THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF ST ELIZABETH

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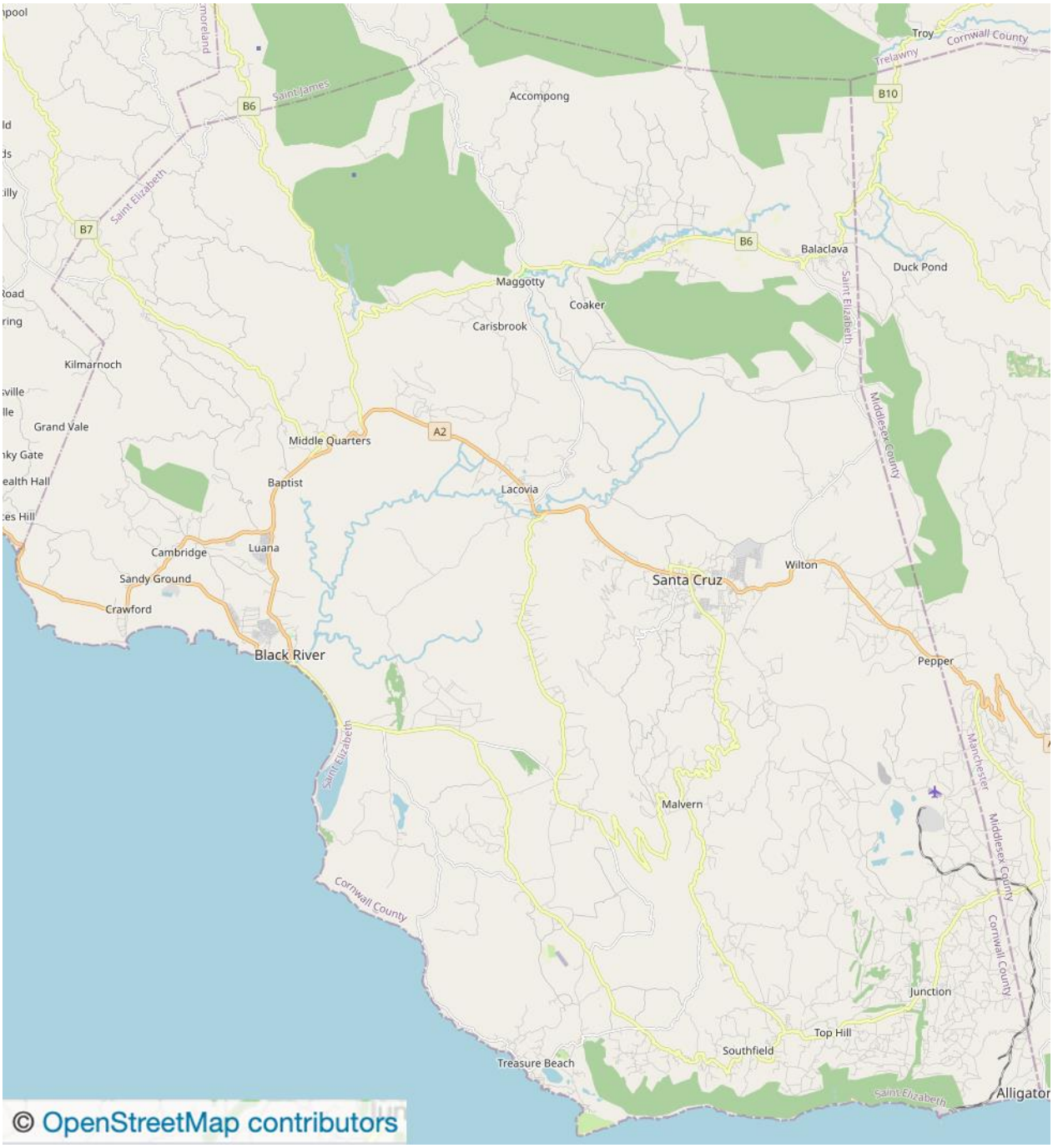
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF ST ELIZABETH

St Elizabeth is one of Jamaica's oldest parishes, having been among the second group of parishes which were in existence by 1671, following closely on the first batch which had been created by the Jamaican Assembly in 1664. The 1664 pioneering parishes were St Thomas, St David, St Andrew, St John, Clarendon, Port Royal and St Catherine. A 1671 *Map of Jamaica,* produced as a result of a survey of the island ordered by Governor Sir Thomas Modyford, showed St Elizabeth to be among the second group, which also included St George, St Mary, St Ann and St James. Before 1703, St Elizabeth was extremely large, covering most of western Jamaica, including present-day Westmoreland. As will be seen in a later section, changes to the boundaries of the parish began in 1703 and ended in 1814, reducing St Elizabeth to its present size. Even with these reductions, St Elizabeth remains today as Jamaica's second largest parish, with an area of 1,212.4 square kilometres behind St Ann, the largest parish, with an area of 1,212.6 square kilometres.

Black River, Capital of St Elizabeth Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica



Map of St Elizabeth, Jamaica Courtesy of @ OpenStreetMap contributors. This map data is available under the Open Database License. The cartography is licensed as CC By-SA.

Located in south-western Jamaica in the county of Cornwall, St Elizabeth is today bordered to the west by Westmoreland, to the east by Manchester, to the north by St James and Trelawny and to the south by the beautiful waters of the Caribbean Sea. This parish is rich in historical

and cultural significance, laying claim for example, to having the third highest number of recorded sites (thirty seven) where the Taino, the first Jamaicans lived. Only St Ann (seventy one) and Clarendon (forty) surpass St Elizabeth in known Taino sites.

St Elizabeth also holds pride of place as being home to black freedom fighters inspired by Sam Sharpe and to *Accompong*, famous for its own freedom fight and the enduring cultural legacy of the Maroons.

Accompong Cemetery in the Land of the Maroons Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Indeed, the history and culture of St Elizabeth have been shaped by the diverse populations who came or were brought to the parish over the centuries. St Elizabeth stands out for the variation in its geographical features, such as its majestic mountain ranges including the Nassau Mountains in the north-eastern section of the parish, the Lacovia Mountains, which lie to the west of the Nassau Mountains and the Santa Cruz Mountains, which run southward, dividing the vast St Elizabeth plains. These widespread plains and savannahs historically led to an emphasis on cattle rearing and agriculture and helped to shape St Elizabeth's legacy as the breadbasket parish of Jamaica.

The parish is home to several rivers, including the historically significant Black River, which is the second longest river in Jamaica, next to Clarendon's Rio Minho and from which the parish capital of Black River took its name. Jamaica's largest wetlands, the Upper Morass and the Lower Morass, which are home to many species of endangered animals and ninety-two species of flowering plants, are to be found in St Elizabeth's Black River Basin.[1]

BEFORE THE EUROPEANS: TAINO INHABITANTS OF ST ELIZABETH

Taino Sites in St Elizabeth:

Jamaica's earliest inhabitants made their homes in many parts of St Elizabeth. As noted in the Introduction, the parish has the third highest number of known Taino sites next to Clarendon and St Ann. Of the thirty-seven recorded Taino locations in St Elizabeth, eighteen were *Midden Sites* and nineteen were *Cave Sites*. Midden sites are really heaps of accumulated refuse, which were formed over time. Archaeologists have found remains of items used by the Tainos in these middens. Examples include pieces of animal and fish bones, remains of tools, pottery and other artefacts used by the first Jamaicans who lived in villages on or near the midden sites.

By studying the items found in these middens, archaeologists are able to give us a good idea of the material culture and lifestyle of the Tainos. *The Cave Sites* included *Burial Caves*, where some of their dead were laid to rest, and *Petroglyph Caves.* We know that Taino artists carved images into the rocks or walls of caves, and these rock carvings were known as *Petroglyphs*. These Petroglyphs shed light on aspects of the Tainos' lifestyle, and they were probably important for ceremonial and religious purposes as well.

A Bird's Eye View of Taino Midden Sites in St Elizabeth:

Tainos lived mainly by fishing as well as by farming and hunting. Most of their villages and, therefore, their middens were located along the coast of St Elizabeth. Taino midden sites were found at *Alligator Pond* and *Alligator Pond River* on the southeast coast, near to the border between St Elizabeth and Manchester. Other locations included *Gilnock,* which is near to Wilton, *Calabash Bay* to the west of Great Pedro Pond, *the Black River site*, near to Moco Point and Race Course, *Sandy Bank*, on the north-western bank of the Great Pedro Pond and four *Fort Charles* sites located close to each other on the southwest coast of St Elizabeth, near to Starve Gut Bay. Right on Black River Bay, very close to Black River High School, there are two more Taino sites, one at *Knapville North* and the other at *Knapville South*. *Great Pedro Bay*, near to Great Pedro Bluff on the southwestern tip of the parish, was home to yet another Taino midden site. A midden was also found at *Long Acre Point* in Malcolm Bay in the southwestern end of the parish. Taino middens were also found in the *Bull Savannah* district between Cutlass

Bay and Alligator Pond Bay, *Billy Bay*, between Starve Gut Bay and Frenchman's Bay and at *Lovers' Leap (also known as Yardley Chase*), southeast of Flagaman and Southfield.

The Yardley Chase Site (also known as Lovers' Leap) of a Taino Midden Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Turning the Spotlight on Selected Taino Middens in St Elizabeth:

Alligator Pond Midden

There were two important Taino settlements and middens in the area known today as Alligator Pond. Both settlements and middens were located along the southeast coast of St Elizabeth, close to the border with Manchester. The first was the *Alligator Pond Midden* and the second was the *Alligator Pond River Midden*. Alligator Pond midden was found at a distance of 0.09 kilometres from the sea, and this was in keeping with the Taino practice of settling their communities fairly near to the sea. The Alligator Pond site lay at five metres or fifteen feet above sea level and covered quite a large area of 13, 408 square metres, making it larger than the Alligator Pond River site. Interestingly, this site remained undisturbed until 1973, when Archaeologists carried out an extensive study of the midden.

They found a reasonably large collection of fragments of pottery (*sherds or potsherds*) and utensils used by the Tainos of this village community. Among these were pieces of griddles (flat ceramic plates used for baking cassava bread) a water jar spout, nine handles, six of which belonged to water jars, a great many pottery fragments, some of which were decorated and some of which were plain. Some of the vessel fragments were pottery rims which were shaped like turtles. These turtle-shaped pottery rims were commonly found in some Taino middens, such as that at Alligator Pond, and this shows the importance of the turtle in the everyday lives of the Tainos. The turtle-shaped designs are a common feature of a Taino pottery style that archaeologists have named *Redware,* because of the red clay mixture applied by the Tainos to parts of some of their utensils. Archaeologists have shown that Tainos who practised the Redware culture were present in Jamaica before AD 900, and that they preferred to set up their villages along coastal areas, close to the seaside. This Redware culture was common among the Tainos of the dry, southern coastal areas of St Elizabeth, who settled near to the seaside. Interestingly, archaeologists found no shells, coral, fossils, animal or human bones here.

Alligator Pond River Midden

The Alligator Pond River midden was located closer to the sea than Alligator Pond, at a distance of 0.06 kilometres and was also at a lower elevation than Alligator Pond, being three metres or ten feet above sea level. This site was much smaller than Alligator Pond, covering an area of 4,358 square metres. Despite being much smaller, this site had a much larger and greater variety of Taino artefacts than Alligator Pond. In fact, Alligator Pond River is outstanding for its very large collection of Redware pottery. A variety of different ceramics was found here. These included 2,209 plain body sherds (broken pieces from the body of the pottery) ninety eight decorated body sherds, 374 plain rim sherds (from the rim of the pottery) 160 decorated rim sherds, fifty two plain griddles and forty eight handles. Of the 2, 209 plain body sherds found,

eighty six belonged to water jars and of the forty eight handles found, four belonged to water jars, which were commonly used by the Tainos. Interestingly, the carvings on the decorated pieces of pottery represented bats, sharks and not surprisingly, turtles. Additionally, they also found several conch shell celts and stone celts, which the Tainos used as axes. Some polished stone beads, a pendant made from shells and an earthenware spindle (used for spinning cotton into cloth) were also some of the interesting finds. The spindle tells us that the Tainos who lived in this area were making use of cotton, which still grows wild in the Alligator Pond area of the parish. Unlike the Alligator Pond site, this location had many reminders of the eating habits of the Tainos. Over thirty marine shells, most belonging to the queen conch, were located here, as well as twenty five animal bones belonging to adult sea turtles, the Jamaican hutia, birds and frogs.

Calabash Bay Midden

The Calabash Bay midden site is situated to the west of Great Pedro Pond and is fairly close to the sea, at a distance of only 0.09 kilometres from the water. It is quite low-lying, at twenty-five feet or eight metres above sea level and has an area of 14, 605 square metres. Fortunately, the Calabash Bay site was researched by archaeologist, James W. Lee in 1972, because by 1976, Calabash Bay was being threatened by housing development. As was the case with the Alligator Pond sites, the Tainos who settled at Calabash Bay used pottery which belonged to the *Redware* category.

There was a fairly large collection of artefacts found here, and these included 160 plain rim sherds and seventy decorated rim sherds (pieces from the rims of utensils). Fragments from the body of utensils (body sherds), such as water jars were also found. Of these body sherds, 160 were plain and seventy one were decorated with carvings, mainly of turtles, which showed that the Redware pottery was characteristic of Calabash Bay. In addition, archaeologists also found thirty two handles belonging to water jars and other utensils, twenty seven plain griddles, five stone celts and six conch shell celts (axes). About twenty two shells from large sea snails and the queen conch, along with other marine species, were also found at this site. An interesting and significant find at Calabash Bay were two pendants made from coarsely crystalline white rock. This type of rock is not present in Jamaica but was used in the south-eastern Caribbean to make small ornamental trinkets, and this led Lee to conclude that these two pendants were items of trade brought to the area by Tainos from Trinidad.

The Black River Midden

Located near to Moco Point and Race Course, the Black River midden site is found along the first slight rising inland from the beach at an elevation of ten feet or three metres above sea

level. It is situated 0.2 kilometres from the sea and has an area of 4,405 square metres. Archaeologist James W. Lee believed that originally, the midden must have been larger because when he located and researched the site in 1973, a shopping centre was being built in the vicinity and bulldozing must have destroyed an undetermined amount of the site's original area.

The Black River midden site is significant for two main reasons. Firstly, besides the variety of artefacts found there, this is one of a few midden sites on the island where human skeletal remains were found. Secondly, the Black River midden site was occupied by Tainos who were of the *White Marl* cultural group, which archaeologists have shown lived in Jamaica after AD 900. The pottery developed by the White Marl cultural group was different in several ways from the Redware pottery, including the fact that it was made from a brown clay paste and did not have that distinctive red clay colouring which was a feature of the Redware culture. The *White Marl cultural group* was named after the large settlements and midden found at White Marl, Central Village, in St Catherine. Although the Redware Tainos preferred seaside villages, the Tainos of the White Marl cultural group settled all over the island, on hillsides as well as near the coast. Therefore, White Marl culture was also found in St Elizabeth sites such as the Black River midden site.

A fairly large collection of artefacts was found at the Black River midden. These ranged from pottery fragments (potsherds or sherds) including seventeen decorated rim sherds, seven plain rim sherds, forty plain body sherds, four handles, three plain griddles, one stone celt and three conch shell celts. Their use of shellfish for food was shown in the recovery of thirty eight shells belonging to a variety of marine species. A total of sixteen animal bones were also discovered at the Black River site. These included the rib of a West Indian manatee or sea cow, bones belonging to the green sea turtle and remains of a species of fresh water turtle, known as the *Cat Island Slider*, which is found in the Bahamas and Jamaica.

Interestingly, bones from the wild pig were also found at the Black River midden and this discovery suggests that the Black River site was occupied by generations of Tainos who were still there during the early Spanish occupation. Wild pigs were not native to Jamaica. It was the Spaniards who introduced pigs into the island and left them to roam wild, giving rise to the wild pigs which populated all parts of Jamaica.

Archaeologists have not provided much information on the human skeletal remains found at the Black River midden. However, we do know that the bones were excavated from the same layers in which the Taino artefacts were found, therefore placing the bones in the same time period as the other Taino artefacts. In all, there were eighteen human bones recovered, and the number of fragments of the right tibiae found allowed archaeologists to conclude that these

belonged to a minimum of three individuals. In addition, they also found a fragment of a femur from an individual who, tests determined, was less than fifteen years old.

The Fort Charles Middens

Four Taino middens were located in the area of Fort Charles near to Starve Gut Bay on the southwest coast of St Elizabeth. These were identified as Fort Charles A, Fort Charles B, Fort Charles House and Fort Charles Nembhard. Fort Charles A is right by the sea at an elevation of twenty five feet or eight metres above sea level and is the largest of all the Fort Charles middens, with an area of 8,715 square metres. Fort Charles B is slightly further back from Fort Charles A, at a distance of 0.06 kilometres from the sea and is at the same elevation as Fort Charles A. This is a much smaller midden than Fort Charles A, with an area of 2,143 square metres.

Fort Charles House is closer to Merriman's Point and John's Rock, at a distance of 0.7 kilometres from the sea and lies at the highest elevation of all four sites, at 330 feet or 102 metres above sea level. Fort Charles Nembhard is further inland than all the other Fort Charles sites, at a distance of 1.2 kilometres from the sea and is also at a higher elevation than Fort Charles A and B, lying at 250 feet or seventy seven metres above sea level. Of all the Fort Charles middens, only Fort Charles A is discussed here because it contained a substantial collection of artefacts and also because of the shallow grave found at Fort Charles A.

Archaeologist James Lee researched Fort Charles A in 1967 and found quite a large collection of Taino artefacts. These included fifty eight pieces of pottery rims (rim sherds) thirty one of which were decorated, while twenty seven were plain. There were 186 pieces from the body of the pottery (body sherds) and eleven handles, all of which belonged to water jars. Fragments of three griddles, used in the baking of cassava bread, were also found at the midden. Additionally, there was an interesting discovery of three vessels, one of which was boat shaped and very well preserved. One of these vessels has a lug (a type of pottery handle which is flat) which represents a turtle, a design commonly found in Taino pottery.

A significant discovery made by Lee at Fort Charles A was a shallow grave, part of which was exposed as a result of erosion by waves. Lee reported that the size of the grave indicated that it may have been for a small child but no skeletal remains were found and these may very well have been washed out to sea as a result of many years of wave erosion. Two small but complete bowls were found at the grave and may have been placed there with food for ceremonial purposes to accompany the dead on the journey to Coyaba (heaven), as was customary among the Tainos. As Fort Charles A was so close to the sea, it is not surprising that over twenty eight shells and twelve animal bones belonging to marine species, such as salt water clams or snails and the queen conch, were found at the midden. [2]

A Bird's Eye View of Taino Caves in St Elizabeth

To date, archaeologists have studied and recorded nineteen Taino cave sites in St Elizabeth. Of this number, four were Taino *Petroglyph Caves* and fifteen were Taino *Burial Caves*. As was previously explained, the first Jamaicans sometimes carved images into the rocks or walls of caves. These cave walls were usually of limestone rock which made it easier for Taino artists to carve images into the rocks. By far, the most common image carved was an oval-shaped face with three circular spaces to represent the eyes and mouth. The four recorded petroglyph caves in St Elizabeth (discussed shortly) were *Duff House*, *Warminster*, *Red Bank* and *Reynold Bent* caves.

Tainos also used caves as burial places and for ceremonial purposes. The fifteen recorded burial caves in St Elizabeth were *Baalbec*, *Bull Savannah 1* and *Bull Savannah 2*, *Breadnut Wood 1* and *Breadnut Wood 2*, *Dildo Point*, *Simeon Genus, Boy Hole*, *Money Cave, Pedro Bluff A* and *Pedro Bluff B, Parchment Cave, Peru Cave, Ballard's Valley 1* and *Ballard's Valley 2*. We know that the Tainos did not live in these caves but usually lived in villages or occupation sites which were located within a reasonable distance from the cave. As will be seen shortly, archaeologists also found a variety of Taino artefacts in both the *Petroglyph* and the *Burial* caves.

Highlighting the Petroglyph Caves of St Elizabeth

Duff House Petroglyph Cave

Duff House Cave is located in the parish but very close to the border between St Elizabeth and Manchester. As was the case with most Taino caves, Duff House is at a fair elevation of 375 feet or 115 metres above sea level and is at a distance of 2.7 kilometres from the sea. Archaeologist James W. Lee researched this cave in 1980 and found one very clear petroglyph, which was a face carved into the limestone rock of the cave wall facing north. Lee suggested that other carvings may have been present but these were not clear. One stone celt (a Taino axe) was found in the cave. In 1981, broken remains of Taino pottery (potsherds) matching the later White Marl culture, were found in a field next to the cave. As noted previously, the Tainos did not live in these caves and Lee suggested that the Tainos who used Duff House Cave may very well have lived in the nearest village which was only 1.01 kilometres away at Rowe's Corner, just across the border in Manchester.

Warminster Petroglyph Cave

Warminster Cave is found in the Links Hill area of the Genus district. Links Hill is northeast of Red Bank and northwest of Brinkley. Warminster is located at quite a high elevation of 750 feet

or 231 metres above sea level and at a fair distance of 8.3 kilometres from the sea. Lee researched and recorded this petroglyph cave in 1969. The petroglyphs in Warminster consisted of several faces and some geometric designs which were cut into the limestone rock. Although these were later described as “the largest and best remaining group of petroglyphs in Jamaica”, Lee reported that they may have been partially damaged in 1981. Artefacts which were found next to the petroglyphs included two stone celts which matched the White Marl culture of the Tainos who lived in the area after AD 900. It is possible that the Tainos who made the carvings at Warminster may have lived in the nearest village site at Bull Savannah, which was 8.11 kilometres away from Warminster.

Red Bank Petroglyph Cave

Red Bank Cave is located in the Red Bank district which is on the eastern side of St Elizabeth, near to the border with Manchester. Red Bank district is southeast of Malvern and to the southwest of Nain. Red Bank Cave is much higher up than most of the cave sites in the parish, at an elevation of 1,225 feet or 377 metres above sea level. It is also fairly far from the sea, at a distance of 7.9 kilometres. Researched and recorded by Lee in 1969, Red Bank had one petroglyph which had been badly defaced and mutilated, most likely by vandals. It is possible that the Tainos who used Red Bank Cave may have lived in the nearest occupation site which was 7.99 kilometres away at Yardley Chase in St Elizabeth.

Reynold Bent Petroglyph Cave

Reynold Bent Cave is found to the west of Warminster Cave and is fairly well inland at a distance of 8.3 kilometres from the sea. This is also at a high elevation of nine hundred feet or 277 metres above sea level. Lee studied and mapped this cave in 1970 and he described Reynold Bent cave as being small and low. Carved into the cave wall was a very clear petroglyph of a human face with the usual three holes representing eyes and mouth. This face was different from those found in the other caves of St Elizabeth in that there were three haloes above the head.

Scattered about the floor of the cave was a small but important collection of Taino artefacts, including two decorated rim sherds (rims from broken pottery), one plain rim sherd, one decorated body sherd (pieces from the main part or body of the pottery), one plain body sherd and one plain griddle. The artefacts all show features which identify them as belonging to the White Marl culture of the Taino people who lived in Jamaica after AD 900. These may have been from utensils used by the Taino artists while they worked on carving this face into the cave. Additionally, Lee also found a shell from a large to medium sea snail known as the West Indian fighting conch (*strombus pugilis*) and three bones from a wild pig. Importantly, as with other discoveries of bones from the wild pig, this find at Reynold Bent Cave tells us that the

Taino people who used this cave must have been from a generation that lived at the time of the early Spanish occupation as the pig was brought to the island by the Spaniards. Tainos who used the Reynold Bent Cave may have lived in the settlement at Yardley Chase, which, at a distance of 8.41 kilometres from Reynold Bent, was the nearest Taino community.

Highlighting the Burial Caves of St Elizabeth

Most of what we know about Taino burial caves in St Elizabeth was researched and recorded by archaeologist James William Lee. Of the fifteen caves (listed earlier), which Lee identified as Taino burial caves in the parish, there were eleven caves in which Lee found no skeletal remains. However, based on reports made by earlier archaeologists or by owners of lands on which the caves were located, Lee was able to conclude that these eleven caves (briefly described here) were either known or suspected to have been used by the Tainos for burials. There were at least three Taino sites at Bull Savannah in the parish, with one midden site (discussed previously) and two burial caves.

Bull Savannah 1, located at an elevation of 675 feet or 208 metres above sea level and 0.8 kilometres from the sea, was one of the caves where Lee found no human remains in 1967, but nevertheless classified it as a burial cave based on other evidence. Located in the same vicinity as the Bull Savannah sites, *Breadnut Wood 2* was right next to Breadnut Wood 1, an important burial cave. *Breadnut Wood 2* was 650 feet or two hundred metres above sea level and at a distance of 0.7 kilometres from the sea. As with Bull Savannah 1, no human skeletal remains were found by Lee at *Breadnut Wood 2*, which was nevertheless identified as a Taino burial cave based on other evidence. Also among the eleven caves without skeletal remains in 1967 was *Dildo Point Cave*, located at 325 feet above sea level and very close to the sea at Yardley Chase. *Simeon Genus* burial cave, located in the Links Hill area, about 750 feet or 231 metres above sea level and fairly far inland at a distance of 8.6 kilometres from the sea, contained no human remains when it was mapped by Lee in 1970.

Boy Hole Cave, located at a very low elevation of eighty feet or twenty five metres above sea level was also in this group of eleven caves. *Money Cave*, located slightly south east of Boy Hole Cave in the general vicinity of Malvern, was also believed to have contained Taino remains at one point, but there were none in 1964 when Lee carried out his survey. Located on the Great Pedro Bluff, overlooking Great Pedro Bay, were two other known or suspected Taino burial caves. These were *Pedro Bluff A* and *Pedro Bluff B*. An earlier report by an archaeologist, Duerden, in 1897, had indicated that three or four skulls had been found at Pedro Bluff A in the later nineteenth century. However, neither cave had any human remains when they were explored by Lee in 1967. *Parchment Cave*, located to the north of the Pedro Bluff Caves, showed no signs of human remains in 1967, but Lee reported that in the 1940s, the owner of the land on which Parchment Cave was located had removed skeletal remains from the cave.

Neither *Peru Cave* (near to Mitchum in the Peru district) nor *Ballard's Valley 2* had any human remains when these were explored by Lee between 1967 and 1968, although there had been earlier reports of human bones at Ballard's Valley 2.

Taino Remains Recovered From Four Burial Caves in St Elizabeth!

There were four caves in which Lee found substantial evidence of Taino burials. These cave sites were *Baalbec, Bull Savannah 2, Breadnut Wood 1* and *Ballard's Valley 1*.

Baalbec Cave

Baalbec Cave is found in the general area of Nain on the eastern side of St Elizabeth. The cave is located at 750 feet or 231 metres above sea level and quite a bit inland, at 13.2 kilometres from the sea. This cave was discovered during construction work in the area and was mapped by Lee in 1967. Fragments of human skeletal remains were found by Lee at Baalbec, and these were confirmed to be those of Taino people of the Redware culture, who were in Jamaica before AD 900. Pieces of a shallow Redware dish with turtle head designs on the handles were found near the skeletal remains, and this would seem to be in keeping with the Taino practice of burying their dead along with food for the journey to *Coyaba* (the afterlife). A stone celt was also found in the cave.

Bull Savannah 2

Among the cluster of Bull Savannah sites, Bull Savannah 2 is the most northerly and overlooks Little Pedro Point. This burial cave is at a very high elevation of 1,190 feet or 366 metres above sea level. Bull Savannah Burial Cave 2 is located at a distance of 2.3 kilometres from the sea. Significant evidence of Taino burials was uncovered at the site. In all, human remains of at least three individuals were found. Included among the remains were two human skulls, one of which was almost complete or intact. The forehead of this skull was artificially flattened, in keeping with the Taino custom. Tests results showed that the skull most likely was that of a male who appears to have been a young or middle-aged adult. The second skull was badly decomposed and damaged, and was found on the cave floor, along with a number of teeth and other bones. Fragments of a femur were found and tests showed that this belonged to a child, younger than fifteen years.

A boat-shaped bowl with a human face engraved on the lug (flattened handle) of the bowl was also found. A large amount of Taino pottery fragments were found in this cave, and this is important because the greater number of utensils at the burial site suggests that the persons buried here may have been of higher rank or status in their community. This also shows the ceremonial importance of burying the Taino dead with food to accompany them on the journey to the afterlife.

Breadnut Wood Burial Cave 1

Breadnut Wood burial cave is located in the same general area as the Bull Savannah sites, overlooking Little Pedro Point. The cave is found at a fair elevation of 650 feet or 200 metres above sea level and at a distance of 0.7 kilometres from the sea. When Lee investigated Breadnut Wood cave in 1968, he found six human bones belonging to two individuals, one an adult and the other, a juvenile. Carbon dating tests done on the bones showed that the remains date back to the time of Taino occupation of the area. Moreover, the pottery fragments found alongside the bones were all identified as parts of utensils used by the Taino peoples of the White Marl culture who were in Jamaica after AD 900.

As with Bull Savannah 2, the amount of Taino artefacts found in Breadnut Wood 1 was considerable. These included twenty eight pieces from the body of the pottery (body sherds) and nine pieces from the rims of the pottery (rim sherds). Interestingly, five plain griddles used for baking cassava bread (bammies) were also found along with the bones, perhaps suggesting the importance of cassava bread for the journey to *Coyaba* (the afterlife). Six animal bones, including a rib from the West Indian manatee or sea cow and a skull from the hutia also point to the importance of the animals which the Taino included in their diet.

Ballard's Valley Burial Cave 1

Of all four recorded Taino burial caves in St Elizabeth, Ballard's Valley Burial Cave is important as the source of the largest recovery of human (Taino) remains in the parish. The Tainos whose remains were found in Ballard's Valley Cave 1 were also among the White Marl culture which lived in the area after AD 900. This burial cave is situated west of the Bull Savannah sites and also overlooks Little Pedro Point. The cave is at a fairly high elevation of one thousand feet or 308 metres above sea level and at a distance of one kilometre from the sea. When Lee investigated the cave in 1968, he found at least four skeletons and possibly more bones belonging to other skeletons. Additionally, Lee recovered a flattened skull (in keeping with the Taino practice of flattening the forehead), two lower jawbones and a number of teeth at the burial site. A large collection of pottery fragments (some fairly large), including thirty nine pieces from the body of the pottery (body sherds) and two pieces from the rims of the pottery (rim sherds) were found at the location, again reflecting the Taino belief in burying their dead with food and drink to accompany them to *Coyaba*.

Concluding Thoughts: St Elizabeth's Taino Heritage Endangered

As seen in the foregoing discussion, St Elizabeth is rich in Taino sites which, along with sites across the rest of the island, have contributed to an amazing cultural legacy left to us by the

first Jamaicans, the Tainos. Yet, as Andrea Richards has pointed out (see footnote 3), many Taino sites across Jamaica have been destroyed by decades of infrastructural growth and land-based development such as highway and housing construction, as well as farming, and the surviving sites are endangered by development plans across the island. Sheer vandalism over many years has also left a trail of destruction in these sites. In other cases, the forces of nature, such as wave erosion, have increased the risk of losses at some coastal locations. The Taino sites of St Elizabeth have not escaped these dangers, especially as many of the coastal sites are in the direct path of development plans along the south coast of Jamaica.

According to data provided by the *Jamaica National Heritage Trust* (JNHT), of the thirty seven recorded Taino sites in St Elizabeth, two have already been lost to infrastructural development. The south coastal areas of the parish, particularly the Treasure Beach area, are threatened by housing developments, while extensive farming projects have affected or will affect Taino sites at Bull Savannah. Wave erosion has also adversely affected the Taino midden site at Long Acre in St Elizabeth. Nevertheless, organisations, such as the JNHT, which are responsible for the safeguarding of Jamaica's cultural heritage have, over time, acted to investigate island-wide sites endangered by these forces and have, wherever possible, taken steps to record, retrieve and protect artefacts from some of these sites. The challenges will continue, but so will the efforts to protect and preserve. [3]

THE FOUNDATION YEARS: THE SPANIARDS AND ST ELIZABETH

The Spaniards' First Contact with the Coast of St Elizabeth

It was during the second voyage in 1494 that Christopher Columbus and the Spaniards first made contact with the St Elizabeth coast. After returning to Montego Bay from Cuba in July 1494, Columbus then sailed around the western and southern coasts of the island, slowly navigating the south coast, including the St Elizabeth coast, from the 1st to the 18th of August, 1494. From the previous section, we know that the Tainos had many settlements right along the coast of St Elizabeth. Despite earlier hostile reactions from Tainos at Santa Gloria (St Ann's Bay) and Rio Bueno (Trelawny), Columbus reported that as he sailed along the west and south coasts, Tainos greeted him everywhere in a friendly way.

We have no evidence to suggest that Columbus named any of the bays or coastal places in St Elizabeth during this journey in August, 1494, and it is more likely that the Spanish imprint on St Elizabeth did not occur until they settled the island. However, in the days that they spent sailing along the St Elizabeth coast, the Spaniards and Columbus must have made several brief stops along the way. This may be concluded from the later reports written by Columbus' son, who remarked that his father found the coast densely populated with welcoming (smiling) people

and the land green and abundant with food. From reports by the Spaniards, it is also very likely that the Tainos who lived in the many seaside communities along the St Elizabeth coast, brought food out by canoes to greet the Spaniards. During the remaining days of August 1494, Columbus continued his voyage along the south coast of the island, passing what is now St Catherine, and then, by the end of August, reaching Morant Point, from where the Spaniards sailed on to Santo Domingo. Columbus did not return to the St Elizabeth coast on subsequent voyages.

The Spaniards in St Elizabeth: Settlements and Economic Activities

By the end of Columbus' second voyage, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had claimed Jamaica for Spain. The Spaniards established the first centre of government at *Sevilla La Nueva* (New Seville) in St Ann's Bay, but by 1534, they had relocated their capital to *Villa de la Vega* (Spanish Town) on the south coast. Although Spanish Town was the all-important centre of Spanish administration of Jamaica, the parish of St Elizabeth soon became a place of interest for Spaniards seeking to make a living from the land, largely through cattle ranching and farming. This was especially so after it became clear that Jamaica had very little, if anything to offer the Spaniards in terms of mineral wealth.

From 1494 onwards, the Spaniards brought cattle, pigs and other animals to the island and for the most part, these animals were left to roam, graze and multiply so as to provide a ready source of meat for the settlers. Raising cattle was an important economic activity in Spain, and it is not surprising that the Spaniards would wish to transfer this activity to parts of Jamaica which had an abundance of grassy plains on which to graze their animals. Before long, Spanish settlers in St Elizabeth began to emphasise the raising of cattle as their main means of making a living.

The Great Cattle Ranches *(Hatos*) of St Elizabeth up to 1655

Cattle in St Elizabeth originally came from the first animals brought into the island by two early Spanish governors, Esquivel and Francisco de Garay. At first, the cattle were left to roam free, graze and multiply on the large plains and savannahs (*sabanas*) of the southern parishes like St Elizabeth. However, the Spaniards soon adopted a more organised approach to cattle rearing because of Jamaica's location at the crossroads of the Caribbean and the profits they could make from supplying beef, hides and tallow (fat of cattle used to make candles and soap) to Spanish fleets sailing to and from the Caribbean. Spanish settlers, therefore, transferred the practice long followed in Spain of enclosing or fencing in large expanses of grazing land along with vast herds of cattle. This marked the introduction of the large cattle estates or ranches which the Spaniards called *hatos*, into St Elizabeth and other southern parishes.

These large cattle ranches (hatos) were spread out in the part of St Elizabeth which is today known as the Pedro Plains. Although the name *Pedro* is of Spanish origin, the Spaniards did not apply this name (Pedro) to the area but instead used the name *Pereda*. The largest Spanish cattle ranch was called *Hato Pereda,* and when the English took control of the island, this area later became known as the *Pedro Plains.* As will be seen shortly, several places in St Elizabeth bearing the name *Pedro* were originally named *Pereda* by the Spaniards.

Another Spanish cattle ranch of great significance in St Elizabeth was the *Hato Caobana*, a very large and fortified cattle estate on the banks of the Black River. *Hato Caobana* became the area later known as *Black River* under English rule. As will be seen shortly, Hato Caobana became an important staging ground for Spanish resistance fighters after the English invaded Jamaica in 1655. These *hatos* were not only enclosed cattle ranches, but the Spaniards also raised horses, donkeys and mules on these estates. Importantly, the great *hatos* of St Elizabeth also supplied Spanish ships with horses and draft animals, such as the donkeys and mules which were used in the transportation (mule trains) of bags of gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru to the Spanish ships waiting on the coast.

Hatos were also self-contained settlements in themselves. The wealthier Spaniards built their houses on these hatos and also had fortifications from which they could try to defend themselves in the event of an attack from any of Spain's enemies. This was all the more necessary because of the many bays along St Elizabeth's south coast, which could prove attractive to other Europeans wishing to attack and Spanish settlers and challenge Spain's claim to Jamaica.

Spanish Settlement at Parrotee Bay (*Palleta or Parattee Bay*)

However, there were also isolated smaller settlements outside of the hatos. A few Spaniards lived in simple dwellings along the banks of the Black River (*Rio Caobana)* and at a small village located at *Parattee Bay*, an area known today as Parrotee Bay. The Spaniards named this settlement *Palleta* or *Parattee Bay*, a name which still exists today, with minor changes in spelling. Little is known of the settlement during Spanish times. During the period of Spanish resistance to the English invasion, the settlement at *Parattee Bay* was totally destroyed by Colonel D'Oyley and the English.

Other Economic Activities in Spanish St Elizabeth

Some Spanish settlers along the south coast of St Elizabeth adopted the Taino practice of weaving the cotton that grew in the area into cloth. Governor Esquivel encouraged the establishment of cotton farms in several parts of the island, including St Elizabeth. As a result, a

small textile industry developed, using Taino female labour to make cotton cloth, shirts and hammocks, which were then exported to Cuba and Tierra Firme (Central America). In exchange, the Spanish settlers got wine, vinegar, linen and other goods from Castile in Spain. The hides and tallow from the cattle industry were also exported.

They also exported wood from the variety of trees that grew in abundance throughout the parish and in other parts of Jamaica. Mahogany trees grew along the banks of the Black River and Mahogany wood (known as Spanish Mahogany), as well as Brazil wood and Ebony wood, were in great demand in Spain for the ship-building industry. Mahogany exports from St Elizabeth, in particular, proved very valuable to Spain. As will be seen shortly, Mahogany trees also played a role in the original Spanish name for Black River, *Rio Caobana.*

Making use of the Taino crop, the cassava, the Spaniards also established cassava farms in St Elizabeth and elsewhere. Cassava was exported each year to places such as *Nombre de Dios* in Panama. Pimento, known then as Jamaican pepper, was also grown and exported for use as a spice in seasoning and preserving foods. Sugar cane was grown on a very small scale. The cacao tree which produced cocoa beans was indigenous to Jamaica, and the Spaniards in St Elizabeth encouraged the cultivation of these cacao trees on a small scale. Cocoa beans were used by the Spaniards to make cocoa and chocolate beverages and once cocoa was introduced to the Spanish crown, cocoa became an important item exported (in small quantities at first) from Jamaica.

These trees were grown in clusters known as cocoa–walks, and the Spanish governor was reported to have owned a cocoa-walk with twelve thousand trees in the vicinity of *Guanaboa Vale* in St Catherine. It is likely that in St Elizabeth, the cocoa-walks were located near the coast in the vicinity of present-day Black River. The Spanish interest in cocoa and chocolate may have influenced the Spanish name, *Chocalata Bay,* which was given to one of the bays to the west of Black River. This interest in cocoa and chocolate may also explain the Spanish name, *Chocolata Ridge*, which is found near Bull Savanna in the south-eastern end of the parish. Interestingly, the Spanish influence in the savannah regions of south east St Elizabeth is captured in the place name, *Spanish Quarters,* which is near to Labour in Vain Savannah.

As the Spaniards advanced into the lands of South and Central America, the tremendous wealth that they gained from the gold and silver from these areas eventually greatly overshadowed the value of exports from her Caribbean possessions like Jamaica. Gradually, ships from Spain came to the island less often and this affected the trade and the settlers themselves. As they waited for a ship to arrive, Spanish settlers found that the hides sometimes rotted and the woods became infested with termites. Their livelihood was therefore reduced, and when a Spanish ship did arrive with manufactured goods that the settlers needed, they found the prices too high to afford. Settlers eventually turned to illegal traders from other European countries

(Spain's rivals) to supply them with basic commodities. St Elizabeth's south coast provided many undefended bays and inlets from which these rivals of Spain could carry on their smuggling activities. Beginning in 1655, Spain's neglect of Jamaica would be to the detriment of both the Spanish crown and the settlers themselves.

The Spanish Imprint and Legacy in St Elizabeth

The large plains and savannahs (*sabanas*) of St Elizabeth no doubt provided the ideal conditions for the growth of the cattle industry in the parish. Nevertheless, the fact that the Spaniards introduced the rearing of cattle, horses, mules and donkeys on a large scale in St Elizabeth left a legacy of livestock farming that shaped the history and economy of the parish long after the Spaniards departed Jamaica's shores. This is an economic legacy that continues in the parish to this day. Also, the Spaniards' use of a variety of trees found in St Elizabeth for valuable exports of wood started a tradition which, under English rule, blossomed into the lucrative logwood trade, which would help to shape fortunes and transform towns such as Black River.

Some place names in St Elizabeth still reflect the Spanish influence, although most of the Spanish words became anglicized after the English took over Jamaica. Some names given by Spain were actually Portuguese in origin, and this was a reflection of the links which both countries shared in their history. A good example of this is the Portuguese *Luana*, a name given to *Luana* Point and *Luana* Bay.

Several places in the parish have "Pedro" as part of their names. "*Pedro*" is Spanish for Peter, but the interesting thing is that of all the many places in the parish which presently have the word "Pedro" as part of their names, none were named "Pedro" by the Spaniards while they were in St Elizabeth. Instead, the Spaniards gave the name *"Pereda"* to all these places. So for example, *Punta de Pereda* became *Pedro Point* under English rule, the *Hato Pereda* became *Pedro Plains* and *Puerto de Pereda* became *Pedro Bay* (Great Pedro Bay as well as Little Pedro Bay). *Pereda* was a family name belonging to several Spanish families of high rank who lived in Castile at the time. Perhaps the name *Pereda* was used for these places in St Elizabeth by a Spaniard who may have been connected to the *Pereda* family. We know that when the English took control of Jamaica, the name "Pereda" disappeared altogether, and the Spanish name for Peter, "Pedro" (a more familiar name to the English) given to these places instead by the new rulers. Interestingly, the English were still helping to acknowledge the Spanish cultural influence in St Elizabeth when they chose to substitute *Pedro* for *Pereda*.

Other place names in St Elizabeth which reflect a Spanish influence include *Santa Cruz*, which is the name of the mountain range, the Santa Cruz Mountains and the town of Santa Cruz. The Spanish name for the mountains was *Las Montes de la Santa Cruce.* It is quite possible that the Catholic Spanish settlers gave this name, *Las Montes de la Santa Cruce* (*Santa Cruz* Holy Cross)

to this mountain range because they may have observed that running in the centre of the parish from north to south, the Santa Cruz Mountain was like the centre of the cross. They may also have noticed that the mountain to the west (later called the Lacovia Mountains) and the mountain to the east (later, the Nassau Mountains) were like the arms of the cross. A town was later established by the English in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains and they named it Santa Cruz after the nearby mountain range. Importantly, this place name remains as a constant reminder of the Spanish influence on the parish.

