THE PARISH HISTORIES OF JAMAICA PROJECT

A HISTORY OF ST CATHERINE

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INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW OF ST CATHERINE

St. Catherine was one of the first seven parishes created in 1664 and this makes it one of the seven oldest parishes in Jamaica. Extending over 459.7 square miles or 1,190 square kilometres, St Catherine is also one of the largest parishes in Jamaica today. This was not the case in earlier centuries when the parish was much smaller than it is now. It was not until 1867 when the three other parishes of St John, St Thomas in the Vale and St Dorothy were added to St Catherine that the parish reached its current size.

Map of Jamaica Showing the Parish of St Catherine Today. Map courtesy of Thera Edwards

Today, St Catherine is bordered on the west by Clarendon, on the east by St Andrew and a small section of Kingston, on the north by St Ann and St Mary and on its southern boundary, by the Caribbean Sea. As will be seen in this *History*, the geography of the parish has influenced its development and history with its fairly flat, extensive plains in the south giving rise to a history of plantations and livestock farms. The higher elevations going northwards in the parish have also shaped the development of St Catherine, influencing the emergence of a thriving small-farming economy and culture. St Catherine's awesome Rio Cobre River has shaped the economy and the land over the centuries, resulting in some of the most spectacular natural formations such as the breathtakingly beautiful but potentially dangerous Bog Walk Gorge.

St Catherine today, with its average population of 518,345 persons, is the proud product of the many persons who have left their imprint on the landscape over time and who have, in their own separate ways, contributed to a legacy that has made the parish what it is today. [1]

BEFORE THE EUROPEANS: TAINO INHABITANTS OF ST CATHERINE'S PARISH

Among the many points of historical significance for which St Catherine is known, is the abundance of places in the parish that were once inhabited by the Tainos. Research done by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) has shown that there were thirty eight known Taino sites in St Catherine. In fact, only four parishes (St Ann, Clarendon, St Elizabeth and St Mary) had more sites.[2] Most of these Taino locations in St Catherine were *Midden Sites*, which were really refuse heaps where archaeologists have found objects such as pieces of animal and fish bones, remains of tools, pottery and other artefacts used by the early Jamaicans who lived on these sites. Through studying these Midden Sites, we are able to get a good idea of the material culture and lifestyle of the Tainos of St Catherine. Archaeologists also found that these Midden Sites at times were part of Taino *Village Sites*, which ranged from small to medium-sized communities. A small number of St Catherine's Taino sites were *Burial Sites*, the two most well-known of which are located at White Marl and Naggo Head (discussed shortly). These earliest inhabitants of the parish also sometimes painted scenes and images on the rocks or walls of caves. Rock paintings, known as *Pictographs*, tell us a lot about how the Tainos lived. Taino artists also carved images into the rocks or walls of caves and these rock carvings (*Petroglyphs*) helped to illustrate aspects of their lives and were probably important for ceremonial purposes. There are a few places in St Catherine where archaeologists have found Taino pictographs and petroglyphs but the parish holds pride of place in being home to *Mountain River Cave*

(discussed shortly) which has the largest collection of Taino pictographs in Jamaica.

Taino Drawings (Pictographs) at Mountain River Cave, St Catherine. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

Place names in Jamaica reflect the legacy of the people who shaped our history. However, across Jamaica, there are very few places where Taino names still survive. In some cases, Taino names were adopted by the Spaniards who added Spanish names and by so doing changed the original Taino names. With the takeover by the English, Taino names all but disappeared from use. In St Catherine, an important exception was the Taino word, *Guanaboa* which has survived to this day. *Guanaboa* was the Taino word for soursop, one of their favourite foods. The Spaniards kept the word and applied it to the area in St Catherine which is presently known as Guanaboa Vale. However, it was the English who added "Vale" to this original Taino word which has stood the test of time. Another Taino word was *Cagua*, which was the name that the Tainos applied to the river we now know as the Rio Cobre. When the Spaniards arrived, they changed the word *Cagua* to *Caguaya* and continued to use this as the name of the river which they later changed to Rio Cobre. They also used Caguaya to refer to the place in St Catherine that we now know as Passage Fort. The English further changed the spelling to Cagway and at first kept this name for Passage Fort. Later, the English changed the name Cagway to Passage Fort, thereby removing all traces of the original Taino word. [3]

