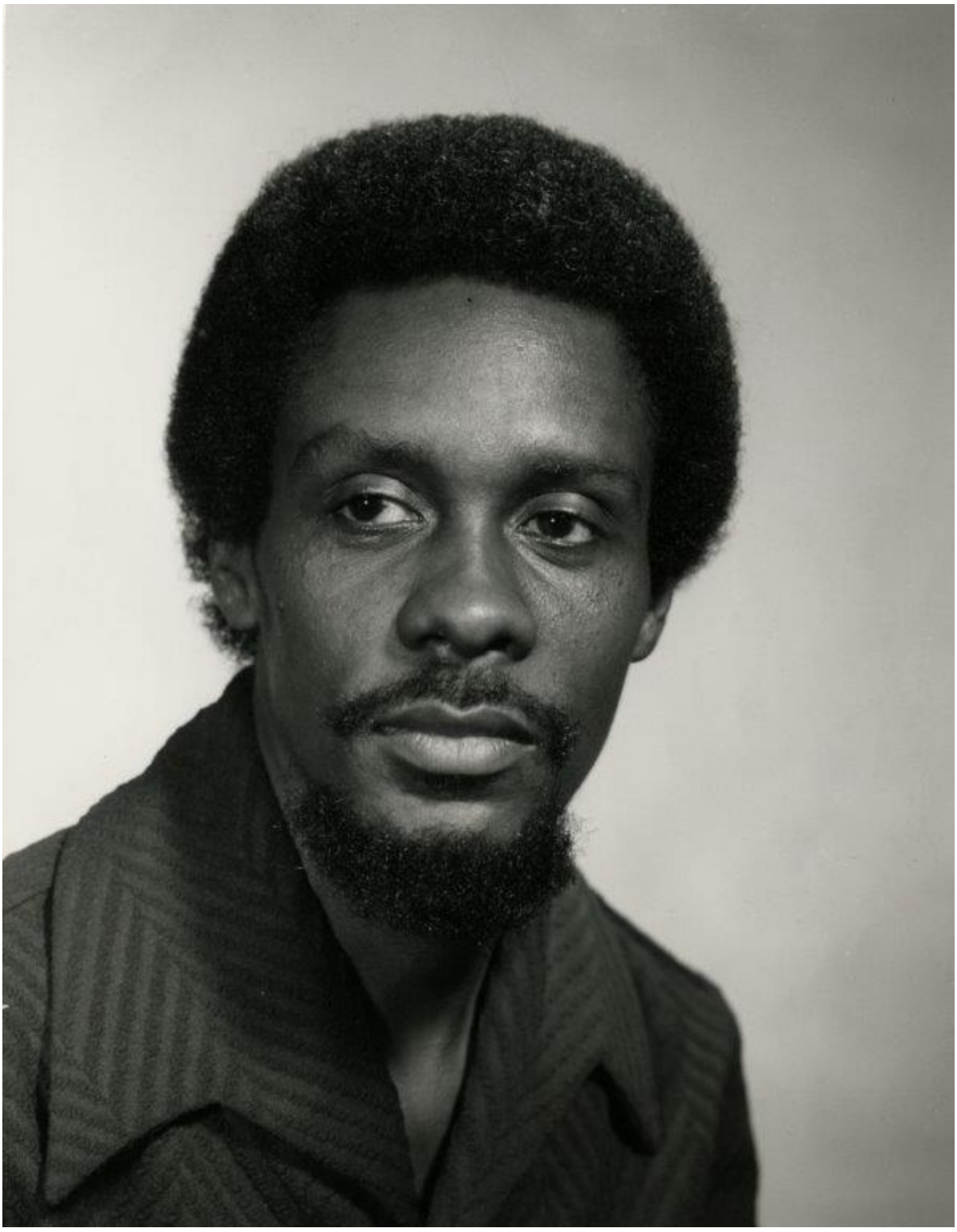
A loyal son of St James, Dr Kenneth Lee O'Neil Baugh was born in 1941 in Montego Bay and proudly proclaimed himself as an old boy of Cornwall College. During his career, he served as the JLP's Member of Parliament for North Western St James, Minister of Health as well as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. A medical doctor by profession, Baugh also contributed to Jamaica as Deputy Prime Minister (2007) and was also the General Secretary and Chairman of the Jamaica Labour Party. The quiet dedication with which Baugh served his people, his profession and his country resulted in his being awarded the Order of Jamaica (OJ) in 2015 in recognition of his contribution to public service and medicine. Dr Baugh retired from public service in 2016 and passed away in September of 2019.