Apart from these examples, most Spanish names for places in St Elizabeth disappeared altogether once the English took control or they were absorbed into anglicized versions of the original Spanish name. A good example of this is *Lacovia*, the name given to one of the main towns built by the English. There are at least two explanations of how Lacovia got its name, but importantly, both explanations trace the name back to Spanish words. Edward Long, writing in 1777, traced the name Lacovia to an English corruption of the Spanish words *la-agua-via* (the watery way) or the Spanish words *lago-via* (the way by the lake). He went on to suggest that the Spaniards may have given these names to the general area where the English later built the town because the area was very low and flat and sometimes was flooded by water from the nearby morass.

The second explanation also links the name Lacovia to a Spanish word *la caoba,* which means mahogany tree. The Spanish word *caobana* also means mahogany. Caoba was also the Taino word for mahogany. As seen earlier, mahogany trees growing in the area had formed the basis of a thriving export of mahogany wood by the Spaniards. Jamaica's second longest river, the Black River (in Spanish, *El Rio Negro)* may have been given that name by the Spaniards, but it is more likely that the Spaniards named the river *Rio Caobana* (Mahogany River) after the abundance of mahogany trees which they found growing along the banks of the river. Interestingly, it was the decayed leaves falling from these mahogany trees into the river that gave the riverbed that dark appearance which later led the English to attach the name *Black River* to this famous body of water. Although this name *Caobana* was important to the Spanish settlers (*Hato Caobana* and *Rio Caobana)* it has completely disappeared from usage in the place names of St Elizabeth.

As seen earlier, other names given by the Spaniards to places in St Elizabeth were also linked to their economic activities in the parish. So, for example, *Chocolata Bay* and *Chocolata Ridge* were linked to the Spanish interest in the cultivation of cocoa trees along the coastal areas of Black River. Their main economic activity in the parish, cattle rearing, influenced the Spaniards to name the area near to Black River Harbour, *Valle de las Vacas* which meant Valley of the Cows. With the passing of time, this name became corrupted into the present name of

Wallywash. The name given to the early Spanish settlement, *Palleta* and then *Parattee Bay*, still survives today in the form of Parrotee Bay.

The Importance of St Elizabeth in the Spanish Resistance to the English Invasion of Jamaica, 1655-1660: The Battle of Caobana

After the English invasion of Jamaica in 1655, a prolonged guerrilla-type resistance was mounted over five years, by Jamaica's last Spanish governor, Don Cristobal Arnaldo de Ysassi, along with forces loyal to him, including freed slaves led by Juan Lubolo (Juan de Bolas). At first, Ysassi and his forces had set up their headquarters at present-day Old Harbour, from where they launched sporadic attacks on the English forces which had taken up positions in the old Spanish capital, Villa de La Vega. From there, Ysassi's forces moved westwards along Jamaica's south coast, ambushing and killing English soldiers wherever they encountered them. By the later part of 1655, Ysassi and his guerrillas arrived in what is now St Elizabeth, where Ysassi set up his headquarters in the Santa Cruz Mountains. Vast herds of cattle on the St Elizabeth Plains provided a ready food source for the resisting Spaniards. They were determined to regain control of Jamaica, but to do so they needed reinforcements of men and military supplies.

Ysassi's first plan for assistance was to get the governor of Cartagena, Don Pedro Zapata, to land men and reinforcements along the south coast, at *Puerto de Pereda* (Great Pedro Bay). Ysassi proposed to alert Zapata's forces to his exact location at Great Pedro Bay by sending up two sets of smoke signals from the beach. The expected help from Zapata did not arrive until October, 1655. Before then, the English forces had arrived in St Elizabeth. An attempt by the English soldiers to take control of Rio Caobana (the Black River) was initially defeated by Ysassi and his men. The resistance forces led by Ysassi, retreated to *Hato Caobana*, where they prepared for the coming battle.

The Battle of Caobana (The Battle of Black River)

The final defeat of the Spaniards by the English forces is often associated with the two last military encounters which occurred on Jamaica's north coast at *Las Chorreras* (Ocho Rios) in October, 1657 and at Rio Nuevo in June 1658. However, the very first significant battle was the Battle of *Caobana,* which took place at the *Hato Caobana* in today's Black River area of St Elizabeth in late 1655. The *Hato Caobana* was heavily fortified and the Spanish resistance took up their positions, both inside the ranch and along the banks of the Black River. Today, most persons refer to this conflict as the *Battle of Black River*. Inside the Hato were several priests who had accompanied the Spaniards, looking after their spiritual welfare and trying to boost their morale. In advance of the expected battle, several Spanish women and their families from surrounding settlements in St Elizabeth had taken shelter at *Hato Caobana*.

In a battle which lasted over five days, the Spaniards repeatedly defeated the attempts of the English to break down the defences of the Hato. However, the English were finally able to break through the Spanish defence. The Spaniards suffered many losses to the English, who also experienced many fatalities. Among those Spaniards who died in the battle were the Curate and Rector of the Catholic Church, Gabriel de Barahona and a second priest, Toribio de Llanes. Two of the Spanish women who had sought refuge in the Hato were taken prisoner.

An enemy of a different sort also took a toll on the Spaniards as well as the retreating English soldiers. Reports described a plague of lice, ticks and mange, which sickened many and weakened their ability to fight. The Battle of Caobana was important because it reduced the numbers of Spaniards who were available to mount an effective resistance and this contributed to the final defeat of the Spaniards. Unable to freely hunt the cattle for food during the battle, they were also weakened by starvation. Low in spirit, Ysassi and the Spanish survivors finally received relief from Zapata in October of 1655.

The Resistance Ends

In the aftermath of the Battle of Caobana, the King of Spain gave orders for the governor of Cuba to send forces to assist the Spaniards in Jamaica. However, there were serious disagreements between Ysassi and the Cuban governor as to where this expeditionary force should land. The Cubans insisted that an approach from Jamaica's north coast was preferable because it was closer to Cuba. Ysassi on the other hand, had remained at his base in Santa Cruz and insisted that a landing on the St Elizabeth coast would be wiser because of access to cattle for food and horses for transport. Eventually, the decision was taken to approach the island with a north-coast landing. The two attempts by the Spaniards in Cuba to reinforce the resistance in Jamaica at *Las Chorreras* (Ocho Rios) in 1657 and again in 1658 at the final battle of *Rio Nuevo* ended in dismal failure. Ysassi and the surviving forces retreated to Cuba in 1660. The Spanish presence in St Elizabeth and the rest of Jamaica was effectively ended. [4]

THE FOUNDATION YEARS OF ST ELIZABETH: THE ENGLISH TAKE CONTROL

The Formation of the Parish of St Elizabeth

The parish of St Elizabeth came into existence by 1670 and was among the second group of parishes created in Jamaica under English rule. These included St Elizabeth, St George, St Mary, St Ann and St James. By 1670, there were therefore twelve parishes, including the first seven (St Catherine, St John, Port Royal, Clarendon, St David, St Andrew and St Thomas) which had been

created by the Jamaican Assembly in 1664. Because St Elizabeth was formed under the governorship of Sir Thomas Modyford (1664-1671), the parish was named in honour of his wife, Elizabeth, Lady Modyford.

Changes in the Size and Parish Boundaries of St Elizabeth over the Years

St Elizabeth, 1670-1703

When it was first created, St Elizabeth was much larger than it is now. This was so because in 1670, Westmoreland did not exist and, therefore, there was no parish to the west of St Elizabeth. As a result, St Elizabeth occupied all of the southwestern part of the island, all the way to the tip of Jamaica's south west coast. The extensive size of St Elizabeth in 1670 may be seen by observation of the *1671 Map of Jamaica*, which had been produced as a result of a survey of the island ordered by Governor Modyford.

Hanover did not exist in 1670, but St Elizabeth did not cover the area now occupied by Hanover. Similarly, Manchester did not exist at that time but St Elizabeth also did not cover the area now occupied by Manchester. Instead, the *1671 Map of Jamaica* shows those areas as "unnamed". This map may be viewed by visiting the website listed in endnote five. An interesting result of St Elizabeth's larger size was seen in 1675 when British refugees from Surinam were sent to settle in St Elizabeth. The area in which they settled became known as *Surinam Quarters,* and this remained part of St Elizabeth until 1703 when Westmoreland was formed and came to include *Surinam Quarters*.

St Elizabeth: Boundary Changes in 1703 with the Formation of Westmoreland

The first change to St Elizabeth's size and boundaries came in 1703 when the new parish of Westmoreland was carved out of the western side of St Elizabeth. As of that year, St Elizabeth lost a large part of its western side and therefore no longer stretched all the way to the tip of the southwest coast of Jamaica. This major change was brought about by a law passed in 1703, known as the ***Island Act for Dividing the Parish of St Elizabeth into Two Parishes***. This Act divided the large parish of St Elizabeth into two parishes, St Elizabeth and Westmoreland (to the west of St Elizabeth). The Law set out the new boundary line on the western side of St Elizabeth which separated the parish from the newly created Westmoreland. According to the 1703 Act, the boundary line separating Westmoreland from St Elizabeth was to begin in the south "at a place commonly called and known by the name of Scott's Cove, in Syranam (sic) (Surinam) Quarters". The boundary line was to run in a north-east direction.

Everything to the east of that line at Scott's Cove and stretching eastwards to the parish of Clarendon would make up the separate parish of St Elizabeth. Everything to the west of the line (including Scott's Cove) would make up the new and separate parish called Westmoreland. An important result of this 1703 Act was to extend the size of St Elizabeth all the way eastwards to the boundary with the parish of Clarendon. Therefore, all of the land shown on the *1671 Map* as "unnamed" (which would later become Manchester) now became a part of St Elizabeth for the first time. In this way, the 1703 Act reduced St Elizabeth's size on her western side while enlarging the parish on the eastern side all the way back to the boundary with Clarendon.

St Elizabeth: Boundary Changes in 1739

In 1739, the boundary on the eastern side of St Elizabeth underwent further changes. Before 1739, the Carpenter's Mountains were a part of the eastern section of St Elizabeth, and the mountain range also stretched across St Elizabeth's eastern border into the parish of Clarendon. In 1739, the ***Island Act for the Uniting of Parts of Carpenter's Mountains to the Parish of Vere*** was passed. Vere was a new parish which had been carved out of the southern part of Clarendon. St Elizabeth lost all those parts of the Carpenter's Mountains which stretched from the north eastern section of the parish all the way south to Alligator Pond Bay. This mountain range now became part of Vere. The new boundary line on St Elizabeth's eastern side ended in the south at Alligator Pond, which remained part of St Elizabeth.

St Elizabeth: Final Boundary Changes in 1814 with the Creation of Manchester

In 1814, the new parish of Manchester was created out of the hilly districts of the three parishes of St Elizabeth, Vere and Clarendon. This change was made by the ***Island Act of December 22, 1814*** (Geo. 111, C. 23). By the terms of this Act, St Elizabeth lost more of the hilly areas in the eastern section of the parish to Manchester, including the May Day Mountains, a small section of which had been part of eastern St Elizabeth before 1814 and the Don Figuerero (Figueroa) Mountains. The boundary line separating St Elizabeth from Manchester was ordered drawn on James Robertson's *1804 Map of the County of Cornwall*. This boundary line separating St Elizabeth from Manchester ran from the riverhead at Alligator Pond in the extreme south of St Elizabeth, onwards to Gutters and to the lookout and then on to the westernmost part (sink) of Hector's River. All areas east of this line, including Alligator Pond and Gutters, remained part of the reduced parish of St Elizabeth by 1814. [5]

After the Boundary Changes: A Glimpse at the Main Features of St Elizabeth

Coastal Place Names After 1814

In the years after 1814, the place names along St Elizabeth's coastline continued for the most part until today, with the addition of a few names, such as Treasure Beach, in later years.

Moving eastwards from the western parish boundary at Scott's Cove, the main coastal place names are Luana Point, then Luana Bay (both reflecting the Portuguese influence in Spanish place names during the fifteenth century). Bush Point, the next coastal landmark, may have been named for the overgrowth of vegetation in that area, while Chocolata Bay, as shown earlier, pointed to the Spanish love for cocoa and chocolate. Continuing eastwards along the coast, the next major landmark is Black River Harbour where the Black River has its mouth. The English settlers in the parish gave this name to the river because the dark brown colouring of the decayed plant material (peat) that lay in the riverbed gave the otherwise clear water, a dark appearance. Parottee Bay, the next point along the coast, is the English version of the name *Palleta*, which the Spaniards gave to their settlement there.

Walde Vaca Morass, next along the coast, was originally *Valle de las Vacas*, an indication of the Spanish emphasis on cattle ranching on the surrounding plains. Except for a thin layer of clay loam, the land in the south western parts of the parish, such as the Pedro Plains, consists of red clay, which is not fertile soil. This, along with the fact that this part of St Elizabeth is prone to long, dry spells, contributed to a very poor yield of crops from the earliest period of settlement. No doubt, periods of food shortage in the area would have influenced the name given by the English to the next coastal landmark, which is Starve-Gut Bay. As seen earlier, the Spanish influence is found in the many places in this area bearing the name *Pedro* which originally had the name *Pereda*. Frenchman's Bay, so named from the seventeenth century, may have had its origin in the illegal trade carried out by the French in this sheltered bay. The extensive savannahs along the south eastern coastal area and the livestock industry which the English settlers continued here influenced the naming of Bull Savannah. Alligator Pond River, which empties into Alligator Pond Bay and forms the eastern boundary with Manchester, reflect the connection to the wildlife in the area.

Some Interesting Features of St Elizabeth

Geographical features of St Elizabeth vary from place to place in the parish, and this important fact shaped the activities of the people who came to settle and the way in which the parish developed over time. Southern St Elizabeth is covered by extensive grassy plains (savannahs) which made the area, such as the Pedro Plains, very suited to the rearing of cattle, horses, mules, sheep and goats. So it is not surprising that the Spaniards first and then the English who came after them, emphasised animal rearing and the livestock pens for which this part of St Elizabeth became famous.

A View of Brae's River in Horse Savannah Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

On the other hand, the southern part of the parish has always been subject to long dry spells and severe drought, with early settlers in the eighteenth century having to store rain water (when rains fell) in very early versions of water tanks (described in a later section). As seen earlier, the soil in this part of the parish is also not very fertile and therefore, sugar cane planting, for example, could not become an important part of life in southern St Elizabeth. An interesting place name, *Labour in Vain Savannah,* on the south east end of the parish, is a fitting description of the challenges which early settlers faced in this part of St Elizabeth. Names given to other savannah areas such as *Horse Savannah*, *Burnt Savannah* and *Bull Savannah* also reflected the conditions and activities that existed there.

The main crop which was grown in this area in earlier centuries was cassava. From the middle of the parish moving northwards, the rich fertile soil on the banks of the Black River and the Y.S. River was ideal for sugar cane cultivation and agriculture in general. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sugar estates were concentrated in this part of the parish, including areas such as Black River, Lacovia and Middle Quarters. Coffee and other crops were also grown in the hilly areas and slopes of the main mountain ranges, the Lacovia Mountains to the west, Nassau Mountains to the east and the Santa Cruz Mountain, which runs from north to south. Like its mixture of geographical features, St Elizabeth also stands out for its variety of ethnic and

racial groups that came or were brought into the parish over the years, resulting in a considerable number of mixed and light-skinned people, for which the parish is known. [6]

The People who came: Settlement of St Elizabeth in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

By the time the English began their conquest of Jamaica in 1655, there were three groups of people who had been living in St Elizabeth, in addition to the Spaniards. The first of these were the Tainos, whose numbers had been drastically reduced to the point of disappearance as a result of European disease, overwork and cruel treatment endured under the Spaniards. The second group included Jews of Portuguese and Spanish origin, living on the island before the English arrived. Marriage links between the Spanish Crown and the Portuguese Royal House of Braganza had made it possible for Portuguese ship-builders, traders and merchants, many of them Jews, to settle in Spanish Jamaica. Additionally, many Spanish Jews had earlier fled to Portugal to escape the Spanish Inquisition (a form of religious persecution). A considerable number of these Spanish Jews, after agreeing to convert to Christianity, came to settle in Spanish Jamaica from 1530 onwards. While the Catholic Spaniards ruled Jamaica, these Jews or *conversos,* as they were known, could not openly practice their Jewish faith. However, when the English took over, they were welcomed by these Portuguese and Spanish Jews, and most of them returned to practicing their Jewish faith. One of the first Jewish settlers to own land in St Elizabeth after the English takeover was Moses Cardosso who acquired 500 acres on 29th September, 1674. Jews were to become important settlers in many of Jamaica's parishes, including St Elizabeth.

Africans, initially brought here through forced migration from their homes and enslaved by the Spaniards, were the third group of people who were living in Jamaica before the arrival of the English. When the English invaded Jamaica in 1655, some Spaniards freed their slaves, and some of the enslaved took advantage of the chaos and confusion to escape the bonds of slavery on the *hatos* by fleeing to the surrounding hills. Some of these freed slaves established their homes in the Cockpit Country, part of which was located in the northern section of what would become St Elizabeth parish. These Maroons, as they were known, were not recognised as free people by the new English rulers, and years of conflict resulted. Nevertheless, the Maroon presence in what would become St Elizabeth pre-dated the arrival of the English, and these Africans would eventually form the basis of the Maroon settlement of *Accompong* (discussed later).

After taking control of Jamaica, the English effectively occupied Villa de La Vega (Spanish Town) and encouraged early settlements in Port Royal, St Catherine, parts of Clarendon and St Thomas. Gradually, the English extended their settlements all along the south coast to include

the newly created parish of St Elizabeth. They did so by offering land to Europeans (whites) who were encouraged over time to build homes, farm the land and raise their families.

Surinam Quarters: The First English Settlement in St Elizabeth in the Seventeenth Century

Under English rule, the earliest white settlers brought into St Elizabeth came from Surinam. Before 1667, Surinam was a British colony, settled by Englishmen and their families. However, the Dutch captured Surinam from the British in 1667, and the treaty which ended the war allowed the Dutch to keep Surinam in exchange for giving the colony of New Amsterdam (later called New York) to Britain. As a result, English families in Surinam had to be re-located. The decision was taken to resettle them in St Elizabeth which was in need of English settlers. The governor of Jamaica at the time, Lord Vaughan, was instructed to prepare for their arrival in the parish and to give them twice the amount of land that was usually given to settlers. Usually, thirty acres of land was given to "every Protestant white person" and an extra thirty acres was to be given to each white member of the family. For each slave brought to the colony, the owner was to receive an additional five acres. In the case of the refugees from Surinam, therefore, all of these amounts were to be doubled and this was done in an effort to encourage settlement in St Elizabeth. In one of the largest migrations of English settlers to the parish, twelve hundred settlers, along with their servants and slaves, were relocated to St Elizabeth in 1675, in an area which almost immediately became known and referred to as *Surinam Quarters.*

Surinam Quarters was at that time (1675) located along the coast, to the northwest of Black River Bay. For twenty eight years, from their arrival in 1675 until 1703, these settlers and their families played an important part in establishing English settlement in St Elizabeth on a firm footing. However, as seen earlier, changes were made to the western boundary of St Elizabeth in 1703. In that year, Westmoreland was carved out of the western side of the then very large parish of St Elizabeth, and the shifting of the boundary line at that time, effectively meant that *Surinam Quarters* became a part of the newly created parish of Westmoreland. Therefore, Westmoreland benefitted in the long term from these settlers, but not before they and their families had made an important contribution to the start-up phase of English settlement in St Elizabeth.

Scottish Settlement in St Elizabeth in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

A second group of European settlers, this time from Scotland, also made their homes in St Elizabeth, beginning in 1700. In that year, it became clear that an attempt by persons from Scotland to settle at Darien on the coast of Panama had failed miserably. Of those who survived the disease-infested settlement attempt, some returned to Scotland and others came to Jamaica, where they established settlements especially along the south coast of the island.

Among the survivors was Colonel John Campbell, a captain of the troops at Darien. Campbell and other Scots from the failed expedition arrived in Jamaica in 1700 and established settlements along St Elizabeth's south coast. Campbell acquired land on the fertile banks of the Black River where he went into sugar production and livestock rearing. Over time, his Black River property, which he called Hodges Pen, grew to two thousand acres. He married the daughter of Colonel Claiborne with whom he had several children, thereby increasing the size of the Campbell clan in the parish. Campbell went on to serve as the member of the House of Assembly for St Elizabeth and later, Custos of the parish.

When he died in 1740, Colonel Campbell was buried on the grounds of his property at Hodges Pen, and the inscription on his tomb points to the fact that he was the first of the Campbell clan to settle in Jamaica. Some of Colonel Campbell's descendants (for more than three generations) remained in St Elizabeth after his death and contributed to the development of the Campbell properties in Black River. Colin Campbell, who was the eldest son of Colonel Campbell, lived in Black River and was appointed to the Legislative Council of Jamaica after his father's death in 1740. John Campbell, who was the grandson of Colonel John Campbell, remained on the family property at Hodges Pen and was elected as the Member of the House of Assembly for St Elizabeth from 1768 until 1770.

When the British government passed a law in 1707 unifying the Parliaments of Scotland and England, this influenced some Scots to settle in Jamaica as they could then participate in the trade and commerce of the island. Many Scottish settlers who came to live in St Elizabeth were encouraged to do so by the networks of support and information provided by early Scottish settlers like Colonel John Campbell. Their numbers also increased naturally as a result of marriages and child-bearing. Between 1740 and 1800, the total Scottish population in St Elizabeth amounted to about 3.10 percent of the total population of the parish. In 1754, there were sixteen Scottish landowners in St Elizabeth.

Among the other Scottish settlers and landowners in St Elizabeth in the eighteenth century were Alexander Forbes of Scotland who leased Aberdeen Estate (a Scottish place name which survives in the parish today) from 1736 to 1755. Craigie Pen, originally a livestock property, was owned by Hugh Wallace, another long-standing Scottish family. Aberdeen remains a permanent Scottish imprint on the place names in St Elizabeth today. Other members of the Campbell clan also settled here and owned properties, and these included Dugald Campbell and his son, John, who owned Dalintober Estate in the parish and Peter Campbell, who was the original owner of Holland sugar estate. Ben Lomond, another place name in the parish, reflects the Scottish influence. [7]

Expansion of Settlements across St Elizabeth in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Land Grants by Britain Lead to an Increase in Settlement of St Elizabeth

The availability of land was a powerful attraction for persons who wanted to make a new start away from Europe. Land offered the opportunity to make a living from growing and producing goods which were in demand in Europe and which could then be exported for profit. As seen earlier, in the seventeenth century, the British government offered free grants of land to persons wishing to settle in the newly acquired colony of Jamaica. This practice of granting lands as an incentive for settlers continued until the end of the eighteenth century and led to a very successful expansion of settlements across the parish of St Elizabeth. By 1754, there were approximately 163 landholders in St Elizabeth, owning a total of 219,838 acres. These properties ranged in size from small farms of under one hundred acres to vast amounts exceeding sixteen thousand acres. Some of these settlers included Jacob Cole, who had seventy eight acres, Thomas Golding, with sixty seven acres, James Powell with 255 acres and John Watson with 494 acres. Among those who owned larger properties were Ezekiel and Caleb Dickinson, who in 1754 owned a total of 7,055 acres, including what was to become Appleton Estate (discussed in a later section). Caleb Dickinson would later contribute to a trust fund which led to the establishment of Munro College in St Elizabeth. In 1754, Samuel Foster was one of the largest landholders in the parish, with 11,495 acres.

Women also owned land, sometimes as inheritance, sometimes as widows and sometimes on their own. Examples include Dorothy Fisher, with eighty acres, Priscilla Grey, with 780 acres and Catharine Smith who owned 294 acres. The Scottish settlers were well represented by members of the Campbell clan, such as Colin Campbell, with 1,555 acres, Dugald Campbell, with five hundred acres in 1754 and Duncan McCorquodale, who had started out as an overseer on a livestock property called Pepper Pen from 1741 to 1743 and who owned 1,350 acres by 1754.

American Loyalists Given Land in St Elizabeth

In 1774, the thirteen colonies of Britain in North America went to war with the British in a bid to gain their independence from the mother country. When the War of American Independence (as the war was known) ended in 1783, the victorious thirteen colonies became the United States of America. However, not all of the colonists had supported this war for independence and those who wished to remain loyal to the mother country, Britain, were known as Loyalists. When the war ended, these Loyalists faced an uncertain future and most wished to relocate themselves and their families to other British colonies where they would be safe. The British government began the process of offering them land in other colonies as a reward for their loyalty.

In 1783, the British government granted land in St Elizabeth to approximately 177 of these American Loyalists, most of who were from North and South Carolina. Some of the loyalists who were given land in the parish included John Atkinson, Robert Brown, Ann Burgess, James Carey, Alexander Cameron, Robert Craig, James Curry, Jonathan Coates, John and James Downie, Joel and John Evans, Colonel John Fisher, Joseph Fletcher, Robert Gray, Peter Hamilton, James and Moses Kirkland, John Lyon, Thomas Mellish, Peter and Daniel McNeil, Margaret Neil, Mrs Charlotte Pollock, John Pringle, George Ramsay, nine members of the Wright family, James and Elizabeth Weir, Robert Watts and George Wilkinson. Other loyalists with the surnames Alexander, Braidsford, Bradford, Bull, Bryan, Bethune, Brooms, Douglass, Davis, Finlayson, Fraser, Grant, Graham, Gordon, Greenwood, Griffiths, Hall, Hill, Knox, Kennedy, Lynch, McKenzie, Minot, McKay, Murray, McDonald, Martin, Nelson, Phillips, Robinson, Stewart, Thompson and Wallace were also given land in St Elizabeth. [8]

They Came Before the English: The Maroon Settlement at *Accompong*, St Elizabeth

When the English began the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, most of the Spanish settlers freed their slaves before themselves fleeing to nearby Cuba. As seen earlier, some of these freed slaves had remained loyal to the Spaniards led by Governor Ysassi in the resistance campaign against the English. As the defeat of the Spaniards seemed more likely, Juan de Bolas and a group of freed slaves switched their allegiance to the English in 1660. However, the majority of the ex-slaves of the Spaniards refused to surrender to the English and remained in the surrounding hills and mountains, living off the countryside and maintaining their freedom. These freedom fighters were the early Maroons.

By the 1670s, one group of these ex-slaves had established themselves in the Cockpit Country, a rugged, forested hilly terrain which was difficult to traverse, but which provided them with a safe haven from the English. The Cockpit Country extended into parts of three parishes, eastern sections of St James, western portions of Trelawny and the northern section of St Elizabeth. This group became known as the *Leeward Maroons*, as distinct from the *Windward Maroons* who had journeyed eastwards into parishes such as Portland and had established themselves on the northern slopes of the Blue Mountains. It was from among the Leeward Maroons that the community of *Accompong* would be formed. The Leeward Maroons were led by *Cudjoe (Kojo)* who was assisted by his brothers Johnny and *Accompong.*

For many years, the Cockpit Country provided the Maroons with a safe mountain home where they lived and raised their families in freedom. Their numbers were constantly increased by slaves who escaped the surrounding plantation below and joined the Leeward Maroons. The English settlements below were also a source of supplies for the Maroons who periodically raided these areas much to the detriment of the settlers. In 1665, the English government had offered the Maroons land and their full freedom if they surrendered but this was refused as the

Maroons had always regarded themselves as free people. In the ongoing conflicts between the English and the Maroons, there were many unsuccessful efforts by the English to locate and defeat the freedom fighters, who inevitably gained the upper hand in several skirmishes with the English. These skirmishes were collectively known as the First Maroon War.

How Accompong Came to Be

Accompong in St Elizabeth was in existence as a Maroon camp long before the Treaty of 1739 which ended the conflict between the Leeward Maroons and the English. Located at 1,409 feet above sea level in the rugged Cockpit Country side of northern St Elizabeth, this community was started as a supply base and a safe haven from which to support the freedom fight of the Leeward Maroons and Cudjoe's (Kojo) brother, Accompong, was put in charge of this camp. Kojo, Johnny and Accompong, as well as many of the Leeward Maroons, were originally from the Twi-speaking people (Coromantees) of Ghana in West Africa, many of whom had been captured and brought to Jamaica by Portuguese slave traders who had sold them to the Spaniards. *Accompong* comes from the *Twi* name, *Acheampong,* their Supreme Being, their God of the Heavens and Kojo's brother was named *Accompong* in honour of their God.

The Treaty with the English was known as *Cudjoe's Treaty* and was signed on 1st March 1739 by Cudjoe, his brothers Accompong and Johnny, along with Cuffee and Quaco. This agreement officially recognised the Maroons as free people and, among other provisions, granted 1,500 acres of land in St James to Cudjoe for the purpose of building a Maroon Town. This was named Trelawny Town after the governor of Jamaica at the time. However, this treaty did not grant land on which to build a Maroon Town at Accompong. This was done in a separate provision set out in the Act (31 Geo. 11.IX, 2). By the terms of this Act, one thousand acres of land in northern St Elizabeth were given to Cudjoe and his Maroons to build a second Maroon town. This land in northern St Elizabeth included the area where Accompong had set up the base camp to assist the freedom fight of the Maroons. The town of Accompong was built on the site of the former supply camp and Cudjoe placed his brother, Accompong, in command of the town, which was officially named *Accompong Town* after him.

In 1795, when the Trelawny Maroons of St James came out in open rebellion against the English and the Second Maroon War broke out, the Maroons of Accompong Town did not participate in that war. When the war ended, many of the Trelawny Town Maroons were forcedly transported to Halifax in Nova Scotia, Canada and two years after that, they were re-settled in Sierra Leone. The British eventually burnt Trelawny Town to the ground, removing all prospects for the resurrection of this Maroon Town. After 1795, therefore, Accompong Town in St Elizabeth assumed even more significance as it became and still remains the only Maroon town in the western side of Jamaica.

Interestingly, the name given to a district in St Elizabeth, the *District of Look Behind*, located just east of Accompong Town, is linked to this period of skirmishes with the Maroons. During the First Maroon War, British troops found it extremely difficult and dangerous trying to track the Maroons in the heavily forested area of the Cockpit Country. The Maroons used guerrilla tactics of attacking the soldiers from hidden areas along the path. Therefore, as the troops were riding through on horseback, the soldiers had to ride in pairs, with one facing forward and the other looking behind for possible Maroon attackers emerging from the bushes. Appropriately, the area became known as the *Land of Look Behind* and this place name is an enduring symbol of the success of the Maroons in their fight to maintain their freedom.

Efforts by the English to defeat the Maroons and deprive them of their freedom also had a long term effect on the racial mixture of some of the people who have lived in St Elizabeth. In an effort to track down the Maroons, the English brought in a large group of Amerindians known as the *Miskito* people, from the Central American coast, where Nicaragua exists today. After the Maroon Wars ended, some of the Miskito Indians wished to remain in the parish, and they were given lands in southern St Elizabeth, especially in the Parattee area, where they established settlements around 1740. Over the years, they may have contributed to the racial blend that exists in the parish.

A Closer Look at the Maroons of Accompong Town in 1831

In 1788, according to a *Return of Inhabitants of Jamaica* (an early census), sent by the governor to the British government, there were 159 Maroons living in Accompong. By 1831, this number had increased to 282, including seventy eight men, seventy five women, fifty seven boys and seventy two girls, who were all living in Accompong Town in 1831. At that time, the leader of the Accompong Maroons was sixty-one year old Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew White. He was assisted by three Captains, James Rowe (sixty-one years) William Dennis Reid (fifty-five years) and James Dennis Foster (fifty-seven years). Additionally, there were four Lieutenants, Robert Reid Peate (fifty-four years) Richard Rowe (thirty years) John Reid (fifty-three years) and John Watson, who was forty-three years old.

There were certain family names or surnames which were fairly common among the adult males who numbered seventy eight in all. There were four men with the surname *Adlam,* although none of the women or children had that name. It is quite possible that the four *Adlam* men were closely related, with fifty-four year old William *Adlam* being the father and twenty-two year old John *Adlam,* as well as Samuel and Colin *Adlam* (both eighteen and possibly twins) being his three sons. Four men had the surname *Cross,* and of the four, Thomas *Cross*, forty-four and Thomas *Cross* junior, nineteen years, were father and son. None of the women were named *Cross*, and this suggests that a few of the Maroon women of Accompong chose to maintain separate identities from the men who may have been their partners and fathers of

their children. It is clear that the *Cross* males fathered a fair number of children, all of whom were given their fathers' surname. The *Cross* children included two small boys of eight and four years, as well as Thomas *Cross* junior mentioned above. There were ten *Cross* girls, ranging in ages from two to sixteen years.

Maroons from Accompong Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

There were four adult males with the surname *Dennis*, one (Barnet *Dennis*) being described in the *Returns* as a *mulatto* (having one white parent, one black parent). Joseph *Dennis* was described as a *sambo* (one black parent, one mulatto parent). Two women, Jane (thirty years) and Louisa (twenty three) carried the surname *Dennis,* and although we cannot be sure that they were married to the *Dennis* men, this would seem to be the case as there were four boys and one girl carrying the surname *Dennis*. *Rowe* was a common surname among the men (seven adult males having that name). Interestingly, there were also seven *Rowe* women along with seven children (four boys and three girls) bearing the name *Rowe*. Five Maroon men had the surname *Peate*, with one woman and four children bearing that name. Other common surnames shared by the men, women and children of Accompong Town included *Reid*, *Smith*,

Salmon, Pight, White and *Wright*, which was very common, with five men, twelve women, nine girls and seven boys bearing that surname.

In 1831, some of the Accompong Maroons were living elsewhere on the island, and these included thirty five males and thirty six females. First names of almost every Maroon reflected a continuation of names derived from English naming practices. In 1831, there were only two Maroon first names which showed a connection with early Maroon heritage, and these were in honour of freedom fighters *Nanny* (an older woman of seventy seven years) and *Quao* (two young men and two small boys). Some of the Accompong Maroons, especially the leadership, were owners of slaves in 1831. In that year, they owned sixteen slaves, of whom seven were males and nine were females.

Today, the Maroon community of Accompong Town, led by Colonel Fearon Williams, remains a proud testament to the history and legacy of their people. As will be seen in a later section, the victorious history and cultural heritage of Accompong are shared and celebrated with the public each year on 6th January (Cudjoe's Day), when the Maroons of Accompong commemorate their historic journey. [9]

Settlement Patterns in St Elizabeth before Emancipation

From its earliest years of existence right up to Emancipation, St Elizabeth proved very attractive for persons wishing to establish settlements and make a living from all the possibilities that the parish offered. As early as 1754, the total number of acres owned in the parish was 219, 838. The open, rolling grassy plains or savannahs of southern St Elizabeth provided many opportunities for settlers to establish prosperous livestock farms or pens on which they raised a variety of animals, in particular cattle and horses, for which the parish soon became famous.

However, the very dry conditions with hardly any rainfall meant that these areas in southern St Elizabeth, such as the Pedro Plains, were not suited for sugar cane cultivation, which was more successful in the northern half of the parish. Describing the dry conditions on the plains in 1823, Cynric Williams informed us that the "only water on the Pedro Plains is obtained from tanks, made to preserve the rain." Deep holes or "pits" were dug and plantain stalks thrown into the hole and then pounded into the ground. The juice from the plantain stalks was in this way mixed in with the earth, making the pit solid and waterproof so that when rain did fall, the rainwater would be stored in the pit. To prevent the water from being evaporated by the sun's rays, the early settlers covered these pits with a framework of thickly plaited reeds. Ironically, over a century and a half later, the government of Jamaica, in November 2019, announced the completion of a feasibility study aimed at establishing an irrigation system to harness the water

of the Black River and by so doing, provide the over four thousand farmers of the Pedro Plains with a solution to the age old problem of no water on the land.

Moving northwards in the parish, two of St Elizabeth's most important rivers, the Black River and the Y S River, provided soil conditions which were very suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane and agriculture in general. The Black River begins as an underground stream in the Cockpit Country and emerges in the extreme northeast end of St Elizabeth, flowing through the Upper Morass and down to the middle of the parish, passing near Lacovia and merges with the Y S River near the Middle Quarters River. From here, the Black River continues its flow in a general south westerly direction and empties into the harbour at Black River.

The Black River, Showing Mangrove Plants at a Section of the River Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Y S River rises in the extreme northwest of the parish at Ipswich, flows across the plain and down through the middle of the parish, through the Lower or Main Morass and merges into the Black River near to the Middle Quarters River.

Over time, the gushing water of both rivers led to the depositing of rich, dark and fertile soil on the lands and river banks around the paths of both rivers. The great fertility of this soil meant that settlers would establish their sugar estates and other properties cultivating crops, such as pimento, ginger and cotton, all along the banks and surrounding lands of the Black River and the Y S River. In the late seventeenth into the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a large cluster of estates in this part of St Elizabeth. Of importance too, was the abundance of naturally growing logwood and mahogany trees, which also made the parish attractive to settlers seeking to engage in profitable trade. The ridges and slopes of the several mountains, including the Nassau, Lacovia and Santa Cruz Mountains, also encouraged coffee growing.

Settlers came to St Elizabeth over these years not only because the land offered all of these diverse opportunities to make a profitable living, but also because land was accessible through land grants or could be bought at reasonable prices. Some also came as indentured servants, entering into agreements to work for persons who paid their passages here with the understanding that at the end of their term of service, they would be given land. To provide labour for all these economic activities, the settlers of St Elizabeth also used enslaved Africans, and this forced migration of persons to the parish had effects both on the economy and on the society. The *Return of Inhabitants of Jamaica* for 1788 shows that there were seven hundred white men, women and children, two thousand free coloureds and 12,800 slaves living in St Elizabeth, with a total population of 15,500. This excluded the 159 Maroons who were living in Accompong at that time.

By 1804, settlements were spread across most parts of St Elizabeth, and these were mainly rural agricultural settlements on properties devoted to sugar production, livestock rearing, logwood and mahogany exports, as well as other farming enterprises. In addition to *Accompong Town*, by 1804, there were two main towns established in St Elizabeth, and these were *Lacovia* and *Black River*. The development of these two towns will be looked at in a later section. The following section shows the main areas in St Elizabeth where settlements were established.

Settlements in St Elizabeth by 1763 and 1804

Northern St Elizabeth

An examination of Craskell and Simpson's *1763 Map of the County of Cornwall,* showing St Elizabeth, indicates that in 1763, there were only a few properties in the extreme north of the parish, in addition to Accompong Town. Ellerslea (by 1804, Eldersley) sugar estate lay to the west of Accompong Town and Aberdeen, also a sugar estate, was to the east of Accompong. Properties which were not sugar estates were usually identified by the surname of the owner who lived there, and these properties sometimes combined the growing of crops such as

ginger, pimento and cotton, with livestock, logwood or mahogany. Only two properties of this kind were in the area in 1763 and they were owned by Duffus and Lochaber.

Forty-one years later, James Robinson's *1804 Map of the County of Cornwall*, featuring St Elizabeth, showed a slight increase in the settlements in the extreme north of the parish. In addition to Eldersley and Aberdeen sugar estates, the area south of Accompong was home to properties owned by Fowlers, Shaw, Rankin, Lowe, Thornton, J. Robertson and Mure. Alexander Forbes, the Scottish owner of Aberdeen Estate, also had another property in the vicinity of Aberdeen, and so did his son, Alexander Forbes Junior.

Northwest St Elizabeth

On the other hand, in 1763, northwest St Elizabeth was more densely settled, with both sugar producing and non-sugar properties located on both sides of the Y.S. River, as owners clearly preferred the location for the more fertile soil on the banks of the river. Ipswich Sugar Estate was located near the Riverhead of the Y S River on the east bank, while Fonthill and Forrest Estates were closer to the western border of the parish. McLachlan, Shan, Hutchinson and McRonald all had non-sugar properties on the east bank of the YS. Clermont owned land to the north of the river, while the west bank was well populated with sugar estates, including Spring Garden, Springfield, Middlesex, Holland and Morse. Non-sugar properties named Morse's Crawl, Hebron, Lancewood, Lower Hill and Grave Vale were also on the west bank, in addition to those owned by Craig, Millar, Hazling and Dillengen. By 1804, there were many more properties in this area, including those belonging to Campbell, Gardner, Gilbert, Laird, Reynolds, Miller, Owen, Brown, Guthrie, Bowen, Brydon, Salmon, M. Smith, J. Smith, the Hon. C. Carpenter, J. Smith, Downie, Exton and three women, Mrs Farquharson, Mrs Brown and Miss Grant, whose properties were close to each other.

Northeast St Elizabeth

Moving from the centre of the parish in a north-easterly direction, there was a large cluster of both sugar estates and non-sugar settlements. Most of these were located on the banks of the Black River or within proximity to the river. The sugar estates were long-standing settlements and were there in 1763 as well as in 1804. These estates included Biscany, Bog, Barton Isles and Barton, Breadnut Valley, Luana, Vauxhall, Bagdale, Appleton, Windsor, Golden Grove, Island and Wallenford, the last two being close to the riverhead. Other sugar estates in the area were Bogue, Eden, Lancaster, Two Mile Wood, George's Valley, Cabbage Valley, Elim, Mexico, Union and the Lower Works property, which started out as a sugar estate and then focussed on livestock rearing. Non-sugar properties in the area in 1763 included those belonging to E. Dickinson, W. Foster, W. Haughton, Foster, Allen and by 1804, Angell, McLeod, Taylor, Barham,

B.W. and V. Dickinson and Trenier. Also in the northeast, but closer to the border with the area that later became Manchester, were properties owned by Mitchell, Monteath and Salkeld.

Cluster of Settlements near the Town of Lacovia

Most properties here were non-sugar producing, and in 1763, included those belonging to McLachlan, Roach, Wright, Allen, Burt, Gill, Haughton, Foster and Dickinson. Lacovia Sugar Estate, Breadnut Valley, Barton and Biscany Estates were all located in the vicinity. These estates were still in existence in 1804, but by that time, non-sugar properties were also abundant in the area. Owners of some of these properties by 1804 included Sleater, Delaroche, Alexander, Wright, Day, Wallace, Dunkley, Gopland, Wilson, Shaw, Mrs Davis, Mrs Smalling, Mrs Kilburn, Dunkley and Dickinson.

East of the Santa Cruz Mountains Going South

By 1763, some of the settlement properties in the foothills of this area included Santa Cruz Park, Somerset Hall, Gilnock Hall, Northampton and Carmel as well as those owned by Brooks, Wharton, Wright, Powell, Blake, Chambers and Eatham. By 1804, there was a considerable increase in settlements owned by persons such as Coley, Graham, Montague, Newman, Adlam, Findlason, Murray, Mullins, Pennycook, Harriott and Lynch. Other owners included Dr D. Robertson, Dr J. Robertson, Taylor and Owens, C. Forbes, James, J. Wright, Joseph Brooks, R. Brooks, G. Brooks, T. Banton, W. Wright and Miss Walsh.

Middle Quarters to the South West Coast including the Pedro Plains

In this part of the parish, there were more non-sugar properties rather than sugar estates. This was so in 1763 as well as in 1804. In 1763, estates included Top Hill, Luana and Dalintober, but Dalintober's owners concentrated more on livestock than sugar as the savannahs were more suited to livestock. Non-sugar properties in 1763 were Lancewood, Ruggless, Dillengen, Flower Hill, Giddy Hall, Fyffe, Littlejohn, Thomas, Cooper, Berry and Lower Works. By 1804, Dalintober was still there but there were many more non-sugar properties such as those belonging to Myers, Fisher, Tomlinson, The Hon. G.C. Ricketts, Roach, Allwood, Pitter, Cohen, Ruggless, Miss Smith, Mrs Brown, Dr White, Walker, Williams and Heath.

The Pedro Plains

The grassy Pedro Plains were ideal for livestock rearing, and therefore all of the settlements in this part of the parish were connected to this form of livelihood. Because the Pedro Plains were so extensive, the settlements were spread out across the plain rather than clustered together. In 1763, settlements centred on livestock rearing were established by the Briscoes, the Spotts,

Blunters, Christian and Thorne. There were also settlements at New Well, Watch Well, White Rock Pondside, Fullerswood and Brownberry. By 1804, the Ebanks family owned three of these properties, while two others were owned by James. Other properties were those belonging to Forbes, Ludford, Robb, Ledgister, Bennett, Forrest, Bromfield, Bent, Miss Walsh, Mrs Parchment, Coley, Swan, Graham, Montague, Newman and Adlam.