A Bird's Eye View of the Taino Sites in the Parish

Most of St Catherine's thirty eight known Taino sites were midden sites as explained above. Places in the parish where midden sites and sometimes village sites were found, included Rodney's House on Port Henderson Hill, White Marl, Naggo Head, in the Hellshire area, Port Henderson, Little Goat Island, Ferry, Marlie Mount, Great Goat Island, Colbeck, Caymanas Bay and Caymanas, Half Moon Bay, Wreck Point, Mount Rosser, Mahoe Ridge, Dover, Great Salt Pond and Hellshire Hills. Other locations in St Catherine which were listed by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust as identified with the Tainos include Red Hills, Riverhead, Cross Pen, Content, Old Crescent Road, Crescent, Reid's Mountain, Naseberry Grove, Harker, Gibraltar, Giblatore, Wakefield, Cambrian and Dignum Mountain. Taino Burial Sites, including burial caves, were found at the three important locations of White Marl, Great Goat Island and Naggo Head. As noted above, Taino artists also left long-lasting reminders of their presence in the parish through their pictographs (paintings on cave walls) and petroglyphs (rock carvings on cave walls). The Worthy Park Cave in Luidas Vale contains examples of Taino petroglyphs and pictographs while petroglyphs were found at Byndloss Mountain (Riverhead) and Two Sisters' Cave in the Hellshire Hills. As previously mentioned, St Catherine's famed Mountain River Cave has a large collection of pictographs as well as evidence of petroglyphs. [4]

Turning the Spotlight on Selected Taino Sites in St Catherine:

Rodney's House (A Midden and Village Site)

Rodney's House is located on the gently sloping land of Port Henderson Hill at about 500 feet or 154 kilometres above sea level. As with many Taino settlements, this village was quite close to the sea, about two miles or 0.7 kilometres from the sea. The Taino site, Rodney's House is to the south-east of Rodney's Lookout and the famed Admiral had built his house (Rodney's House) there. Archaeologists no doubt named the Taino site "Rodney's House" because the site

was located in the general vicinity of this famous landmark.

A View of Rodney's House with the Port Henderson Hills Above. Image courtesy of JN Foundation

Ruins of Rodney's House, Port Henderson. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

This village and midden site occupies an area of 15,31 square metres and can be found about one and a half miles northwest of present-day Port Henderson Village. In all, archaeologists were able to uncover and study six middens at the site.

A View of Port Henderson Hill where the Taino Site is located. Image courtesy of JN Foundation

From evidence gathered at Rodney's House, archaeologists have concluded that this Taino site is older than White Marl, which is another famous Taino site in St Catherine. Items found at Rodney's House include hundreds of remains of tools such as wooden and coral scrapers used by the Tainos in the preparation of cassava. In addition to many remains from drinking containers, archaeologists also found fragments from cooking utensils such as griddles which were flat ceramic plates used in the baking of cassava bread (bammy) and celts which were long, thin stone tools used in cutting and scraping. Remains gathered at these middens also tell us about the food choices and lifestyle of the Taino people of Rodney's House. They were able to hunt a variety of land and sea animals for food and remains of birds such as egrets, herons, doves, pigeons and seagulls were found. Other animal life in their immediate environment which provided common food sources included the coney, land iguana, green sea turtle, saltwater crocodile, land crabs and hermit crabs but the remains found in the middens suggest that the coney was their favourite source of protein from land animals. Being so close to the

sea, the Tainos of Rodney's House were fish lovers who fed off of a variety of fish such as snappers, grunts, jacks, snooks, triggerfish, sharks, sea crabs and other marine life. [5]

The White Marl Taino Village Site

The White Marl Taino Site in St Catherine is located off the Spanish Town main road, very close to today's Central Village and the Rio Cobre River. It is located at an elevation of 100 feet or 31 metres above sea level and is more of an inland site, being 5.5 kilometres from the sea. The White Marl site is the largest known Taino site in Jamaica, covering about six acres or 127,410 square metres. This area was home to a large Taino village before the arrival of the Spaniards. In the twentieth century, the White Marl Museum (discussed shortly) was built on the site and a Taino Burial Cave (discussed shortly) was also discovered at the White Marl site in the 1960s. White Marl is a Taino site which has brought much distinction and recognition locally and internationally. Not only is it the largest known Taino site in Jamaica, White Marl is the only Taino site on the island which has been declared as a national heritage site. Unlike most Taino sites in Jamaica, White Marl is also a Taino site where archaeologists have been able to conduct long-term research, the most recent being carried out up to 2018 by the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of the West Indies, Mona. In 1960, the land on which the site is located was turned over to the Jamaica National Trust Commission (now the Jamaica National Heritage Trust) by Mr Constance B. Hamilton. The White Marl Museum was constructed on the village site by the National Trust Commission and turned over to the Institute of Jamaica for the

purpose of starting an archaeological and museum project.