The Rt. Hon. Percival James Patterson, Former Prime Minister of Jamaica

Although he was not born in St James, Patterson's early formative years were spent at Somerton in St James and so this parish along with his birth parish of St Andrew may proudly lay claim to having influenced his development. Percival James Patterson was born in 1935 to parents Henry Patterson (a farmer) and Ina, nee James (a primary school teacher) who were both from Hanover. He received his primary school education in St James, where he attended the Somerton Primary School. His post-primary education took him to his celebrated Calabar

High School, then to the UWI, Mona and finally to the London School of Economics from where he was awarded his LL.B in 1963.

Mr Patterson went on to give many years of distinguished service to Jamaica in the political field, contributing to the nation in several portfolios, as Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism in the then PNP administration (starting in 1972). He subsequently served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade and then as Deputy Prime Minister on three occasions before going on to lead Jamaica as Prime Minister from March 1992 until March 2006. Internationally acclaimed as a statesman, P.J. (as he was affectionately called) did much to strengthen Jamaica's reputation in the field of international deliberations.



Percival James Patterson Courtesy of National library of Jamaica

Allan George St Claver Coombs

Although he was born in St Ann, Allan George St Claver Coombs so dedicated his efforts to serving the people of St James that, according to Shalman Scott, Coombs was referred to as "Father Coombs" by the masses. He referred to himself as a poor peasant with "little means" and "little education". Coombs' relationship with the poor of Meagre Bay and the disgruntled masses of the people during the 1930s is well explored in the section on the labour disturbances of the 1930s. (See Index for further references to this). He accomplished much for the parish of St James, especially while he was the Member for St James and the Minister of Communications and Works in the 1950s.

Among his achievements on behalf of the people of St James was the building of the Highway from Reading to the Alice Eldemire Drive in Montego Bay. Under his watch, the Courthouse was relocated from upstairs the building that houses the Montego Bay Civic Centre and situated nest door to the Main Library and the No. 1 Post Office. Coombs was also responsible for the building of the no. 2 Post Office on Barnett Street, as well as the Anchovy Post Office. Coombs also contributed to the building of the Rosemont Housing Scheme No. 1 and the Francis Isabella Housing Scheme in Mount Salem as well as the Mount Salem All-Age School and Library. As seen in the earlier section on the 1930s labour movement, Coombs always had the welfare of workers at heart and formed the first general trade union in the island, the *Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union* in 1935 and through it, tried to address the concerns of workers in Montego Bay in particular, in the late 1930s.

Antony Tony Hart, OJ, CD, JP

When Tony Hart died in his hometown, Montego Bay, on August 20, 2020, St James and in particular, Montego Bay, lost a true son of the parish, who had dedicated his life to improving so many aspects of the business and commercial fortunes of his beloved parish. Tony Hart was from the seventh generation of the Hart family, which had helped to shape the commercial life of Montego Bay. His life and work were intricately bound to the destinies of Montego Bay, and he was in no small order responsible for taking the town to a level of development that has created a legacy for which the people of Montego Bay will always remember him. The detailed account of Tony Hart's commitment and achievements in his hometown has been given elsewhere in this History of St James and these details may be accessed through the *Index* at the end of this work. What follows here is a brief summary of his contributions to the life of the parish of St James.