Properties Near to the Town of Black River

Even before 1763, there was a cluster of livestock pens and other properties very near to the small town of Black River. Some members of the Scottish Campbell family were among the owners in this area. Before he died in 1740, Colonel John Campbell (spoken about earlier in relation to Scottish settlers) also owned the livestock property known as Hodges Pen. John Vassal was the owner of Lower Works Pen, another livestock property near to the town. Other settlers included Berry and another Scottish family, the Archibaulds (Archibald).

Southeast St Elizabeth near to the Coast

This part of St Elizabeth was very sparsely settled by 1804, and the properties here were mainly concerned with livestock rearing. Settlement properties at Bull Savannah included those owned by Elliot, Rowe and Mushett. Closer to Alligator Pond Bay, owners included Bent, Swan and Miss Walsh. It is therefore clear that the spread of settlements across St Elizabeth varied according to the different geographical features of the several parts of the parish. However, despite these variations, the foregoing descriptions show that St Elizabeth was a well settled parish by 1804. [10]

Economic Activities and Impact on Landscape and Importance of St Elizabeth

As seen earlier, the names of some of the places across St Elizabeth were directly connected to the period of the Spanish presence in the parish. Other place names were linked to the natural features such as the relative dryness of the southern plains and the extensive grasslands in the south of the parish. These features gave rise to names such as Burnt Savannah, Starve Gut Bay and the presence of the name “savannah” in the names of several areas in southern St Elizabeth. However, it was the economic activities, such as sugar and coffee production, the logwood and mahogany trade, as well as livestock rearing, that had the greatest impact on the St Elizabeth’s history and development, instilling a tradition of crop farming and animal husbandry that shaped the economy and fortunes of the parish until the present as St Elizabeth holds pride of place as “the breadbasket parish” of Jamaica. It was these economic activities, more than any other factor that also shaped the landscape in terms of the many place names that became a part of St Elizabeth and which remain very visible throughout the parish to this

day. These economic activities, by emphasising the importance of enslaved African labour, also influenced the racial composition, society and culture of St Elizabeth.

Overview of St Elizabeth's Sugar Estates and their Impact on the Parish

Before Emancipation, there were approximately fifty seven sugar estates which were spread out in the more northerly sections of the parish on the fertile lands surrounding the Black River and the Y.S. River. Although the production of sugar and rum was the focus of these estates, their owners also engaged from time to time in exports of logwood or mahogany obtained from the woodlands on these properties. Several estate owners also combined sugar production with livestock rearing as an additional source of income, and at times focussed more on livestock than on sugar production. Similarly, some of the properties, which were named "Pens" (places where livestock were reared) were also listed as sugar estates because from time to time they also produced sugar and rum. Some of the sugar estates in St Elizabeth up to Emancipation included Aberdeen, Appleton (both highlighted below) Bagdale, Barton Estate, Barton Isles Estate (both highlighted shortly) Biscany, Bogue, Casement, Craigie, Dunkley, Flower Hill, Golden Grove and Hampstead Plantation. Breadnut Valley Estate, located on the west bank of the Black River, was a fair sized sugar-producing property which gave its name to the present day community of Breadnut Valley in St Elizabeth.

In many cases, as seen with Breadnut Valley, the sugar estates seem to have had an impact on the landscape of St Elizabeth in that communities which emerged after the estates ceased production sometimes continued the names of the former sugar property and kept these place names over the years until the present. This was the case with the 2,240-acre Cabbage Valley Estate which was located on the eastern side of St Elizabeth, close to the border with Manchester. In the eighteenth century, Cabbage Valley produced mainly sugar and logwood. Today, the community of Cabbage Valley is located in the same area and is mainly a community of dairy farmers, some of whom lease their land to cane farmers. Carisbrook was a medium sized property of 1,455 acres, but had a variety of products, including sugar and rum, cattle, corn, yam, plantains, timber and ginger. Today, the community of Carisbrook continues in the same general vicinity, to the southwest of Maggotty. Two landmarks of the present-day community are the Carisbrook Moravian Church and the Carisbrook Primary School.

Dalintober was located in south western St Elizabeth, close to the border with Westmoreland and east of Font Hill Estate. Dalintober was a small property of 857 acres and produced some sugar and rum, but the focus was mainly on livestock. The community of Dalintober still exists in the same area, and the name also lives on in the Dalintober to Font Hill Road. Other properties included Eldersley, Elim (both highlighted shortly) and Emmaus Pen, which produced

some sugar, but emphasised livestock rearing and which has influenced the present-day name given to the Emmaus to Nain Main Road. Flower Hill Pen, in spite of being termed a "pen", produced mainly sugar and rum from 1786 until 1803, along with cattle, logwood and cotton. Others were Font Hill Estate (featured shortly) and Fullerswood Pen, which produced sugar, rum and livestock up to the 1750s then mainly livestock after that date. Fullerswood will be discussed as a livestock property rather than as a sugar estate. Similarly, although Goshen and Longhill Pens both occasionally produced some sugar, they were major contributors to livestock production in St Elizabeth and will therefore be discussed in the section which looks at livestock properties. Holland and Ipswich Estates are highlighted shortly.

Other sugar-producing properties in St Elizabeth included Highgate Plantation and Island Estate. Island Estate was a very large property of 5,011 acres which was located between Appleton and Aberdeen Estates. Up to 1731, Island Estate was owned by Colonel John Foster, who passed it on to his son, Joseph Foster Barham in 1731, and this major sugar and rum-producing estate remained with the Foster Barham family until Emancipation. James Robertson's 1804 Map shows Lacovia Plantation as being located to the north west of what was then the small town of Lacovia. This sugar and rum producing property most likely took its name from the town of Lacovia (discussed later). The name *Lacovia* lives on in today's vibrant St Elizabeth town of the same name and in the Lacovia Tombstones (discussed along with the town of Lacovia). Also in St Elizabeth were Lancaster Estate, as well as Luana Sugar Estate and the livestock property of Luana Pen, both of which influenced the name of the well-developed Luana Housing Scheme that is presently located off Brompton Road, five miles away from Black River. Mexico Estate, Middlesex Pen and Middlesex Sugar Estate (different owners, both producing sugar) New Savannah Estate and Oxford Plantation (partly in St Elizabeth, partly in Manchester) were some of the other properties in St Elizabeth.

Although it was called Pepper Pen, this large property of 4,100 acres was an important producer of sugar and rum between 1741 and 1761 even while it combined these with the rearing of livestock and exports of mahogany. From 1762 onwards, the emphasis was on livestock and mahogany. Pepper was owned from the outset until Emancipation by the same Dickinson family which owned Barton and Appleton Sugar Estates (highlighted shortly). In 1811, Pepper Pen had 608 enslaved persons and 1,452 livestock. The place name, *Pepper,* continues

today in the district of Pepper, which is to the south of Gutters in St Elizabeth.

The Modern Pepper Post Office in the District of Pepper which was Home to Pepper Pen in Days Gone by Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Phantillands was a three-thousand acre property that produced sugar, rum and molasses, as well as livestock. A community by the same name exists in the parish today. Prospect and Long Hill Pen produced sugar and livestock, and the name lives on in the Prospect main road, as well as in the district of Prospect.

Another estate which combined the production of sugar, rum and molasses with the rearing of livestock and the exports of logwood and mahogany was Salt Spring Pen/Estate. The place name of this property continues today in the Salt Spring community, which lies to the east of Crane Corner and to the north of Fullerswood and is surrounded by the Crane Road. Other estates included Springfield, Tennants and Thornton Estate, the last estate having its name reflected in today's district of Thornton. Additionally, there were properties such as Tophill Pen (both sugar and livestock), Union Estate and Two Mile Wood. Today, the district of Two Mile Wood continues the name, located in the same area as the former estate, Union Estate and Valley Wash/ Walley Wash, with this place name continuing today. Other properties were Vauxhall Estate, Vineyard Pen (alternated between livestock and sugar) Wallingford Estate

(sugar and rum then coffee and cattle), Waterford, Windsor Estate and Y.S. Estate which is featured shortly.

Highlighting Some Sugar Estates and Their Impact on the Parish

Aberdeen Estate

Located in northern St Elizabeth and to the east of Accompong Town, Aberdeen Sugar Estate had important effects on the parish of St Elizabeth, which remained long after the estate had ceased to produce sugar. Aberdeen was an example of the early Scottish connection to the history of the parish. Around 1736, Alexander Forbes of Scotland leased the estate from Alexander McFarlane (another Scot) and named it *Aberdeen* after his home in Scotland. Alexander Forbes and his family remained in control of Aberdeen for a long while until 1782 when it was acquired by William Mitchell and afterwards, ownership passed to Dr James Rowe and his family.

From its beginnings until a few years before Emancipation, the owners of Aberdeen focussed on the production of sugar, rum and molasses, although from time to time, cattle were also reared to gain additional income and also to supply the estate's needs for draft animals (animals used to do work such as turning machinery and carrying loads). Aberdeen used an animal mill to grind the sugar cane in the works yard, and a constant supply of animals was important for activities such as this. The enslaved population on Aberdeen was not very large, and by 1815, there were fifty slaves registered to the estate. Owners of Aberdeen encouraged the English Moravian missionaries (discussed in the section on churches and schools) to be active among the enslaved, Christianising them and teaching obedience to authority as a Christian principle.

In the *Jamaica Almanac* of 1816, Aberdeen Estate was registered as belonging to the estate of the deceased owner, James Rowe and an interesting note attached indicated that the slaves had been sold and removed from that property. For the remaining period right up to Emancipation, there was no mention of Aberdeen in the subsequent *Almanacs* or in any records of sugar production. This, together with the final sale of all remaining slaves on the estate by 1816, seems to indicate that Aberdeen's history as a sugar estate was over by that year. Nevertheless, reminders of Aberdeen's pre-Emancipation history still exist today. Ruins of the eighteenth-century Aberdeen Great House, although abandoned and in a poor condition, are still visible and so are portions of the sugar works (factory). A section of the boiling house remains and the outline of the old animal mill can still be seen. Although archaeologists from the *Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT)* had not confirmed the reports in 2009, persons

living in the area informed the JNHT's team that a wooded area on the property, covered by vegetation, was also the site of the slave burial ground for those enslaved on Aberdeen Estate.

As will be seen in the section which deals with St Elizabeth in the period after Emancipation, Aberdeen would later become associated with the formation of free villages in the parish. However, the most enduring impact of Aberdeen is seen on the modern landscape and place names which continue to this day, to reflect the connection to Aberdeen of old. In the same general vicinity of the old Aberdeen Estate, there is today, the district of Aberdeen, with its infrastructure bearing the name of Aberdeen. For example, there is the Aberdeen All Age School and the Aberdeen Junior High School. This continuity may very well indicate a closer connection to the Free Village of Aberdeen than to the estate of Aberdeen as some of the descendants of the free villagers would no doubt still live in the area. The cultural influence of the Moravian Church, which was first evident in the days of Aberdeen Sugar Estate, is still obvious today as the Moravian Church is a central feature of the present-day district of Aberdeen.

Appleton Sugar Estate

St Elizabeth holds pride of place as being home to this historic sugar estate, one which is still going strong although today, the Appleton brand is more associated with J. Wray and Nephew's world-renowned array of rums. Appleton Estate is located in the Nassau Valley, between Maggotty and Siloah in St Elizabeth and was one of several sugar estates which were situated on the fertile banks of the Black River. From the very outset, its location allowed Appleton to use a water mill for crushing and grinding the sugar cane in order to extract the cane juice which was eventually made into sugar.

Early Ownership and Operation of Appleton Estate up to Emancipation

In seeking to explain why the estate was called *Appleton*, at least two sources suggest that it was named after its first owner, who the sources claim was James Appleton. The historical evidence does not support this claim. Rather, the first owner of Appleton was an Englishman, Captain Francis Dickinson, who lived from 1632 to 1704. Captain Dickinson was rewarded by King Charles 11 for his contribution to the English capture of Jamaica by being granted 6,000 acres of land in St Elizabeth. This land formed the basis of several estates which remained with the Dickinson family for a long time. One of these was Barton Estate and another was Appleton Estate. Captain Dickinson was born in Appleton, Berkshire in England and so named one of his estates, Appleton Estate, after his birthplace, a practice which was common among the early English owners of properties in these colonies. The first owner of Appleton Estate died on Barton Estate in the parish in 1704.

Captain Dickinson's estates were inherited by his son, Caleb (1670-1728), who married Sarah Vickris and had three sons (grandsons to Appleton's first owner). These were Ezekiel (1711-1788) Caleb (1716-1783) and Vickris (1718-1797) all of whom had interests in property in the parish. In fact, by 1754, two of these grandsons, Ezekiel and Caleb Dickinson, were listed as owning 7,055 acres in the parish of St Elizabeth. Caleb and his brother, Ezekiel, were joint owners of Appleton Estate for twenty-four years between 1755 and 1779. Appleton remained with the members of this family for many more years, even after Emancipation. This is seen in the fact that between 1817 and 1839, Ezekiel Dickinson's grandsons, Ezekiel Harman and Jeremiah Harman, along with William Dickinson 11, were joint owners of the estate. By 1839, Appleton covered approximately 5,000 acres.

Appleton Estate and Nassau Mountains from the Air Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

From the very outset, down to 1839, the focus of Appleton Estate was on the production of sugar and rum, although from time to time during the 1750s, cattle and horses were also bred on the estate. The 1760s saw a return to the almost exclusive production of sugar and rum, and this trend continued until 1839. There was an effort to gain additional income from livestock rearing during the war years, 1793-1795 and 1801 to 1804, when shipments of sugar to Britain became uncertain. Throughout this period, there was a steady reliance on enslaved labour, with slaves on Appleton numbering 183 in 1817 and 166 in 1832, two years before the ending

of legal slavery and the start of the Apprenticeship system in 1834. In the post-slavery period, Appleton Estate was to survive the many challenges that threatened the sugar industry in the parish and in the rest of Jamaica (the post-1838 period into the twentieth-century history of Appleton is examined in a later section). The tremendous success of this estate in the twentieth century meant that the name Appleton became synonymous both locally and internationally, with production of the finest quality sugar and importantly, rum.

Barton Estate and Barton Isles Estate

Both Barton Estate and Barton Isles shared the same owners (the Dickinson family) as Appleton Estate in the pre-Emancipation period. Located at a fair distance to the south of Appleton, Barton Estate was also ideally situated right on the bank of the Black River and therefore used a water mill for its factory operations. From 1741 to 1762, Vickris Dickinson was in charge while from 1757 to 1766, Ezekiel and Caleb Dickinson were joint owners. Barton remained with the Dickinson family until 1839. Barton Estate was mainly in sugar and rum production for the entire period but livestock, especially cattle and horses were also bred. Because of its location right on the Black River, a wharf was built at Barton in 1796 and from here, sugar and other products from Barton and nearby plantations, were transported by boat downriver to Black River Harbour for export. Rental paid by other owners for use of this wharf provided additional income for the owners of Barton Estate. A large estate of 3,860 acres to begin with, Barton had grown to 4,000 acres by 1839, with an enslaved population ranging from 237 in 1810 to 107 in 1832.

Barton Isles Estate/Barton Isles Livestock Pen

This property was only half the size of Barton Estate, with 2,000 acres in 1839. Ezekiel and Caleb Dickinson were joint owners from 1741 until 1786 and 1782 respectively. William Dickinson 1 and Barnard Dickinson took charge from the 1780s to around 1810 while William Dickinson 11 owned it from1809 to 1839. Along with William Dickinson 11, Jeremiah and Ezekiel Harman, the grandsons of Ezekiel Dickinson, also had ownership of Barton Isles from 1817 to 1839 while being joint owners of Appleton Estate in that time period.

Despite its smaller size, Barton Isles Estate, as it was first known, had a wider range of products than Barton Estate. Up to 1797, the property produced sugar, rum, molasses, mahogany (which grew abundantly on the banks of the Black River) and raised horses and cattle as well. By 1798, Barton Isles ceased the production of sugar and rum and focussed almost exclusively on livestock rearing, and this explains the change of name in that year to Barton Isles Livestock Pen. This emphasis on livestock was seen in the large number of animals (1,529 in 1810) on the property. By 1801, the owners also gained income from hiring out some of their slaves to other owners as the change of production focus meant that they no longer needed the full labour

force (592 slaves by 1810) on Barton Isles. The effect of both properties on the landscape of St Elizabeth remains very apparent in the place name given to the district of *Bartons,* which occupies the same general locality as the Barton properties of earlier times.

Eldersley

Eldersley (earlier sometimes spelt Elderslea or Elderslie) is another example of the Scottish influence in St Elizabeth. The original owner was George Wallace of the Wallace Clan in Scotland. In 1735, he acquired the property and named it Elderslie after his home in Scotland. Between 1775 and 1786, Hugh Wallace had control of the property and ownership of Eldersley remained with the Wallace family until 1796. In that year, it was taken over by Thomas Kirkpatrick Hall, and then Eldersley passed to different members of the Fry family, beginning with Mary Jones French, formerly Fry (1809-1819) and ending with Mary Susan Fry (1826 up to Emancipation). Eldersley was devoted to the production of sugar and rum up to about 1796, but after that, it was mainly concerned with rearing livestock and providing pasturage.

In 1810, there were seventy two slaves attached to Eldersley, but by 1829, this number had been reduced to twenty seven. Eldersley's fortunes changed in the post-slavery period and, as will be seen in a later section, the property became associated with banana production and with the activities of the Baptist Missionaries. The place name has outlived the estate/pen and today, the well-established community of Eldersley has a number of schools, including the Eldersley Basic, Primary and Junior High Schools, as well as the historic Baptist Church (built in 1840) and the Elderslie Seventh Day Adventist Church. The community is also home to Olympian, Kerron Stewart.

Elim Estate

Up to Emancipation, this was a large property of 4,560, acres which was located near to Two Mile Wood and closer to St Elizabeth's eastern boundary with Manchester. From the very outset, Elim was owned by successive members of the Foster family, beginning with Colonel John Foster by 1741 and ending with Frederick Foster who had charge of the estate up to Emancipation. Sugar, rum and molasses were the main products of Elim throughout the period, but livestock rearing, mahogany, cotton, ginger, cocoa, pimento and coffee provided additional income from time to time. There were 420 enslaved workers on the estate in 1811 and 385 in 1832, while the amount of livestock ranged from 422 in 1810 to 200 in 1832.

Elim's days as a sugar estate are over, but the agricultural legacy lives on today in the community of Elim, which in several respects remains devoted to agriculture. This is seen in the fact that Elim is today the home of the Sydney Pagon Agricultural High School (formerly the Elim Agricultural School), dedicated to advancing best practices in agriculture. Additionally, 2,700 acres of land in Elim are managed by the Agro-Investment Corporation with an aim to promoting investment in the local aquaculture industry.

Font Hill Estate

Font Hill Estate was located in south-western St Elizabeth, very close to the border with Westmoreland. A very large property of 7,000 acres, Font Hill was owned by Thomas Smith and his family right up to 1839. Sugar and rum were the dominant products throughout the period but coffee and livestock also featured as sources of income. The importance of livestock can be seen in the numbers, which in 1810 stood at 1,128, although by 1832, this had fallen to 200. Understandably, the enslaved labour force was a big one for such a large property, and in 1810, this number stood at 606. Shortly before Emancipation in 1832, the number of slaves had dropped to 231. Today, the Font Hill property is owned by the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica. Font Hill remains one of the most enduring place names, with the estate giving way to today's Font Hill Wildlife Sanctuary and Font Hill Nature Reserve.

Holland Estate

Holland Estate was located quite close to the Y.S. River, on its north-east bank. Between 1762 and 1783, Holland was owned by Wastel Brisco, an English planter who sometimes lived on his estate in Jamaica. He married into the Scottish Campbell family, and the estate remained with the Campbells until it was taken over in the post-slavery period (1848) by John Gladstone, father of the British prime minister. Sugar and rum were the main products of Holland Estate throughout the period, although logwood and livestock generated additional income. In 1810, the large estate of 4,411 acres had 421 slaves, and by 1832, this had fallen to 277.

Because it was so close to the Y.S. River, Holland relied on a water mill. Water from the river was carried along a mill trench to the sugar works. Holland had a Persian water wheel which took up water from the trench, and the force of the turning wheel passed the water along to the still house and the mill. Holland Estate also had a tramway, which led to the shipping place known as the Holland Crane, located on the Black River. In this way, goods for export such as sugar or rum were carried to the port at Black River Harbour. (See the section on post-slavery economic activities for more on Holland Estate).

Today, the name Holland continues to define a much broader area than that which made up the estate and this is best seen in the importance and attraction of Holland Bamboo in the parish. Bamboo Avenue is also known as Holland Bamboo and this natural wonder has a lot to

do with the legacy left by the owners of Holland Estate. Bamboo plants were planted by the owners on either side of the roadway, with the intention of providing a buffer against the wind and holding the soil in place. As time passed, the bamboo shoots grew taller and they formed a natural archway across the road. This provides travellers with shade and beauty as they journey along the four kilometres of road on the main south coast highway between Middle Quarters and Lacovia.

Bamboo Avenue, also Known as Holland Bamboo, St Elizabeth Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Lacovia Bamboo Walk, Showing a Dirt Road Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Ipswich Estate

Ipswich Estate was located to the north west of Holland Estate. The 2006 acre property was owned by John Morse between 1761 and 1780 and remained with that family until 1839. Edmund Francis Green was also joint owner from 1817 to 1829 and after 1834. Sugar and rum production was emphasised, but cattle and horses were also bred. From 1787, rental of enslaved labour to other estates was also used for additional income. In 1810, there were as many as 534 slaves on the estate and 407 livestock. By 1831, slaves had declined to 161 and livestock to 79. Several parts of the plantation ruins are still to be seen today, including substantial ruins of the cut-stone great house and factory works. In the post-slavery period, Ipswich transitioned into different roles (discussed in a later section), and today Ipswich is remembered for far more than its days of sugar and slavery.

Y.S. Estate

This was a very large sugar estate of 6,004 acres, which was located on the east bank of the Y.S. River. It was south of Ipswich Estate and both Y.S. and Ipswich shared the same owners as of 1761. In fact, in 1810, the two estates were listed as one under the title, Y.S. and Ipswich Estate. Like Ipswich, Y.S. was owned between 1761 and 1780 by John Morse and again from 1789 to 1839 by John Morse. Between 1817 and 1832, Edmund Francis Green was joint owner along with John Morse. Green was also joint owner with Morse from 1834 on. The products of Y.S. Estate were the same as Ipswich, with a similar emphasis on sugar and rum throughout the period. The numbers of enslaved persons and livestock reported were the same as the figures for Ipswich in 1810 and 1831. Like Ipswich, Y.S. also engaged in the rearing of cattle and horses. In suggesting how the estate came to be called Y.S., Edward Long tells us that the name was taken from the Gaelic word YS, meaning crooked or winding and the Y.S. River was so called because the river took a crooked or winding path. Long believes that the owners of the estate then called it Y.S., after the river. Today, the name Y.S. is most associated with the splendour of

St Elizabeth's famous Y.S. Falls, with its seven waterfalls cascading into natural pools.

A Twentieth Century View of the Y.S. Estate and Great House Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Impact of the Sam Sharpe Rebellion on St Elizabeth

None of the economic activities undertaken by English settlers across the island could have succeeded to the extent which they did without the forced labour provided by enslaved Africans. As they were auctioned one by one from the Town Wharf in Black River (looked at in a later section), Africans brought to St Elizabeth certainly had no control over their destinations and ultimately, over their fate. Yet they were not powerless in their experience of enslavement. The history of slavery across the Caribbean shows that the enslaved used every opportunity to express their opposition to the inhumane conditions of slavery which they were forced to endure. In carrying out this protest, whether by rebellions or by other means, the enslaved were able to deal blows to the system of plantation slavery, most times at extreme cost to themselves and their family members. The perseverance of leaders like Sam Sharpe and all those who supported their efforts, contributed to the gradual wearing down of the system of slavery and finally to its abolition in 1833. Starting in St James, the extensive and significant protest known as the Sam Sharpe Rebellion of 1831 impacted several parishes, including St Elizabeth, where many of the properties in the north western end of the parish were affected. Because of St Elizabeth's proximity to St James, this was almost inevitable.

In St Elizabeth, the protest began on the small, 825-acre property of Ginger Hill, which in 1831 was owned by George Longmore. Ginger, mahogany and livestock were the main products of Ginger Hill. At the time of the rebellion, there were ninety seven slaves attached to Ginger Hill.

All of the buildings on Ginger Hill were reportedly burnt. The protest quickly spread to include many properties, including Mahogany Hill, Eldersley, Union, Pisgah, Mexico and Vauxhall Estate, where the overseer was killed. Y.S. and Ipswich Estates were badly affected. Many of the 287 slaves on Y.S. Estate took part in the protest, setting fire to estate buildings, cane fields and sugar works. This, in spite of the fact that Y.S. Estate was the district headquarters for the regiment, and two companies of the St Elizabeth Regiment had been stationed there. When it was all over, seventy three enslaved persons from St Elizabeth were put on trial and of this number, forty-two received lashes and fourteen were executed. A few were acquitted. Damage to properties in St Elizabeth was estimated to be in excess of twenty two thousand pounds.

After the rebellion, a report was made of an unusual action taken by one of the enslaved who at the time was the head driver (a senior slave put in charge of the other slaves) on Appleton Estate. Sam Sharpe's call, sent out to slaves across several parishes was for a peaceful protest against the system and the treatment given to the enslaved. This protest was to take the form of a refusal to work in the days following the Christmas break. On Appleton Estate, the head driver, described as an "old and faithful negro" promised the overseer that the slaves would continue to work as the cane crop was ready for harvesting, and a strike by the slaves would have meant a loss of the cane crop. The head driver reportedly had a number of relatives on the estate and they supported his call not to go on strike, but he was also highly respected by the other slaves on the plantation. When the days of the planned protest came, the head driver was able to convince most of the slaves to turn out to work, although a few did not. Appleton was spared the damage and the losses experienced by other St Elizabeth estates, largely because of the help given by the head driver. He was rewarded by the House of Assembly for his "exemplary conduct", and he was given a silver cup by the joint owners of Appleton at the time, Ezekiel Harman, Jeremiah Harman and William Dickinson the second. [11]

Livestock Properties/Pens in St Elizabeth before and after Emancipation

Purpose and Importance of Livestock Pens

There were certain areas in Jamaica which were very suitable for livestock rearing, and St Elizabeth, particularly the grassy plains of the southern parts of the parish, emerged as a leading producer of livestock. The 1844 census showed that there were 378 breeding or livestock pens in Jamaica. St Elizabeth's importance is seen in the fact that of this number, ninety-one of the livestock pens were located in this parish. Whereas products like sugar, coffee, cotton and pimento were largely exported, animals were raised on the livestock pens to satisfy a great demand on the local market. Local pens raised cattle, horses, donkeys and mules,

to be sold to the plantations and estates as draught animals (animals used to pull or carry loads). These animals were used to turn or power the animal mills, and they were also needed to transport goods and people. In some cases, animals that were no longer useful on the estate were bought by the owners of the livestock pens. These were then fattened and sold to the local butchers to supply the demand for meat. Some Pen owners even had their own butcheries which provided them with additional income as the meat was sold to estate owners or to nearby towns such as Black River or Lacovia. Since the owners of sugar and coffee properties were among their best customers, any downturn in these industries would also affect the profits of the livestock properties. Most pens also produced other crops such as pimento, cotton, coffee and logwood, and as seen earlier, some properties alternated between livestock and sugar production.

Examples of livestock pens and properties in St Elizabeth included Bonavista Pen, a large 4,100 acre property which had the same owners as Pepper Pen (dealt with earlier) and was combined with Pepper in 1839 when it was known as Pepper and Bonavista. Other livestock producing properties included Content Pen, Emmaus Pen, Friendship Pen, Fullerswood and Goshen (highlighted shortly) Hodges Pen and Hounslow. Hodges Pen, located near to the town of Black River, was the 2,000 acre property which was owned from very early by Colonel John Campbell and passed on to others in his family. After 1810, ownership passed to David Shakespeare (1810-1827) and Reverend John Shakespeare (1829-1839). Hodges Pen was completely devoted to livestock, having 472 in 1811 and 691 by 1832. Also among the parish's livestock properties were Luana Pen and Maggotty Pen (owned by Caleb Dickinson from 1791 to 1825, New Well Pen, Paradise Pen, Pedro Pen, Vineyard Pen (highlighted shortly), Pepper Pen (dealt with under sugar) and Santa Cruz Pen, which was famous for its horses as well as cattle. Lower Works Pen was located in the Black River area and was owned up to Emancipation by John Vassall in the 1750s and then by Joseph Royall and members of his family. Although the 540-acre property produced some sugar at first, this was only for a short while from 1754 to 1758. Generally, the property was really devoted to livestock, with cattle rearing and horse breeding being emphasised.

Lower Works Pen was famous in its time for horseracing as the first horse racing in St Elizabeth was carried out from the 1780s on a race track located there. By the 1800s, other race tracks also existed at Goshen, Gilnock, Orange Grove, Lacovia and at New Market. Other livestock owners focussed their attention on breeding racehorses, and by the 1840s, famous stud farms were located at Pepper Pen, which had about 100 brood mares and seven imported stallions by then. Goshen had an international reputation as a superior horse-breeding pen and the famous Derby winner, Hannibal, was brought to Goshen's stud farms. The town of Santa Cruz grew up around Santa Cruz Market, one of the most famous markets for trading horses and other livestock.

Highlighting Three Livestock Pens in St Elizabeth: Goshen, Vineyard and Fullerswood Pens

Goshen

Goshen Pen was located in one of the most famous livestock-raising districts in Jamaica. It was situated between *Horse Savannah* and *Bull Savannah*, with these two places appropriately named after the animal rearing that took place in this part of St Elizabeth. This area was very close to the eastern border with Manchester and was east of Santa Cruz and to the south of Balaclava. Goshen took pride of place in being one of the largest pens, covering 3,917 acres of mainly grassy pastures in 1780 and was devoted to supplying animals, not only to buyers in St Elizabeth, but also to the wider market outside of the parish. The property was owned by Francis George Smyth (Senior) from 1780 until his son, Francis George Smyth (the Younger), took over Goshen in 1787 and remained the owner until Emancipation. Smyth also owned two other livestock pens, Long Hill and Friendship, which were both located to the south of Goshen. Because of their importance, both Goshen and Friendship were linked by carriage roads (dirt tracks wide enough for carriages to travel) to the major road, then called the King's Road, which led from Santa Cruz to Gutters Hill.

In 1780, Goshen raised a variety of animals including cattle, mules, horses, sheep, goats and also gained income from sale of grass and provision of pasturage (in demand by other properties with limited grazing facilities for their animals) export of logwood, hiring out of slave labour and carts to other estates. An idea of how productive Goshen was may be seen in these figures provided by Barry Higman, regarding sales in 1781. In that year, "Goshen sold thirty nine steers, three bulls, seventy six cows, twelve heifers, some calves, twenty five horses, twenty five mares, twenty eight mules and a filly." Most of these were bought by the owners of sugar estates right there in St Elizabeth. In 1781, Goshen earned a total of £4,212 compared with £342 from Long Hill. Goshen's prosperity increased steadily over the years and this could not have been possible without the labour provided by its enslaved population.

Unlike many other properties which saw a decline (both sugar estates and livestock pens), the numbers of slaves and livestock on Goshen increased steadily right up to Emancipation. For example, in 1810, Goshen had 391 slaves and 1,447 livestock. By 1820, the numbers of slaves had increased to 391 and livestock to 1,590, while in 1831, livestock numbered 1,649. In 1832, two years before the abolition of slavery, Goshen had a total of 421 slaves. In addition to income from livestock, by 1832, both Goshen and Long Hill were exporting coffee and logwood, and they were also hiring out slave labour to another one of Smyth's properties, this time, Sunderland Estate, which was located in St James.

Today, the wider community that has inherited the name *Goshen* has an identity and purpose all its own, cemented by facilities such as the Goshen Postal Agency and schools (Goshen Basic

School, located on the Goshen Main Road, Bennett's Basic School and Goshen All Age School). There are several churches, including the historic Moravian Church on the Goshen Main Road as well as the Goshen Community Centre and Sports Complex.

Goshen Post Office/ Postal Agency Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Vineyard Pen

Vineyard Pen in St Elizabeth has been highlighted because it showed the value and importance of logwood (in addition to sales of livestock) in the emergence of a successful economy in the parish. It was located right on the edge of the Great Morass, near to Black River. Vineyard Pen covered 859 acres of very flat land in the eighteenth century, but by 1823, it had grown to 945 acres. In 1750, Vineyard Pen was owned by Florentius Vassall, and between 1764 and 1839, the property remained with the Forrest family, beginning with Admiral Arthur Forrest in 1764. Thomas Forrest owned Vineyard Pen from 1820 until 1839.

From 1764 until 1779, the property, with 285 acres of common pasture and guinea grass, was exclusively devoted to the raising of livestock. However, by 1780, logwood had become an important money earner for Vineyard Pen alongside livestock. At first, planters on some sugar estates had deliberately planted logwood between the cane pieces in order to provide a natural barrier or fence. However, because logwood grew on its own without persons having to plant it,

by the 1780s, logwood trees had overgrown widespread areas and this was especially so in the parishes of St Elizabeth and Westmoreland.

Numerous Logwood Trees in the Countryside of Black River Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Logwood was to become a major income earner for the parish in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and would contribute to the development of St Elizabeth, especially Black River in the nineteenth century. Logwood was very much in demand in Britain where it was used to produce dyes (black, grey and violet) for textiles such as cotton. Vineyard Pen had a lot of woodlands covered with forests of logwood trees. Once cut down, logwood trees were shipped down to the port of Black River from where there was a profitable export business. In 1823, Vineyard Pen earned a total of £1,090 and sixty tons of logwood accounted for £420 of this amount. Sales of livestock accounted for the rest of the income in that year. Today, the name *Vineyard* continues in the district of Vineyard which has at least two churches, a Baptist and a United Pentecostal, as well as a community centre.

Fullerswood Pen

This livestock property was another fine example of how pen owners in St Elizabeth were able to conduct a profitable business by combining sales of livestock with sales of logwood. Fullerswood Pen was located near to neighbouring Vineyard Pen and was next to the Great Morass and situated close to Black River. In the early eighteenth century, the property covered 1,847 acres and by 1864, Fullerswood had grown to 2,104 acres. Among the early owners of Fullerswood Pen were Jonathan Gale 111 (1741-1757) and a minor, Henry Gale Junior, from 1752 to 1754. William Rowe took over ownership of the property from 1785 to 1790, followed by James Rowe, who had control of Fullerswood from 1791 until 1839. In the later nineteenth century history of the property, for example in 1879, Fullerswood had famous owners like the Honourable John Salmon, Custos of St Elizabeth.

In its earlier years of operation from 1741 to 1757, Fullerswood's products included sugar, rum, mahogany, logwood and livestock. However, from 1785 onwards, it was predominantly a livestock-producing property, with significant additional income from exports of logwood. This was not surprising as almost fifty percent of the property was covered by logwood trees. The enslaved labour force numbered 215 in 1810, and by 1832, this number had declined to 89. In 1810, the property had 467 head of livestock, 470 in 1820 and 370 in 1832, shortly before Emancipation.

Around the time of Emancipation, with livestock numbering 370, the owner of Fullerswood sold cattle as draft animals to estates, but also helped to supply the town's meat requirements by selling fattened cattle and sheep to the Black River Butchery. Around the same time, Fullerswood was doing well in logwood sales, shipping 100 tons from the Crane Wharf in 1832. In the later nineteenth century, livestock and logwood became more important to St Elizabeth's overall economy even as sugar and coffee continued to face hard times.

In 1879 when the Hon. John Salmon owned Fullerswood, as well as Vauxhall, both properties had a total income of £1,163. The largest single contributor to this total income was the 173 tons of logwood which were sold to J.E. Kerr and Co. in 1879 for £600. Livestock sales made up the rest of the income in that year, with steers, cows and fattened cows being sold to a variety of buyers. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Fullerswood also made its income from the sale of logwood roots, coconuts, lumber, thatch and wattles. However, the main products continued to be logwood and livestock. Today, Fullerswood is a large St Elizabeth community, located to the southwest of its neighbour in times past, the Vineyard district. The place name of *Fullerswood* also lives on in the Williamsfield to Fullerswood Road. [12]

Coffee Properties in St Elizabeth

Before Emancipation, there were very few, if any properties in St Elizabeth which were devoted exclusively to coffee production and which could be termed coffee plantations. Instead, there were about twenty five properties on which coffee was produced, along with a variety of other crops such as ginger, pimento, corn, cotton, logwood, cocoa, mahogany, along with livestock and at times, even sugar and rum. In these cases, coffee beans were grown on the higher (hilly) elevations of these properties, while the lower elevations were used for the other products listed here.

Before Emancipation, some of these coffee properties included Chelsea Plantation, owned by Matthew Montague from 1808 to 1831 and by Elizabeth Montague from 1829 to 1834 and which seems to have focussed on coffee production. Corby Castle Plantation covered about 328 acres and also emphasised coffee production. Corby Castle was owned by William Ebdell between 1809 and 1811, then by Henry Cerf until 1826. From 1826 until after Emancipation,

the plantation was owned by Judah and Hyman Cohen, a Jewish family in St Elizabeth. Two other coffee plantations, Potsdam and Berlin, also shared the same owners, Henry Cerf from 1810 to 1823 and Hyman and Judah Cohen, from 1825 to 1839. Potsdam was fairly large at 1,710 acres while Berlin covered 1,412 acres. Other coffee properties included Hermitage (highlighted shortly) and the 3,000-acre Harmony Hall, owned at first by James Robertson and then by members of the Watson family from 1817 to 1839. Harmony Hall grew coffee, pimento and ginger.

Highlighting Two St Elizabeth Coffee Plantations: Hermitage and Malvern

Hermitage Coffee Plantation

In 1807, Hermitage was a 300-acre coffee plantation located in southern St Elizabeth, about two miles south of Malvern. Hermitage was situated at 2,250 feet above sea level on a small plateau (a flat area of land that is high above sea level). Roadways leading from Mountainside, Malvern and Bellevue all met at the Hermitage Plantation and this allowed the owners of Hermitage to make additional income by hiring out carts to neighbouring settlements to transport goods. From 1804, Hermitage was owned by James Moyes, and the property remained with the family right up to Emancipation.

Of the 300 acres, ninety nine acres were devoted to nine coffee pieces, while the rest was used for guinea grass (fifteen acres), common pasture (five acres), slave grounds, wood and waste land (179 acres). The property depended on the labour of seventy slaves in 1810 and had about sixty seven enslaved persons in 1832. In 1806, Hermitage was doing very well, selling twenty two bushels of corn and exporting 54,702 pounds of coffee. The following year, 36,192 pounds of cocoa were sold and 47,000 pounds of coffee exported. However, by the time of Emancipation, the amount of coffee produced by Hermitage had drastically declined to less than 20,000 pounds.

Malvern Coffee Plantation

Also in southern St Elizabeth, Malvern Coffee Plantation was located about two miles to the north of Hermitage. In 1832, Malvern was owned by James Miller and was a fairly large coffee property, judging from the fact that there were 225 enslaved persons living on Malvern in that year. The buildings on Malvern included the owner's house and the overseer's house, as well as the coffee storehouse, which was located next to the overseer's house. Behind the owner's house were the gardens and the kitchen, fowl house and outhouses, which were all grouped together. Stables, workshops, pens and the hospital were all situated behind the barbecues, which were large drying areas where the coffee beans were spread out and turned regularly

during the daytime by the slaves. All of these structures were located far enough from the owner's house. The enslaved persons had their own village on the property.

The days of Malvern Coffee Plantation may be over, but the name of *Malvern* lives on in the community of that name in the Santa Cruz Mountains. Malvern has become very important in the educational landscape of St Elizabeth, being the general location of some of the parish's leading educational institutions, Bethlehem Moravian College, and Hampton High School.

Coffee after Emancipation

After Emancipation, increased costs of labour and other economic challenges led to a decline in the production of coffee, as well as profits, on many of these properties and led to the breaking up and sale of coffee lands to ex-slaves who undertook small-scale coffee production after 1838. In fact, B.W. Higman points out that the post-slavery decrease in the number of large coffee properties occurred very quickly, especially in the parishes of St Elizabeth, Manchester, St Ann and St Thomas.

Examples of decline included both Potsdam and Corby Castle, which were unproductive in the 1840s. In 1832, Potsdam had produced 326 tierces of coffee, but by 1846, production had fallen to only twenty tierces. Similarly, Corby Castle experienced a decline in production levels in the post-slavery period, moving from 105 tierces in 1832 to only eight tierces in 1846. By 1847, Berlin Plantation was up for sale. Potsdam later became important in the educational history of St Elizabeth as this former coffee plantation was to become the future home of Munroe College for boys.

The emphasis on coffee production on these large coffee properties before Emancipation was very important to the emergence of the small farming communities in St Elizabeth after 1838 in two respects. Decline and sale of most of these large coffee properties after Emancipation allowed the ex-slaves of the parish to purchase land (usually under ten acres) on which they were able to establish themselves as a productive small farming group. Purchase of coffee lands also influenced the decision by small farmers to engage in the cultivation of coffee, and therefore, in the post-slavery period in St Elizabeth, coffee made the transition from being a plantation crop to becoming a peasant crop. [13]

The Growth and Significance of Parish Towns in St Elizabeth up to Emancipation

The Early History of the Town of Black River

The small English settlement that would become the town of *Black River* was established near the mouth (point where the river flows into the sea) of the river bearing the same name. In fact, the English eventually named the town *Black River* after the Black River on whose banks, the little settlement grew up. As seen in the earlier section on the Spaniards in St Elizabeth, the river was at first named *Rio Caobana* (Mahogany River) by the Spaniards, but this name has long since given way to the English name, *Black River*. Although its waters are clear, the river was called the *Black River* by the English because of the dark appearance of the riverbed resulting from the accumulation of decayed plant material from the mahogany trees that once lined the banks of the river. Interestingly, the town of *Black River* occupied a part of the large area that had once been home to the *Hato Caobana*, the great Spanish cattle ranch and the site of the fierce Battle of *Caobana* between the English and the Spanish resistance fighters in late 1655.

When was the Town of Black River Established?

There is some uncertainty about when the town was first established, and the exact year in which the English began their settlement there remains unknown. However, when the English took control of the island and began to settle the parish of St Elizabeth by 1670, we know that they established farms and estates on the fertile lands beside the Black River in what is known as the Black River Basin. In particular, they settled along the banks of the river all the way down to the harbour. Properties such as Hodges Pen, Lower Works Pen and Top Hill (all discussed earlier) were examples of these settlements. It was logical that these early settlers would wish to establish a town at the mouth of the river down which their goods were transported to the harbour. Therefore, it is possible that the small town of Black River may have started its days very shortly after 1670.

In studying the history of the parishes, we rely on early maps of Jamaica, along with other sources, such as laws passed for the island, to get an idea of when towns and settlements first came into existence. As seen in an earlier section, the parish of St Elizabeth was in existence by 1670, and the governor of Jamaica at that time, Sir Thomas Modyford, had ordered the drawing of a map of the island showing the different parishes in 1670. Some of the uncertainty about the start-up date of Black River arises from the fact that none of the maps of Jamaica in the seventeenth century feature the town of Black River. The 1670 *Map of Jamaica* drawn up on Governor Modyford's instructions shows the existing parishes (called precincts at first) in 1670, including St Elizabeth. This map shows the river named Black River, but no town of Black River,

and the harbour is not named Black River Harbour. Similarly, John Ogilby's 1671, 1st *Antique English Map of the Island of Jamaica*, shows the parish of St Elizabeth and the Black River, but no town.