Entrance to the Taino Museum at White Marl. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Excavation of the site in 1969 uncovered the remains of a Taino house with nine post holes which indicated that the house was built in a circular fashion. The fairly wide entrance to the house faced east and to the west of the house, evidence of burnt soil and remains of Taino griddles and scrapers indicated that this was a large cooking area used by the Taino residents of the village. In the middens at White Marl, archaeologists found a large amount of bone fragments of land animals and a smaller quantity of remains of marine species. This showed that the geographical location of the village further inland than other Taino villages made the residents of White Marl more dependent on land animals for their food. Interestingly, a replica

of the original Taino house was built to serve as part of the White Marl Museum.

The Taino Museum at White Marl, St Catherine. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The White Marl Museum

As indicated above, a replica of the original Taino house (hut) was constructed on the village site and served as the centre of the White Marl Museum which was opened to the public on June 30, 1966. The government of Jamaica was successful in reclaiming from the British Museum, several pieces of Taino artwork including the *Bird Man*, the *Pelican and Snake* carving and the *Male Figure*. All three pieces were housed on display at the White Marl Museum from 1966. Unfortunately, deteriorating security and outbreaks of violence in the surrounding areas forced the closure of the museum in 2008. These valuable legacies of the Taino people were relocated from White Marl to the Institute of Jamaica where they are secured and displayed.

The White Marl Burial Cave

In December 1967, squatters discovered and reported a cave which was located near to the village site and the museum. Almost immediately, the Institute of Jamaica ordered the cave sealed to protect its contents until the cave could be excavated and investigated. Excavations got underway in 1969 and the significant and exciting discoveries made there pointed to an

important Taino burial site which has become known as the White Marl Burial Cave. The cave is 40 feet long and 28 feet wide and is located about 500 yards northeast of the White Marl Museum at an elevation of 110 feet or 34 metres and about 5.8 kilometres from the sea.

In all, archaeologists found four complete skulls, eight partial skulls, three complete mandibles (lower jaw bones) and about eight hundred other human bone fragments. Scientific tests carried out on the bones showed that eleven adult Taino males were buried there. Additionally, a skull of a two-year old infant was also found but no other bones belonging to the child were found in the cave. Interestingly, the child's skull did not show any signs of the deliberate flattening which was done to the heads of Taino children. As was usually the case with Taino burials, utensils and food were placed in the cave along with the bodies for the journey to *Coyaba* (heaven). Pieces of broken pottery, animal bones and shells as well as five unbroken pots were found in the burial cave. [6]

Naggo Head (A Midden and Burial Site)

Naggo Head was the site of a medium-sized Taino village where archaeologists uncovered several middens as well as evidence of the burial of a Taino child. The Naggo Head Taino site is located about three miles south-west of Port Henderson and about two miles or 1.4 kilometres from the sea. It is a fairly large site, covering an area of 26,241 square metres and rises to an elevation of 200 feet or 62 metres above sea level. Naggo Head is one of three locations in St Catherine where Taino burials were found, the others being White Marl and Great Goat Island. The child's burial spot was found in a shallow area in one of the middens. In keeping with Taino customs, the child's skull had been flattened and the body was buried facing the east. Unlike cave burials, there were no burial goods beside the body. In addition to the burial, archaeologists also found an earthenware zemi. Among the Taino, *zemis* were objects made from stone, wood or cloth which represented their gods and which were also believed to contain the spirit and power of the gods. Among other items of interest found in the midden were a broken quartz pendant and a bird's bone from a Jamaican brown owl which is locally known as the *patoo*. The Naggo Head site was first visited and excavated by archaeologist Dr James Lee in 1972 but unfortunately, by 1978, quarrying activities had completely destroyed

the site.

Naggo Head Today. Naggo Head Primary School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Great Goat Island (A Midden and Burial Cave)

The Goat Islands (Little Goat Island and Great Goat Island) are really cays (small, flat islands formed from coral and sand) which are located less than a mile from the coast of Old Harbour Bay. They are part of a group of fourteen small islands which today make up the *Portland Bight* which has been designated as a Protected Area as a habitat for endangered species of plants and animals (especially the iguana) as well as for their environmental significance. However, long before Europeans arrived in Jamaica, the Tainos of St Catherine had made their homes on both islands. Archaeologists have located three sites on Great Goat Island which were connected to the Tainos. These included two midden sites and a burial cave. Great Goat Island is therefore the third (of three places) location in St Catherine where evidence of Taino burials was found. A large number of fragments from pottery and cooking utensils such as the griddles used in the making of cassava bread were found in the middens located on the south west side of the island and archaeologists concluded that the size of their discoveries indicated that there had been a small to medium sized and long-lasting Taino settlement there. A very deep burial cave was found on Great Goat Island in the 1890s and although there were several caves on the island, this was the only one which the Tainos used for burials. Human remains found there included a teenager's flattened skull and pieces from the longer bones in the body. [7]