Not long after returning from Canada in 1950, he succeeded in establishing a sub-agency in Montego Bay for Ford Dealership, placing the town at the forefront of car sales through his dealership, Northern Industrial Garage. It was Tony Hart who took the dream of the Montego

Bay Freeport from conceptualisation, through funding and government approval, then on to implementation and completion, and none of this came easily. Today's deep-water harbour and pier-side docking, that has such massive implications for the development of St James, must be credited to him. Today's potential explosion in the BPO sector of the Montego Bay Free Zone has been made all the more possible because of the early vision that Hart had for the creation of the Free Zone. At the same time, Tony Hart was doing his best to contribute to the expansion in the tourism sector in St James.

His work did not end at the parish boundaries however. Between 1980 and 1989, he took the National Airline, Air Jamaica, to newer heights and with it, a new lease of life on Brand Jamaica. For all his accomplishments, Tony Hart was inducted into The Private Sector Organisation (PSOJ) Hall of Fame in 2013. It was never smooth sailing for Tony Hart, and the story of what he did for St James and for all of Jamaica is a lesson in perseverance in the pursuit of life's goals. As the Executive Editor of the *Jamaica Observer*, Desmond Allen, so appropriately put it in 2013, "the Tony Hart story is both an inspiration to fellow Jamaicans and a tribute to the true Jamaican genius which has set this small country apart. And it is a story that must be told to Jamaican schoolchildren." [45]

Concluding Thoughts on St James

For well over four centuries, this beautiful north-coastal parish of St James has witnessed the unfolding of a history which was shaped in many ways by its proximity to the spectacularly alluring waters of the Caribbean Sea. For the Tainos, the first inhabitants of St James, their coastal location allowed them to live life abundantly and in relative peace. This all changed dramatically and tragically with the arrival of Columbus and the Spaniards. After disease, exploitation and death, what remains is the important archaeological legacy of who they were and how they lived, and it is a legacy well worth protecting although partly eroded by the march of time and progress as modern St James grew and developed. Proximity to the waters of the Caribbean Sea also defined the unfolding history of the parish as it afterwards brought English colonizers who shaped the political, economic and social fabric of St James for many years. Access to the sea through the increasingly important port town of Montego Bay meant that the economy of St James developed and flourished largely as an export economy with emphasis on sugar and its by-products. Economic growth up to 1834 was powered by the labour of enslaved Africans forcedly brought across the Atlantic and subjected to untold brutality and exploitation. To the enduring credit of the enslaved, St James remains outstanding as the parish which inspired and led the greatest and most effective attack upon the institution of slavery in the form of the Sam Sharpe-led Emancipation War which ultimately dealt a death blow to slavery in the then British West Indian colonies.

From the post-slavery nineteenth century well into the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the economy of St James displayed continuity and at the same time, changed and evolved in many ways. While sugar maintained its importance, it gradually gave way to the dominance of the livestock industry and the green gold of the banana trade. During the post-slavery nineteenth century, a vibrant small-farming group emerged, staking their claim to the land and making an important contribution to food production in the parish. By the twentieth century, the lure of warm sunshine and sparkling beaches amid other attractions had spurred the growth of the tourism industry which became the hallmark of the north-coastal stretch of the parish. Just as significant were the infrastructural innovations such as the Montego Bay Freeport. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the rapid emergence and development of an urban group of business people, large and small, drove the diversification and expansion of commerce predominantly in the capital, Montego Bay. Amid all of these historic changes, the widening inequities in the society became more and more apparent, giving rise to unemployment, poor living conditions for some and social discontent, which found expression on several occasions in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, though its history has been one of contrasting fortunes and socio-economic conditions, the story of St James has consistently underscored the commitment, creativity and perseverance of the many persons, great and small, who built this parish over time. In so doing, they made a significant contribution to their home parish and to the wider development of the Jamaican society. This legacy remains to the lasting credit of the sons and daughters of St James.

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Old Montego Bay Courtesy of National Library of Jamaica

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