In 1684, Charles Bochart and Humphrey Knollis produced a map called *A New and Exact Mapp* [sic] *of the Island of Jamaica*. This map shows the Black River, as well as a fort located near the coast. Although Bochart and Knollis used the words "church" and "towne" on their map to identify these structures in other parishes, these are not used in St Elizabeth. Properties such as sugar estates are also identified. On John Sellers' 1685 *Map of Jamaica,* the symbols for churches and towns, which he used in other parishes, are not present in St Elizabeth. The name "Black R." was written on the map beside the river by that name and this was in keeping with how Sellers identified rivers in other parishes. "Black R." is not, as some sources mistakenly conclude, a reference to the town of Black River.

The earliest map which shows the town is Patk. Browne's 1755 *A New Map of Jamaica,* which was based on surveys of the island done between 1730 and 1749. This shows a small town on the left or west bank of the Black River, near to the mouth of the river (which is the present location of the town of Black River). Browne's map was also the first to name the harbour (Black River Bay) after the river. Since the surveys were done between 1730 and 1749, we may conclude that the town of Black River must have existed at that point. Thomas Craskell and James Simpson's 1763 *Map of the County of Cornwall in the Island of Jamaica* showed the town of Black River (though not named on the map) as a small settlement on the west bank of the Black River, near to the mouth of the river. According to this map, by 1763, the harbour was named *Gravesend Harbour*, not Black River Harbour. By contrast, this 1763 map showed Lacovia as a much larger town than Black River, and this was in keeping with the fact that Lacovia was the capital of St Elizabeth until 1773 (discussed shortly). By 1804 when James Robertson produced his landmark, *Map of the County of Cornwall in the Island of Jamaica,* the town of Black River was shown as a larger community than the town of Lacovia, and by 1804 Black River also had a church and a barracks for housing soldiers. Robertson's *Map* also named the harbour, *Black River Harbour*. [14]

The Early Years of Black River: Naming the Town

In the earlier history of the town, the name given to this small settlement was *Gravesend* and as seen on Craskell and Simpson's 1763 *Map of the County of Cornwall*, what we know as Black River Harbour today, was up to the late eighteenth century, known as *Gravesend Harbour*. The name *Gravesend* was likely given to the town because of the unhealthy conditions influenced by the nearby morass that encouraged the breeding of mosquitoes which spread yellow fever and sometimes malaria, and these diseases sent many of the soldiers stationed in the nearby barracks and the settlers in surrounding areas to early graves. In 1764, the Sixty-Sixth Regiment

lost 102 men from fevers and dysentery. The town is also referred to as *Gravesend* in an early law in force in 1750 (Law 23, Geo.11, V1, 1) by which the justices and the vestry (early form of parish council) were authorized to establish and maintain a ferry service over the Black River at *Gravesend*.

By Ferry and By Bridge: Crossing the Black River

In the early history of the town, most of the houses were located on the west or left bank of the Black River, but some of the inhabitants of this "small village" also lived on the east or right bank of the river. In those days there was no bridge to link the settlements on both sides of the river, hence the need for a ferry service. The ferry service was to be free and therefore no charges were placed on persons who needed to cross from one side to the other. Goods being transported on the ferry boat did not attract a charge either. However, the law authorized members of the vestry to impose and collect a parish tax that was used for the upkeep of the ferry. Law 23 also made it a felony to damage the ferry boat or to remove it. Up to 1777, when Edward Long wrote about St Elizabeth, the ferry service was still the only way to cross the Black River as plans to build a wooden bridge had not yet been achieved.

By 1777, use of the ferry service was no longer free as persons wishing to cross from one side of the village to the other had to pay a charge of seven and a half pence each way. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a wooden bridge, approximately one hundred feet long and costing about £2,500, was in place across the Black River. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Cornwall* shows this bridge near the mouth of the Black River, allowing easy travel for the townspeople from the west bank to the east bank of the river. The 1804 map also shows that the town had fewer buildings on the east bank, with most of the buildings located on the west side of the river.

Explanations for the Early Growth of the Small Village of Black River

There were two factors that helped in the early growth of the small town of Black River. One was its location near the mouth of the main river in the parish, the Black River. The second factor was the tremendous demand for the trade goods produced in St Elizabeth, all of which had to be channelled through this small settlement to the waiting vessels in Black River Harbour. Its location, therefore, allowed the small village of Gravesend to grow into the bustling town of Black River over time as it reaped the benefits of its location so close to the only harbour used by the parish, the Black River Harbour.

As seen earlier, from 1670, settlements had gradually spread throughout the parish, and many of these produced goods that had to be exported to Britain. Products included sugar, rum,

molasses, logwood, mahogany, pimento, cotton, coffee and cattle skin or hides from the livestock pens of the parish. Several other rivers and streams across the parish, such as Hector's or One-Eye River and the YS River flowed into the Black River before it emptied into the Black River Harbour. Settlers transported their goods by river boats, which took these items down the Black River, ending at the harbour. Similarly, when ships arrived from Britain with goods that the settlers needed, these items were transported up the Black River to various destinations. This famous river was therefore critically important to the economic life of the entire parish of St Elizabeth.

Black River from the Port, Looking Upstream Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The fact that the town of Black River was located near to the mouth of the Black River, very close to the harbour, meant that a wharf had to be built there to serve as the place from which exports from the entire parish would depart. At first, this wharf was known simply as the *Town Wharf,* but in the later nineteenth century history of Black River, this became the *Farquharson Wharf,* named for the Farquharson merchants who became central to the town's trade in that period. Black River's *Town Wharf* would also be the one gateway which received manufactured goods from Britain and enslaved Africans. In fact, the town of Black River also became economically important for the rest of the parish as all shipments of slaves destined for St Elizabeth were brought to Black River, where they were auctioned to owners of plantations and

livestock properties. Soon, the Town Wharf became the all-important centre for the trade of the parish, and more and more persons came into the area, to do business or to settle, or both. This created a need for more houses and structures, such as a church and batteries, as well as barracks for defending the trade of Black River Harbour. Over time, therefore, this small settlement grew and developed into the bustling town of Black River, which thrived on the vibrant import and export trade of St Elizabeth. By 1790, the Black River Fort had been built in the town and was commanded by a captain and a lieutenant.

Some Structures in the Town of Black River up to 1800

Before 1773 when it replaced Lacovia as the capital of St Elizabeth, Black River had very few buildings besides a few houses, the Church of St John the Evangelist, the Town Wharf, two batteries (places where cannon were mounted) and a barracks for the accommodation of soldiers. In fact, as late as 1763, Black River was shown on Craskell and Simpson's map as a much smaller settlement, with far fewer houses than Lacovia. This was so because although Black River was becoming increasingly important as the base for the import and export of goods from the harbour, the town was not seen as important in the administration of parish affairs. Court sessions and meetings of the St Elizabeth Parish Vestry took place in the capital, Lacovia, not in Black River.

Nevertheless, it was important to guard the trade leaving and coming into the Black River Harbour and to secure the town and the harbour from illegal traders and pirates. This was done by establishing two batteries in the town. One of these was located on a slight rise near the sea and overlooking Black River Harbour. This battery consisted of five big guns or cannon, each weighing between six and nine pounds. In the event of a threat to the trade of Black River, soldiers from the nearby Barracks would arrive to fire the cannon in defence of the trade. The town of Black River also had its own Barracks, located about a quarter of a mile from the harbour. This was a simple wooden structure, with plastered walls, and it was big enough to house thirty soldiers. In 1745, the House of Assembly reported that the barracks had been damaged by a recent storm and ordered that repairs be done to the building.

The Anglican Church of St John the Evangelist

As towns grew and developed, it was expected that at least one church would be built in the town. This was not the case in the early history of Black River. In 1675, Governor Thomas Modyford complained that in the entire parish of St Elizabeth, there was not one church, in spite of the fact that settlement was taking place in the parish. We know that before a church was built, some settlers gathered at each other's houses for prayer. Black River's first church was the Anglican Church of St John the Evangelist. This later became the parish church for all of St Elizabeth.

There is some uncertainty about when the original church was built. The *Jamaica National Heritage Trust* gives two dates, the first, suggesting that the original structure may have been built in 1700. Since the earliest Anglican parish registers for St Elizabeth date back to 1708, the church may very well have been built in 1700. A 1723 Report to the Governor on the religious state of the parishes refers to the Church of St John the Evangelist in Black River and proves that the parish church existed from the early eighteenth century. The second date given by the *JNHT* is 1774, but other evidence also indicates that the original church was in existence long before 1774. Edward Long described this church in his book published in 1777 as "a handsome edifice of brick, lately rebuilt". Since his book was published in 1777, we may assume that Long would have been researching and writing it a few years before 1777. His description of the church as "lately rebuilt", therefore, suggests that the original church was there before 1774 and that it had been damaged and therefore had to be rebuilt.

The Parish Church of St John the Evangelist: St Elizabeth Parish Church in the Twentieth Century
Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Long describes the church as being about a quarter mile from the "village of Black River". James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Cornwall* shows the church quite close to the town buildings. In 1837, the church was again rebuilt although the remains of the original church may still be seen on the site of the improved church at the corner of High and North Streets. An imposing yellow brick structure with limestone trim, the Parish Church of St John the Evangelist, remains a landmark on the Black River landscape.

Streets and Houses in Early Black River up to 1800

Most of the streets which at present make up the historic district of Black River were laid out and named during the course of the nineteenth century, especially in the second part of the century. This is discussed in a later section of this history. In the early years of the town, during the eighteenth century, the streets that existed were really dirt roads and path ways. There were two types of roads in Jamaican parishes at this time, and they were known as carriage roads and bridle roads. Carriage roads, as the name suggests, were wide enough for horse-drawn carriages to travel along, and in the eighteenth century, in towns such as Black River, these carriage roads would have been considered main roads. Bridle roads and paths were narrower than carriage roads and were just wide enough for a horse and its rider and for persons on foot. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Cornwall,* which shows St Elizabeth, sets out the location of these carriage roads and bridle roads in and around the town of Black River and the rest of the parish.

As Robertson's map shows, the main carriage road or the main street in Black River ran from west to east along the coastline of the town. This carriage road was the most important street in eighteenth century Black River and was named *High Street*. High Street ended at the mouth of the Black River, where a wooden bridge had been built across the river towards the end of the eighteenth century. The 1804 map shows a tavern located on the western end of High Street close to the house of the Hon. George Crawford Ricketts, Member of the Council and Attorney-General of Jamaica in 1802. This was Black River's main tavern and was known as *Miss McClean's Tavern at Black River* by 1820.

Also located on High Street were the Barracks, spoken about earlier. Robertson's map shows the parish church of St John the Evangelist as located on the corner of High Street, where it intersected with another carriage road going north. This was *North Street*. The 1804 map also shows a carriage road which began at the bridge and ran eastwards along the coast. This road was named *Crane Road*. It is quite possible that Crane Road was so named because in the eighteenth century, the owners of Holland Estate and Y.S. Estate had shipping places called *Cranes* located on the edge of the harbour along this section of the carriage road. These shipping places were named the *Holland Crane,* and the *Y.S. Crane,* from where the owners

shipped their sugar, rum and other products.

A Twentieth Century View of High Street by the Waterfront, Black River Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Writing in 1790, William Beckford estimated that there were about fifty houses in the town of Black River, and most of these were located along the High Street. Robertson's 1804 map also shows a few buildings at the start of *Crane Road*, close to the bridge. These most likely included the Cranes or shipping places discussed above. In late eighteenth-century Black River, the houses were all made of wood and were nothing like the grand, imposing structures that became typical of High Street in the late nineteenth century when wealth from the logwood trade brought splendour and luxury to the town of Black River. These earlier houses were simple wooden dwellings, although those owned by merchants and shopkeepers usually had two storeys. Shops or stores were located downstairs while the upstairs formed the dwelling for the families. The roofs of the early Black River homes were covered with cedar or broad leaf shingles which gave protection from the sun and heavy rain.

The Zong Monument in Black River: Let us Never Forget

As noted before, Black River was for many years the entry port for many thousands of enslaved Africans brought to the parish to provide the forced labour for all of the economic activities carried out in St Elizabeth. In 1781, the slave ship, the *Zong*, left West Africa with about 440 captured Africans on board. Although a ship the size of the Zong could only safely carry about 193 slaves, the ship's captain had followed the usual practice of overloading the ship so as to make more profit from the sale of the captives. The ship's destination was Black River where the intention was to conduct an auction of these captives at the Town Wharf. On the voyage across the Atlantic, disease and starvation caused several Africans to become sick and some died.

Legally, the owners of the ship could be compensated for loss of cargo (as slaves were classified) by the insurance company in Liverpool, England. However, the compensation would not be paid if the insurers could prove that the ship was overloaded. Therefore, in addition to throwing the bodies of dead slaves overboard (a customary practice by captains of slave ships), the captain of the Zong ordered that at least 130 Africans be thrown alive into the waters of the Atlantic in order to lighten the load and also to facilitate the claim to the insurers for compensation for loss of cargo. This was an act of deliberate and cruel murder and although no one was punished by the English law courts, the *Zong Massacre,* as the event became known, strengthened the campaign by British abolitionists like Granville Sharp to speedily bring an end to the slave trade.

When the Zong docked in Black River Harbour on December 22, 1781, there were less than 200 Africans on board. The Zong Monument in Black River stands as a constant memorial to those whose lives were cruelly snuffed out in this way. On 22 December, 2019, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, Gender, Entertainment and Sport, in collaboration with the National Council on Reparation, a wreath-laying ceremony was held at the Zong Monument to honour those who lost their lives. Earlier, a memorial service was held at St John's Parish Church, High Street in Black River. The Zong Monument is a constant reminder of the tragic price which so many had to pay to ensure economic prosperity of the parish right up to Emancipation. [15]

The Town of Lacovia: The First Capital of St Elizabeth until 1773

Location of Lacovia: Advantages

Located at a distance of about seven miles from the town of Black River, the town of Lacovia grew up around the same time as Black River, from most indications, in the decade after the creation of the parish. It was almost inevitable that Lacovia would be established where it was. The site where the town grew and prospered was populated all around by settlements including sugar estates and other properties, and Lacovia was at the intersection of all of these. It was situated between the Y.S. and the Black River, and this was the ideal spot for the town of Lacovia as it was in a central position to benefit from the river traffic that flowed up and down these two rivers.

At a time when the surrounding properties sent their sugar, rum, molasses, mahogany, logwood, pimento and other products down to the Black River Harbour by river boats known as lighters, the town served as a convenient mid-shipment point and sometimes as a place for storage until the river boats arrived. In the course of the eighteenth century, Lacovia became well established as an inland port for shipping sugar and other commodities down the river to the town of Black River. Lacovia's location was ideal as well because a major carriage road ran through the town and connected it to places such as Lacovia and Holland Sugar Estates to the

west and other properties to the east. The main carriage road also ran right down to the Lacovia Bridge over the Black River, connecting Lacovia to the livestock pens of the Pedro Plains and southern St Elizabeth. Lacovia's well-placed location helped to explain its prosperity in the eighteenth century and above all allowed it to surpass Black River for about fifty years in the eighteenth century as the administrative capital of St Elizabeth until 1773.

Lacovia: Overlooking the Black River from the Lacovia Bridge Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

How Lacovia Got Its Name

Edward Long suggested that the name *Lacovia* may have come from the Spanish words, *La agua via* which meant the watery way or *lago-via*, the way by the lake. He further explained that water from the nearby morass often overflowed the fairly low-lying land where Lacovia was situated. It seems more likely that the name Lacovia came from the Spanish word *La caoba* (also the Taino word), which means mahogany, as the area where the town grew up had an abundance of mahogany forests, and the shipping of mahogany wood down the Black River was important to the town during its infancy and throughout the eighteenth century. To this day, some residents of Lacovia still fondly refer to their town as "Cobie" or "Coby," which is a simplified version of the Spanish name Caoba. This customary name for Lacovia seems to have been quite popular from earlier times as seen in the descriptions of life in Lacovia in 1912 given by the late Una Marson, Jamaican feminist, writer and trail-blazing daughter of St Elizabeth (see later section on her). Seven-year old Una, on a visit to Lacovia in 1912, was captivated by the women selling cashew nuts, who when asked where they were from, always sang out "Cobie to be sure".

Lacovia up to Emancipation

St Thomas Anglican Church and the Quaker Meeting House

Because of its central location almost in the middle of the parish and because there were so many nearby settlements, the town of Lacovia grew steadily in infrastructure and importance over the course of the eighteenth century. As was the case with Black River, the Anglicans built a church in Lacovia from the very early eighteenth century. This was St Thomas Anglican Church which was mentioned in official reports to the governor from as early as 1723. Both the parish Church of St John the Evangelist and St Thomas Anglican Church had to share one minister, who was John Kelly. Reverend Kelly conducted services every other Sunday in Lacovia as he also had to lead the services in Black River on the alternate Sundays. Around this same time, the Quakers also had a Meeting House in Lacovia, as a few of the property owners, such as the Gales and the Dicksons, were Quakers.

Lacovia, the Capital until 1773

Craskell and Simpson's map of 1763 shows Lacovia as a much larger settlement than Black River at that time, and this was not surprising as Lacovia was growing in importance as the administrative centre and capital of St Elizabeth. One explanation for the town's importance was its central location, which made it easier for persons to travel to Lacovia than to Black River. In the eighteenth century, the Lacovia Court House was the venue for the regular meetings of the St Elizabeth Vestry (like a parish council), as well as for holding court sessions of the Quarter-Sessions and Petty Courts. Elections for the parish vestry were also held here. During the course of the century, Lacovia's importance was shown also in the fact that the town had two "good taverns" for the accommodation of the many persons who came there to conduct business or to attend court. By then, crossing the Black River, from one side of Lacovia to the other, had been made possible by the construction of the wooden Lacovia Bridge.

As the town of Black River grew and developed over the course of the eighteenth century, it gradually surpassed Lacovia in terms of its economic and strategic importance. By 1773, therefore, the decision was made to transfer the meetings of the St Elizabeth Vestry to Black River, which then became the capital of St Elizabeth. Court sessions, originally held at Lacovia, were transferred to Black River by an Act dated December 6, 1788. Thereafter, Lacovia, though not insignificant, remained in the shadow of Black River.

Lacovia: People and Places

Lacovia was once home to a considerable number of Jews who were descended from families which had been in Jamaica from the days of Spanish rule. There was a Jewish population present in Black River as well. By the eighteenth century, some of these Jews had altered their

names. Some Jewish settlers who had connections in both Black River and Lacovia were granted lands in the parish starting with the reign of King Charles 11. Some of these included George Elkins, who was granted 600 acres in 1669, Moses Cardosa (500 acres) in 1674, Joseph daCosta Alveranga (500 acres) in 1674, Abraham Keeling (540 acres) in 1675, Alexander (300 acres) in 1763 and Levy Isaacs (300 acres) in 1765.

A Jewish cemetery was established in the town of Lacovia, and this pointed to their importance in the history of the town. There are large numbers of Jewish tombstones in the Lacovia Cemetery (also known as Dickenson's Run), and many of these have only Hebrew writings engraved on the tombstones. Nevertheless, some of the Lacovia tombstones which have English inscriptions include those of De Bemaventurada, Rachel, who died in 1749. She was the mother of Abraham Lindo. Others include Isaac Frois senior, who died in 1751 at the age of seventy four, Benjamin Henriques Lopez, who died in 1752, Ehan Furtado, who died in 1755 at the age of thirty six years and a boy of thirteen years, Isaac Stevenson, who died in 1791. Joseph de Jacob Nunes Lara and Abraham Tavares senior, who died in 1803 at eighty four years, are also buried there. There was also a small Quaker cemetery in Lacovia.

Lacovia Tombstone

While travelling the road from Black River to Balaclava, there is a landmark which many associate with the eighteenth century history of Lacovia. This landmark, which seems to have survived the test of time and road improvement, consists of two large tombstones, standing six feet apart from each other. One of the tombstones is built of cut stone and has no inscription. The second is a brick structure which has engravings on a large marble slab. It is here in this second tomb that a young man, fifteen year old Thomas Jordan Spencer, was buried in 1738. While the identity of the other person is unknown, the most common explanation of the

circumstances of the deaths seems to have a connection with Lacovia.

The Tombs at Lacovia Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

It is believed that Spencer and another man argued while at one of Lacovia's two taverns and that this disagreement led to a duel between the two. In those days, disagreements between men of high social standing were usually settled by one of the two being challenged to a duel. This was a gunfight in which the aim was to kill the opponent by firing a deadly shot first. In this case, it is believed that both men died from their wounds and were buried side by side there. Although the evidence to support the claim is somewhat shaky, some argue that Spencer was well connected socially, his father being a member of the Althorp family and his mother being a member of the Quaker family of Jordans. In any event, this double burial, whatever the circumstances may have been, has permanently influenced the name of the location which remains known as *Lacovia Tombstone.* On 25 December, 2008, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust declared Lacovia Tombstone a National Monument. [16]

St Elizabeth in the Post-Slavery Period to the end of the Nineteenth Century

Changes in Landownership, Settlement Patterns and Economic Activities: An Overview

Landownership: What Changed and What Remained the Same:

The ending of legal slavery on 1st August 1834 and the coming of full freedom four years later on 1st August 1838 marked the beginning of dramatic changes in *land ownership, settlement patterns and economic activities* across the parish of St Elizabeth and the rest of the island. Before Emancipation, the only black owners of land in the parish were the Maroons who owned in common, the lands granted to them at *Accompong* as part of the treaty settlement. From the creation of St Elizabeth until Emancipation, land ownership had been the privilege of whites, and eventually, a small group of Jews and free coloureds. Therefore, the *first major change which occurred was in land ownership after Emancipation. This landmark change was the rise of a group of black land owners*, for the most part small farmers or peasants, in St Elizabeth. At the same time, because of continuing economic problems after 1838, there was also a decrease in the numbers of white landowners in St Elizabeth, as some estate owners were forced to sell or abandon their properties, and several chose to go elsewhere. Nevertheless, in the period after Emancipation, some aspects of land ownership remained unchanged. Surviving sugar estates, as well as the many livestock pens, remained in the hands of white landowners.

Settlement Patterns: What Changed and What Remained the Same:

As seen earlier, while slavery existed, settlement patterns had been influenced largely by economic factors, with settlements being established in different parts of St Elizabeth, according to geographical conditions and choice of economic activity. For example, sugar properties occupied the fertile lands in and around the Black River basin, moving northwards from the middle of the parish, while the grassy plains of the south encouraged the extensive spread of livestock pens. In the post-slavery period, although there was a reduction in the number of sugar estates in operation in the parish, settlement patterns continued to be influenced by choice of economic activity, and surviving sugar properties were still found in the lands around the Black River and the Y.S. River. Owners of livestock properties continued to locate their pens on the grassy plains and savannahs of the south. Enslavement, as long as it lasted, had decided where slaves lived.

Emancipation, by freeing the slaves, helped to bring about the *second major change, which was in settlement patterns*. The formerly enslaved now had the freedom to choose where they wished to live and settle down with their families. However, the freed people's freedom to choose where they wished to settle down would be influenced by the availability of land and

other opportunities such as coastal fishing. In this respect, the continued decline of sugar and coffee properties in St Elizabeth after Emancipation also influenced the settlement patterns of the freed people, because lands from several of these properties were put up for sale and quickly purchased by the former slaves or persons acting on their behalf. Some of the freed people who could not acquire lands moved towards coastal areas where they tried to make a living by fishing, perhaps combined with other activities. This is discussed more fully in the section which deals with the fishing communities along Treasure Beach in the twentieth century. Very importantly as seen shortly, St Elizabeth became one of only a few parishes that saw a *migration of freed people into the parish* from other parts of Jamaica to seek land and to settle down. As will be seen, there were also attempts to establish white settlements in St Elizabeth.

Economic Activities: What Changed and What Remained the Same:

Despite the challenges faced by sugar estate owners, including indebtedness, lack of capital and stiff competition from cheaper producers of sugar in places like Cuba and Brazil, some sugar estates persevered throughout the nineteenth century even into the twentieth (dealt with further). Yet many more owners were forced to abandon sugar production, and some of these converted their properties into a mix of livestock rearing and agricultural production. Others sold their estates and left the island. Large-scale coffee production on large coffee plantations all but disappeared in post-slavery St Elizabeth. Instead, small-scale coffee production was taken over by the small farmers, and so coffee in St Elizabeth became a smallholder's crop instead of a plantation crop. Livestock pens continued to prosper in the post slavery period, and this was largely because their owners increasingly diversified the items produced alongside livestock. Changes occurred too in the number of properties, which shifted from sugar and rum production to an emphasis on livestock rearing, and this was increasingly evident as the nineteenth century went on.

Pimento, corn, cotton and above all, logwood, became more and more important as money earners along with livestock. Logwood exports had been an important economic activity long before Emancipation, but as the nineteenth century progressed, logwood became the most important product of many of these properties, at times overshadowing the raising of cattle and the breeding of horses as earners of income in St Elizabeth. The production of peasant crops, especially *ground provisions,* but also coffee, ginger, pimento and corn by the new smallholding class, became economically important to St Elizabeth in the post-slavery period. Very importantly, there was also a tremendous diversification in occupations which developed in the post-slavery period especially in the villages and towns in response to different needs which arose with a free society.

Explaining the Rise of the St Elizabeth Small Farmers:

Opportunities to Earn Money even before Full Freedom in 1838

When slavery was abolished on 1st August 1834, all former slaves who were six years and older on that date, were made to serve a period known as the Apprenticeship. During this time, they were still in many ways under the control of their former owners, being bound to work without wages for three quarters of the work week, and they remained tied to the property on which they had been enslaved. However, for the rest of the week, their time was their own, and if they chose to work, they had to be paid. This ability to earn wages during the Apprenticeship was to become very important in helping to bring about the dramatic changes in landownership and settlement patterns, which took place in the parish of St Elizabeth, and the rest of the island, once full freedom was declared on 1st August, 1838.

However, even before the abolition of slavery, the enslaved had been allowed to sell the produce that they had grown on the provision grounds at the regular Sunday markets. Some slaves had been steadily saving this money all along. The importance of earning money during the Apprenticeship period was shown by the comments of the special magistrate for St Elizabeth, John Daughtrey, who reported that in 1836, two years after the start of the Apprenticeship, some apprentices were already able to purchase small lots of land which they planned to farm at the end of their period of apprenticeship.

The Freed People's Recognition of the Importance of Land Ownership to the Achievement of Real Freedom

Perhaps the most important explanation for the impressive rise of the small farmers in St Elizabeth and elsewhere was the recognition on their part of the significance of land ownership to the true meaning of freedom. Land would help them to achieve some amount of independence from reliance on wages from the estate or livestock pens and would allow them to better provide for the material needs of their families. It would also strengthen their freedom of choice, whether to work outside of their farms, because land would provide them with an income. If they decided that they needed additional income, land of their own also strengthened their freedom of choice over where to work and under what terms and conditions they would do so.

Land ownership also meant that they could have a house of their own, free from threats of ejection and the demands which planter-landlords might make on them. This would ensure security of tenure for them and their families. As they adapted to a free society, the formerly enslaved also came to understand that owning land could allow them to vote for persons to represent their interests (if they satisfied the land requirement for voting), either in vestry elections or in elections of parish representatives to the House of Assembly. In all these ways,

land ownership was like a badge of freedom, providing them with opportunities to live as really free people.

Post-Slavery Sale of Lands from Former Sugar and Coffee Properties in St Elizabeth

The availability of land for sale to the ex-slaves in St Elizabeth was directly connected to the decline being experienced by large coffee producers and several sugar estates in the parish, even before full Emancipation in 1838. A history of indebtedness, falling prices on the international market and competition from producers of cheaper and better quality sugar, as well as coffee, took their toll on the ability of many of these properties to stay afloat. Some owners of sugar estates were willing to sell marginal land to the ex-slaves in the hope of making sufficient money to make improvements on their estates. At first, most sugar planters resisted the idea of selling land to former slaves as they believed that this would discourage potential workers from giving labour to the estates. Hard-pressed owners of coffee plantations were less resistant to selling land to the freed people, and it was from the breaking up of these coffee properties that most small farmers in St Elizabeth were able to obtain land. Several properties were abandoned altogether and put up for sale by agents. Ex-slaves acquired land in this way as well.

From 1832 until about 1847, six sugar estates in St Elizabeth with a total of 18,010 acres were abandoned, while in the same period fourteen coffee properties in the parish, with a total of 9,464 acres, were also abandoned. There were also changes in land ownership patterns among the owners of small and medium sized coffee estates or properties, who had engaged in mixed cultivation before 1838. In St Elizabeth, there was a marked decline in these medium properties between fifty and two hundred and fifty acres in size. The freed people benefitted from the sale of these. From the Apprenticeship period onwards, land was being sold for as much as £4 or £5 an acre, and by 1839, newspapers carried a lot of advertisements about land being offered for sale to “the labouring peasantry”. By the middle of the 1840s, this pattern of sale to the ex-slaves had become well established. Often, entire estates were bought, usually by missionaries, especially the Moravians, and then subdivided and sold to the freed people.

From Slaves to Small Farmers: The Amazing Transformation in Land Ownership among the Freed People of St Elizabeth

Although the rise of the small farming class of peasants after Emancipation took place in varying degrees right across Jamaica, there were six parishes clustered in the middle of the island which experienced *the greatest growth in small settlements* (defined as those under fifty acres but more likely to be less than ten acres). The six parishes of St Elizabeth, Manchester, St Ann, St Mary, Clarendon and St Thomas in the Vale (now part of St Catherine), accounted for much more than half of Jamaica’s total small settlements in the early post-slavery period. This

pattern was a clear result of the greater availability of land for sale to ex-slaves in these parishes. In St Elizabeth and Manchester, there was a marked tendency for ex-slaves to buy land from the failing coffee properties, even more than from the declining sugar estates. It was hardly surprising that the St Elizabeth small farmers initially completely took over the production of coffee, which then became a smallholder's crop in the parish.

The most noticeable increase in the number of smallholders in St Elizabeth took place between 1840 and 1845. Figures given here from the *Jamaica Almanac* (1840 and 1845) show the numbers of properties which were less than ten acres, as well as those over ten and up to fifty acres. In 1840, there were eighty three persons, who owned less than ten acres each. By 1845, owners of less than ten acres had increased significantly to 1,418. Also in 1840, there were forty-five owners of between ten and nineteen acres, and by 1845, this category of small farmers had jumped to 382. In 1840, there were 117 persons who owned between twenty and forty-nine acres. By 1845, owners of between twenty and forty-nine acres had increased to 255. In 1840, therefore, there were in total, 245 small farmers in St Elizabeth. By 1845, the total number of small farmers in the parish had increased tremendously to 2,055.

Names given to some of these small farming properties indicated how the freed people felt about the importance of being able to own land for the first time. *Little Ease* was used by several new owners, perhaps showing the expectations that they had as landowners. Other interesting names included Save Rent (10 acres), Small Hope (10), Happy Hut (10), Content (14), New Hope (10), New Purchase (16), Providence (10), Homeland (10), Happy Valley (17), Success (22), Retreat (15), Comfort (13), Mount Blessed (10), Paradise (10), Fruitland (10), Happy Content (20), Labour Hill (10), Contented Hall (10) and Try See (11 acres).

The majority of the smallholders listed in the *Jamaica Almanac* were men, but there were also several women who acquired land of their own. Some of these female owners included Louisa Brooks (Merry Land, 10 acres), Hannah Burton (Mount Pleasant, 12 acres), Elizabeth Clark (Comfort, 13 acres), Susan Crawford (Paradise, 10 acres), Eliza Dawkins (Fruitland, 10 acres) and Susan Dawkins (Pleasant Hill, 12 acres).

Some Important Changes in Settlement Patterns in St Elizabeth after Emancipation

Settlement on "Mountain Lands"

As seen earlier, the settlement patterns among the newly freed people who became landowners were largely influenced by the locations of sugar and coffee properties whose lands were being sold. However, as Special Magistrate John Daughtrey reported, the freed people also expressed their desire to buy "mountain lands", rather than settle for any land that was

available. Mountain lands were those sections of the plantations and estates (coffee as well as sugar), which had been set aside by the owners specifically for the slaves to grow provisions. These lands were usually on a slope or hilly section of the estate, hence the name “mountain lands”. As the freed people knew that these lands were suitable for cultivation of provisions (which they intended to continue), as well as a variety of other crops such as ginger and pimento, they tried, where possible, to settle on “mountain lands”. They also expressed an interest in settling in areas that were not too far from a church.

Post-Slavery Migration from other Parishes into St Elizabeth

An important change in island-wide settlement patterns which also affected settlement in St Elizabeth was the migration of ex-slaves from other parishes into St Elizabeth, especially in the early post-slavery years. During the first six years of freedom, only three of the parishes that had quite large increases in their small farming populations were able to attract settlers from outside of their parish boundaries. The three were St Elizabeth, St Mary and St Thomas in the Vale, and the outsiders left their parishes to settle in these areas because there was more available land for small settlement there. Migration from other parishes into St Elizabeth (and elsewhere) continued in the years between 1844 and 1861. During these years, there was a significant exodus of freed blacks away from previously successful sugar parishes in the west like St James and Hanover, where despite some challenges for sugar producers, the large estates still dominated the land, and therefore, land hunger was an important factor pulling freed people into St Elizabeth, as well as Manchester, Clarendon, St Ann and St Thomas in the Vale (later part of St Catherine). Ex-slaves also migrated from the poorer parishes of Portland and St David into St Elizabeth where there had always been a more diversified economy with opportunities for work on the thriving livestock pens, as well as in the increasingly expanding and prosperous logwood trade.

The Census figures for the parish in 1844 and 1861 give an idea of the increase in the population of St Elizabeth, some of which would have been natural, and some of which would have been the result of migration into the parish from other parts of Jamaica. In 1844, the total population was 25,446 and by 1861, this had increased to 37,777 persons. Of the total population of the parish in 1844, there were 18,923 black residents, while by 1861 this number had increased to 28,503. [17]

How the Expansion of Small Farmers Led to an Increase in the Settlement of Villages and Towns across St Elizabeth

Before Emancipation, while the enslaved population was tied to the estates, they were dependent mainly on the property owners to supply their needs. Therefore, the pattern of trade which existed in the parish took place largely between the owners of estates and

livestock properties, on the one hand, and the merchants in the coastal town of Black River on the other. Under slavery, goods produced by the estates and other properties were sent downriver to the coastal seaport town of Black River, from where they were shipped to Britain. Imported goods such as foodstuff, estate supplies and manufactured items were obtained from Britain and brought into the parish through the coastal town of Black River. Besides Lacovia, there were no other well-established inland towns in St Elizabeth before Emancipation. This was mainly because the large enslaved population was tied to the estates and other properties across the parish. As seen before, Lacovia was able to rise to some prominence during slavery because of its proximity to several properties in the area which used Lacovia as a mid-shipment point and storage facility for their goods until these could be taken down to Black River. As seen earlier, the town also became important as the centre for the administration of parish affairs, at least until 1773.

Nevertheless, what did exist in a few inland areas of St Elizabeth before Emancipation were small internal market centres to which the enslaved were allowed to take their provisions on Sunday (which was the established market day under slavery), for sale to free people as well as other slaves. A very limited internal trade in provisions, handicraft goods and other items produced by slaves in their spare time took place at these centres while slavery was still in force. In the post-Emancipation period, these small trading locations were to develop into the villages and towns that exist today in St Elizabeth, and it was the amazing growth in the small farming group that allowed this to happen.

One of the most important effects of the considerable growth of the small farming group was therefore a dramatic increase in the inland villages and towns in St Elizabeth. As the freed people moved away from the estates and onto their own small holdings, two things began to happen. The first was that the small farmers who were spread out all over the parish needed places at which they could market or sell their provisions and goods. It was natural and logical that the former slaves, now small farmers and free labourers, would continue to use the small market centres to which they had been accustomed during slavery. As more and more of the freed people acquired land, the volume of buying and selling at these market centres increased tremendously. With more and more free labourers earning cash wages, there was also an increased demand on their part for consumer goods, and hence an increase in the amount of commerce being done at these centres.

Therefore, the second important change that took place was that shops and stores had to be built at these locations to handle the vast increase of trade and merchants, storekeepers and traders, as well as other workers, began to settle in these areas. Soon, what had started out as a small location for limited trade on a Sunday during slavery, now blossomed and grew into a

village or a town as houses and other buildings, such as a church and a fixed market place, were all established as fixtures in the new village or town.

Importantly, the small farmers also began to produce crops which had to be exported, and this increased the volume of trade goods coming into these villages from the small farms. The pattern of the export trade routes then saw the inland villages and remaining estates sending their goods to the coastal town of Black River for export to overseas buyers. On the reverse side, the demand for imported goods grew, with the earning power of the Emancipated, and the pattern of trade saw these goods coming into Black River from where they were sent to the interior villages and towns for sale. All of this increased export and import trade in what started out as small internal trading centres and gradually transformed these centres by the middle of the nineteenth century into bustling villages and towns.

Several of these villages and towns took their names from the estates (coffee as well as sugar) or the livestock properties which were nearby or on which the ex-slaves in the area had worked (for example, Goshen). In some cases, the new communities kept the name of the property from which lands were bought by the ex-slaves. Malvern was a good example of this. Many of the freed people who did not own land came to live and work in these areas in various occupations (butchers, bakers, shoemakers, tavern keepers, craftsmen for example). Villages and towns which grew in this way included Junction, Balaclava, Malvern, Goshen, New Market, Siloah, Southfield and Santa Cruz. (Some of these are discussed further). Malvern's development was influenced by the decline and eventual sale of the lands of Malvern Coffee Plantation to the freed people. Indeed, the community of Malvern took its name from the large coffee property from which the lands were bought.

The community of Malvern was a good example of the mixture of rural small farmers who lived in the hilly areas of Malvern and grew coffee as well as provisions and other crops, and the urban skilled workers who came to live in the town of Malvern itself. (This is discussed shortly). As seen earlier, neither Lacovia nor Black River matched this pattern as they were both vibrant towns in existence long before Emancipation, Importantly though, the volume of trade shown above led to a marked expansion of Black River (because of its importance as the port for imports and exports). Lacovia, because of its role as a mid-shipment point for surrounding districts, was a long-established interior town. Because Lacovia was at the crossroads of the main carriage roads and the bridle paths, its location allowed it to benefit from the trade of surrounding communities. [18]

On the Way to Market: Lacovia, St Elizabeth Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Free Villages and other Settlements in Post-Slavery St Elizabeth: Bethsalem and Aberdeen

In the post-slavery period, in some of the other parishes such as St Catherine, the churches and missionaries had played a major role in the establishment of villages by purchasing large amounts of land and then re-selling smaller sub-divisions of land to the freed people. This was done with the aim of setting up church-controlled villages wherever possible. Church-controlled free villages were generally not the case in St Elizabeth. Where they did exist in the parish, free villages or communities were usually established by the freed people themselves, using their own resources and initiative, even when they got the support of the church. Having set up their communities, the freed people also encouraged missionaries to set up a church and school in their community, most times, supplying the labour free of cost for the building of these two structures, which they regarded as important to their welfare and that of their families. Two examples of these types of communities were Bethsalem and Aberdeen.

Bethsalem

The settlement of Bethsalem got its name from the Baptists even though the freed people who lived there had established their homes in the area independently of the missionaries. The community and the Baptist Mission were located in the northern part of St Elizabeth below Accompong. Writing in 1841, Baptist missionaries described its location as being “deeper in the

mountains" and the only access at that time was through narrow and winding pathways which were unfamiliar to everyone except its residents. In 1839, Baptist missionaries bought the premises which had been home to the Superintendent of the Accompong Maroons and converted it to a mission station, intended to serve both as the residence of the Minister as well as the church. They named the mission *Bethsalem* which meant "the House of Peace" because they wished to contrast it with the former purpose of the Superintendent's house as a "house of war", from which Maroons were given orders to hunt down runaway slaves. A smaller one-room structure on the premises served as a school for the children. The name *Bethsalem* was soon applied to the community of freed people who lived and worked on their small plots of land in the area, and the Baptist missionaries commented that ex-slaves from the community, as well as some Maroons from Accompong, attended church at the mission there and also sent their children to the adjoining school. Today, there is a road called *Bethsalem Road* which leads to the community.

Aberdeen Free Village

Aberdeen Village was formed by ex-slaves who acquired lands from Aberdeen Sugar Estate around 1845 and established a community which provided them with a way of life which was independent of the estate to which they had been tied as slaves. As seen earlier, "mountain lands" were the hilly back lands of estates on which the enslaved had been allowed to grow provisions to feed themselves and to sell at the Sunday markets. The experience on these provision grounds had provided slaves not only with food and a small income, but had also exposed them to the farming culture of the peasant or small farmer long before they became free. It was therefore natural that when freedom came, and as soon as they were able to acquire land, they would make the transition into the small farming world. The mountain lands of Aberdeen Sugar Estate, located to the east of Accompong Town, provided them with this opportunity in the early years after Emancipation.

The Moravian church had been very active among the enslaved on Aberdeen Estate. In 1845, with encouragement from the Moravian missionaries, many of the former slaves were able to buy individual plots of land parcelled out of 1,200 acres of mountain land which had been part of the sugar estate. These mountain back lands were close to the Maroon lands of Accompong, and the free village of Aberdeen emerged in the southern foothills of the Cockpit Country closer to the plains. The proximity of the new free village to Accompong made it possible for the two communities of Maroons and Aberdonians (ex-slaves from Aberdeen Estate) to establish close cultural and farming ties. The emancipated slaves from Aberdeen formed the majority of the residents of the Aberdeen free community, but their numbers were also increased over time by some Maroons who migrated from Accompong to forge ties with the Aberdonians. Over the years, the descendants of the original inhabitants of Aberdeen Village transformed what were

initially purchased lands into family lands. In this way and in keeping with African tradition, each generation of the extended families had the right to farm the lands and to benefit from the fruits of the land with the understanding that the lands could not be sold.

Mulgrave Settlement

In the period leading up to Emancipation, many whites in Jamaica felt (however mistakenly) that the soon to be freed slaves would need models of "civilised behaviour" and examples of hard work by successful white labourers and farming communities. It was believed that such examples would discourage the freed people from engaging in "idle and unproductive" behaviour and provide labour for the plantations. Moreover, there was a concern that white immigrants should be encouraged to settle in Jamaica after 1834 in order to balance out the possibility of an overwhelming free black majority controlling the society. These were the cultural beliefs of white society, which although some were influenced by racist views, nevertheless helped to influence the move to establish white settlements in St Elizabeth and elsewhere in Jamaica.

White settlers were to come in as indentured servants who would be brought here at the expense of planters and later, the government. They were expected to work under contract for a number of years and were to be given land and agricultural tools at the end of their contracts. In this way it was hoped that they would become permanent settlers in Jamaica. Ideas such as these influenced the government of Jamaica to propose five white townships to be settled in the immediate post-slavery period by white indentured servants. The five proposed townships included Seaford Town in Westmoreland, Barrettville and New England in St Ann, Ashentully in Manchester and Mulgrave in St Elizabeth. Generally, they were not successful in setting up long-term white farming communities because at the end of their contracts, most of the white indentured servants who had not died from diseases either migrated, joined the police force or wandered off into the coastal towns to make a living.