Worthy Park Caves (Taino Art Work/ Petroglyphs and Pictographs)

Today, most Jamaicans associate the name Worthy Park with the historic and famous sugar estate, now Worthy Park Estate Limited in Luidas Vale near Ewarton. As with so many other places across the length and breadth of Jamaica, the Tainos left their imprint on this area long before it became Worthy Park under the control of English settlers. There are two caves on the Worthy Park property which were used by the Tainos. Unlike some of the other Taino caves in the island which were primarily burial caves, the caves at Worthy Park were used by the Tainos to paint and carve reminders of their lives. The first, named Worthy Park #1 is located at an elevation of 1,200 feet or 369 metres above sea level and about 26 kilometres from the sea. There are a few paintings (pictographs) and carvings (petroglyphs) on the walls of this cave. Worthy Park Cave #2 is at a greater elevation than the first, being 1,300 feet or 400 metres above sea level. It is also slightly further away from the sea, being 28 kilometres inland. Only petroglyphs have been found in the second cave. We may speculate that these Taino artists of long ago used these caves to express in a visible way, what was important to them. Since archaeologists found no evidence that the caves were used for other purposes, we may conclude that they came, left their mark and returned to their nearby villages.

Two Sisters Cave in the Hellshire Hills (Petroglyph)

The Taino carving at Two Sisters Cave is to be found in the Hellshire Hills of St Catherine, at about 50 feet or 15 metres above sea level and at a distance of 0.2 kilometres from the sea. Two Sisters Cave is really a set of twin caves and these limestone caves have large sinkholes which contain fresh water and may have served as important sources of freshwater for the Tainos living in the area. There is a network of natural caverns and tunnels which connect with each other and these would have provided ideal hideaway places. Some say that the name given to the caves is linked to the experience of two enslaved sisters who escaped and hid in these caverns. The legend tells us that when they were found, the two sisters joined hands and

jumped into the waters below rather than surrender to re-enslavement.

A View of the Interior of the Two Sisters' Cave. Image courtesy of The Urban Development Corporation (UDC)

Two Sisters' Cave is famous for a single petroglyph which can be seen near the rear entrance of the cave. This petroglyph is an image of a human face which has been carved deeply into the rock in the wall of the cave. It is clearly the face of an adult but it cannot be determined whether this was a male or female figure. An interesting feature of the face is the fact that the right eye is carved with a raised eyeball in the centre of the eye socket, perhaps showing that the face was that of someone with great authority or power. Tests have shown the carving to be about seven hundred years old. A petroglyph such as this may also indicate that the cave

was used in ceremonies practised by the Tainos.

Overlooking the Magnificent Two Sisters' Cave. Image courtesy of The Urban Development Corporation (UDC)

The Tainos clearly made their homes throughout the Hellshire Hills and more information on the Tainos in the Hellshire Hills may be found by reading the article written by George A. Aarons on these sites in the Hellshire Hills (see note 8). Very importantly, archaeologists have recovered from the Hellshire Hills, a wooden duho which was a ceremonial stool used by the Tainos. Tests run on this duho have shown that it was made somewhere between AD 1,000 and 1170. This ceremonial duho is on display at the National Gallery of Jamaica. [8]

Mountain River Cave (Most Famous Taino Pictograph and Petroglyph Site in Jamaica)

Nestled high above the sea, at 975 feet or 300 metres above sea level, the Mountain River Cave holds pride of place as containing the largest and most important collection of Taino paintings in St Catherine and throughout Jamaica. Most importantly, Mountain River Cave is home to one of the greatest collections of pre-Columbian art in the entire Caribbean. The Mountain River Cave took its name from the nearby Mountain River and is the earliest known place in Jamaica where Taino paintings have been found, the discovery having taken place in 1896. This cave, which is really a limestone rock shelter measures about 100 feet in length, 30 feet in depth and

has a ceiling which is between 10 and 15 feet in height. It is situated in the lush, green countryside of Cudjoe Hill. Visitors can get to the cave by following St John's Road and continuing on to Kitson Town, where the road climbs to Cudjoe Hill. The cave is located to the north east of Cudjoe Hill and there is a Jamaica National Heritage Trust sign at Cudjoe Hill which indicates that Mountain River Cave is close.