The Mulgrave settlement in St Elizabeth was established in 1834 in the area between Elderslie and Ipswich on land owned by the Honourable John Salmon. At the time, Salmon was an influential resident of St Elizabeth and a member of the Governor's Council. This settlement was named in honour of the Earl of Mulgrave who was governor of Jamaica between 1832 and 1834. About forty English settlers were brought in to start the Mulgrave settlement. Many hardships affected the early settlers, but the most challenging were the tropical fevers and other diseases to which newly arrived whites had little or no resistance. In spite of the kindness and assistance given by Salmon and his family, the Mulgrave settlement did not do well as a white settlement in the long run. Some of the surviving whites left the island, while others blended in with the white population in Black River. Later, plots of land at Mulgrave were given

to East Indian immigrants, and some remained as farmers in the community. Mulgrave remains as a community today but it is certainly not as its original creators intended. [19]

Economic Activities in St Elizabeth after Emancipation: Continuity and Change

The State of the Sugar Industry in the Parish, 1838-1900

A Picture of Decline

Throughout Jamaica, the owners of sugar estates faced increasingly challenging times after Emancipation. For many, this trend continued throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. As seen earlier, the problems facing the owners of estates did not begin with the freeing of the slaves. Careless management and indebtedness had plagued some estate owners even before 1834, bringing many properties close to collapse and some to actual failure. For example, in St Elizabeth in 1772, there were thirty-two sugar estates, but this number had declined to twenty-three by 1791. Emancipation, by giving the workers freedom of choice over place of employment, worsened the picture for the sugar estates in particular, whose continued success depended on a reliable labour force among other things. The immediate impact of Emancipation on St Elizabeth's sugar and coffee properties is seen in the number of properties which were abandoned shortly before 1834 and up to 1848. Six sugar estates with a total land area of 18,010 acres and fourteen coffee properties with a total area of 9,464 acres were abandoned between 1832 and 1848.

The 1846 Sugar Duties Act multiplied the woes of the sugar industry by exposing the British West Indian sugar producers to stiff competition from foreign producers of cheaper and superior sugar. The effects were seen in a continuation of the decline in St Elizabeth, going from twenty estates in 1844 (before the Sugar Duties Act) to twelve in 1848 (two years after the Act), and by 1854, there were still twelve sugar estates in operation in the parish. Problems were worsened with the competition on the European market from beet sugar producers in the later nineteenth century. Those owners who could afford technological changes to improve the quality of sugar produced, as well as labour saving devices, tended to stay afloat. Those who could not buckled under the strain, and many properties previously devoted to sugar collapsed or were abandoned. As seen earlier, this decline and abandonment of large sugar estates and coffee properties in St Elizabeth helped to facilitate the tremendous changes in land ownership by the freed people, which marked the landscape of the parish after Emancipation. As Barry Higman pointed out, the decline in the number of large properties was especially rapid in the parishes of St Elizabeth, Manchester, St Ann and St Thomas, and this was reflected in the very marked rise of the class of peasant farmers in these parishes.

Sugar Survives in Late Nineteenth-Century St Elizabeth

As a result of these challenges previously outlined, there were very few sugar estates which were in production by 1878 in St Elizabeth. That they were able to survive and at times, to prosper, was the result of careful management, investment of capital in technological improvements, as well as the willingness of owners and managers to diversify their products to include increased numbers of livestock, production of logwood and other commodities for export. In 1878, in a parish which by then was dominated by livestock properties or pens, the seven sugar estates which were still in production included YS and Ipswich Estates in Middle Quarters, Holland and Lacovia Estates in the general area of Lacovia, Mexico Estate, Appleton and Bagdale Estates in Siloah. These were all fairly large estates, but in this story of survival, the total number of acres which were under cane cultivation had to be considerably reduced so as to allow owners to make additional income from other activities as seen above.

Holland Estate, for example, had a total area of 4,411 acres, of which only about 510 acres were planted in canes by the middle of the nineteenth century. The southern section of the estate was occupied by morass, but other areas were planted out in logwood trees and pasture for livestock. One reason for Holland's continued success, as noted in the earlier section on sugar estates, was its location close to the YS River and its access to reliable water power carried by the Persian waterwheel to the mill for the factory operations. At this time, Holland and Lacovia Estates were owned by John Gladstone, an English merchant planter.

There were ups and downs in the story of sugar's survival in St Elizabeth in the late nineteenth century. In 1891, the estates in sugar production were Appleton, owned by William Hill, Bogue, managed by Foster and Company, Elim, owned by J.M. Farquharson, Holland, by Allport and Calder, Island, by the Honourable W.H. Coke and YS owned by P. J. Browne. Two years before the end of the nineteenth century only three sugar estates were listed in production. These were Appleton, owned by A. M. Nathan, Holland, owned by M. H. M. Farquharson and YS, owned by the Browne brothers, with P. J. Browne as attorney.

Sugar Cane Cultivation Compared to Other Agricultural Activity in Late Nineteenth Century St Elizabeth

A clear picture of the decline in the significance of sugar production may be seen in the figures which showed acres of land in cultivation in the parish in 1878 and 1889. In 1878, only 1,050 acres were cultivated in canes, while 1,395 acres of coffee were being cultivated largely by small farmers. Pimento, along with some common pasture, amounted to 1,129 acres. The comparative success of small farming was also seen in the 4,540 acres of ground provisions grown in the same year. There were 15,474 acres under guinea grass and 20,511 acres occupied by common pasture, with these last two showing the continued importance of livestock rearing

in the parish, compared to sugar production. By 1889, the decline in the amount of land under sugar cane cultivation, compared to other agricultural activity, was even more marked. In 1889, land devoted to cane cultivation was 438 acres, which was less than half of what it was in 1878. At the same time, there were 1,244 acres planted in coffee and 6,145 acres in ground provisions, and this showed the continued growth and importance of the small farming sector in St Elizabeth. The acreage devoted to guinea grass had jumped to 18,839 by 1889, and acres in common pasture (25,520) showed a significant increase over acreage in 1878. As noted above, these last two items of cultivation were linked to the success of the livestock properties in St Elizabeth. Corn cultivation was also proving very encouraging by 1889, with 403 acres under cultivation, largely on the savannahs. By the end of the century, St Elizabeth was the largest corn-producing parish in the island. [20]

Livestock Rearing in St Elizabeth, 1838-1900: From Strength to Strength

The Importance of Livestock Rearing to St Elizabeth

Livestock rearing on the pens of St Elizabeth had always been an important economic activity in St Elizabeth, providing draught animals for labour tasks on estates, supplying horses for breeding and racing and providing the local markets with beef for consumers, as well as contributing significantly to the country's income from exports of cattle hides. In 1889 for example, 260,641 lbs of hides were exported from the island (including St Elizabeth). Parts of the savannahs of St Elizabeth were famous for the horses bred on these livestock pens, and their owners were much sought after to supply superior stud horses and brood mares. In this respect, both the savannah grass and the abundant supply of corn allowed St Elizabeth's pen keepers to feed their stock well and provide them with superior nutrition.

In the post-slavery period, the livestock industry became even more widespread across the parish as several owners of declining sugar or coffee properties turned their attention to the rearing of cattle, horses and other animals. Logwood production on these properties became increasingly important as a valuable export during the nineteenth century. In 1844, St Elizabeth boasted ninety-one out of 378 breeding pens in Jamaica. By 1878, there were ninety-five livestock pens in the parish, with the highest numbers of pens located in Malvern (twenty), Black River (seventeen), New Market (sixteen), Goshen (fifteen) and Middle Quarters (eleven). The areas with fewer livestock properties in 1878 were Southfield (seven) Siloah (five) and Lacovia (four). Generally, the lowlands of St Elizabeth were well known for the superior quality of their cattle and horses, and the parish could boast of livestock properties such as Hodges Pen, Gilnock, Goshen and Long Hill, Friendship and Fullerswood. In 1903, livestock pens in the parish supplied 15,000 heads of cattle, 3,100 horses and 1,700 sheep.

Livestock Properties in Black River by 1878

By 1878, several of Black River's seventeen livestock pens had been in existence for almost a century, although some were older, while others emerged later. Some of the long-standing livestock pens in the Black River area were *Dalintober*/*Dalintobee,* owned by Eustace Allen, *Pepper*, managed by William Stubbs, *Luama,* owned by Arthur Parcell, *Vineyard,* managed by Edward Forrest and *Fullerswood*, which was owned by the Honourable John Salmon, Custos of St Elizabeth at the time. Other long-standing livestock properties in Black River by 1878 included *Lower Works*, which was managed by J.M. Farquharson, merchant and magistrate for the parish and *Hodges Pen*, which was owned by John Shakespeare. (See earlier section on livestock pens before Emancipation). *Lower Works* became famous for horse-racing and in turn made Black River known as a destination for "the sport of kings". Lower Works bred horses as well as cattle, but was perhaps most famous for its mile-long racetrack, which proved to be one of the most exciting drawing-cards for the social elite in and around the parish. Lower Works, as well as other livestock properties such as Goshen, came to represent not only the cattle industry and its by-products, but also symbolized St Elizabeth's love affair with horses.

Goshen Livestock Property and Race Course Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Several of these properties were stud farms for the breeding of competitive race-horses. This passion for horses was shown by a famous Black River resident in the late nineteenth century, Tom Leyden. He was reported to have tiled his stables and treated his horses to the cooling breeze from electric fans at a time when very few had electricity. Other livestock pens in Black River by 1878 included *Mt. Charles Pen,* which was owned by A.K. Maitland, *Cheltenham*, *Brompton*, managed by Thomas Brotherton, *Hermitage,* owned by R.L. McLaren and *Ashton,* which was owned by John W. Earle. The Black River area was also home to *Brucefield*, whose manager at the time was H.R. Robinson, *Pond* as well as *Whitehall Pens* being owned by William Lewis, *Fyfes Pen* and the *Park Pen,* which was owned in 1878 by Mrs G. A. Cuff.

Malvern's Livestock Pens by 1878

Several of Malvern's livestock pens emerged in the immediate post-slavery period. Some of these had earlier been former coffee-producing properties which had fallen on hard times. In some cases, coffee properties were sold, but in other cases, owners made the decision to change to the more lucrative livestock-raising business. By 1878, the area boasted twenty of these pens, which included *Malvern Hill Pen, Potsdam Pen, Hampton Pen, Retirement, Alyerstoke, Mount Zion, Chelsea, Kensington, Iver, Elgin, Stanmore Hill and Chelsea Pen,* which was owned in 1878 by Edward Thomas, who also owned a general store in the fast-rising town of Malvern. Also a part of the Malvern landscape by then were *Prosper Pen, Roseberry, Belmont, Rose Hall, Torrington, Braemar* and *Mount Olivet* and *Corley Pens*, both of which were owned by Charles E. Isaacs, who was also the owner of a general store in Malvern.

Livestock Pens in New Market by 1878

By 1878, New Market had sixteen pens, which were a mixture of long-established livestock properties, as well as the more recent pens which came into production in the post-slavery period. *Payne's Town Pen* was one of the oldest livestock properties in the area, having been in existence for almost a hundred years by 1878. Payne's Town had always focussed on livestock rearing from the eighteenth century when the 580-acre property was owned by Edward Francis Coke. By 1878, Payne's Town was owned by John Edward Kerr (J. E. Kerr), who was a magistrate and later, a Justice of the Peace for St Elizabeth. *The Kepp Pen* was owned at this time by the Custos for St Elizabeth, the Honourable John Salmon, who also owned Fullerswood and other properties.

Other livestock pens in New Market included *Newport Pen*, owned by Horatio Aarons (who was also a storekeeper), *Woodlands Pen*, owned by Thomas Billings, *Donegal Pen*, owned by his brother, William Billings, while *Windsor Forest* and *Lennox Pens* were properties of William H. Cooke Junior. J.W.C. Fraser was the proprietor of *Hopeton Pen,* while the *Bogg* belonged to C. M. Gifford. *Spring Vale Pen* belonged to John Hudson, while his son, John Hudson Junior, owned *New Savannah Pen*. *Cheltenham Pen* was the property of S. C. Peynado, who also owned a general store in New Market. Interestingly, *Hazel Grove Pen* belonged to John Shaw, one of New Market's leading butchers at the time. The only female owner of a livestock pen in New Market at the time was Mrs Sanderson, who owned *Hartsall Pen*. Other livestock properties included *Spring Mount Pen*, owned by Thomas Grey and *Green Valley,* which belonged to William Sullivan.

Goshen's Livestock Pens by 1878

Today's district of Goshen in the Santa Cruz area of St Elizabeth developed out of and took its name from one of the parish's most famous and long-standing livestock properties, *Goshen Pen.*

Goshen Livestock Pen Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

As seen in the earlier look at livestock pens before Emancipation, Goshen was owned in 1780 by Francis George Smythe, who also owned the nearby *Long Hill* and *Friendship Pens*. Therefore, by 1878, these three livestock properties were almost one hundred years old and were still going strong. In 1878, James M. Farquharson, Justice of the Peace in St Elizabeth, was the attorney for both Goshen and Long Hill Pens, while Friendship Pen was owned by J. C. Wright. Goshen's older pens also included *Grosmond Pen*, owned at this time by Henry

Grosmond; *Emmaus Pen, Santa Cruz Park Pen*, owned by Mrs Ellen Channer and *Phantillans* and *Gilnock Hall*, which was the property of W. S. Wheattle, who also owned *Wilton* and *Northampton*. Rounding out Goshen's list of fifteen pens by 1878 were *Carmel, South Valley, Ashwood, Burnt Ground* and *Southampton*.

Livestock Properties in Middle Quarters by 1878

There were eleven livestock properties in Middle Quarters by 1878 which were doing well, and some of these had been in existence for almost a hundred years. Among the older pens in Middle Quarters were *Craigie,* which was around from the 1770s and *Giddy Hall,* which dated back to ownership by the Delaroche and Maitland families from the 1780s. By 1878, Craigie was owned by Nicholas Tomlinson, and Giddy Hall belonged to John Myers Cooper, a Commissioner for St Elizabeth, working with the Supreme Court and the Circuit Court. Another long-standing livestock property in Middle Quarters was *Middlesex Pen,* owned in 1878 by the Honourable John Salmon, Custos of St Elizabeth and President of the Legislative Council in 1865. More recent livestock pens were *Farm, Spring Vale, White Hall, Gainsbro, White Hill* and *Spring Hill Pens*. By 1878, there were two female owners of pens in Middle Quarters, and these were Mrs Maitland, who owned *Mount Charles Pen* and Mrs Sarah Monteith, who owned *Dunsidane Pen*.

Southfield's Livestock Pens, 1878

Located in the extreme south of St Elizabeth, Southfield had seven livestock properties in operation by 1878. These included *Tryall Pen,* which was owned by Bernard Bent; *Mayfield*, owned by Stuart L. Forbes; *Corly Castle*, which was the property of Charles E. Isaacs; *Malvern Chase*, owned by G. W. Osmond; and *Bellevue Pen,* which in 1878 belonged to the Venerable Archdeacon Rowe. There were two female pen owners at this time, and they were Mrs E. A. Forbes, who owned *Yardley Chase Pen* and Mrs Lydia Finlason, who was the owner of *Kensington Pen*.

Livestock Properties in Siloah by 1878

Two of Siloah's five livestock properties were long-standing and were both owned in 1878 by the Honourable John Salmon. These were *Vauxhall* and *Maggotty Pens,* the latter being in operation from the late eighteenth century. *Williamsfield Pen*, owned by M. W. King; *Windsor Pen*, which in 1878 belonged to Miss J. Robinson; and *Harmony Hall Pen*, owned by Robert Watson, were the remaining three livestock properties.

A Historic View of the Early Town of Maggotty, in Past Times, Home to Maggotty Livestock Property. Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Livestock Pens in Lacovia, 1878

Sugar and rum production on Holland and Lacovia Estates were the outstanding economic activities in and around Lacovia by 1878. Lacovia had only four livestock properties by that year. This may not have been unusual given the relative lack of commercial activity in and around Lacovia by 1878. By that year, the four livestock pens included *Haughton Pen*, managed by John Blake; *Content Hall*, owned by William Johnsonl *Breadnut Valley* and *Cornwall Pen*, the last being owned by W. J. Tomlinson Senior, who along with his son, W. J. Tomlinson Junior, were the only two registered shopkeepers in Lacovia in 1878. As was the case with sugar estates and

coffee plantations, St Elizabeth's livestock properties contributed far more than economic prosperity to the parish. The names of many of these livestock pens remain to this day as several places across St Elizabeth bear the names of the original livestock property with which these areas were associated. A few examples from among the named communities in the parish include Pepper, Goshen, Fullerswood, Phantillans, Grosmond, Gilnock Hall, Yardley Chase, Craigie, Maggotty, Mitcham and Wilton. [21]

The Rise and Decline of the Logwood Trade: Impact on St Elizabeth

Seeds from the logwood tree were brought to Jamaica from Honduras by the English on the advice of Dr Henry Barham of St Elizabeth in 1715. Dr Barham was the Island's plant expert who also owned property in St Elizabeth. Subsequently, the plant was introduced into several parishes, including St Elizabeth. After the first planting, logwood trees grew wild on their own because they were self-sown. At first, logwood was valued for medicinal uses, especially in the treatment of gangrene, but this soon changed, beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century with the coming of the Industrial Revolution in England. An important feature of this Industrial Revolution was the development of machines which allowed for factory production of items like cloth and textiles on a large scale. It was then discovered that logwood contained an extract which could be used to produce dyes with shades of black, brown, grey and blue. Dyes from logwood then became very important to the textile industry, starting in England, and as the Industrial Revolution spread to Western Europe and the United States of America, so did the demand for logwood.

Although they grew wild almost anywhere, logwood trees were most abundant in the Black River Basin and surrounding areas. By the 1780s, logwood trees had overrun large areas, especially in the parishes of St Elizabeth and Westmoreland. From the middle of the eighteenth century, the planters of St Elizabeth and elsewhere in Jamaica began to profit from what would eventually become a very prosperous export trade in logwood. The beneficial effects of the trade on St Elizabeth in general and Black River in particular were most seen in the post-slavery nineteenth century, with the greatest profits starting in the 1860s at the same time when the downturn in the sugar industry was clear. Therefore, in times of economic difficulties, property owners fully took advantage of the freely growing logwood trees in order to gain additional income. But the period of the greatest prosperity linked to the logwood trade for St Elizabeth

was from the late nineteenth century into the very early twentieth century.

Logwood, Black River: Numerous Logwood Trees in the Countryside of Black River Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

As seen earlier, logwood trees were sometimes deliberately planted between the cane pieces so as to provide a barrier, but generally, trees grew naturally and were to be found in abundance on the unused lands of just about every sugar and coffee estate and livestock rearing properties. After the ending of slavery and as the demand for logwood in overseas markets intensified, more labour was hired and so additional employment became available as a result of the logwood trade. Logwood was cut and transported down to Black River Harbour by river boats called *lighters* from properties located far inland, as well as those nearer to Black River. The many rivers which were linked to the main river, the Black River, made the transport of logwood (as well as all other goods) down to the harbour possible. So for example, logwood was harvested from estates such as Elim and floated twenty miles downriver to the harbour at Black River.

At the Logwood Depot located at the Town Wharf (Farquharson Wharf) in Black River, the Logwood was weighed on a pair of large scales and then taken out by boat to be loaded on to the ships waiting in Black River Harbour. In a 2001 interview for the *Daily Gleaner*, long-time resident of Black River, Mr. Melford Headley, commented that a pair of "old fashioned scales used for weighing the logwood" may still be seen at the Logwood Depot "by the old iron bridge". In the late nineteenth century, when the logwood trade from the parish was at its greatest, a large quantity of logwood could be seen piled up on the wharves awaiting shipment and at times, as many as twelve or fourteen large ships could be seen in Black River Harbour, most of them being loaded with logwood.

As seen earlier, some properties also had access to their own wharves. So for example, Fullerswood shipped one hundred tons of logwood from the Crane Wharf in 1832. In 1879, at the height of the logwood trade, while Fullerswood and Vauxhall Pens were owned by the Honourable John Salmon, he sold 173 tons of logwood worth £600. Logwood, therefore,

provided the lion's share of the total income of £1,673 for that year from these two livestock pens. Total exports of logwood from Jamaica increased steadily over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, as island exports amounted to 4,000 tons in 1850 and 15,000 tons in 1860, with a massive jump to 114,800 tons by 1869, and by 1889, 115,000 tons were exported from Jamaica. The logwood trade remained profitable for suppliers from St Elizabeth and the rest of the island until around 1895. Several property owners, as well as merchant families in St Elizabeth, including the Leyden brothers, the Farquharsons and others, made their fortunes from this boom in the logwood trade, and the town of Black River experienced much growth and infrastructural improvements which were directly linked to the prosperity arising from the logwood trade. These are discussed in the later section on Black River in the late nineteenth century.

After 1895 there were setbacks as the logwood trade began experiencing ups and downs on the international market. The first problem was competition from higher quality wood coming from Haiti which produced a superior dye. However, the biggest challenge for the natural dyes coming from the local logwood trade was the development of synthetic dye industries in England and other European countries. Synthetic dyes were cheaper to produce and easier to apply to textiles. There were occasional periods of recovery in the demand for local logwood in the early years of the twentieth century, especially during the First World War when the need for wartime production took precedence over the production of synthetic dyes in England. This is looked at later in the section which deals with economic changes in twentieth-century St Elizabeth.

However, before the nineteenth century ended, St Elizabeth mounted a response to the challenges facing the logwood trade by developing a dyewood extracts industry at Lacovia in 1894. At this factory, the naturally occurring dye in logwood was extracted and exported as a liquid extract and also made into crystals and exported. This process was in its infancy towards the end of the nineteenth century but really took off in the early twentieth century. More will be said on this factory at Lacovia in the section which deals with the twentieth century. The export of logwood extracts from St Elizabeth helped to cushion some of the fall-off in profits from the exports in actual logwood, but could never come close to the tremendous income which the logwood trade had brought to Black River and the rest of St Elizabeth. [22]

Changing Occupations: Life in the Towns and Communities of St Elizabeth in the Late Nineteenth Century

Black River in the Later Nineteenth Century

What had started out as a small village at the mouth of the Black River had become by the later nineteenth century the bustling capital of St Elizabeth having undergone several changes, most of which could be described as improvements.

A Modern View of the Capital: Black River Seafront Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

A great deal of these changes had been made possible by the profits coming from the thriving export trade in sugar, rum, molasses, coffee, cattle hides, pimento, ginger, as well as the success of the internal marketing in livestock and small farmers' provisions trade over the course of the nineteenth century. However it was the booming export trade in logwood or "Black River currency", as it was termed that contributed so much to the increase in the number of stately homes, the impressive expansion of stores and businesses in the town, as well as the introduction of several innovations during the later nineteenth century. The commercial attractions offered by the town at this time, together with the movement of more people into Black River, also explained the diversification in occupations that existed there at this time.

The Black River Court House

The exact year of construction of the Black River Court House remains uncertain, but it must have been built shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, because the decision to transfer meetings of the Parish Vestry to Black River from Lacovia was made in 1773, and vestry meetings were usually held in a court house. Moreover, the presence of a court house was essential to the decision to declare Black River the capital of St Elizabeth in 1773. The Act of 1788 which transferred court sessions to Black River, the capital, confirms that the Court House dates back to the early period after the middle of the century.

Descriptions of the appearance of the early court house all speak to the magnificent Georgian architecture of the building. The term, "Georgian architecture", refers to building styles which were popular during the reigns of King George 1 through to King George 1V (1713-1830). An anonymous visitor to the town of Black River in 1890 described the Court House as a "handsome and attractive" structure, solidly built of stone. In true Georgian style, the early Black River Court House was a two-storeyed building with a hipped roof (the roof sloped upward from all sides of the building). It had sash windows which could slide up and down, and there was a panelled door at the centre of the building on the ground floor and this led directly outside.

On each side of the building, there were stone arches which stretched sideways for about one hundred feet, and these served to separate the front of the grounds from the back. The rooms were all spacious, with the court room itself being described as "large and lofty". This first Court House was located at the western end of the town on High Street facing the sea. There were four brass cannons mounted on a grass lawn to the front of the building and this, according to the visitor, added to the impressive appearance of this official building. In the later eighteenth century, the Black River Court House served as the venue, not only for meetings of the courts and the Parish Vestry, but was also the centre for social gatherings and functions for the town's social elite.

The Parish Church of St John the Evangelist

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Parish Church had been rebuilt on its original location at the corner of High and North Streets. In 1890, this was described as a large brick structure with a square tower. At this time, mural tablets on the inside of the Parish Church stood as a memorial to several of St Elizabeth's influential residents who had helped to shape the history of the town and the rest of the parish. Two of these memorial tablets are located on either side of the *chancel* and honour the memory of Caleb Dickinson and Robert Hugh Munro, founders of the *Munro and Dickinson's Trust* and leading figures in the educational landscape of St Elizabeth (discussed further under Church and School).

Government Quarters, Black River in the Twentieth Century Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Public Buildings in Black River Today: St Elizabeth Parish Council's Office and Black River Resident Magistrate's Court Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Other Public Structures in Black River in the Late Nineteenth Century

As seen earlier, by the late eighteenth century, a hundred-foot long wooden bridge had been built across the Black River, allowing safe and easy passage from the western over to the eastern side of the town. By 1890, this had been replaced by an *extension bridge* with a wooden floor, and this remained in place until 1940 when a newer bridge was built and opened. By this time, Black River also had a *hospital* which was located at the western end of High Street, occupying part of the site which in the eighteenth century had been home to the Barracks, (discussed earlier). This hospital, with several improvements over time, became the Black River Hospital.

The anonymous visitor to St Elizabeth in 1890 mentioned the existence of a *prison* in Black River at the time but said very little about it. Most likely, as was the custom in other parishes, the early prison or gaol would have been housed in a section of the military Barracks on High Street. Black River also had its own market place, described as “a plain but graceful iron structure”. Markets were held there twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays. There were quite a few wharves lined up on either side of the bridge (including Farquharson Wharf), and visitors to Black River in 1890 described the wharves as being all piled up with large amounts of logwood and fustic (another dyewood which was exported). At this time it was usual to see several ships lying in wait in the harbour, which lighters transported the cargo of logwood out to the vessels.

A Modern View of Vessels in Black River Port Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Houses in Black River by the Late Nineteenth Century

By 1890, the main street which was High Street was still being described as narrow, but was nevertheless home to many "good stores and business houses", wharves and public buildings. There were a few impressive homes located there (described shortly), but most houses were to be found behind High Street. What could be described as "merchant town houses" were mainly located on High Street and served as both shops/stores and homes during the later nineteenth century. These were two-storeyed wooden buildings, with the shop or store on the ground floor and the home on the top floor.

Three historically important homes on High Street were linked to the Leyden brothers and the Farquharson family, who were outstanding Black River residents in the late nineteenth century. They were merchants and shippers who were at the centre of the Logwood trade and commerce of Black River and contributed much to the development of Black River in the late nineteenth century. These houses were Invercauld, Magdala and Waterloo House.

Invercauld House was built in the western part of the town on High Street around 1894 by one of the Leyden brothers, Thomas Patrick, for merchant and business partner, Charles M.

Farquharson. Built on a concrete base, Invercauld was a two-storey wooden residence with a gable roof, bay windows and an intricate fretwork design overhanging the gable or triangular area below the roof. The Farquharsons lived at Invercauld for many years, but this famous structure was converted into a guest house, the Invercauld Guest House, which still stands today. Next door to Invercauld was Magdala House, which was built in the late nineteenth century for Thomas Patrick Leyden and was similar in architectural style to Invercauld. The third stately home was Waterloo House, also on High Street, and this was bought from the original Shakespeare owners and improved on by John William Leyden.

Leyden was a Justice of the Peace for Black River in 1875 and business partner of fellow Justice of the Peace for Malvern, James Farquharson, who along with Leyden, were two of Jamaica's wealthiest men in the late nineteenth century. In the early 1890s, the Leyden brothers, benefitting from the wealth of the logwood trade, were able to introduce a significant milestone in the history of Black River by building an electricity generating plant. In 1893, logwood was used to generate steam from a large furnace and a boiler which then powered the generating plant and provided electricity. John Leyden's house, *Waterloo, had the distinction in 1893 of being the first residence in Jamaica to have electricity*. This is commemorated by a plaque still to be seen at Waterloo House. Leyden, a lover of racehorses, was partly influenced by a desire to cool the stables for his horses with an early version of an air-conditioning unit. All three houses were declared *National Monuments* by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust on 13 September 1990.

Late Nineteenth-Century Houses on High Street Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

A Restored Nineteenth-Century House on High Street Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Changing Occupations in Towns and Districts across St Elizabeth in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

The Cholera Outbreak, Population and Occupations in Black River in the Nineteenth Century

In 1850, Black River and other places in the parish were visited by disaster in the form of the outbreak of Cholera. Before long this was to become an epidemic with severe consequences for the entire island of Jamaica. The first case of Cholera appeared in Black River in December of 1850, and by the time the epidemic had run its course in late 1851-1852, 119 persons out of a total population of 1,000, had died from the disease in the town. Those lucky enough to have escaped death were severely sickened and weakened by the attacks of vomiting and diarrhoea. Cholera spread to Middle Quarters and other areas, affecting Holland and Lacovia Estates, among other places in the parish. Dr Milroy, who investigated and reported on the disease in Jamaica, concluded the resident workers were only able to escape the worst effects of the disease because the manager at Lacovia ordered all 200 of them evacuated from their quarters once the first person fell victim to Cholera. Milroy went on to report that this early form of quarantining the sick from the well prevented the extensive spread to others on the estate. Figures for the rest of the parish were not available, but the death toll in Black River delivered a blow to the people of the town, resulting in a setback to progress which had been made up to that point. Because persons were fearful of contamination from the victims' bodies, Black River's Cholera victims were buried in a mass grave at a designated part of the cemetery.

For the rest of the nineteenth century, Black River showed signs of slow but steady economic recovery. Black River was the only town listed in St Elizabeth in the 1861 Census. In that year, the town had a total population of 970 persons, of whom there were forty-nine whites (36 men and 13 women). There were 428 persons (178 men and 250 women) who were listed as brown (persons of mixed race and Jews). In 1861, Black River had 493 black residents (174 men and 319 women). For reasons unknown, the long-established town of Lacovia was not listed in the 1861 Census.

In keeping with the expanding trade in towns and communities after Emancipation, Black River had a considerable number of shops, stores and other business establishments in the town's commercial district. In 1878, there were eight shop keepers registered in Black River. These were all males, and they took part in the retail trade in dry goods (cloth, household goods) and at times, provisions, for which the market expanded rapidly after Emancipation. There were twelve bakers, of whom eight were women. Interestingly, there were two husband and wife partnerships in these baking operations, and these were Horatio Watson and his wife, Margaret, as well as Francis Stephens and Mrs Mary Stephens. It is not known whether the

bakers had shops of their own or whether they simply supplied the baked goods to shop keepers.

Late Nineteenth-Century/Early Twentieth Century Black River Stores and Shops Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Dressmaking and tailoring services in the town were much in demand during the second part of the nineteenth century, and Black River had seven dressmakers (some single and some married) and eight tailors in 1878. The larger stores and general stores were for the most part owned and operated by Jewish merchants, and these usually occupied the ground floor of the merchant townhouses described earlier. There were ten operators of stores and general stores in the town at this time, and a sample of these included *Hendriks and Company General Store, Charles E. Isaacs General Store, Edwin Levy General Store and Louis Lindo and Company*, who were store keepers as well as dealers in produce (bought and sold provisions).

By 1891, a few short years before the closing of the nineteenth century, the owners of most of these stores and businesses had expanded into other parts of Black River itself, locating branches in the area then known as *Over the Bridge*. Black River owners had also established branches in the fast rising town of Santa Cruz, becoming well known landmarks in that town's commercial landscape, with most being located on Main Street, Santa Cruz. As mentioned above, some of these Black River businesses set up branches in *Over the Bridge*. Interestingly,

this place name cannot be found on a present day map of the parish, and the name has all but disappeared from usage today. However, information given by an eighty-seven year old long-time resident of St Elizabeth, *Ms Ruby Boase* (courtesy of Mr Patrick Smith and Ms Paulene Jackson), made it clear that she remembers the place named *Over the Bridge* as being located immediately on the eastern side of the Black River Bridge going towards Crane Road. This was the area in which a few Black River business owners located their expanded operations.

Examples of businesses which were located at *Over the Bridge* by 1891 include R.B. Daly's General Wholesale, Retail and Shipping Merchants, Charles M. Farquharson's General Wholesale Merchants and S.E. Peynado, who owned the General Wharf Business and Shippers of Dyewoods enterprise there. Spreading commercial wings into Santa Cruz on Main Street, C.S. Farquharson was the agent for Atlas Steamship and Caribbean Line Steamers. Also on Main Street, Charles E. Isaacs, who had started out as a general store owner in Black River was by 1891, agent for Clyde Line Steamers, as well as a general merchant on Main Street. Also on Main Street, Farquharson and Pengelly were general wholesale, retail and shipping merchants based on Main Street. The Leyden Brothers Wholesale and Retail Dry Goods, Provisions, Wharf Business and Shipping Merchants had branched out onto Main Street and so had Hendriks and Company by 1891.

For travellers in and out of Black River, the town had always had at least one tavern with accommodation. By 1878, there were five lodging houses (a smaller version of today's motel), and these were operated by Mrs C. Allen, Miss Ellen Cohen, Mrs Gooden, Miss Ann McCrachen and Miss Ruffle. With the booming export trade in logwood and other commodities in late nineteenth-century Black River, there was a noticeable increase in the number of wharves and storehouses which were spread out both on High Street and Crane Road. The most sought after was the Town Wharf, which became Farquharson's Wharf, operated by the Leyden brothers and the Farquharson clan.

Persons who were in charge of the business conducted at the wharves were called wharfingers in the nineteenth century. Leyden and Farquharson, Merchants and Wharfingers were well established in Black River. There was also *J.E. Kerr and Company, Merchants and Wharfingers*, with a branch in Black River. C.J. Hamilton was a popular wharfingers, as well as a shipwright (did maintenance work with shipping). Richard Williams and Charles Allan worked as wharfingers, with *Leyden and Farquharson Merchants and Wharfingers*. Hand in hand with the expanding trade passing through Black River in the later nineteenth century was a significant rise in the numbers of accountants and accounting clerks in the town. There were nine accountants, some of whom were A.J. Hendriks, Fred Alberga, Ephraim Polack, C. H. Distin and George Gooden. Some of the fourteen accounting clerks in 1878 included Jacob Aarons, C. M. Farquharson, Samuel S. Manley, Joseph Nation and J. D. Shearer.

The local livestock pens supplied the needs of the population for beef, and Black River had two registered butchers in 1878, James Allen and John Shaw. There was a variety of skilled occupations, including six shoemakers, five blacksmiths (worked with iron), four carpenters, three tinsmiths (worked with tin), a milliner, Miss Mary Ann Distant,, who made and sold hats, coach builders, house and sign painters and two goldsmiths, A. J. Corinaldi and Daniel Young, as well as a watchmaker and jeweller, William Weller. Black River's dispenser (pharmacist) in 1878 was G.M. Jopp.

In the late nineteenth century, mail between Jamaica and overseas countries was transported by the Royal Mail Steamship Company, and local mail was delivered to the post offices by horse and buggy. The early post offices were located in a section of the postmaster's or postmistress' house, and each town or village in the parish had a post office which was managed by the postmaster or mistress. In 1878, Black River's postmistress was Mrs E. R. Scott.

Black River Post Office in the Early Twentieth Century Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Modern Black River Post Office Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

By that year too, the Jamaica Constabulary Force was in existence, and the Inspector of Police for Black River was A. A. Wedderburn, while Henry Rance was the Sergeant Major of the police. Black River's prison was managed by T. A. Ferguson. There were medical officers for the town, including the superintendent of the Black River Hospital, who was Edward Allan in 1878 and three other medical officers with responsibility for Black River. Clergymen as well as teachers (discussed in the section on Churches and schools) and bailiffs working with the District Court in Black River were also active in Black River by 1878.

Black River: A Protected National Heritage District

Because of its tremendous significance in the history of St Elizabeth, the town of Black River was declared a *Protected National Heritage District* by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust on 8th April, 1999. Many of the buildings included in the Historic District have a history dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and have all been discussed here. More recent additions were made in the twentieth century. The properties within the *Historic District* include the Magdala House, Invercauld (now Invercauld Hotel), Waterloo House, the Black River Court House, St John the Evangelist Parish Church, the St Elizabeth Parish Library, the Public Works Office, the Parish Council Office, the old Police Station, the Black River High School, the

Black River Hospital, as well as all buildings, warehouses and wharves located along High Street and over the bridge onto Crane Road (including the Farquharson Wharf). [23]

Black River Hospital Today Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Black River: High Street in the Twentieth Century Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Black River, From Near the Parish Church Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Malvern

Malvern is located high up in the Santa Cruz Mountains, at 2,300 feet above sea level. Parochial roads leading from several communities in the Santa Cruz Mountains intersected with Malvern, and this perhaps explained the considerable amount of commercial activity that took place there in the later part of the nineteenth century. Some of these communities included Santa Cruz to the north of Malvern, Mountainside to the west, Potsdam to the south and Southfield further south. As seen earlier, Malvern's immediate post-slavery history was closely tied to the abandonment or sale of failed coffee plantations in the area, specifically, Malvern Coffee Plantation.

In the late nineteenth century, the community of Malvern had a great deal of small farmers' homes, which were described by an anonymous visitor in 1890 as "above the average" with "flowers and shrubs around the dwellings". Most of the small farmers who lived in the town had farming lands outside of the town, sometimes as far away as Balaclava, and some spent about a week or so on their farming lands before returning to their homes in Malvern. In the

later nineteenth century, Malvern was also home to several of St Elizabeth's white families, and the town proved attractive to many of the parish's better-off residents, including successful traders and landowners, who built "superb residences lining the town's streets" towards the end of the century. Among the families who lived in Malvern at this time were the Calders, the Farquharsons, the Hendricks and the Clakens. The Moravian Church was quite influential in the history of Malvern, and the community was distinguished by the educational institutions which surrounded it. This will be discussed in the section that deals with Churches and Schools.

As noted earlier, the town of Malvern benefitted from the fact that it was at the intersection of roads leading to and from surrounding districts. This helps to explain the large number of commercial agents (nineteen) who were registered as living in Malvern by 1878. Some of these included Thomas Barnett, Joseph Bennett, Charles Goulbourne, Richard Muirhead, Alexander Powell and Walter Scott. In the same year, there were seven general stores in Malvern, including those owned and operated by Charles E. Isaacs, Frederick Lawrence, Henry Lawrence, A. J. Lewis, E.D. Sailman, Edward Thomas and Thomas Thomas.

Compared to Black River, Malvern had very few tailors (three), dressmakers (two), bakers (three), blacksmiths (two) and carpenters and builders (two). Interestingly, Malvern had significantly more boot and shoemakers (ten), as well as butchers (eight) than Black River. Nevertheless, it is clear that Black River had a wider variety of skilled and professional occupations, as well as trading businesses, than Malvern as Black River was the capital and gateway to the export and import trade.

Because Malvern was home to more educational institutions than Black River in the late nineteenth century, it outpaced the capital in the number of teachers (ten) living there. There were four medical officers and a judge of the District Court resident in Malvern in 1878. Some of Malvern's store owners or their relatives remained in the business for several decades or branched out into a related activity. For example, Charles E. Isaacs, who owned a general store in 1878 was by 1891, a well-established merchant, and the store-keeping business operated by the Sailman family was still being conducted by 1891.

Middle Quarters

In the later nineteenth century, Middle Quarters was dominated by livestock property owners and two surviving sugar estates, Holland and YS. There were eleven owners of livestock pens in the Middle Quarters area and three owners or managers of sugar estates (looked at earlier). By contrast, Middle Quarters had very few urban or commercial occupations in 1878. There were only four stores owned or operated by residents, including William Ridgard, who was also the postmaster for Middle Quarters. Other store owners were James Usher (who also owned Spring Hill Pen); J. M. Cooper (who also owned Giddy Hall Pen); and A. A. Finlason, who owned

a general store. By 1891, the number of stores had been reduced to three, and the owners of these were M.H. Farquharson, B. Morrich and W. Samuels. In 1878, there were two tailors, two blacksmiths, one butcher, one baker, one carpenter and one boot and shoemaker in Middle Quarters. Four teachers and three clergymen were associated with the few churches and schools in the district (looked at shortly).

Middle Quarters Post Office Today Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Goshen and its Importance to the Development of the Town of Santa Cruz in the Late Nineteenth Century

Like Middle Quarters, occupations in Goshen were more linked to agriculture and livestock rearing, with urban skilled occupations taking second place. In 1878, there were fourteen owners/managers of livestock pens associated with the Goshen community. This is hardly surprising as the district of Goshen and surrounding properties had always been more suited to livestock rearing, and several of the leading livestock properties (Goshen, Long Hill and Friendship) had dominated the area. In fact, Goshen's livestock properties had always lived up to the biblical meaning of its name (Goshen, meaning best of the land).

During the post-slavery nineteenth century, a thriving trade had been established between the owners of the livestock pens in Goshen, other livestock areas and the merchants and traders in

the market town of Santa Cruz. In fact, the development of Santa Cruz as a market town was largely based on the livestock trade. When livestock owners needed goods besides those produced on their properties, they naturally went to the nearest market, which was the thriving Santa Cruz Market, which was to the north of Goshen. Likewise, Goshen's livestock pens supplied horses for transport and meat for sale at the Santa Cruz Market. As the nineteenth century went on, a strong trading link of demand and supply developed between Goshen and Santa Cruz, with Goshen pen owners or their relatives, at times, setting up stores and shops in Santa Cruz or in other ways, maintaining strong connections with Santa Cruz traders and shop keepers. Examples of Goshen residents who also set up shops and stores in Santa Cruz included Allan Cole, James De Laroche, John Franklin and W. O. Nangle.

Goshen's trade connections with Santa Cruz led to a steady two-way traffic between the two places in the second half of the nineteenth century. This contributed to the late nineteenth century rise of skilled occupations in Goshen, as some persons also came from Santa Cruz to Goshen, whether to do business or to stay. These skilled occupations included carpenters and builders (five); boot and shoe makers (six); tailors (four); dressmakers (three); bakers (three); and butchers (two). There was also a dispenser (pharmacist) in Santa Cruz who served the needs of Goshen and surrounding areas, a doctor and two members of the Anglican clergy, as well as five teachers, who were based between Goshen and Santa Cruz. Postal services for areas like Goshen and Friendship were provided by Santa Cruz, and Cooper Wright, the postmaster in 1878, was based in Santa Cruz.

Twentieth-Century Goshen Postal Agency Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

This absolute expansion of commerce between Santa Cruz, Goshen and places like Black River explains the fact that several branches of Black River businesses were opened by 1891 on Main Street in the town of Santa Cruz. Interestingly, a visitor who passed through Santa Cruz in 1890 described it as a small village, with houses and stores "somewhat scattered". Unlike most of the merchant stores in Black River, the stores in Santa Cruz, for the most part, seem to have consisted of one storey only. According to the visitor, there were only about three or four stores which were two-storeyed, and these had shingle roofs. Quite noticeable in Santa Cruz were the groups of peasant women who sat along the roadside selling yams, plantains, oranges and cassava cakes (bammies), along with other small farming produce.

Siloah

Located in the North-eastern section of St Elizabeth, Siloah's early development in the 1820s and 1830s was closely linked to the sugar estates which had dominated the area before Emancipation. Some of these were Aberdeen Estate to the east of Accompong, Bagdale, Mexico and Appleton Estates. The Church of England also influenced the early emergence of the community with the establishment of the Siloah Elementary (primary) school and the St Barnabas Anglican Church. These are discussed in the later section on schools and churches.

In the post-slavery nineteenth century, as sugar estates across the parish fell on hard times, with many going out of production, Siloah strengthened its reputation as St Elizabeth's late nineteenth-century sugar belt. The extensive area of Siloah remained home to the successful sugar estates of Appleton, Bagdale and Mexico in 1878. Additionally, several livestock properties, such as Maggotty Pen, Williamsfield Pen, Vauxhall and Windsor Pens, were in operation in the Siloah area by 1878. By the late nineteenth century, therefore, the community of Siloah was predominantly agricultural, combining sugar production, livestock rearing and mixed farming.

Nevertheless, there was clear evidence of the emergence of town life, with a few urban businesses and occupations which helped to meet the needs of the community of Siloah. There were three general stores and shops in the town by 1878, and these were owned by Joseph L. Isaacs (who was also a baker), R.G. Watson and M. Jalden. John Francis bought and sold pork from the nearby livestock pens, and Richard Hine owned a beef-dealing business in the town. Siloah had four dressmakers, one tailor, two bakers, two blacksmiths, one carpenter and one shoemaker by 1878. There were two clergymen, two teachers and a medical practitioner in the community at this time. By 1891, not much had changed as the economic activities remained centred on sugar and livestock rearing, with only one or two shops. What did change was the fact that by that year, Siloah had its own post office which was located at the home of Mr E. Maris, the postmaster.

Southfield

As its name suggests, Southfield is located in the southern part of St Elizabeth. It developed as a farming community which focussed mainly on livestock rearing. Its geographical location, surrounded by farming and livestock rearing communities, meant that by the later nineteenth century, Southfield would also develop as a centre for trading with these nearby communities. Some of these communities included Flagaman to the west and Top Hill and Ballards Valley to the north east of Southfield. All of these areas were linked to Southfield by parochial roads.

By 1878, Southfield was still largely agricultural, with livestock properties such as Yardley Chase, Malvern Chase and Mayfield Pens dominating the area. There was only one general store in Southfield in 1878, and this was operated by William Panton-Forbes, the overseer at Yardley Chase and Mayfield Pens. The Church of England was very active in Southfield, with two churches, St Mary's and St Peter's and four schools in the area. Nevertheless, there were signs of early growth of urban, skilled occupations in Southfield. There were three carpenters and builders, two boot and shoemakers, four dressmakers, one blacksmith, one tinsmith and a baker by 1878.

New Market

Located in the north-western side of St Elizabeth, New Market began in the eighteenth century as a market place for trading of livestock and other goods from the surrounding livestock pens and estates.

New Market's Market in the Twentieth Century Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Some of the livestock properties which did a brisk business in the area were Paynes Town Pen, Hopeton, Kepp, New Savannah and Hazel Grove. With Emancipation, the trading venue of New Market eventually grew into the town of New Market. On the outskirts of the town, there were sixteen livestock pens (see section on livestock pens) with eighteen proprietors, managers or overseers linked to these properties by 1878. The Moravian Church was very active in New Market at this time, and there were five clergy men who were connected to the five Moravian Churches in New Market. Additionally, there were seven teachers at the seven Moravian schools which dominated New Market by 1878 (see later section on Church and Schools in the parish).

As happened in areas such as Goshen and Santa Cruz, an urban community grew up in New Market in response to the needs of the many livestock properties in the area. Owners of livestock pens needed a local market where their horses, pigs and cattle (for meat and draught

purposes) could be sold or traded. Livestock pen owners also need to buy food and other consumer goods. The market place at New Market was the nearest and most convenient venue for this trade. Increased numbers of people moved towards the area in the second half of the nineteenth century, establishing shops and businesses that could provide the goods and services needed. This resulted in the emergence of an urban space which eventually became the town of New Market. The long-standing presence of Moravian churches and schools also contributed to the growth of the New Market community.

By 1878, there were six general stores owned by persons such as Samuel Fulton, Robert Dixon, S.C. Peynado and C.E. Tomlinson. Among the five shop owners were H. Aarons, who also owned Newport Pen, William Black and Richard Holmes. By 1878, skilled occupations were also significant as the demand for services of different types increased. Livestock trading from the surrounding pens created a need for butchers, and there were three in New Market by 1878. One of these was John Shaw who also owned Hazel Grove Pen in the community.

The hectic pace of settlement and development in the town was also reflected in the fact that there were five bakers, five dressmakers and two tailors. Boot and shoemakers were clearly in heavy demand as New Market boasted eight resident boot and shoemakers by 1878. Blacksmiths (two), carpenters (four), one coach builder, a druggist and dispenser (James A. English) rounded out the list of service providers in the town by that year. New Market's Lodging House, managed by Mrs Martinez in 1878, provided a rest stop for travellers going to and from the town. The continued growth of New Market was seen in the fact that by 1891, the town had its own post office, with Mr G.E. Daly (also a shop keeper) being the post master.

Balaclava

Located in the north-eastern section of St Elizabeth, close to the border with Manchester, Balaclava emerged as a small community in the period after slavery ended. The settlement of this area was first started by some of the newly freed slaves who had been attached to nearby properties under slavery. Some of these properties included Mitcham Livestock Pen, which was owned in 1840 by Samuel Sherman; Bogue Estate, owned by the Fosters; and Union Estate, owned by the Fisher family. As seen earlier, many of the freed people moved away from the estates and livestock properties and bought small amounts of land in order to establish small farms of their own. This movement of freed people led to the formation of a small farming community, which eventually gave rise to the district and town of Balaclava. In the early post-slavery period, the Baptists were very active in the community, and by 1852, they had built the first church in Balaclava. This is further examined in the section on *Schools and Churches*.

The small community of Balaclava remained predominantly agricultural for most of the nineteenth century. However, Balaclava became increasingly important as a collection and marketing centre for small farmers' produce. The extension of railway service (described shortly) to parts of St Elizabeth, including Balaclava, between 1892 and 1894, helped in the growth of the town as the trains brought more goods and people into the area, strengthening trade and commerce. As happened in other areas of the parish, such as Goshen and Santa Cruz, the trading of farm produce attracted more persons into the community of Balaclava. This stimulated the need for more goods and services and led to an increase in shops, homes, schools and churches, including St Luke's Anglican, which was built in 1897.

Balaclava took on an urban identity and remained a small but busy town for the rest of the century. Today, the remains of a red brick oven with a chimney attached can still be seen. Research by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust suggests that this structure may be the remains of a very old bakery in St Elizabeth. Also in Balaclava Village there are the remains of a two-storey, cut-stone warehouse building which appears to date back to the late nineteenth century. It is in very dilapidated condition and almost entirely without a roof. Nevertheless, it seems to have been typical of the two-storey merchant structures, with the shop or store on the ground floor and the living area upstairs.

By 1891, Balaclava had its own post office, and the postmaster was J.W. Scott, who also managed a store in the town. There were five other stores in the town by 1891, and these were operated by Farquharson and Pengelly, Mrs G. Gooden, C. F. Pengelly (who was also a Justice of the Peace), T. F. Sinclair and Sherman and Roberts. There were two druggists (pharmacists) connected to Balaclava at this time, and they were G. Hendriks and T. R. Saunders. The medical officer for the district of Balaclava was Dr V. F. Mullen, while the churches were well represented by Reverend C. Sibley (Baptist), Reverend E. B. Key (Anglican) and Reverend R. Meek (Moravian). Balaclava's history took different turns in the twentieth century, and this is examined in the section devoted to the parish in the twentieth century.

Lacovia

By the late nineteenth century, Lacovia was still being described as a small and somewhat scattered village. Home to Holland and Lacovia Estates in the nineteenth century, the wider area of Lacovia was dominated by livestock properties, which also produced a lot of the logwood, which allowed their owners to benefit from the prosperous trade in logwood for as long as it lasted in the nineteenth century. A common sight at Lacovia during this time were the boats piled high with logwood and sailing downriver to their destination at Black River Port. During the late nineteenth century, the town of Lacovia was very slow to develop as an urban

centre of trade and commerce. This was not surprising as the nature of the export trade in logwood meant that all of the commercial activity was centred in the town of Black River, as it guarded St Elizabeth's only port of exports and imports. Lacovia had no such port of its own, so commercial transactions related to the trade had to be done in Black River.

It was hardly surprising, therefore, that there were very few signs of commercial activity in Lacovia by 1878. There was only one store in Lacovia at that time, and this was owned and operated by W.J. Tomlinson, Senior and his son, W.J. Tomlinson Junior. The town had only two teachers, who taught at Lacovia School and the Slipe School in 1878, and St Thomas Anglican Church was the only church visible in the town. However, by 1891, there were a few more retail and dry goods stores, and this suggests that more people were living in Lacovia by that time (although no census figures for that period were available). There were five retail dry goods and provisions stores in Lacovia in 1891, and these were owned by R. B. Daley, DeLeon and DeLeon, H.E. Powell, W.J. Tomlinson Senior, who owned the store at Lacovia Bridge and W.J. Tomlinson Junior, who managed the store at Thompson Bridge. Interestingly, both Tomlinsons (father and son) had been in the business from 1878. When Una Marson visited Lacovia Bridge as a seven year old in 1912, she recalled that Lacovia "had very few sights". One of these was *Tomlinson's Dry Goods Store*. The others were (according to Marson's recall) "a couple of little groceries, a bar, a school and St Thomas' Anglican Church". [24]

The Extension of Railway Services to St Elizabeth in the Late Nineteenth Century

In several ways, the introduction of railway services to various parts of Jamaica during the nineteenth century contributed to economic development in towns and communities by increasing the movement of people and goods for trade around the island. Railway service was started in 1845, with the introduction of the Kingston to Spanish Town railway line. After a long break, work was resumed in 1867. Railway lines and service were extended from Spanish Town to Old Harbour and eventually on to Porus. But, north coastal towns, such as Montego Bay and the parish of St Elizabeth, did not get rail service until the early 1890s. Part of the reason for the delay was the enormous sums involved in extending the lines and the inability of the government to meet these expenses. In 1889, the government sold the railway for £800,000 to the West India Improvement Company, and shortly after this, work began on laying the railway line from Porus to Montego Bay. This stage also involved plans for introducing railway service to St Elizabeth. By 1894, the Porus to Montego Bay railway lines were complete, and St Elizabeth had railway service for the first time.

The extension of railway service to St Elizabeth involved the laying of railway lines connecting Ipswich, Maggotty, Appleton, Siloah and Balaclava, the building of railway stations and

provision for halts. Halts were points along the line where there were no railway stations but the train was allowed to stop for a brief while at these halts. Immediately after leaving Ipswich, the train passed under the Ipswich Railway Bridge, a concrete structure built around 1894 by the Main Road Department. The mountainous terrain between Ipswich and Maggotty meant that tunnels (under the hill) and cuttings (above ground) had to be built along the way to allow for the laying of lines and the running of the trains. The first tunnel was called number three tunnel, while number four consisted of a cutting only. Number five tunnel was about 200 feet long and number six tunnel was the longest of all at 900 feet. The seventh tunnel passed very close to two caves, while number eight tunnel was 525 feet long and the final tunnel, number nine, was 300 feet long.

An Early View of the Town of Maggotty, Connected by Railway to the Rest of St Elizabeth
Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Along the St Elizabeth route, there were four railway stations built and provision made for two halts. Railway stations (usually of two storeys) were built at Ipswich, Maggotty, Appleton and

Balaclava, while there was a halt at Siloah and an Appleton tourist halt (later). Balaclava Railway Station was built around 1892. It is a two-storey wooden station, which was built in the Jamaican/Georgian style of architecture. It has a gable-end roof (where both sides of the roof slope downwards, and there is a vertical wall (called a gable) at the end of the roof. Other features include sash windows and panel doors.

Appleton Railway Station was built around 1894. It consists of two storeys and was built in the Jamaican/Georgian style. The entire building was made of timber. Located upstairs were the quarters for the station master and a wooden staircase leads to this area. A feature of many older Jamaican buildings was wooden lattice work, and this covered the sides of the stairway providing shade from the sun. On the upper floor, there are sash windows, and the roof is zinc with a gable end. In 2003, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust declared the Appleton Railway Station a *National Monument*. [25]

Churches and Schools in St Elizabeth in the Nineteenth Century: Overview

As Jamaica was settled by the English after 1655 it followed that the first churches which were established under English rule would be the Anglican or Church of England. It was also the view of the English government that churches were vital to social order and stability in the settlement of towns and villages of the parish. It was also important for each parish to have its main church or the parish church. This was the pattern in St Elizabeth and all other parishes. Through the course of the nineteenth century, there were other Christian denominations which were active in St Elizabeth and represented by missionaries who established churches, chapels and stations around the parish.

The most influential of these were the Moravians who had a strong presence in St Elizabeth. Also of some influence in the parish in the nineteenth century were the Baptists. The Wesleyan Methodists and the Church of Scotland (not to be confused with the Presbyterians who were not in St Elizabeth) had less influence than the Anglicans, Moravians and Baptists but were still active in a few areas of St Elizabeth. The Roman Catholic Church had a limited presence, beginning in the later nineteenth century, and the Society of Friends or Quakers also had a small presence. It was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that other groups, such as the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jamaica Association of Christian Churches, began to make headway. In the immediate post- slavery nineteenth century, churches and schools went hand in hand, and schools that were established were usually operated by the Anglicans, Moravians, Baptists, and to a lesser extent, by other groups, such as the Wesleyan Methodists.

The Church of England or the Anglican Church in St Elizabeth in the Nineteenth Century

The towns of Black River and Lacovia were the first places in St Elizabeth where Anglican churches were established in the early eighteenth century. These were the Church of St John the Evangelist, which later became the Parish Church when Black River was declared the

The Parish Church of St John the Evangelist Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Capital of St Elizabeth. Twenty-five miles from Black River, Lacovia also got its first church, St Thomas Anglican Church, in the early eighteenth century. Before these churches were built, the settlers usually gathered at each other's homes for prayer. In this early period, as noted before, there was only one minister, Reverend John Kelly, who had to alternate between Black River and Lacovia, conducting services every other Sunday in each town. It was reported in 1723 that the minister was living "very comfortably" on a salary of £ 150 per year and that there was enough pasture at his residence to feed sheep and cattle.

Some of these Anglican churches reflect the stories of the communities of residents who grew up around them. Inside the Parish Church of St John the Evangelist, there are memorial tablets which pay tribute to Robert Hugh Munro and his nephew, Caleb Dickinson, through whose generosity, funds were set aside to establish a free school for the poor children of the parish. This was realised in the establishment of today's Munro College, named after its benefactor and Hampton School. There are also memorials inside the church which honour the memory of members of the Farquharson family, including Charles (who died in the 1820s); Matthew (died in the 1840s); and William (died in the 1850s). This family played a significant part in the commercial life of the parish. Memorial tablets also pay tribute to other influential residents

such as David Shakespeare (died in 1820s); George Hendriks (1860s); and Henrietta Leyden (1840s).

As the nineteenth century progressed, especially in the early post-slavery period, more Anglican churches were established in various parts of the parish. This was in an effort to take care of the spiritual needs of the population, but the church was also seen as an important means by which social order and conformity to European Christian values could be instilled among the newly freed people of the parish. In 1861, Anglican clergy in St Elizabeth included Bishop R. Courtenay in Goshen, Reverend C. J. P. Douett, also in Goshen, Reverend William Forbes, Rector in Goshen, Reverend John Morris, who was Curate in Black River and Reverend John Campbell Stone, Rector of St John the Evangelist Parish Church in Black River. From 1865 to 1875, Reverend Stone continued as the Rector of the St John's Parish Church in Black River. St Thomas Anglican in Lacovia was served by Reverend Michael H. Smith until around 1870. By 1878, Reverend M. M. Deuwarder was the Curate in charge of St Thomas Anglican in Lacovia. In 1867, other Anglican churches included St Mary's Anglican in Southfield, where the Reverend John L. Ramson was the pastor and St Peter's in the Pedro Plains, led by Archdeacon Rowe. Established in 1830, St Andrew's Church in Gilnock, by 1888, could hold 1,000 persons and was being led by Reverend A. F. Kennedy. Also by 1867, Reverend E. B. Key was in charge of St Barnabas Anglican (built in the 1820s) in Siloah, and Reverend D. Rowe was the pastor for St Alban's Church in Stanmore Hill. By that year too, Reverend R.D. Lynch was in charge of St Matthew's Church in Goshen, Santa Cruz.

Anglican chapels were also located at Mount Hermon, with about 350 persons in regular attendance by 1867 and at Accompong, with about 100 persons attending regularly. Between 1878 and 1888, the Anglicans had increased the number of churches in St Elizabeth to include those serving New Road, Malvern, Friendship, Whitehall St Mark's in Mayfield and St Stephen's in Nain. By 1891, Balaclava had St Luke's Anglican and St Paul's Crawford (by 1910) had St Barnabas, and Brompton had All Souls' Anglican Church. Over the years, several of these churches had increased their seating accommodation, and this suggests that the Anglican Church in St Elizabeth was able to keep, and maybe increase membership. By 1889, the Parish Church of St John in Black River could accommodate 1,100; St Matthew's in Santa Cruz, also 1,000; St Alban's in Stanmore Hill (860); Mount Hermon Church (850); Whitehall Church (950); St Thomas in Lacovia (600); St Stephen's in Nain (400); St Peter's in the Pedro Plains (400); and St Andrew's in Gilnock (1,000).[26]

St Andrew's Anglican Church in Gilnock, St Elizabeth Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Moravian Church in St Elizabeth in the Nineteenth Century

Missionaries of the Moravian (United Brethren) Church arrived in St Elizabeth from 1754 and played a significant role both before and after Emancipation in the lives of the people. In the post-slavery period, their impact was most pronounced in Malvern and New Market. In the mid- eighteenth century, four estates in the north-eastern side of St Elizabeth, namely, Bogue, Elim, Lancaster and Two-Mile Wood, were all owned by William Foster-Barham and his brother, Joseph Foster-Barham. These were absentee owners who divided their time between their homes in England and St Elizabeth. From reports, it appears that they had close ties with the Moravian Church in England and subsequently asked that the church send missionaries to preach the gospel to their slaves on these four plantations. The request was granted, and the first Moravian missionaries arrived in St Elizabeth in 1754, where they were given accommodation on the Bogue Estate. This marked the start of the Moravian mission in St Elizabeth.

The first Moravian mission in the parish was established at *Carmel* on a seven-hundred acre property. Only 300 acres could be cultivated because some of the land was part of the Morass.

The missionaries turned the land into an agricultural enterprise, cultivating produce, raising cattle and planting logwood with the help of the slaves. By 1756 they had built a church at Carmel (a Hebrew word meaning garden). They later renamed the mission, *Old Carmel,* to distinguish it from *New Carmel,* which was established in Westmoreland. Because they owned the very slaves whom they were supposed to convert, the Moravian missionaries did not prove popular among the enslaved on these properties. In 1823, the decision was made by the missionaries to sell *Old Carmel* for £612 and to set their slaves free. Because the nearby Morass proved a breeding ground for mosquito-borne diseases, several of the early missionaries had fallen victims to these and were buried at *Old Carmel*. When the land was sold, the area where the graves of these missionaries were located was left intact and so what is known as the *Carmel Cemetery* remains today as a historical site in St Elizabeth.

In the period after slavery was ended, the Moravians extended their influence into other parts of the parish. In 1823, a Moravian mission was established at New Bethlehem (Bethlehem Moravian) in Malvern. By 1867, J.J. Seiler was in charge of Bethlehem Moravian. The church which was built there could hold 800, while about 700 persons attended regularly. Moravians also had missions at Lititz, which had a congregation of about 600 in 1867 and was led by Reverend Peter Larson, New Eden; with 800, led by Reverend C. Schick; New Fulneck with 900 persons ministered to by Reverend George H. Hanna; and Springfield, where Reverend Lars Keildson was the minister with 600 in the congregation. By 1875, the Moravians also had a mission in Lacovia, led by Reverend P. Franze. In 1878, Moravian Churches in New Market included Fulnec Moravian, Beaufort Moravian, Salem Moravian, Springfield Moravian and Carmel Moravian Church. Among the most influential Moravian Ministers in New Market in 1878 were Reverend J. Harvey (Fulnec); Reverend P. Larsen (Beaufort); Reverend A. B. Lindo (Salem); Reverend C. Schick (Springfield); and Reverend T. Winckler (Carmel). In addition to the missions at New Bethlehem (Bethlehem) in Malvern; Lititz, New Eden (Eden); New Fulneck (Fulnec in New Market); and Springfield, by 1888, the Moravians had spread their missions to Aberdeen, Carisbrook and Newton.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Moravians also extended their religious outreach into Merrywood. In 1904, the cornerstone for the Merrywood Moravian Church was laid, and the church has stood the test of time, being in fair structural condition today. In the graveyard of Bethlehem Moravian Church in Malvern, there are many tombstones erected to mark the final resting places of several Moravian residents of Malvern, who attended church at Bethlehem in the nineteenth century. Some of these include the tombstone of Rachel Sutherland (who died in the 1850s); William George Heath (died in the 1840s); Julia Ann Groves (1860s); Robert Groves (1870s); Catherine Martin (1870s); Elizabeth Martin (1870s); and James Martin (1880s). [27]

The Baptist Church in St Elizabeth in the Nineteenth Century

Baptist religious activity in St Elizabeth began in the post-slavery period. The first Baptist Mission in the parish was established by the Reverend James M. Phillippo at Vauxhall in 1840, and a church was built there shortly after. As will be seen in the next section on schools, Baptists saw their religious mission as being closely tied to educational activity among the children of the freed people. Therefore, early Baptist Missions such as Vauxhall always had a school or school room on the same premises as the church. Vauxhall remained a principal Baptist station for most of the nineteenth century. By 1865, Reverend George Milliner was in charge of the Baptist Chapel there, and two years later in 1867, average church attendance had grown to about 400 persons. Later, Baptist Ministers at Vauxhall included Reverend Thomas Smith (1878) and by 1888, Reverend Charles Sibley was leading a congregation of about 253 at Vauxhall.

Located close to the market town of Santa Cruz, Sharon Village, like many other communities across St Elizabeth, was formed when the freed people bought small plots of land and settled down in the area. The Baptist Mission at Sharon Village was established in 1872, and the Sharon Baptist Church was built not long after that. By 1876, the church had a small congregation of about fifty-eight members, mostly from the small farming community of Sharon Village. Reverend Solomon Marson, father of famed Una Marson, was the Baptist Minister most closely identified with the Sharon Baptist Church. Reverend Marson visited Sharon Village around 1882, and he then became the Minister in charge of Sharon Baptist Church. From then until around 1910, he worked tirelessly among the people, not only of Sharon, but his influence also spread throughout Santa Cruz. By 1888, Sharon Baptist had an average attendance of 169 out of about 250 persons. At that time, Reverend Marson was in charge of Sharon Baptist, as well as a second Mission, which had been extended to Burnt Savannah, and which had an average attendance of about 103 out of a possible 200 persons. By 1910, Reverend Marson was still active in Santa Cruz.

Baptists also extended their influence into the communities of Bethsalem and Elderslie in the post-slavery period, and the Elderslie Baptist Church dates back to 1840. By 1888, Reverend Charles Sibley was the Minister in charge of Elderslie Baptist Church, and in that year, the average attendance was eighty-eight persons out of a capacity of 200. From 1867 there was a Baptist Chapel at Hewitt's View, where Reverend James Barrett was the Minister, and attendance in that year averaged about 250 persons each week. From 1870 until 1878 Reverend Thomas Smith led the congregations at Hewitt's View, and by 1888, Reverend E. Walters was in charge of the Church, which saw an average attendance of 130 out of 300 persons.

Other Baptist Chapels were established at Wallingford, which had a gathering of about 360 each week in 1867, Nightingale Grove, New Market, Malvern and Arlington in the parish. Salem Baptist Church in Goshen, Santa Cruz, was led by Reverend William Brown in 1878. Balaclava Baptist Church was established in 1852, and this was the very first place of worship established in Balaclava. This Church was rebuilt in 1874, when the congregation became too large for the first church. The graveyard of Balaclava Baptist has many tombstones which identify residents who were connected to the life of Balaclava. Among them are several members of the Lalor family, including the tombstone of James William Lalor, who died in the 1920s.

Wesleyan Methodists in St Elizabeth in the Nineteenth Century

Wesleyan Methodists also did most of their work in St Elizabeth in the post-slavery period. Black River and Mountain Side were early locations for both churches and schools (discussed shortly). By 1867, there were Wesleyan Churches in both Black River and Mountain Side and at that time, Reverend M. M. Deuwarder was the Minister in charge of both. Black River Wesleyan Methodist had a congregation of 250, and Mountain Side Wesleyan Methodist had an average of 500 persons attending in 1867. Ten years later in 1878, another Wesleyan Church was located at Brucefield, and this was led by Reverend H. M. Cox, who in that year, was also in charge of the Black River and Mountain Side Churches. Both churches in Black River and Mountain Side were still fairly influential by the later nineteenth century, with an average attendance in Black River of 200 and in Mountain Side of 400 by 1889. The extent of the Wesleyan Methodist influence was increased by 1888, with other chapels at Mulgrave (300 in attendance); Perkaville (200); Newport (150); Mount Osborn (150); and Ginger Hill, also with a congregation of about 150 persons. In 1888, Reverend R. Hughes was in charge of Black River, Mountain Side and Mulgrave, while Reverend J. Lanaman was the Minister with responsibility for Perkaville, Newport, Mount Osborn and Ginger Hill.

The Church of Scotland in St Elizabeth in the Nineteenth Century

The Church of Scotland had three main locations in the parish during the nineteenth century. Among these was the Church at Accompong, which could hold 300 persons. Four miles below Accompong, the Church of Scotland also had a chapel at Retirement. There was also a church at Giddy Hall, which was located about seven miles north of the town of Black River. All three churches had schools attached (discussed shortly), and two Ministers, Reverend J. Maxwell and Reverend Stuart, were in charge of the three churches by the late nineteenth century. The Church at Giddy Hall was built on land donated by J. S. Cooper, one of the several generations of the Coopers who were long-standing owners of Giddy Hall Livestock Pen. Included in Cooper's gift were the building materials for the church and an endowment fund to assist with the work of the church. Reportedly, the very large congregation supplied the labour free of charge to build this church.

Catholics and Quakers in the Parish in the Nineteenth Century

The Catholic Church in the Parish

There was a limited presence by the Catholic Church in St Elizabeth in the nineteenth century. In 1875, Father Augustus Loontions was in charge of stations in St Elizabeth and Manchester. By 1890, there were two stations in St Elizabeth. One was at Black River, and Father Joseph Woolett was in charge of the approximately twenty members of the church. The second Catholic station was at Pisgah, and the church that was built there could accommodate 120 persons, but had a faithful membership of about seventy.

The Quakers in St Elizabeth

From the early eighteenth century (1723), the Quakers had a Meeting House at Lacovia. Among the early Quakers in the area were the Dicksons and the Gales, who were owners of large properties in the area. Interestingly, a report from the Anglican Minister, John Kelly in 1723, indicated that some of the Quakers of Lacovia were willing to have their children baptised by Ministers of the Church of England. [28]

Schooling in St Elizabeth in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

In the immediate aftermath of Emancipation, the British government had established the Negro Education Grant to help with the basic education of the freed people. However, by 1845, these funds had been exhausted, and for the most part, the government left the responsibility for educating the freed people up to the Church. Therefore, for most of the post-slavery nineteenth century, efforts to provide education for the freed were closely linked to the activities of the various religious bodies in the parish. At first, instruction was provided in the Sunday schools and later, the Day schools which were attached to the churches and chapels of the various denominations present in the parish. Because access to formal education for their children was an important goal of the freed people, parents and their children flocked to these Sunday and Day schools in the early post-slavery period.

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

Later in the post-slavery nineteenth century, reports of erratic attendance at the Day schools were fairly frequent, and various factors could have explained this. Although attendance at all

Sunday and Day schools was at first free of charge, by the 1840s, a standard fee of threepence per week was introduced by all denominations. Some parents found it difficult to pay these fees but rather than keep them out of school altogether, they would send them to another school in the parish and hope that things would improve. However, the most common reason given for absence from school was the need to help out on the family farm.

Elementary Schools in Nineteenth-Century St Elizabeth

As seen earlier, the main religious groups operating in the early post-slavery period all had Sunday and Day schools in the same districts and communities where they built their churches. In most cases, a schoolroom or schoolhouse was built either adjoining the church or within close distance to the church building. It also followed that the teachers in these schools were usually members of the denomination which operated the school. As the nineteenth century progressed, the church-run Sunday schools continued, but the Day schools evolved into Elementary schools, most of which continued to be associated with a church. There were a few privately run Elementary schools as well.

When compared with the other parishes in 1867, only St Elizabeth and Manchester had forty Elementary schools each. St Elizabeth, therefore, had more Elementary schools than Kingston (17); St Andrew (20); St Thomas (20); Portland (32); St Mary (31); St Catherine (39); Clarendon (20); St Ann (20); Westmoreland (22); Hanover (24); St James (20); and Trelawny (25). Compared with the other parishes, in 1867, St Elizabeth had the third highest enrolment in the Elementary schools, with 2,402 students on the books. Manchester had the highest number (3,008), followed by St Catherine, with 2,407 students on record in their Elementary schools.

Church of England Elementary Schools in St Elizabeth by 1867

By 1867, the Church of England had twenty one Elementary schools in several parts of St Elizabeth, including two in Black River, one of which was the Rectory School. These were managed by Reverend J.C. Stone. There were other Anglican Elementary schools located at New Market, Santa Cruz, Leeds (all three managed by Reverend J. A. Thompson). Reverend M.H. Smith managed the schools at Lacovia, Carisbrook and Burnt Savannah and Reverend W. Rowe was in charge of the school at Nain, while Reverend E. Key had charge of the school in Nassau District. Morning Side, Mayfield and Top Hill were supervised by Reverend J. L. Ramson. Additionally, St Mary's Church had an Elementary school on the same grounds (Reverend J. Ramson) and so too did St Alban's Church (Reverend D. Rowe). Reverend Rowe was also in charge of Mount Hermon, Burnt Ground, Bigwood, Pedro Plains, Lower Pedro Bay and Barbary Hall, and these completed the locations of Anglican Elementary schools by 1867.

Moravian Elementary Schools in St Elizabeth by 1867

There were more Moravian Elementary schools (eighteen) than churches in St Elizabeth by 1867, and this may have been because the Moravians had several outreach missions which branched out from their main mission stations, where churches were located. There were Elementary schools at New Eden, Neville's Court and Holborn, which were all under the management of Reverend C. Schick. Schools at Ballard's Valley and Lititz were under the care of Reverend P. Larson, while Reverend A. L. Thador had charge of the school at Lisson. Schools at New Bethlehem, Emmanuel, Bedford and St Mary's Hall were all supervised by Reverend J. J. Seiler. Five other schools located at New Fulneck, Clapham, Belmont, Hannah Rogers and Hereford were all managed by Reverend G. H. Hanna. Interestingly, the Moravians had two levels of schools at Springfield, which included Springfield Infant School and Springfield Juvenile School (Elementary), both supervised by Reverend Lars Keildson. Elementary schools at Coleraine and Tunbridge Wells, which were both managed by Reverend A. M. Geissier, rounded off the list of eighteen Moravian Elementary schools at this time.

Baptist Elementary Schools in St Elizabeth by 1867

Only one other denomination was listed as having charge of Elementary Schools by 1867, and this was the Baptists who operated an elementary School at Shrewsbury, and this was managed by Reverend S. Holt. As was the traditional practice with Baptists in other parishes, schooling was an integral part of their mission in St Elizabeth. Schoolrooms were built on the same premises as their churches and chapels. The Baptists provided Elementary schooling at Vauxhall, Elderslie, Hewitt's View and Wallingford up to 1867. Later, when the Sharon Baptist Mission was established in 1872, this went hand in hand with the provision of Elementary schooling.

Dramatic Increase in Numbers of Elementary Schools in St Elizabeth by 1889

There was a dramatic increase in the number of Elementary schools in St Elizabeth over the course of twenty-two years between 1867 and 1889. While an increase in the number of schools did not necessarily mean an improvement in the quality of education offered, the fact is that Elementary education was more accessible to children across the parish because so many more of these schools were in existence towards the end of the century. By 1889, there were 104 Elementary schools in St Elizabeth, compared with forty in 1867. By 1889, these were still for the most part, under the control of the churches. Each of the main denominations which operated in the parish experienced an increase in the number of Elementary schools that they managed. The Church of England led the way with forty-five schools in 1889 compared to twenty-one in 1867.

Some areas in which additional Anglican Elementary schools were established included Mount Trinity, New Market, Content, Slipe, Orange Grove, Wharton, Parottee, Arlington, Barbary Hall

and Leeds. Always exercising a strong influence in several parts of St Elizabeth, the Moravians had increased the number of their Elementary schools to thirty-two compared to eighteen in 1867. Additional Moravian schools were at Epping Forest, Elgin, Brinkley, Rose Hall, Fiffe's Pen, Hopeton, Pisgah and Kinoul. The Baptists had also increased the number of their Elementary schools to nine in 1889, compared to six in 1867. These included Coker, Cataboo, Roses Valley, Burnt Savannah and Balaclava. No record of the number of Wesleyan schools had been given in the Blue Book for 1867, but in 1889, they had a total of nine Elementary schools in the parish. Some of these were located in Perksville, Newcome Valley, New Port, Mt Osbourne, Mulgrave, Mountainside and Black River. The Church of Scotland was recorded as having nine Elementary schools in the parish in 1889. Among these were the schools at Giddy Hall, supervised by Reverend J. Maxwell and Retirement Juvenile, Retirement Infant, the school at Accompong, Thornton, Devanha, Glen Stuart Juvenile and Glen Stuart Infant, all supervised by Reverend J. Stuart.

This increase in the numbers of Elementary schools in the parish seems all the more remarkable in view of the fact that St Elizabeth surpassed all other parishes in the island in the numbers of these schools in 1889. This achievement may also have been a reflection of the large size of the parish. Compared to St Elizabeth (104); the number of Elementary schools in Kingston were (25); St Andrew (55); St Thomas (29); Portland (49); St Mary (64); St Ann (66); Trelawny (43); St James (42); Hanover (41); Westmoreland (63); Manchester (72); Clarendon (78); with St Catherine (95), in second place to St Elizabeth.

St Elizabeth also led all the other parishes in terms of number of students enrolled in the Elementary schools, with 9,315 on the books compared to Kingston (3,015); St Andrew (4,550); St Thomas (2,932); Portland (4,478); St Mary (4,848); St Ann (5,247); Trelawny (3584); St James (3,688); Hanover (3,812); Westmoreland (6,111); Manchester (8,467); Clarendon (7,532); and St Catherine (7,834). However, the fact that in 1881, there were 15,074 children in St Elizabeth of school age (five to fifteen years) shows that about 5,759 children had not even been reached by these efforts at providing Elementary schooling. This may have been the result of a number of factors, including the fact that despite there being 104 schools in St Elizabeth in 1889, these were still not sufficient to reach everyone, given the size of the parish and the total population of children of school age. Other factors such as inability to afford the fees and keeping the children at home to help with work on the farms were more likely to explain irregular attendance at school rather than an absolute failure to gain access to schools.

Similar to the Elementary school experience across all parishes, St Elizabeth's Elementary schools also suffered from the problem of irregular attendance at schools. In spite of having 9,315 students on the books, the average number of these children who attended school on a regular basis was 5,373. Teachers complained of irregular attendance, especially around

harvest time when children were kept at home to help with labour. Contemporary observers also commented on the difficulties which some parents had in paying the fees continuously and the practice of shifting children from one school to another because of inability to settle the debts of unpaid fees at the schools where they had been registered. [29]

A Black River School in 1931 Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Endowed Schools in St Elizabeth by 1867

Endowed schools were those which were operated from funds supplied by privately donated charities and charitable persons who had specified that monies donated should be used to make education available to children of the poor. These funds were usually managed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the governor. Because the funds in these charities were a gift or endowment, the schools which were subsequently established with the funds were known as Endowed Schools. In nineteenth-century St Elizabeth, the major fund which provided opportunities for the creation of Endowed Schools was the *Munroe and Dickenson's Charity (*discussed shortly), which was administered by the Custos and Rector of St Elizabeth, along with other nominees to the Board of Trustees. From this Charity came two of St Elizabeth's most important schools, Munroe College (originally Potsdam) for boys and Hampton School for girls. Both are discussed in detail shortly. In addition to these two schools, the Munroe and Dickenson's Charity enabled the operation of other Endowed schools in 1867. These included schools at Siloah, Accompong, St Paul's, Jerusalem, New Market, Little Park and Burnt Savannah.

The Founders of the Munroe and Dickenson Charity: Robert Hugh Munro and Caleb Dickenson

The Munroe and Dickenson Charity (later, the Munroe and Dickenson Trust) originated with funds set out in the wills of Robert Hugh Munro and Caleb Dickenson, both memorable residents connected to the parish of St Elizabeth. According to secondary sources (see endnote on Michael Elliott), Robert Hugh Munro was a "free gentleman of colour" (of mixed race) who acquired about 300 acres of land in St Elizabeth in 1765. Munro seems to have made his living mainly through the operation of a livery stable (place where horses were kept and hired out for transport) and taking passengers by coach from one destination to another. In his will, Munro left most of his estate (and funds derived from it) to his nephew, Caleb Dickenson and the Parish Vestry of St Elizabeth, requesting that the funds be placed in a Trust which should then be used to establish a school or schools for poor boys and girls of St Elizabeth.

Caleb Dickenson of Knockpatrick, also described in secondary sources as "a free man of colour" and the nephew of Munro, was the owner of several properties in neighbouring Manchester (including Knockpatrick), as well as a livestock property in St Elizabeth, known as Grosmond Pen. Dickenson, like his uncle, was unmarried, and in his will, he instructed that the profits from his estates in Manchester and from Grosmond Pen be turned over to the Parish Vestry of St Elizabeth in order to fulfil the desire of his uncle to have schools established for poor children of the parish. On his death in 1821, Dickenson's several properties allowed for a substantial addition to the fund originally left by his uncle. The Trustees of the Munroe and Dickenson Charity Funds were to include the Custos of St Elizabeth, the Anglican Rector of St Elizabeth, the Custos and Rector of Manchester (since Dickenson's income came mainly from his properties there) and nominees and members of the St Elizabeth Parish Vestry (later the Municipal Board).

The Munroe and Dickenson Charity Activated: The Foundation of Munroe College for Boys and Hampton School for Girls

Munroe: The Early Years

The Munroe and Dickenson Charity funds were first activated in 1856 with the establishment in Black River of a small school for poor boys. All their needs were taken care of from the Charity Funds. In 1856, there were between seven to eight boys at the school, supervised by the first Headmaster, Mr Charles Plummer. This was the beginning of what would later become Munroe College. The following year, in 1857, the school was relocated to a hilltop site at Potsdam, a former coffee property, on 157 acres located 2,000 feet above sea level at the summit of the Santa Cruz Mountains. At this early stage, the school was known as Potsdam School for Boys, and it was a boarding school. From 1856 until 1864, Mr Plummer remained as Headmaster, moving his family into what was formerly the Potsdam Great House, which then became the

Headmaster's house. Later, in 1938, the new residence for the Headmaster was built on the site of the old Potsdam Great House. By 1864, there were twenty boys enrolled at Potsdam. For a short while from 1865 to 1866, Reverend Thomas Robinson was the Headmaster, supervising twenty boys. The Assistant Master in that year was Charles Kenroth, and between 1866 and 1873, Kenroth was Head of the school. During his time, the number of boys at the school varied from fifteen to twenty.

Two important changes were made around 1871 to the way in which the school was operated. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Charity, Archdeacon Rowe, one of the Trustees, announced the decision that the school would continue to operate as a charity, but would also admit some fee-paying students, a move which would help to keep the school financially stable. Secondly, the curriculum, which up until 1870 was still basic, was to be expanded to more closely resemble that of the English Grammar Schools. The new curriculum included the Classics, Greek, Latin and English Literature. Apparently, good academic performances were used to advertise the school, and this attracted fee-paying students to Potsdam as it was still named. Upon Kenroth's departure in 1873, Mr Andrew Willis served as Headmaster from 1873 until 1875.

In spite of admitting some fee-paying students, Potsdam continued to operate partly as a charity for poor boys. In 1875, there were fifteen boys who had very poor circumstances, with orphans having been given first consideration. These fifteen were boarded, clothed and fed at the expense of the Munro and Dickenson Charity. Additionally in 1875, there were five boys who were fee-paying students, having to make a quarterly payment of £ 5 each. The total enrolment in 1875 was therefore twenty boys. Reverend William Simms, who had been ordained a priest at the St John the Evangelist Parish Church in Black River, led the school as Headmaster from 1875 to 1883. By this year, Potsdam School had an enrolment of fifty boys, twenty-five of whom had free places and twenty-five who were fee-paying.

Munroe College Showing Students In Front of the School Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Munroe College Evolves

Reverend William Pearman became Headmaster in 1883, and he remained in that position until 1907. Today, one of the three boarding houses on the campus is named *Pearman Calder,* in his honour and also in honour of John Calder, who was Chairman of the Trust for thirty years. The second boarding house is *Coke-Farquharson* House, named in honour of other outstanding persons in the parish's history. *Dickenson House* pays tribute to Caleb Dickenson, the co-founder of the Munro and Dickenson Charity. In the early part of the twentieth century, Potsdam was removed as the school's name, largely because of the association of the name with an unfavourable legacy of German aggression at Potsdam, Germany. Thus, the school on top of the hill at the summit of the Santa Cruz Mountains was admirably named *Munro College* after its original benefactor, Robert Hugh Munro. The school's twentieth-century academic and sporting achievements are embodied in the school's motto: "A City on a Hill Cannot Be Hid".

Hampton School for Girls: The Early Years

In 1858, two years after the start of what was to become Munro College, Hampton saw its small beginnings. True to the aims of the Munro and Dickenson Charity, the twelve girls who were chosen were from very poor backgrounds. Funds from the Charity covered all the expenses of boarding, clothing, feeding and educating the girls. The first home for the school was at Potsdam, the former coffee property high up in the Santa Cruz Mountains, and they were located in what was the former Potsdam Great House, right across from where the boys' school was housed. Miss Ramson was the very first Headmistress of the school, and she took up residence in the former Great House.

However, the location was seen as unsuitable, perhaps because of the proximity to the then Potsdam Boys' School, and the Girls' school was shortly afterwards removed to Torrington. In these early years, the school took its name from its location and so it was known as the Torrington School for Girls until it was again relocated. By 1874, Torrington was removed to Mount Zion, which was not too far from Potsdam Boys' School. Miss Ramson, who was the Headmistress from 1858 until 1883, presided over these early relocations of the school. The school, like its counterpart, Potsdam, was a boarding school from the very beginning.

Around 1871, Mount Zion School, like Potsdam School, was also affected by a change in the way in which the Trust operated. It was decided to keep the school true to the mission of providing for the education of poor girls, while admitting a few as fee-paying students to ensure financial stability. In 1875, Mount Zion School had six girls from very poor circumstances, some of whom were orphans. They were boarded, clothed, fed and educated from the funds of the Munro and Dickenson Charity. In addition, there were six other girls who were admitted as fee-paying students, having to pay the quarterly sum of £ 5 each.

In 1875, the Trustees of the Munro and Dickenson Charity included the Honourable W. H. Coke, Custos of St Elizabeth and Chairman of the Trust, the Custos and Rector of Manchester, the Rector of St Elizabeth, the Venerable Archdeacon Rowe, Robert Smith and John M. Cooper Esquires, as well as members of the Municipal Board. In that year, both schools also had the services of the Government Medical officer for the parish, Dr Joseph Adolphus. Ms McCutcheon became Headmistress of Mount Zion School in 1883, succeeding Ms Ramson. By 1885, the school was removed from Mount Zion to Malvern House, where it remained until 1891 when it experienced its last relocation. In January 1890, the Trustees introduced a new system of governing the school through a "Lady Principal", as well as a Headmistress. Therefore, in January 1890, Mrs Julia Comrie became the Principal and Ms Geddes was made Headmistress.

Hampton School Comes Home

In the following year, 1891, Mount Zion School made its final move, this time to a property known as Hampton or Fort Rose in the cool hills of Malvern. In that year, the school was officially named the *Hampton School for Girls*. For the first five years, rental was paid to the owners, the Boxer family. During this period, the Trustees returned to the traditional practice of having one person to head the school and so in 1894, Ms Holden became the new Headmistress, with Ms Gertude Boyce as her Assistant. When Mrs Boxer died, the Trustees for the Charity bought the Hampton property for £ 800. Hampton had come home.

Hampton School, Malvern Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Hampton Expands

From 1894 until 1904, when Ms Holden ended her service at Hampton, she introduced the girls to what she viewed as a more rounded education. Therefore, in addition to strengthening the academic subjects, she pioneered drawing, painting and music in the school's curriculum. By 1904, when Ms Holden left Hampton, the school's reputation for excellence in education was shown in the fact that twenty-two girls had been entered for the Cambridge Overseas Examinations. Its enrolment was at sixty girls by 1904.

Ms Maud Marion Barrows led Hampton as Headmistress for eighteen years, from 1904 to 1922 and presided over several additions to the school's buildings. One of these was the music room, known as *Val Halla*. This was a beautiful cut-stone structure with a gable roof. Also built during Ms Barrows' time was the imposing Calder Hall, with a cut-stone base and a wooden upper storey. On the ground floor, there was a spacious hall, a library and a common room, while upstairs there was a dormitory and bedrooms for the mistresses. Calder Hall, which was opened in 1913, was named in honour of John Calder, a famous resident of Malvern and Chairman of the Trust for thirty years.

By 1913, Hampton had sixty girls on record, five classrooms and ten female teachers. The nineteenth century Great House of the Hampton property became the administrative centre for the school. After Ms Barrows left Hampton in 1922, Ms Campbell took over and remained as Headmistress from 1922 until 1933. Under Ms Campbell's direction, Hampton saw the addition of its beautiful chapel. This cut-stone building with its gable roof is famous for its east window, which was described by Frank Cundall as "the finest stained glass window in Jamaica".

Reflections by past students may often give us interesting insights not only into school life as it was then, but also may present us with a mirror image of the wider society at that time. This was the case with reflections on the Hampton experience presented by famed Jamaican poet, writer, advocate of feminism and anti-colonialism, Una Marson, in the biography of her life written by Delia Jarrett-Macauley (see endnote reference). In 1915, Una won a "Free Foundationers" Scholarship to Hampton, and this took care of all fees which at that time amounted to £45 a year. She attended Hampton while Ms Barrows was Headmistress. Una recounted that most of the "Foundationers" (scholarship winners) were black girls like herself who were all constantly reminded by Ms Barrows that they were getting their education free. Una, the daughter of black middle class Baptist Minister in the Sharon community, Solomon Marson, was nevertheless made to feel uncomfortable and even inadequate in the face of these constant reminders, even as she crossed paths with snobbish Hamptonian daughters of rich, white or coloured families who owned vast properties and luxurious but "noisy Ford cars". In many ways, Hampton and no doubt, Munroe, mirrored a St Elizabeth society divided by race, social class and elitist snobbery. Like many others, Una was shaped by the Hampton experience, which ultimately allowed her to evolve into the creative but critical literary advocate that she became.

Bethlehem Moravian Teachers' College

As seen in the previous section on Churches and Schools, the Moravian Church had been very active in St Elizabeth from the very outset, establishing missions and Elementary schools in several parts of the parish, especially in areas such as New Market and Malvern. By 1867, the Moravians had eighteen Elementary schools in St Elizabeth, and by 1889, the number of their

Elementary schools had risen to thirty-two. Although the Moravians had relied heavily on their own to teach in the early schools, the rapidly expanding number of schools and pupils influenced their decision to train some of their own converts to carry on the mission among the children attending these schools. The Moravians established two teacher training schools, one for males at Fairfield in Manchester in 1840, and the other for females at Bethabara, also in Manchester, in 1861. This eventually became Bethlehem Training School for Female Teachers which would train females to teach primarily in the Moravian Elementary schools in St Elizabeth.

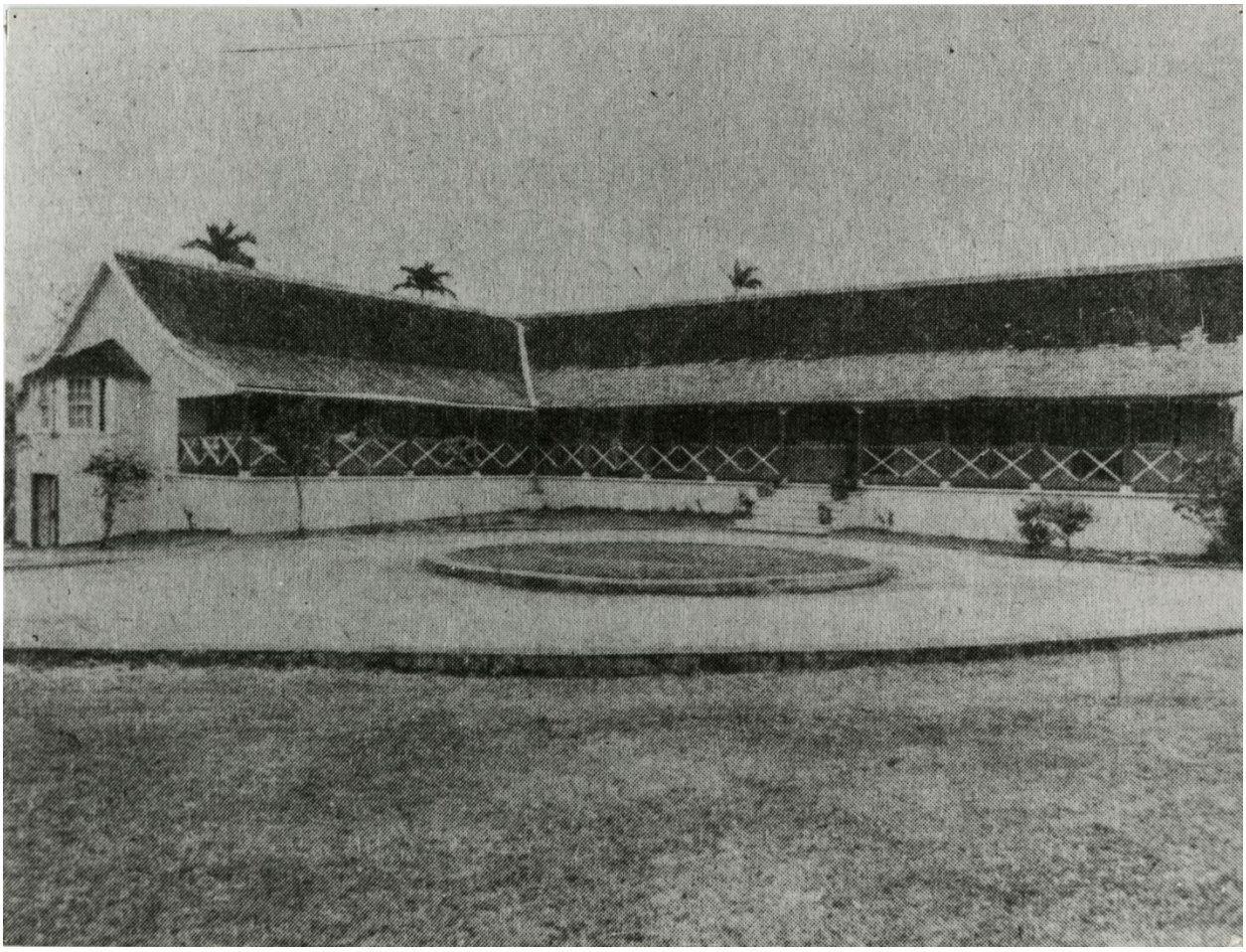
The Early Years of Bethlehem Training School

At its beginning in 1861, the Moravian Training school that became Bethlehem Teachers' Training School was not located in Malvern. Rather, the *Normal School* (as a training school was termed in the nineteenth century) was first situated in Bethabara in nearby Manchester. However, in 1885, the school was put on the Government List of Voluntary Training Colleges, and this meant that the number of students was expected to be increased. As of that year, the location at Bethabara had become too small. By the mid-1880s, the training school had been relocated to the Moravian mission area of Bethlehem which was about half a mile to a mile away from Malvern. It was situated high up in the Santa Cruz Mountains, about 2,000 miles above sea level. Shortly after the removal to Bethlehem, new buildings were constructed to accommodate the anticipated increase in the number of female students and they, as well as teachers, were expected to live on the campus.

The main building at Bethlehem Training School consisted of two storeys. Spacious classrooms were located on the ground floor while the dormitories were upstairs. These were described by a visitor in 1890 as "large, airy, pleasant rooms", each room containing six beds with separate toilets. On one end of the dorm room there was a table with a mirror, and at the other end, there was a large press (like a cupboard) which had separate compartments for each of the six students. By 1890, there was a need for at least two dorms as the number of students had risen to thirteen and more were expected. Everything about these dorms, including the nicely polished floors and the spacious, airy rooms, was intended to provide a welcoming environment in which to learn. Teachers (there were about three in 1889) had their rooms at a separate end of the building. Each teacher's room had a little sitting area with pretty tables and comfortable chairs. The new buildings at Bethlehem were declared officially open in 1889.

By 1888, Reverend S. Negus was the Principal of Bethlehem Female Training School. The teachers at that time were Ms E. Roberts, who was Assistant to the Principal, Ms M. Klesel and Ms T. C. Baker, who was a final year student and allowed to be an Assistant teacher because she was extremely good at Mathematics. There were thirteen students on roll in 1888 and their average age was nineteen years. The period of training lasted for three years, and the

curriculum included Religious Studies, English Grammar, Mathematics (which was seen as very important) and needlework. Students also had to do their own house work. By 1890, Reverend Negus was confident that all the teachers required to teach in Moravian Elementary schools could be supplied by the Bethlehem Training School, and he expressed doubt as to whether they (Moravians) would ever have to "import foreign teachers" again. By 1890, Bethlehem Training School was regarded as being of the same high standard as the Training colleges at Mico and Shortwood. [30]



The Moravian Lay Academy, Malvern Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

Changing Economic Fortunes in the Parish: Overview

As St Elizabeth entered the twentieth century, some of the economic difficulties that had daunted the parish during the post-slavery nineteenth century continued to pose challenges for

production and profit. In particular, the number of sugar estates continued to decline even as the logwood trade faced stiff competition that threatened to end the era of prosperity that had flowed from this trade. Nevertheless, the challenges facing the logwood trade produced some creative solutions, while twentieth-century efforts to consolidate the sugar industry bore some fruit. The livestock industry underwent changes in the twentieth century, while new extractive industries, such as bauxite, changed the economic and social face of affected communities, such as Nain. There was tremendous expansion and diversification in the agricultural sector which resulted in St Elizabeth becoming the important bread basket parish that it is today. Fisheries and aquaculture underwent significant growth, impacting the parish economy, as well as the wider market. As the century progressed, tourism, particularly eco-tourism, brought fresh signs of growth to the economy of St Elizabeth.

The Sugar Industry in the Twentieth Century: Changing Fortunes

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Jamaica's total production of sugar had dropped from 24,000 tons a year in the 1850s to 17,000 tons a year. This had been a continuation of the decline which had been underway from the later nineteenth century when competition from European producers of beet sugar had dealt a serious blow to the industry. However, the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918) aided in the recovery of the Jamaican sugar industry by crippling the European beet sugar industry and increasing the demand once more for West Indian cane sugar. Prices paid on the European market for cane sugar rose by 500 percent during the war and so did the production of sugar on Jamaican estates. Although the market price for sugar could not remain so high after the war ended in 1918, the fact is that even after the war, the demand for cane sugar on the European market continued, and this helped with the general recovery of the Jamaican sugar industry. This recovery was also aided by the introduction of technological improvements in the manufacturing of sugar, including steam mills and centrifugal driers, the latter helping to produce a finer quality sugar.

Appleton, Holland and Y.S. Estates in St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

Appleton Estate

At the start of the twentieth century, there were three sugar estates which were in production in St Elizabeth, and they were all privately owned at that time. These were Appleton, Holland and Y.S. Estates. *Appleton* was owned in 1904 by A. M. Nathan and had only fifty acres under cane cultivation, while the other 5,854 acres included pasture for livestock, other crops and woodlands. Interestingly, the *1910 Directory of Pens, Sugar Estates and Plantations* in St Elizabeth, listed Appleton, not as an estate but as *Appleton Pen,* owned by A. M. Nathan. This clearly shows that at least in the early part of the century, Appleton was emphasising livestock

rearing as well as rum production. This also explains why only fifty acres were under cane cultivation in 1904. Because the estate had such limited acreage under cane cultivation, the owner continued to use the traditional water mill without steam power. There was no need at that time to introduce expensive factory equipment, as the amount of cane grown in 1904 was small. This would change as the century wore on. However, as an early indication of Appleton's focus on rum production, in 1903, this estate was able to produce 191 puncheons of rum (puncheons were barrels which were used to contain between 70 to 120 gallons of rum).

Appleton Estate's story of survival and amazing success over the course of the twentieth into the twenty-first century is no doubt the result of several factors, including perseverance, creativity with reading the needs of the market and hard work of all persons connected to the estate over the years, whether management or workers. An important contributor to Appleton's success was its association with what was to become J. Wray and Nephew Ltd. In 1916, the Lindo brothers bought Appleton Estate, and by the following year, they also purchased J. Wray and Nephew Ltd. The Lindo Brothers kept the Wray and Nephew brand name and therefore, it was J. Wray and Nephew Ltd that owned Appleton Estates and Distillery from 1916 onwards.

Aerial View of Appleton Factory Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Under its new owners, Appleton's factory and distillery operations were expanded, and two more warehouses were built to store and age the rum. During the Second World War, supplies

of whiskey became scarce on the international market and Appleton experimented and eventually produced the hugely popular and successful “Appleton Estate Special”. Appleton was clearly on its way to engraving its reputation as a producer of the finest spirits. The 11,402 acre estate, with about 3,707 acres under cane cultivation, acquired the capacity to produce about 160 tons of sugar a day. At the same time, its distillery could produce about ten million litres of rum in one year.

Holland Estate

In 1904, *Holland Estate*, which was owned by M.H.M. Farquharson, had 300 acres under cane cultivation and 6,053 acres in grasslands, woodlands, pasture and other cultivation. In that year, Holland was benefitting from the use of a steam driven mill and had introduced the technological improvements of the centrifugal drier and the Wetzel pan in the manufacturing stage. In 1903, Holland also signalled its intention to do well in the making of rum, producing 317 puncheons of rum. Besides these technological improvements which allowed for the production of a superior, finer quality of sugar, another factor which helped Holland Estate to do well in terms of the amount of sugar that it produced up to the middle of the twentieth century was the Law of 1902 passed by the government of Jamaica. This law allowed for the undertaking of contracts with cane growers throughout the parish to supply the estates like Holland with cane. In this way the Holland Factory was used as a central factory processing the cane grown by farmers in the surrounding districts. Between 1910 and 1911, Holland Estate’s Factory was re-equipped to allow it to work to capacity in manufacturing sugar from all these sources. This arrangement, whereby St Elizabeth’s cane farmers supplied estates like Holland with cane, continued throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, the late Minister of Agriculture and Member of Parliament for North-East St Elizabeth, the Honourable Roger Clarke, was well-established, not only as a farmer in St Elizabeth, but also became the largest producer and supplier of canes to factories such as Holland. J. Wray and Nephew’s acquisition of Holland Estate also allowed the estate to play a major role in the production of their fine rums and to remain in vibrant production right down to 2018. Sadly, Holland’s chapter as a rum and sugar producing entity was closed on 22nd August 2018 when J. Wray and Nephew announced its closure, citing heavy losses and depressed prices. Nevertheless, Holland may have a different role to play in charting the way forward for some farmers in St Elizabeth. In 2018, the government announced plans to establish a major agro-economic zone at Holland. This will entail 2,400 acres with farms producing crops such as papaya, in addition to grading, processing and packaging facilities.

Y.S. Estate

In 1904, *Y. S. Estate* was owned by A. H. Browne and Bros. and had sixty acres under cane cultivation. There were 5,208 other acres which consisted of grass, woodlands, other cultivation

and pasture for its growing herd of livestock at that time. In fact, in the *1910 Directory of Pens, Estates and Plantations* in St Elizabeth, Y. S. was listed, not as an estate, but as *Y. S. Pen*, owned by P. J. Browne. From very early in the twentieth century, the focus was on livestock rearing. This also explained the low number of acres under cane cultivation on Y. S. Estate in 1904. The estate used a water mill, but interestingly, the owners had introduced the centrifugal drier even though acres under cane cultivation were down at this time.

In 1903, Y.S. produced sixty hogsheads of sugar and eighty-seven puncheons of rum. By the 1960s, sugar production was completely phased out on Y.S. Estate, and by 1966, only two sugar estates in St Elizabeth, Appleton and Holland remained in production. Members of the Browne family retained ownership of the much reduced property. The 2,300 acres which make up Y. S. Farm were mainly devoted to rearing livestock, in particular, the pedigree breed of Red Poll cattle. Y. S. Falls, located on the property, has been the main attraction for many years. [31]

The Logwood Trade in the Twentieth Century

As seen in the earlier section on the logwood trade, the development of synthetic dyes in England and other European countries in the later nineteenth century sparked a competition which led to a decrease in the profitability of the logwood trade in St Elizabeth and the rest of the island. Synthetic dyes were cheaper and easier to apply to textiles. The twentieth century started out bleakly for Jamaica's logwood trade as in 1908, the island was only able to export 21,600 tons compared to 115,000 tons in 1889. There were intermittent periods of recovery, especially during the First World War from 1914 to 1918 when the war effort in England and European countries made it all but impossible to maintain the production of synthetic dyes. Therefore, the exports of logwood from Jamaica experienced a significant recovery during the war period. Logwood was also exported to the United States during this period. However, in the post-World War One period, as production of synthetic dyes recovered, exports of the logwood from Jamaica again fell back to about 25,000 tons a year in the 1920s.

In an effort to maintain some profits from the logwood trade, logwood traders in St Elizabeth and other parts of the island in the twentieth century increasingly turned to the exports of logwood extracts and logwood crystals, instead of the actual logwood. This effort had been started in 1894, but really developed in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Three logwood extract factories were established in Jamaica towards the end of the nineteenth century. The main one was the *West Indies Chemical Works* in Spanish Town, while another was located in Savannah-La-Mar. In St Elizabeth, the *Logwood Crystal Plant* was established at Lacovia. Logwood extracts were of two types, the first of which was in liquid form, and this was obtained from logwood chips from which the liquid (to be used in dyes) was extracted. The liquid extract was then shipped in barrels, each containing about 650 lbs of liquid extract. It took less logwood to produce one pound of liquid extract than it took to make the equivalent

weight in logwood crystals. The second type of logwood extract was in the form of logwood crystals, which were produced at the Lacovia Plant.

At the Lacovia Logwood Crystal Plant, it took eight to nine tons of logwood to produce one ton of crystals. The crystals were then shipped in casks containing 320 lbs of crystals. Markets for the extracts (both liquid and crystal) were mainly in the United States and the United Kingdom in the first few decades of the twentieth century. As pointed out earlier, the income gained from the exports of extracts (both types) never came close to the tremendous profits which had been made from the logwood trade in the previous century. This is seen in the export earnings for logwood compared to logwood extracts for the years 1918 and 1919.

In 1918, 8,615 tons of logwood valuing U.S. $ 212,262 was exported to the United States from Jamaica. In the following year, 9,314 tons of logwood, with a value of U.S. $ 228,087 was exported to the same market. By comparison, 210,546 lbs of logwood extracts (of both types) exported to the United States in 1918 had a much lower value of U.S. $ 19,911. The following year, 113,389 lbs of logwood extracts exported to the United States was valued at U.S. $ 19,788. As indicated above, there was a surge in demand and profits with the logwood trade in the United Kingdom markets during World War One and immediately afterwards. This is seen in the fact that in 1918, the total value of Jamaica's exports of both logwood and logwood extracts to the U.K. was £ 533,480, while the total value of both in 1919 in the same market was £611,701. St Elizabeth's contribution to the exports of logwood extracts in the early twentieth century may not have been earth-shattering, but the parish clearly played its role in the island's export earnings in this activity. [32]

Developments in Livestock Farming in St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

The Outlook for Livestock Properties in 1910

In the early years of the twentieth century, the outlook for livestock farming in St Elizabeth promised continued success. It was clear that owners of these properties had a sense of optimism as they entered the twentieth century. Indeed, even before the dawn of the twentieth century, some former owners of sugar estates and coffee properties had converted some of their land into livestock-rearing affairs. It was, therefore, hardly surprising that in the first decade of the twentieth century, livestock properties vastly outnumbered the number of estates or plantations in St Elizabeth. As seen in the earlier section on the sugar industry, there were only three working sugar estates in the parish in the early twentieth century. According to the *1910 Directory of Pens, Sugar Estates and Plantations* in St Elizabeth, there were 118 properties which were listed as livestock pens in the parish by 1910. Quite a few of these were long-standing livestock properties which had been in operation from as early as the eighteenth

century and which had proven successful over the years. In most cases, as seen earlier, the owners of these pens had combined livestock rearing with other products, including logwood.

Others had started out as sugar or coffee properties which, by the late nineteenth into the twentieth centuries, had been converted to livestock pens. Some of the long-standing livestock pens which were still in business in the early twentieth century included Dalintober, owned by E.T. Allen; Peru Pen, owned by the Calder family; Giddy Hall, owned in 1910 by John Cooper; Middlesex Pen, also by the Coopers; Goshen, owned by R. B. Daly; Ashton, owned by J. W. Earle; Yardley Chase Pen, owned by W. Panton Forbes; Vineyard, owned by E.T. Forrest; Hodges Pen, owned by H.W. Griffiths; Luana Pen, owned by H. J. Lewis; Santa Cruz Park Pen, owned by J. R. Miles; and Craigie Pen, which was owned in 1910 by O. E. Tomlinson. Examples of estates which had been converted to pens by later in the nineteenth century included Aberdeen, Cabbage Valley, Carisbrook, Ipswich, Elderslie, Barton and Barton Isles.

Highlighting some Livestock Pens in 1918

By 1918, some of the most successful grazing livestock pens in St Elizabeth included Oxford, owned by C. F. Pengelly, who had also been the owner in 1910. In 1918, Oxford had 1,100 acres in grass and common fields for grazing by the 340 heads of cattle on the property at that time. Additionally, there were 521 acres, which included crops such as cocoa (32 acres) and bananas (365 acres). In 1918, Raheem Livestock Pen was still owned by the heirs of W.D. Pearman, who had controlled the property at the start of the twentieth century. Raheem had quite a large livestock business, with 2,600 acres in grass and common pasture, 1,000 heads of cattle and 1,993, acres which were put to other uses. Vauxhall Pen was still being administered in 1918 as part of the estate of the late Custos, the Hon. John Salmon. At that time, there were 530 acres in grass and common pasture, 309 heads of cattle and 210 acres, which were put to other uses. Dr Louis Crooks, who owned Whitehall in 1910, was still the owner in 1918. At that time, Whitehall had 1,300 acres in grass and common pasture, 300 heads of cattle and 492 acres of land for other purposes.

As seen earlier in the section on sugar estates in the twentieth century, Y. S. Estate, owned by the Browne family, had shown its preference for livestock rearing from the start of the century. Under the control of P. J. Browne by 1918, Y. S. devoted 1,450 acres to grass and common pasture for its growing herd of 1,056 heads of cattle. As seen earlier, Y. S. Estate did not completely phase out sugar production until the 1960s. Therefore, some of the remaining 3, 818 acres of Y.S. lands would have been used for cane cultivation.

Diversification and Improvements in the Livestock Industry in St Elizabeth from the Mid-Twentieth Century: Background

During the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries, the livestock industry in St Elizabeth had been focussed on the rearing of cattle as sources of beef and hides (to make leather). At that time, they had also been used as draught animals for labour on the estates and plantations, turning animal mills and pulling animal-drawn ploughs. As seen earlier, horses were also bred as racehorses for the parish race tracks at Lower Works and Goshen. Brood mares and stallions were used on stud farms. Major changes occurred in the livestock industry in St Elizabeth during the course of the twentieth century. Firstly, there was a diversification in the types of animals grown as livestock. Secondly, for the first time, there was an emphasis on the raising of dairy cattle, in addition to beef cattle. Thirdly and very importantly, there were scientific improvements carried out to improve the breeds of cattle, both for dairy and for beef purposes. Finally, as the twentieth century went on, there was some reduction in the numbers of vast livestock properties which had once populated the savannahs of southern St Elizabeth and a breaking up of lands into small plots for farming purposes.

Diversification and Breeding Improvements in the Livestock Industry in the Twentieth Century

The livestock industry in the parish in the twentieth century saw important efforts to diversify and focus on a wider variety of animals to be reared as livestock. For the first time, the emphasis was placed on developing and raising cattle for dairy purposes, in addition to the traditional use as sources of beef, hides and labour. Genetic experiments were begun in 1910 in the development of a breed of dairy cow by Dr Thomas Lecky. By 1952, a new breed of dairy cow, the *Jamaica Hope,* was declared. Over the years, continued efforts were made by livestock geneticists to improve and maintain the breed of *Jamaica Hope,* and some of these efforts were carried out by Dr Karl Wellington, operating out of his cattle farm on several acres of land at Y. S Farms. More is said on Dr Wellington in the last section of this History.

By 1996, St Elizabeth had 2,500 heads of dairy cows compared to the total number (38,700) of dairy cows in the island in that year. By 2017, St Elizabeth's dairy cow herd had increased significantly, so that by that year, the five southern parishes of St Elizabeth, Manchester, Clarendon, St Catherine and St Thomas accounted for seventy-seven percent of the island's dairy herd. The quality of the beef cattle in the island was also improved through the development of three breeds, also with assistance from Dr Wellington. These were the *Jamaica Red Poll*, the *Jamaica Brahman* and the *Jamaica Black*. With these improved breeds, St Elizabeth was able by 1996 to support 10,600 heads of beef cattle, out of a national total in that year of 95,300. Dr Wellington continues to work towards maintaining and improving these breeds of cattle on his farm at Y. S.

Further diversification of the livestock animals that were raised in the parish was intensified as the twentieth century progressed. St Elizabeth's total for other farm animals, such as horses, donkeys and mules in 1996, amounted to 800 out of the total of 13,100 raised nationally. The twentieth century marked the first time that there was an emphasis on the raising of pigs, goats, sheep and poultry as livestock in the parish. In 1996, the total pig population of the parish stood at 13,500, out of a national total of 132,100. In 1978, St Elizabeth raised 54,449 goats, out of a national total of 257,414. By 1996, the parish had 38,800 goats, out of Jamaica's total of 285,000. In that year, St Elizabeth's poultry numbers stood at 186,000, out of Jamaica's total of a little under eight and a half million. In the southern part of St Elizabeth, a Jamaican type of sheep evolved that was smaller than the imported sheep. Because this type of sheep was developed in the parish, it came to be known as the St Elizabeth breed of sheep. In 1996, the parish had 900 of these sheep, out of the national total of 5,100.

The post-slavery nineteenth century had been marked by changes in land use patterns, which saw larger estates and coffee properties being sold and broken up into smaller lots which were then bought by small farmers in the parish. From the second half of the twentieth century, there was a decrease in the numbers of large livestock-grazing pens, which had occupied the savannah areas of south-eastern St Elizabeth. Severe periods of drought affected the extensive pasture lands. Consequently, many of the areas which were previously used for grazing have been gradually decreased. As the parish's population increased, the savannah lands have been slowly but surely sub-divided into groups of smaller farming plots.

Nevertheless, in other areas, such as Giddy Hall, Pointe and Diligent, small plots ranging from one to one and a half acres were used to raise smaller numbers of livestock, including goats, cows and chickens. In areas such as Siloah, Elim, Braes River, Luana, Maggotty, Y. S., Holland, Middle Quarters, Bartons, Newton, Barton Isles, Lacovia, Breadnut Valley and Slipe, the holdings ranged from two acres to about 300 acres and supported different types of farming, including the rearing of livestock such as cattle, goats, poultry and pigs. In the twentieth century, lowland properties in the parish at Gilnock, Fonthill, Pepper, Longhill, Goshen, Friendship and Friendship all remained important for the quality of their cattle, horses and mules. [33]

Crop Farming in St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

Over the course of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, agriculture, specifically crop farming, has dominated St Elizabeth's economy. The success of agriculture has allowed St Elizabeth to play a central role over the years in providing the basic food crops considered essential to feeding the nation. Importantly, earnings from agriculture have allowed the parish

to become and remain one of the main contributors to the government's revenue. These achievements in the field of agriculture have been steadily growing from the twentieth century, but the track record of success in agriculture dates much further back in time to the early post-slavery nineteenth century.

It was then that the newly freed people established themselves as small and peasant farmers, working sometimes under the most challenging of circumstances to lay the foundation for a vibrant internal and export trade in agricultural products. It was on their legacy that St Elizabeth's twentieth-century farmers were able to build the thriving and significant agricultural economy that existed then and continues to exist today. As late as 2017, the economic importance of the agricultural sector of "St Bess" was underscored by the Minister without Portfolio in the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, Agriculture and Fisheries, J. C. Hutchinson. He pointed out that in 2017, St Elizabeth's farmers were able to produce and supply 102,657 tons of the domestic food crops grown in Jamaica in that year. As Mr Hutchinson appropriately summarised it, this achievement pointed to the "magnitude of St Elizabeth's contribution to the national food chain" (which) "makes the parish a critical player in Jamaica's economic development."

This level of agricultural output also had a significant impact on the farmers themselves as they were able to earn ten billion dollars in that year. This important contribution was hardly surprising in view of the fact that in 2017, St Elizabeth had the highest number of registered farmers (29,320) in all parishes. In 2017, the parish also stood out as the largest producer of vegetables, fruits (in particular, pineapples, watermelons and cantaloupes) and grew eighty percent of all peanuts produced in the island.

St Elizabeth's agricultural success has been even more noteworthy in view of the long-standing challenges which have existed, especially in the southern parts of the parish. One of these has been the soil conditions that are a feature of this part of the parish. The other has been increasingly drier spells. Fertility of the loam soil has always been limited to only the top six inches or fifteen centimetres of the soil. The red clay soil that lay beneath this superficial level was woefully infertile. To their credit, the farmers of southern St Elizabeth were able to creatively arrive at a remedy for this in the form of a strategy that they referred to as "fly penning and mulching". Through experimentation, the farmers discovered that this method worked best on small plots of land at a time.

Crops such as tomatoes, watermelons and carrots were planted in small areas. They then used savannah grass to form mulch around the areas planted. As an important part of this process, animals such as donkeys were tied on the plots and then fed and given water by hand. The end result was that the animals provided manure for the soil over time and when the crops became strong enough, the animals were removed from the plot. When more savannah grass became

available, the farmers repeated the process with a different crop and on another plot of land. The mulching kept the growing plants cool, and animal manure ensured the fertility of a soil that was not so to begin with. “Fly penning and mulching” therefore allowed farmers in southern St Elizabeth to grow several crops in a given time, even if rainfall was reduced or scarce.

Ballard’s Valley, St Elizabeth: Mulching Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The main crops grown over the years in southern St Elizabeth included scallions, green onions, tomatoes, watermelons, carrots, sweet peppers and corn, callaloo, pumpkin, plantains, root crops, tree crops, peas, pimento, coffee and ginger.

In the northern section of the parish, which historically had more fertile soils, the main crops grown throughout the period were ground provisions, including Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes (both Irish and sweet potatoes were grown in large concentrations), dasheens and a variety of yams. Over the years too, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, reclaimed agricultural land in the Black River Basin was used for large areas of coconut farming, cultivating of rice, dasheen, callaloo, peanuts, pumpkins, plantains, bananas, yams, cocoa and peas. In areas such as Siloah, Elim, Maggotty, Luana, Y. S., Holland, Middle Quarters, Bartons, Lacovia, Slipe and Breadnut Valley, there was emphasis on the cultivation of papaya, dasheen, sugar cane, peanuts, vegetables, bananas and plantains. In St Elizabeth, the Solo Sunrise variety of papaya did

extremely well and continues to do so. In fact, four parishes, St Elizabeth, Trelawny, St Mary and St Catherine, were responsible for producing seventy-nine percent of the total production in the island in 2017. Generally, the local market uses eighty-two percent of papayas produced, while the United States has customarily imported the rest.

Spotlight on Banana Cultivation

From the post-slavery nineteenth century into the twentieth century, banana cultivation was mainly done by small farmers spread throughout the parish. Unlike major banana producing parishes like St Mary, Portland and St Thomas, there was no major or widespread development of banana plantations in St Elizabeth in response to the activities of Boston Fruit Company and later, the United Fruit Company. In fact, banana production in the parish remained largely in the control of small farmers, especially in the hilly areas of St Elizabeth. Farmers in Quick Step were known for their banana cultivation. In the early decades of the twentieth century, small farmers transported their baskets of bananas, usually by donkeys downhill to a central banana collecting point or depot, where they were placed in boxes and transported by train to Montego Bay. The Cooks Bottom Banana Depot in Elderslie was at that time a banana collecting and boxing point.

Although banana cultivation was largely done by St Elizabeth's small farmers, there were a few larger properties on which bananas were grown mainly for export. In 1917, Aberdeen Pen, owned by Marion Calder, had fifty acres devoted to bananas, while Ipswich, owned by R.G. Sinclair, had fifty-eight acres in banana plants. Oxford, owned by C. F. Pengelly, had a fairly large area of 365 acres devoted to bananas in 1917. From 1918 to 1919, Marion Calder's Aberdeen property had thirty acres of banana plants while Ipswich, the Sinclair property had sixty acres of bananas at that time.

The Importance of Barton Isles Seed Gardens in St Elizabeth to the Coconut Industry

Throughout the twentieth century, the coconut industry has been subjected to natural disasters in the form of hurricanes which historically have repeatedly damaged and destroyed coconut farms and plantations in several parishes across the island. Just as destructive have been the several infestations of coconut trees by diseases, such as the Lethal Yellowing disease. Lethal Yellowing first appeared on Jamaican coconut properties in the late nineteenth century, but the most devastating attacks occurred in 1961 and then in 1971, when ten million Jamaica Tall coconut trees were lost to the disease.

St Elizabeth has never been among the leading coconut growing parishes, which are St Thomas, Portland and St Mary, although there has been some focus on coconut tree planting by small farmers and on larger properties such as those in the Elim area of the parish. The most successful strategy followed by the Coconut Industry Board of Jamaica, in an effort to cope with

this disease over the years, has been to destroy affected trees and replace them with more disease resistant varieties. To this end, continuous research and experimentation was carried out by the Board at various research stations.

One of these was the *Barton Isles Seed Garden for Coconuts* established in St Elizabeth. At Barton Isles, seed coconuts of different varieties were set and allowed to germinate. Experiments with cross-breeding of different varieties (hybridisation) have also been carried out at Barton Isles. Follow-up research was then done to determine the extent to which the particular hybrid of plant proved resistant to Lethal Yellowing. In 2015, the Coconut Industry Board received 101 seed coconuts of the *Tall* variety as a gift from Thailand. Further experiments were done on the seventy-three seed coconuts that germinated from the batch of 101 *Tall* that was received. At Barton Isles, attention was also focussed on the *Brazil Green Dwarf* and its hybrids, the *Maybraz* and the *Brapan,* to determine possibilities for resistance to Lethal Yellowing disease.

The Coconut Industry Board in 2017 announced that as a result of research, it was felt that the Special Malayan Dwarf showed greater promise for resistance against this disease. As a result, seedlings for this variety were germinated at Barton Isles, with the intention of distributing these seedlings to coconut farmers in several parishes. The campaign against Lethal Yellowing Disease is an ongoing battle, but one which the Coconut Industry Board, with research support from centres like *Barton Isles Seed Garden,* is quite prepared to fight.

ELIM Agricultural High School / Sydney Pagon High School

Given the historical importance of agriculture to St Elizabeth and the economic benefits for the parish and the wider Jamaica, it was fitting that a programme of education and research should be introduced to allow for the implementation of the most successful techniques and approaches to agriculture. ELIM Agricultural High School was established in 1979, with the aim of promoting knowledge and understanding of the most effective techniques in the advancement of agriculture. At the same time, the school was committed to exposing its students to all practical aspects of agriculture, such as livestock rearing and processing of local crops such as cassava. In 2005, the name of the school was changed to the Sydney Pagon High School, in honour of the long-serving Member of Parliament, Sydney Pagon, who died in 1991.[34]

The Development and Importance of Aquaculture in St Elizabeth

Historical Background to Aquaculture in Jamaica

Aquaculture (fish farming) refers to the breeding, rearing and harvesting of fish and shellfish in all types of water environments. The story of Jamaica's involvement with aquaculture began around the late 1940s when *tilapia* fish were introduced into the island as part of a breeding programme sponsored by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations. Known in Jamaica as African Perch, the tilapia soon became part of the local inland fishing sources (rivers). From then until now, the tilapia and specifically, the red hybrid tilapia, has been the main type of freshwater fish bred in Jamaica's aquaculture ponds.

St Elizabeth's Contribution to Aquaculture

From the start of aquaculture in Jamaica, most of the fish farming ponds were located on the island's south coast, with the three parishes of St Catherine, Clarendon and St Elizabeth, over the years, producing ninety-eight percent of tilapia bred on the island. In 2011, St Elizabeth had eight aquaculture ponds, the third highest number of fish farms compared to twenty six in Clarendon and 112 in St Catherine. The Black River Basin in St Elizabeth is home to Jamaica's largest wetland, made up of the Upper Morass and the Lower Morass. Most of the aquaculture done in St Elizabeth has been focussed in parts of the Upper Morass because of the ready access to freshwater from the Black River which drains through the Morass. Engineering work in the Upper Morass resulted in the reclamation of 5,000 acres of usable agricultural lands, and large areas of this were reserved for aquaculture.

By far, the largest and most productive aquaculture property is located on Barton Isle in the Upper Morass on 300 acres of land and 120 acres of ponds. This is operated by *ALJIX Jamaica Ltd. Caribbean Fresh,* and they started the aquaculture enterprise in Barton Isles in 2015. Although a relatively young operation, ALJIX has already done pioneering work in aquaculture, producing not only red tilapia, but also *basa* and freshwater shrimp. This enterprise at Barton Isles has succeeded in producing seventy percent of the freshwater fish grown in Jamaica and is the largest fish-producing farm in the English-speaking Caribbean, remarkable achievements on a parish level. ALJIX employs 100 workers on the farm and in the processing plant on a continuous basis. Very importantly, ninety-eight percent of those employed in this aquaculture business live in Barton Isles or nearby communities.

The Agro-Investment Corporation of Jamaica also manages 2,700 acres of land at Elim, with facilities for aquaculture. This property is located about eight kilometres or just over four miles to the west of the town of Santa Cruz and is quite near to Black River. Water resources from the Black River make the Elim location ideal for aquaculture. In the Elim area, fish farming has been focussed on the rearing of tilapia, which is known by residents of "St Bess" as African Perch.

However, to persons who live in Elim and surrounding areas, the tilapia is known as the "*Jesus fish*", because it breeds in abundance and reminds some of the miracle of the loaves and the fishes. Aquaculture, though a relatively young enterprise in Jamaica's history, has allowed St Elizabeth to once again impact employment levels and the national food supply in a favourable way.

Marine Fishing and Shrimping in St Elizabeth

River Fishing and Shrimping in the Lower Morass

Marine fishing and shrimping, as opposed to fish farming, describe the activity by which fish and shrimp are caught, processed and sold by fishermen. Both river fishing and sea fishing by canoe fishermen, with the use of basic fishing equipment such as nets and pots, has been a way of life and a way of earning a living from the post-slavery nineteenth century right up to the present in St Elizabeth.

Fisherman's Hut near Black River Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

One of the main areas where river fishing became well established in the twentieth century was in the Lower Morass of the Black River Drainage Basin. The mangroves in the Morass are rich in marine life as they provide nesting and feeding places for shrimp and well-known types of fish,

such as jack, snapper, mullett and snook. Fish use the mangroves during their life cycle and so the Morass provided fairly easy opportunities for successful river fishing. Fishermen usually sold their catch at nearby markets or communities, and the income from this was usually of importance to the domestic economy, feeding family and community alike.

Middle Quarters: the Shrimp Capital of Jamaica

Shrimping has always been and continues to be of great economic benefit for the shrimp men involved. The Black, Broad and Middle Quarters Rivers have traditionally been (and still are) excellent sources of shrimp. Shrimp live among the roots of the water plants that are found in the streams and rivers of the Morass and the Lower Morass especially, and this area remains possibly the greatest source for shrimping in St Elizabeth.

The Black River Lower Morass Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The shrimp are caught, prepared and then sold at Middle Quarters, which is located on the edge of the Morass. Over time, Middle Quarters became the most famous outlet for shrimp sales in St Elizabeth and perhaps in the entire island, as the location has been dubbed the "shrimp capital of Jamaica". In the 1980s, shrimping in the Lower Morass made a significant

contribution to employment in the parish, as about 200 shrimp men made their living catching shrimp, while an additional 200 persons were employed in making the boats, as well as in pot making and basket weaving.

The trap baskets that were used by the shrimp fishermen have an interesting cultural history. It was found that the trap baskets used in the area of the Lower Morass had a strikingly similar design to those which are still used by fishermen on the Niger River. It is theorized that West Africans captured and brought here to enslavement over 300 years ago, brought with them the knowledge of the design which was then passed from generation to generation of fishermen.

Whether the shrimp were sold raw or as peppered shrimp, vendors made the all-important difference in the profitability of the trade. A study done by Webber et al in 2010 (cited in the report by NEPA) showed that the annual income of the shrimp man could range from JA. $24,960 to $624,000. The same study revealed that vendors could make up to JA $2,340,000 in a year.

Sea Fishing from Treasure Beach

Sea fishing has long been the way of life for generations of fishermen who have lived in the seaside communities along the stretch of St Elizabeth's south-western coast that is now known as Treasure Beach. Treasure Beach actually consists of a series of four bays, each of which was (and still is) home to a small fishing village. Moving along the coast in a south-westerly direction from Black River, the first bay in today's Treasure Beach is Billy's Bay, followed by Frenchman's Bay, then by Calabash Bay, and the final bay that is part of Treasure Beach is Great Bay. Small communities of fishermen and their families were established along the coasts of these four bays in the early years after the abolition of slavery. Not all of the freed persons opted for farming as a way of life after Emancipation, and for a small number, the coastal waters provided them with opportunities to make a small living, supporting themselves and their families from the day's catch. Soon enough, small fishing communities grew up around Great Bay, Calabash Bay, Frenchman's Bay and Billy's Bay.

Traditional methods of simple canoe making were passed on from generation to generation of fishermen, and so were the techniques of making the pots used to trap the fish. Up until the late 1950s and early 1960s the fishermen built their canoes from the hollowed out trunks of cotton trees. Painting helped to make the canoes waterproof, and some of these brightly coloured fishing boats are still around on the stretches of beach which line the coast.

The history of fishing communities in St Elizabeth is not defined merely by a pre-occupation with making money. An enduring and commendable example of self-help skills was started by the actions taken by members of the fishing community who lived in Calabash Bay in the late 1960s. On 12th September, 1968, the *Calabash Bay Fishermen's Co-op* was established by

Wilton Graham, along with U.S. Peace Corps volunteer, Neil McAuliffe. At first, the group was made up of only ten members, but its membership has grown to over 100. Through the sale of fishing supplies, the group has raised money over the years to help fishermen and their families who live throughout Treasure Beach. Some of the examples of a community helping each other include providing help with expenses associated with hospital and bereavement, promoting safety programmes, providing floodlights and running water for all beaches, and the installation of the *Garfield James Memorial Light,* which makes the use of the channel at Frenchman's Bay by fishermen a much safer venture. [35]

The Bauxite Industry in St Elizabeth

Background to the Start of the Industry in Jamaica

The Second World War triggered an increased demand in Europe for aluminium, and this led to the search for sources of bauxite (the mineral from which alumina is made) outside of Europe and the United States. This prompted explorations in Jamaica during the late 1940s by three North American companies, Alcan, Reynolds and Kaiser. St Elizabeth was not included in the start-up phase of Bauxite mining in the island. In this first phase, Reynolds started exports of bauxite from Ocho Rios in 1952. In 1953, Kaiser began exports from Port Kaiser on the south coast of St Elizabeth. Alcan built the first plant to process bauxite into Alumina at Kirkvine in Manchester, and alumina was then shipped from Port Esquivel in 1952.

Bauxite Mining Begins in St Elizabeth

In the early 1950s, investigations of bauxite deposits in the island by the mining companies had revealed that the largest deposits of bauxite were to be found in the parishes of St Ann, Manchester, St Elizabeth and Trelawny. Therefore, it was just a matter of time before mining operations began in St Elizabeth. By the middle of the 1950s, Kaiser Bauxite Company had started the process of mining at Nain in St Elizabeth, and at first the unprocessed bauxite was shipped to the United States. For these North American companies, the real profits lay in the processing of bauxite into alumina and the exports of alumina to North America and Europe.

Therefore, another North American company, *Alumina Partners of Jamaica (Alpart),* established an alumina processing plant at Nain. They continued to mine bauxite in Nain, but they focussed on refining the bauxite into alumina at the refining plant in Nain. In 1969, a new alumina processing plant was built and brought into service at Nain. The alumina produced at Nain was then shipped from Port Kaiser, which is located a few miles to the south of Nain, to markets in North America and Europe. In order to fill the ever-expanding demand for alumina, another

mining company, *Revere Copper and Brass Ltd,* opened Jamaica's fourth alumina processing plant in 1971, this time at Maggotty in St Elizabeth. This was known as the Revere Plant.

Bauxite Works near Maggotty, St Elizabeth Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Fluctuations in the Bauxite and Alumina Operations in the Parish

The Bauxite industry in St Elizabeth has been subject to changing fortunes in the more than half a century that it has existed. In 1975, the Revere plant in Maggotty was closed largely because of rising operational costs. However, Alpart, along with Reynolds Jamaica Mines, continued to mine bauxite extensively in the parish and continued the processing of bauxite into alumina at its plant in Nain. In the late twentieth century into the twenty-first, operations at the Alpart plant in Nain experienced fluctuations resulting from world economic downturns and the global recession. There have also been changes in ownership. In 2007, the Russian-based company, UC Rusal, acquired sixty-five percent of ownership of Alpart and took full ownership in 2011. Rusal suspended operations at Alpart, Nain between 2009 and 2015. Over 900 workers from surrounding communities lost their jobs. However, by 2016, UC Rusal announced its sale of the Alpart Bauxite and Alumina Nain operations to the Chinese-based, JISCO. The plant has since been re-opened under Chinese management, and in 2017, for the first time since Alpart was

closed by UC Rusal in 2009, 35,000 tonnes of alumina were shipped from St Elizabeth's Port Kaiser.

Effects of the Bauxite Industry on St Elizabeth and the Wider Jamaica

Over the years of its existence in Nain, St Elizabeth, Alpart's Bauxite and Alumina operations have generated direct employment for persons who live in the parish, but in particular, for residents in and around Nain. Because of the use of technology in the alumina processing, employment was not as extensive as was hoped by neighbouring communities. When JISCO resumed operations, 800 persons immediately benefitted from employment. There was also a spin-off effect on businesses in surrounding communities, as shops, stores, restaurants and rum bars saw an uptake in persons' earning and spending power.

Over the years, Alpart has also given back to the people of St Elizabeth by restoring some of the mined out areas (not Maggotty) to farming fields and has helped to fund educational and community projects. However, in recent times, the dust nuisance from operations has adversely affected the health and the water supply of residents in the areas around Nain, including Upper and Lower Warminster, New Building, Prospect and Stephen Run. The mining and processing of bauxite is one of the most important sectors of Jamaica's economy, and in this respect, St Elizabeth's participation in this sector has allowed the parish to make a significant contribution. Island-wide bauxite and alumina earnings of foreign exchange remain the largest contributor, outside of taxation, to the government's revenues.

Emerging Small Industries in St Elizabeth

Many communities across the parish have developed community craft centres since Independence. Traditionally, the skills required for craftwork were usually passed on in families from generation to generation. Community craft centres have allowed for the wider adoption of skills training in the art of craftwork. Community members, the young and the not so young, were given the opportunity to learn and perfect the skills associated with the making of hats, baskets, mats and bags, as well as other items from indigenous or locally grown materials, such as thatch and sisal. St Elizabeth has become known for the high quality of its craftwork.

Food processing has developed in recent years as a natural complement of the agricultural production done in the parish. At Bull Savannah, a food processing plant allowed for the processing of tomatoes and carrots as well as pineapples. These products are marketed under the brand name, Village Pride. Two products which were traditionally grown on properties from the eighteenth century onwards were cassava and pimento. At Goshen, a cassava factory produced a variety of cassava products, especially the packaged bammies, for sale to supermarket outlets. Pimento leaf factories at Giddy Hall, Bogue and Braes River also process the pimento leaves to make spices and condiments. [36]

St Elizabeth to a Different Beat: The Development of Tourism in the Parish in the Twentieth Century

In contrast to some of Jamaica's other parishes, especially the north-coastal parishes, where tourism developed with a focus on the appeal of sun, sea and sand and the exciting and often fast-paced packages of the all-inclusive hotel chains, St Elizabeth has emerged with a somewhat different emphasis, beginning in the twentieth century. Given the abundance and diversity of natural habitats and the splendour of the many natural features in St Elizabeth, this south coast parish has focussed more on eco-tourism, than simply on the generic offerings of sun, sea and sand. Visitors, whether local or foreign, have historically been exposed to a more laid-back experience, where the landscape is dotted with simple and sometimes rustic guest houses and where the visitor cannot help but be struck by the scarcity of the high rise all-inclusive hotel chains, which tend to obscure some of the most breath-taking views that the island has to offer.

Eco-Tourism in St Elizabeth

The natural environment of St Elizabeth has allowed the parish to develop a tourism product that is more in keeping with eco-tourism than with mass tourism. A great deal of the eco-tourism offerings is centred in the Black River Basin, which is home to Jamaica's largest wetland. This extensive wetland is divided into the Upper Morass and the Lower Morass, and both are an important habitat for many species (some endangered) of plants and animals. Opportunities for eco-tourism in the Lower Morass have become significant, as well-managed tours allow visitors to see some of the ninety-two species of plants, as well as the many species of animals, including the Great Egret, Cattle Egret, white-crowned pigeons, white-winged doves, the American crocodile, the West Indian Manatee and many types of marine turtles.

The Black River Lower Morass: Black River Safari Tour Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Crocodile in the Black River: Black River Safari Tour courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Charles Swaby of *Black River Safari* fame was among the founding personalities behind the well-conducted eco-tours that the parish has to offer. In fact, tour operations in the Black River Morass all began with Charles Swaby. River rafting, usually on the Middle Quarters River, allows visitors to get a close look at shrimp catching, as well as a taste of what Middle Quarters has been famous for all these years. The many nature trails which the parish has to offer, such as that organised by Apple Valley Park, allow visitors to get in touch with nature at its most serene. A cleared trail managed by Apple Valley Park leads to the Black River Gorge, a little known but spectacular treat of nature. Spectacular waterfalls, such as the Y.S. Falls, located on the historic former Y.S. Estate, provide opportunities for visitors to experience one of the parish's natural wonders.

Wildlife sanctuaries are an important drawing card which helps to define eco-tourism's appeal in St Elizabeth. The Black River Lower and Upper Morass have been designated a game sanctuary under the *Wild Life Protection Act*. This Act protects the animals that live in this space and ensures that the species will be here long after the visitors have left. Given the worldwide

consciousness about the importance of protecting the environment and everything within it, wildlife sanctuaries are important to the visitor who has an appreciation for something beyond the ordinary. There are also other game reserves in St Elizabeth, and these include the Stanmore Hill Game Reserve, the Great Morass, Parottee Game Reserve and the Fonthill Wildlife Sanctuary.

Heritage Tourism

St Elizabeth also has much potential for visitors who might wish to experience aspects of the history and culture that make this parish what it is. The town of Black River, declared a *Protected National Heritage District* by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust in 1999, has several historic buildings, each with a story well worth the listening. Accompong, the Maroon community in northern St Elizabeth, provides meaningful experiences all year round; but each year on 6th January, which is celebrated as Cudjoe's Day, the Accompong Festival provides visitors with an unforgettable insight into aspects of the Maroon culture and lifestyle. For the visitors who seek an appropriate blend of history and an element of spice, the Appleton Estate Rum Tour offers much for the discerning tourist and more.

With so many natural and historical features on offer (of which only a sample has been given here), St Elizabeth definitely does not require a multiplicity of all-inclusive hotels to guarantee the success of the tourism sector. What is needed is careful marketing and management of the product in order to ensure that the natural environment is not endangered by uncontrolled mass tourism.

Perhaps the best example of how this can be done lies in the way of life portrayed by the people of that stretch of south west coast known as *Treasure Beach*. Made up of small fishing communities dotting the coastline of four bays, Billy's Bay, Frenchman's Bay, Calabash Bay and Great Bay, Treasure Beach is the best example of that different beat to which St Elizabeth's tourism product moves. Life is totally laid back here, where hammocks and quiet beautiful beaches are the norm. No loud noises pierce the quiet of the Treasure Beach night, as night clubs are not allowed there. Guest houses and villas provide accommodation for visitors, and there are no high-rise hotels to threaten the area with mass tourism or to obscure access to the unspoilt beaches, which the people treasure as their own. Visitors to the area will no doubt take away their own special understanding of the meaning of "Treasure", having experienced this special community of Treasure Beach. [37]

Lovers' Leap in Southern St Elizabeth Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Significant Socio-political Developments in St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

Political Developments of Significance in Twentieth-Century St Elizabeth

The 1938 Labour Protests and Their Effects on St Elizabeth

Challenging conditions faced by workers around Jamaica from the late 1920s into the 1930s created the atmosphere of labour discontent that would eventually result in the confrontations and violence of island-wide labour protests in 1938. In every town of most parishes, the rallying cry was for employment and for improved working conditions for all, with fair and just wages to be paid and to be paid on time. These were not new concerns, neither were the workers' demands limited to Jamaica. This was a movement of labour consciousness that found expression across the English-speaking Caribbean in the 1930s. What was different this time was the presence of charismatic labour leaders, such as Alexander Bustamante, who were committed to seeing improvements for workers and who were prepared to take their struggles forward to a just conclusion.

In several parishes across the island, striking workers and disgruntled demonstrators came into violent confrontations with the police. In April 1938, demands for better wages by workers at Frome Sugar Factory in Westmoreland quickly turned violent with deadly results. By May of the same year, Kingston's dockworkers triggered a massive strike, as workers everywhere voiced shared concerns about low wages and unreasonable working conditions. By the end of May, there were protests and strike actions all over the island, including Manchester and St Elizabeth. The Daily Gleaner of May 31, 1938 reported that striking workers walked off their jobs in St Ann, St Elizabeth and elsewhere. Construction workers in Black River and other towns joined the striking workers. This series of strikes, work stoppages and general disorder reached their most intense by 6th June, when everywhere became engulfed in protests, and bloody clashes erupted in St Catherine, Clarendon, Manchester, St Elizabeth, Westmoreland, St James, Trelawny, St Ann, Portland and St Thomas.

In St Elizabeth, as in other parishes, work stoppages soon turned into demonstrations in the streets, with striking workers arming themselves with sticks and cutlasses with the intent of forcing others to join them. Not all workers were at first willing to join the striking demonstrators. This was particularly true of those who feared losing their jobs in the shops and stores of Black River, Santa Cruz and Malvern. Strikers blocked roads, cut telephone wires and forcedly shut down the shops whose owners had resisted doing so. During the first three days of June, the government had to send in reinforcements to give support to local police in the affected areas, and this move increased confrontations with the demonstrators and almost inevitably led to clashes.

This was the case at Balaclava where the police opened fire at a roadblock resulting in the wounding of one demonstrator. In the Santa Cruz district and in the town of Black River, striking protestors remounted roadblocks almost as soon as the police relocated to another area. In the process, more telephone wires were cut. Cane workers at Holland Sugar Estate protesting low and irregularly paid wages refused to work and mounted a huge demonstration. It took the use of bayonets by the police to disperse the angry crowd. By the end of June 1938, the unrest in St Elizabeth and elsewhere began to subside and work stoppages halted as employers began the process of making some concessions, the immediate one having to do with wages. In the aftermath of the 1938 labour rebellion, recognition of workers' rights found full expression in the formation of trade unions, the emergence of political parties [the main ones being the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the Peoples' National Party (PNP)] and in the struggles which labour leaders continued to fight on behalf of the working class of Jamaica. [38]

The 1944 Constitution, Constituencies, General Elections and Members of Parliament in St Elizabeth, 1944-1962

In a landmark moment of Jamaica's political history, the 1944 Constitution granted Universal Adult Suffrage, enabling all Jamaicans twenty one years of age and over to vote. In preparation for the first general election (scheduled for 1944), under Universal Adult Suffrage, the parishes were divided into electoral constituencies for which the people would elect members to represent them in Jamaica's new *House of Representatives* (replaced the Legislative Council). Four parishes, Kingston, St Andrew, Clarendon and St Catherine, were each granted three seats in the House of Representatives, while the other ten parishes, including St Elizabeth, were granted two seats each, and therefore, each of these ten parishes were divided into two constituencies.

Constituencies and General Elections in St Elizabeth, 1944-1962

Beginning in 1944, St Elizabeth was divided into two constituencies, *Northern St Elizabeth* and *Southern St Elizabeth*. This did not change until the lead-up to the 1959 General Election when the constituencies were changed to four. As of 1959, the constituencies were *St Elizabeth South-West, St Elizabeth South-East, St Elizabeth North-West* and *St Elizabeth North-East*. In the first General Elections held under Universal Adult Suffrage, Neville Cleveland Lewis of the JLP won the right to represent Northern St Elizabeth, while there was no representative for Southern St Elizabeth. Five years later in 1949, in the second General Election, Edward Allen of the PNP won the right to represent Northern St Elizabeth, while Donald Burns Sangster (discussed shortly) of the JLP became the Member of Parliament for Southern St Elizabeth.

General Elections of 1959 were contested in four constituencies in the parish. St Elizabeth South-West was won by Charles Wright of the JLP, while St Elizabeth South-East went to Burnett Coke of the PNP. Gilbert Chamberlain won St Elizabeth North-West for the PNP, while Sydney Pagon (discussed shortly) won St Elizabeth North-East for the PNP. In 1962, the year of Jamaica's Independence, St Elizabeth South-West was again won by Charles Wright for the JLP, while Burnett Coke of the PNP retained St Elizabeth South-East. St Elizabeth North-West was taken by Neville Cleveland Lewis of the JLP, who would go on to win several more elections, while St Elizabeth North-East remained with Sydney Pagon of the PNP, who would continue to represent this constituency through four more General Elections. [39]

Social Developments of Significance in Twentieth-Century St Elizabeth

Black River Leads the Way: The First Car in Jamaica, 1903

In 1903, the very first car brought to the island landed at Black River Port. The four cylinder "New Orleans" automobile was manufactured in Twickenham, England and was imported for Mr H. W. Griffiths, the wealthy owner of Hodges Pen in the Black River area. Hodges Pen had a long history dating back to 1700 when Colonel John Campbell, Scottish leader of the failed Darien expedition, arrived and settled in St Elizabeth. Hodges Pen had remained a successful livestock property for three centuries. It was no surprise that its twentieth century owner should be the first to import what must have been an expensive car at that time. By 1915, the novelty of the motor car on Black River's streets and in the wealthy neighbourhoods of Malvern Hills had clearly worn off, at least for the wealthy class. Una Marson, a new student at Hampton in 1915, remembered the "noisy Ford cars" as the status symbol of the rich white and "creole" families whose daughters attended Hampton.

It is often said that Black River was the first place in Jamaica to have electricity. This is misleading. As indicated in an earlier section, it must be remembered that this supply of electricity in the late nineteenth century was *limited first to John Leyden's Waterloo House* and then to the rest of the homes of the wealthy Leyden brothers and the Farquharsons. There is also evidence that the Leyden brothers supplied electricity from their generating plant to a few other homes of well-to-do residents of Black River at a price. Electricity actually was *first generated* in 1892 on Gold Street in Kingston by the *Jamaica Electric Light Company.* They were able to supply electricity on a very limited scale to Gold Street alone using a small coal-burning, steam-producing plant. Black River was, therefore, not the first place in the country to receive electricity but rather, Black River has the distinction of *having the first private residence in Jamaica to receive electricity*. This was Waterloo House, courtesy of the Leyden brothers in 1893. By 1900, Black River also had its first telephone service, but this was not available to many.

Twentieth-century Black River from near the Parish Church Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Twentieth-Century Tragedies and Setbacks: The Black River Fire of 1900 and the Balaclava Train Crash of 1938

High Street, Black River's main street running along the coast, was the location of several warehouses as well as merchant stores. In 1900, a fire broke out in one of the warehouses and flammable material nearby caught fire, resulting in a massive explosion. Everything inside the warehouse, including huge quantities of stored coffee and pimento, was destroyed, and the fire spread quickly to engulf and devastate several nearby buildings. Reports, perhaps exaggerated, indicated that the area was left smouldering for an entire month.

On 30th July, 1938, a train which was heading from Kingston to Montego Bay ran off the tracks just outside Balaclava in what was a deadly and tragic derailment. The accident left thirty two persons dead and over seventy others injured. Several of the dead were buried in the grave yard of St Luke's Anglican Church in Balaclava. There is a monument erected in the grave yard to honour the memory of those lost. The seventy-sixth anniversary of what was the second deadliest train tragedy next to the Kendal Train Crash in Manchester was marked on 30th July,

2014. So much time has passed but, for those who have an interest in the history of Balaclava and the entire parish, this is not likely to be an event easily forgotten.

The Hurricane of Western Jamaica, October 29, 1933

Between the 28th and 29th of October 1933, the parishes of St Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover and St James were devastated by what was then referred to as the "Great Hurricane of Western Jamaica", because it appeared to have taken deadly aim at these parishes. There were reports of several areas being flooded in St Elizabeth as a result of two days of hurricane-related rainfall. Southfield in the southern part of the parish experienced the worst effects of all. St Mary's Anglican Church and Rectory in Southfield were heavily damaged, and a large number of small farmers' houses were swept away by the raging waters. Thousands were left homeless across the parish, and ten persons lost their lives in St Elizabeth. Of this total, six persons were from Southfield, and three were seamen who drowned when their vessel capsized and sank near the town of Black River. Small farmers in St Elizabeth seem to have been most vulnerable, as their homes and farm produce, especially banana crops, were completely destroyed.

Downturn in the Fortunes of Black River Port: Closure in 1968

As seen throughout this History of St Elizabeth, the port of Black River, and by extension the town itself, had risen to prosperous levels from the eighteenth through to the first few decades of the twentieth centuries. During this period, the thriving export trade from St Elizabeth, mainly in sugar, rum and molasses, hides from the livestock industry, mahogany and then the very highly demanded logwood, as well as other products, including pimento and coffee, had transformed the port of Black River into the bustling and very thriving port of call that it was at that time. Before the Abolition of the British trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved Africans in 1807, Black River was the port of entry through which all shipments of slaves had been channelled into St Elizabeth and sometimes traded further to other destinations. Merchant families grew rich, warehouses were stocked to capacity and employment knew no bounds, and Black River Port, as well as the town, thrived. Gradually however, the sources of this amazing prosperity began to decline, starting with the cessation of the slave trade. However, the continued success of sugar, rum, livestock and logwood, the "green gold" of Black River kept the port riding high on this wave of prosperity until well into the early decades of the twentieth century.

A View of Black River Port Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Stiff competition from synthetic dyes forced the decrease in the exports of logwood, whose shipments over so many years had kept the port at its busiest and most prosperous levels. The creeping decline in the number of profitable sugar and coffee properties further slowed down the pace of commerce at the port. By the mid-1960s, only two sugar estates remained in production. In 1968, the decision was made to close the Black River Port to all commercial activity. In other words, no imports came by way of the port and no exports left from there. Business and everything that went with it ground to a halt after 1968. Up to 2005, Black River Port remained closed to commercial activity, and its only role was to provide anchorage for small vessels. Commerce in or out of St Elizabeth (except for bauxite and alumina which are shipped from Port Kaiser in south St Elizabeth) is handled by ports such as Montego Bay in St James, Lucea in Hanover and Port Esquivel in St Catherine.

Melford Headley, who has lived in Black River for fifty seven years up to 2001, summed up the impact which the closing of Black River Port in 1968 had on him (and no doubt on a lot of persons in the town).

"As a young man, we used to have ships in Black River. I used to work as a stevedore on the wharf where the ships come for sugar, logwood and bring salt, asphalt and honey. It became profitable to use other ports and now this is no more."

(Extracted from the *Gleaner* interview with Melford Headley, 2001)

Devastation in New Market: The June 1979 Flood

The town of New Market in St Elizabeth is located in a natural geographic basin which is surrounded by hilly areas. This made the area vulnerable to water collection during periods of heavy rainfall, and at times floods could and did occur if the rainfall was prolonged. The June 1979 flood which triggered the worst devastation in the history of the town was not the first time that flooding had occurred, as the town had experienced floods in the past but nothing quite like the 1979 disaster. The parishes of St James, Trelawny, Westmoreland, Hanover and St Elizabeth had experienced five months of unusually heavy rainfall in the period leading up to June 1979. Therefore, on 12th June, when a tropical depression unleashed furiously prolonged rains, all five parishes were seriously affected, with loss of crops, livestock, property and lives. However, the experience of New Market was a unique horror story which permanently changed the landscape and lives of New Market.

Water levels began to rise so quickly during the day and into the night of 12th June that eyewitnesses wondered if the water was coming up to the surface from underground sources, as well as from the torrential rain falling from the sky. Fern Gordon who works in the re-built

town of Lewisville was quite young in 1979, but she vividly remembers that there was water everywhere and that everything was under water. People had to be rescued by boat, and for months after the rains stopped falling, the only way to get from place to place in New Market was by boat because the water took so long to recede. Estimates of the depth of the water which submerged the town vary, but most sources suggest that the town was covered by about eighty feet of water and that New Market remained under water for approximately six months. The damage was almost incomprehensible. There were forty two deaths, although some of these occurred in other parishes, such as Westmoreland. Boat rescues helped to prevent a higher death toll. Utilities and other infrastructure were destroyed, homes and other buildings, such as the New Market Police Station, were severely water damaged and crops and livestock completely lost. The end result was that the historic town of New Market was declared officially abandoned and preparations were made to build a new town.

With the assistance of the then Member of Parliament for St Elizabeth North-Western, the Hon. Neville Cleveland Lewis, the new town was built in the early 1980s on a hill overlooking the old town of New Market. The new town was later named Lewisville in honour of their late Member of Parliament who had been instrumental in the re-building of the town and who died in 2007. Lewisville has all the features of a progressive town. There is a high school (Lewisville High), a police station, post office, a type-two health centre, a library and a town centre with a market in the middle.

However, in a strange twist of contradiction, some of the former residents of the town of New Market were not willing to abandon their old town, even if the town had been declared abandoned. After the waters finally receded, several business owners (more so than home owners) returned to their old locations in New Market, tried to repair the damage and re-start their businesses. In the long run, some met with success because New Market may have been dealt a severe blow, but by most reports, there is still life in the old town. In fact, Fern Gordon summed up the situation very well when she told the *Observer* that some people have places “up here” (Lewisville up on the hill) as well as “down there” (New Market). In 2010, when the area experienced the heaviest flooding since the 1979 floods, persons in New Market had good cause for concern, but some cautiously hoped that fate would never again deal them such a cruel blow. [40]

New Market Woman with Donkey courtesy the National Library of Jamaica

Highlights of Developments in Social Infrastructure in St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

Provision of Water Supplies

By the late nineteenth century, the provision of water supplies to the people who lived in the parish was left to the Parish Council (now called the Municipal Corporation). The 1889 *Parish Water Supply Act* permitted the local government authorities or Parish Council to supply water, but did not oblige them to do so. By the same Act, the Parish Council was allowed to make contracts with private persons to supply water to the residents. This approach simply meant that going into the twentieth century, wealthy residents of places such as Black River and Malvern, who could afford to pay to have pipes connected to their homes, could get access to piped water once steps were taken to install the needed equipment. For everyone else, dependence on centrally located tanks for collecting rain water or reliance on water from nearby rivers or streams was the norm. The same principle behind the operation of water mills that had allowed sugar estate and livestock property owners to harness the water from the Black River, the Broad River, Y.S. River or Middle Quarters River continued in use during the first part of the twentieth century for larger property owners. Such access was out of the question for the small farming community.

In 1963, the *National Water Commission Act* created the National Water Commission and set out rules for its operation and management. Under law, the NWC became the main provider of potable water supply (water that is safe to drink) for the people of Jamaica and was mandated to do so with the resources available to it at that time. In terms of supplying the parish of St Elizabeth with a water supply that is safe to consume, the National Water Commission made slow, if steady progress. By 2001, of 40,934 households in St Elizabeth, forty-four percent had piped water supplies.

Police Stations in St Elizabeth by the early 1980s

There was a fair geographical spread of police stations in the parish by this time. These were located in Black River, Santa Cruz, Junction, Pedro Plains, Balaclava, Malvern, New Market (before and after the 1979 flood), Lewisville (new town built after the New Market Flood), Lacovia, Nain, Maggotty and Siloah.

Hospitals and Health Centres in St Elizabeth

In 1997, the Health Services Act was passed, creating four regional Health Authorities to oversee the administration of the health services in each geographical division of the island,

with ultimate responsibility to the Ministry of Health. Management of the hospital and health centres in St Elizabeth falls under the control of the *Southern Regional Health Authority*. In 1910, the *Black River Hospital*, located on High Street, had a twenty-five bed capacity. By the end of the twentieth century, the hospital had a ninety-seven bed capacity, and by 2017, the bed capacity had grown to 150.

The Black River Hospital Today Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The parish also had several health centres by the end of the twentieth century, moving into the twenty-first century. In the Black River Health District, these included health centres at Black River, Fyffes Pen, Prospect, New Market, Springfield, Ginger Hill and Middle Quarters. In the Balaclava Health District, there are two health centres, Balaclava and Aberdeen. The Santa Cruz District has centres at Santa Cruz, Pepper, Myersville, Braes River, Lacovia and Burnt Savannah, while the Junction Health District has Junction and Malvern. Maggotty Health District has the Maggotty and Elderslie Health Centres.

Schools in St Elizabeth in the Twentieth Century

By the late twentieth century, there were eighty-three primary schools and nine high schools in the parish. The high schools included Black River High, Newell High, Munro College, Hampton, Balaclava High (renamed Roger Clarke High in 2015), Lewisville High, Lacovia High, BB Coke High

in Junction and Maggotty High School. There was also Elim Agricultural High School (renamed Sydney Pagon High School, now the Sydney Pagon STEM Academy) and the St Elizabeth Technical High School in Santa Cruz. There is also the long-standing Bethlehem Moravian Training College in Malvern.

Provision of Electricity Services to St Elizabeth

In 1923, the *Jamaica Public Service (JPS) Company* was registered and was allowed to acquire the *West India Electric Company,* which had been the main provider of electricity up to then. The JPS was also allowed to purchase private electricity companies which had been operating in some of the parishes. These were *County Electric Lighting, Northern Electric Lighting* and *St James Utility*. By the end of the twentieth century, the main source of power for eighty-six percent of the parish of St Elizabeth was electricity provided by the Jamaica Public Service Company. In 1995, the government of Jamaica established the *Rural Electrification Programme (REP)* to assist rural communities where the residents could not afford to pay for the infrastructure required to extend electricity services to their communities. Once the infrastructure (such as wiring) was installed, the Jamaica Public Service Company (JPS) turned on the lights. The cost of the infrastructure was heavily subsidised by government funding, while householders in the communities were asked to pay a minimal amount towards the cost. By the end of 2008, the REP had allowed for the extension of electricity service to 265 houses in rural areas of St Elizabeth. In April 2010, a further six communities in South East St Elizabeth got lights under the Rural Electrification Programme. These communities included Bull Savannah, Top Hill, Rose Hall, Neif Mountain, Mount Pleasant and Ivor Cottage.

In an effort to extend more electricity supplies to St Elizabeth, the JPS has also been investing in *renewable forms of energy, such as wind farms,* which use the power of the wind to power the turbines which supply electricity. The first of these was the four-turbine, *Munro Wind Farm*, which was established at Munro in St Elizabeth in 2010. A significant achievement in the provision of renewable energy sources in St Elizabeth was accomplished by the JPS *Maggotty Hydroelectric Power Plant,* which was put into operation on 26th March 2014. This Plant uses the natural running motion of water in the Black River to generate electrical power. The Maggotty Hydroelectric Power Plant has added 7.2. Megawatts of electricity to the power-supply grid on the island, thereby showing how development in St Elizabeth can also be of benefit to the rest of the island. What has been described as the largest hydroelectric power plant developed since 1962 also benefitted the parish by providing employment to 200 persons during the period of construction. A third source of renewable energy in St Elizabeth was provided when *Blue Mountain Renewables* began the operation of a thirty-six megawatt wind farm in Potsdam in 2016. This latest project of the *Potsdam Wind Farm,* along with the

Maggotty Hydroelectric Power Plant and the *Munro Four-Turbine Wind Farm,* offer the potential to significantly improve the lives of the residents of St 'Bess'. [41]

Maggotty Power Station and Falls Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Maggotty Hydroelectric Station Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Maggotty Falls in Spate Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Cultural Legacies Associated with St Elizabeth

Many cultural legacies associated with the history of a parish are created by the people who lived in that parish over time or were in some way connected to the parish. Cultural legacies can take several forms, and they may be intangible, meaning that they exist in a form that we cannot touch. Instead, these intangible cultural legacies are really ideas about how things should be done, for example, traditions, beliefs, art forms, dance, music and knowledge of a literary, scientific, technical or historical nature.

The Lititz Mento Band in the 1950s Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Other cultural legacies are tangible legacies which exist in a form that can be touched. Tangible cultural legacies include buildings and other structures, plant and animal life, dress, food and geographical features, such as rivers, mountains and plains, for example. Whether they are tangible or intangible, most cultural legacies are created and passed on through generations by people who have helped to shape communities, parishes and nations. This next section looks at

a few of the personalities who were in some way connected to the parish and who, in their own unique ways, contributed to a cultural legacy that is a feature of the parish or the wider society.

Highlighting Some Personalities Associated with the Parish of St Elizabeth

Dr Karl Everard Wellington, OJ, OD (Commander Class)

It is indeed fitting that this section should begin with the contributions of an animal scientist and researcher on livestock development, as so much of St Elizabeth's history has been closely tied to the development of the livestock industry. Even though Dr Karl Wellington was born in Hanover, he appears to have adopted St Elizabeth as the parish from where he would dedicate much of his life's work to improving breeds of cattle. An animal geneticist and livestock development researcher, he made St Elizabeth his home, from where he has dedicated many years since the 1980s to improving and maintaining cattle breeds on his cattle farm at Y. S. Through careful research, Dr Wellington had earlier provided assistance to Dr Thomas Lecky, whose work had resulted in the development of the first breed of cattle indigenous to Jamaica, appropriately called Jamaica Hope.

Wellington's work in animal research was to prove instrumental in the development of three other breeds of cattle, the Jamaica Red Poll, the Jamaica Brahman and the Jamaica Black Poll. He firmly believes that ongoing research is critical to improve and maintain the quality of cattle breeds, and this is what he has dedicated his life to doing on his farm at Y. S. since 1988. Wellington's many years of work at Y. S reflect his philosophy that animal breeds have to be improved over several generations. Since 1988, he has displayed the improved breeds of Jamaica Red Poll and the Jamaica Brahman at the Annual Denbigh Agricultural Show and has won several awards, including the *Champion Livestock Award* in 2013. In recognition of his work in improving and maintaining cattle breeds over the years, Dr Wellington has received national awards in the form of the *Order of Distinction (Commander Class)* in 1993 and the *Order of Jamaica* in 2014. He continues his work with cattle breeding on his farm at Y. S. and in so doing Dr Wellington is laying a foundation of knowledge on which future livestock researchers can build.

The Honourable Roger Clarke

The late Honourable Roger Clarke was born in Westmoreland and grew up on his family's farm in that parish, where he was introduced to the world of farming. However, it was in St Elizabeth that he truly fell in love with agriculture, owning a large farm and becoming one of the largest cane producers in the parish. It was in St Elizabeth, specifically North East St Elizabeth that this true son-of-the-soil sought to serve the interests of the farming community. He also served his

country for over twenty years, through the arena of representational politics. At the local government level from 1986 until 1991, he served as the Councillor for Balaclava (where he made his home), Chairman of the St Elizabeth Parish Council and Mayor of Black River. At the national level, Roger Clarke won six parliamentary elections, serving as the Member for North-Eastern St Elizabeth, from 1991 when he took over the constituency after the death of long-serving Member, Sidney Pagon, until 2007. His service to agriculture, first as State Minister in Agriculture in 1992 and then as Minister of Agriculture from 1998 to 2008 and again from 2012 until his death in 2014, allowed Roger Clarke to champion issues of importance to Jamaica's agricultural prosperity. Two of these included expanding the country's export potential and improving food security.

Roger Clarke cared about every farmer, large and small, every resident, no matter the political persuasion, and the fact that he endeared himself to all made him unbeatable at the polls in North East St Elizabeth. His long-time political opponent on the JLP side, William J. C. Hutchinson, related the story of how Clarke would always greet his constituents by their first names because he knew each and every one. In his own way, the Hon. Roger Clarke has left a legacy of promoting an interest in farming and a guide to gaining the love and respect of constituents and political opponents alike. One year after his death, the Balaclava High School (established in 1976) was renamed the *Roger Clarke High School* in his honour.

Troy Caine OD (Officer Class)

Troy Aster Oliver Caine was born in St Elizabeth, but his reach and contribution were island-wide, through his renowned expertise as a political historian and commentator. He came into our living rooms, informing Jamaicans through insightful election commentaries on JBC/TVJ every election night since 1986. He was born in Junction, St Elizabeth on 7th December 1947, to a farming family, Junction farmer, Arthur Caine and Marion Elouise Binns-Caine. His early life was shaped by the St Elizabeth school experience, attending Ballards Valley Primary and Munroe College, before moving on to the then Jamaica School of Art in Kingston.

Although his training and professional life centred on Graphic Art, Design and Art Direction, it was his love for history, particularly Jamaica's political history, world affairs and research, that made Caine a walking reference source for Jamaican political history. On a personal level, his newspaper columns on the political history of various parishes proved extremely valuable as sources for the writing of parish histories. His commentaries were widely read and listened to, not only because he did the research which allowed him to make sound conclusions, but also because they were communicated in a simple way, easy to follow and made interesting by the addition of little anecdotal stories at every stage of the telling. In 2011, Troy Caine was awarded the Order of Distinction (Officer Class) for his contribution to Journalism in the field of culture, political history and Jamaican literature. When he died on 10th January 2019, Troy Caine, the

former student of Munroe College, had left a legacy of informing and inspiring many Jamaicans about the nation's modern political history.

A Summary of a Few of the Other Personalities Connected with St Elizabeth

Dr the Hon. Barbara Gloudon, OJ, OD

Born in Malvern, St Elizabeth in 1935, Dr Gloudon, through her work as a Communications Specialist and Broadcast Journalist, has inspired listeners to RJR's Hotline Programme in particular, to think critically about issues facing the country. For many years, as a playwright, she has been the creative force behind the annual Pantomime, encouraging the wider Jamaica to look at the lighter side of topical issues facing the country.

The Right Hon. Sir Donald Sangster, ON

Sir Donald was born in the parish of St Elizabeth on 26th October, 1911. A former student of Munroe College, he entered the legal profession and was a member of the St Elizabeth Parish Council. Under Bustamante's Prime Ministership, Sangster was Minister of Finance from 1953 until 1955 and again from 1962 to 1967. As Finance Minister, Sangster introduced legislation intended to ensure Jamaica's industrial expansion. One of his main philosophies was to increase local production and to buy Jamaican products. Because Sir Alexander was sickly in his last three years as Prime Minister, it was left to Donald Sangster to really organise affairs of government behind the scenes. He succeeded Sir Alexander Bustamante, becoming Jamaica's second Prime Minister since Independence. In a life cut too short, Sir Donald held this post for only forty eight days before dying in April 1967 at the age of fifty five.

The Right Hon. Sir Donald Sangster, ON Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Dr the Hon. Alfred Sangster, OJ

The brother of Donald Sangster, he was born in St Elizabeth on 24th July, 1929. An educator, Dr Sangster was the founding President of the College of Arts, Science and Technology, now known as the University of Technology.

Una Maud Marson

Una Marson was born in Santa Cruz on 6th February, 1905. She was the daughter of Solomon Marson, who was the Baptist Minister at Sharon Baptist Church in Santa Cruz, St Elizabeth. As a child growing up in St Elizabeth, Una's experiences of Lacovia, Santa Cruz, Malvern and especially her life lessons at Hampton, have all been discussed in earlier sections on schools and churches in the nineteenth century. Her experience of being treated as "less than" at Hampton, by both the wealthy daughters of white and brown society, shaped Una's view of the world even before she left Hampton. She became a champion for women's rights, an activist and a

Una Marson Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

social worker for the oppressed class, especially black women. Marson went on to become a self-assured writer, poet and the first black female to work at the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation). She died on 6th May, 1965. [42]

Cultural Heritage of the Parish

The Annual Accompong Maroon Festival

Perhaps the cultural tradition for which St Elizabeth is well known is the Accompong Maroon Festival, held each year on the 6th of January at Accompong Maroon Settlement in Northern St Elizabeth. According to Maroon traditions, the special observation of this day is held for three reasons. The main reason is to commemorate and celebrate the signing of the Peace Treaty between Cudjoe, leader of the Maroons and the English and the acceptance by the English of the freedom that the Maroons had always claimed for themselves. On this day, the Maroons also celebrate the historic founding of their town, Accompong. On 6th January each year, the

Maroons commemorate the birthday of their great leader, Cudjoe, and pay homage to all of their ancestors.

The Accompong Maroon Festival is open to the public and Jamaicans from within the parish and from all over Jamaica, as well as international visitors, journey to North St Elizabeth to celebrate with the Maroons of Accompong. The one-day festival is a grand display of Maroon drumming, dancing, singing and feasting on foods prepared with the customary Maroon traditions. These aspects of the festival are accessible to the non-Maroon visitors, as well as the descendants of the Maroons. A part of this traditional observance is the blowing of the *Abeng* (a cow horn used to communicate among the Maroons) and the gathering under the *Kindah Tree* in Accompong. This is a huge tree, which has cultural and historical significance to all Maroon descendants in Accompong, who believe that this was the gathering area for their revered leader, Cudjoe.

Kindah Tree at Accompong Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Accompong Cemetery Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Beyond the Kindah Tree are the sacred Maroon grounds where the remains of the ancestors lie and where the Peace Cave is located. An important aspect of the Maroon tradition is the paying of tribute to the ancestors in these sacred grounds, and non-Maroons are not allowed to journey beyond the Kindah Tree to these grounds. When the Maroon tribute to the ancestors is complete, they return to the public gathering, and the Accompong Festival of drumming, singing and dancing continues until the end of the day.

Goombay/ Gumbay, Myal and the Maroons in Northern St Elizabeth

Maroons and their descendants in Accompong and elsewhere are the keepers of African traditions in their purest form, especially those which have to do with healing and ancestral spirit guidance. The Myal healing traditions are still regarded as the most powerful means of healing, especially by Maroon descendants in upper St Elizabeth. The Myal healers gather around the bed of the person who is ill. The *Goombay* or *Gumbay drum* is then played to a

special rhythm which has deep spiritual meaning, and this is accompanied by ritual singing and chanting, which usually results in spirit possession of the Myal healer. It is at this time that the spirit (believed to be the ancestral spirits) reveals the nature of the illness and the particular herbs to be used for a cure. The *Gumbay Drum* is a small stool-like goat-skin drum. Maroons also refer to it as a bench drum, and the drummer has to be skilled in the different rhythms which are required to achieve different end-results. A present-day tradition known as Gumbay *Play,* which involves this ritual drumming and Myal healing, is still observed in northern St Elizabeth within the Accompong community.

Calabash International Literary Festival in Treasure Beach, St Elizabeth

The Calabash Literary Festival at Jakes Treasure Beach was co-founded by Justine Henzell (sister to Jason or Jake as he is known) and Kwame Dawes. Launched in 2001, the Calabash Literary Festival is centred at Jakes Treasure Beach and is held every other year over a three day period. It features three events on each day, which include literary readings, interviews with literary 'spirits' and an open-mic session, where perhaps not so well-known or established literary greats have an opportunity to share their creative inspirations. Each staging of the Festival has attracted writers, poets and literary enthusiasts from all around the island, as well as other Caribbean and international literary devotees. Calabash, therefore, features a cultural heritage that is much wider than the parish and one which at times goes beyond Jamaican heritage. Among some of the literary greats who have moved many with their inspired readings and performances are Jamaica's Poet Laureate, Lorna Goodison, Mervyn Morris, Derek Walcott, Wole Soyinka, Marlon James, Zaidie Smith, Kei Miller and Malika Booker. The Calabash Festival is truly a literary feast inspired by our collective heritage, and it has found an equally inspired setting in St Elizabeth's Treasure Beach. [43]

Conclusion: Nobody does it better: St Elizabeth's Homecoming Foundation in Celebration of the Parish

This History of St Elizabeth has shown that the parish has experienced fluctuations in fate and fortune, from Taino times until well into the first two decades of the twenty-first century. A gentle people, the first inhabitants of St Elizabeth found themselves up-ended by the new arrivals from Spain who brought a deadly package of diseases, exploitation and eventual extermination. Leaving an enduring legacy of cattle-raising, as well as a few place names of Spanish origin, the Spaniards also shaped the history of the parish in a way that was perhaps unintended. By freeing their African slaves in the last days before their defeat at the hands of the English, the Spaniards opened the door to the freedom struggles of a people who would become the parish's very own, the Accompong Maroons.

To this day, it is the Accompong people who remain the guardians of African traditions in the purest form that exists in St Elizabeth. This History has shown that the people who came voluntarily to the shores of the parish had a lasting impact on the racial composition, the society and the economy of St Elizabeth, transforming as they did, the landscape and place names which characterise the parish today. Even more instrumental was the contribution of the many West Africans, forced from their homes and brought into St Elizabeth through Black River's Town Wharf. In their hands lay the real explanations for the amazing success stories of sugar, livestock and logwood, even while they remained enslaved and unacknowledged.

Generations of freed people and their descendants continued to shape the economy of St Elizabeth, as they slowly transformed the sometimes un-cooperatively dry environment into the twentieth-century bread-basket parish of today. The parish capital of Black River rode high on the economic successes while they lasted, until the decline in sugar and logwood industries spelt an eventual downturn for the previously bustling Black River Port by the 1960s. In spite of frequent interruptions, the resurgence of the bauxite and alumina trade carries with it some hope for the future, despite environmental concerns.

Amid all of this, St Elizabeth remains a parish of amazingly diverse yet breathtakingly beautiful natural and geographical features, which demand appreciation, protection and preservation. Above all, from Accompong in the north, to Treasure Beach in the south west, the parish has left a legacy of gifted and creative people who have used their creative talents for the good of their parish. It is in this context that the *St Elizabeth Homecoming Foundation*, established in 1993, began the pioneering venture of inviting St Elizabethans from inside and outside of the parish, from at home and abroad, to return once a year to the parish of their birth to celebrate, to give back and to chart the way forward for their piece of *Jamaica, Land we Love*. St Elizabeth is in safe hands. [44]

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