Inside the cave, there are four or five petroglyphs which the Tainos carved into the rock by making deep incisions but it is the large number of Taino paintings or pictographs for which

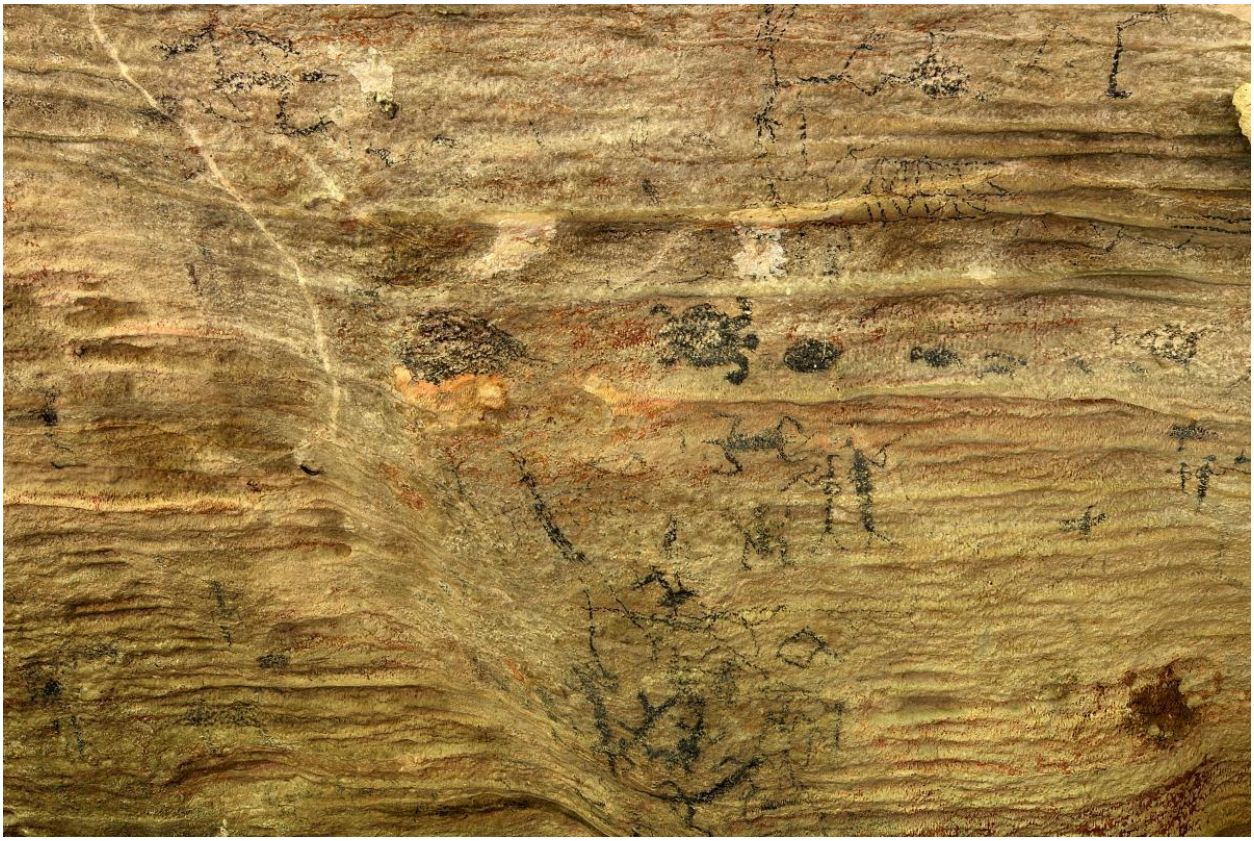
Mountain River Cave is famous.

Two Taino Rock Carvings (Petroglyphs) at Mountain River Cave. Images courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

Former archaeologist at the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies, Karl Watson, was able to identify 148 pictographs altogether although he suggested that the total number may exceed 200. At the time of Watson's exploration of the cave (mid to late 1980s) he noted

that some of the pictographs had faded and were not easily identifiable and this is why he estimated the total number as over 200. Taino paintings cover the entire ceiling of the cave but the centre and rear of the ceiling has the greatest concentration of these paintings.

The Taino artists of Mountain River Cave seem to have been mainly interested in painting birds, turtles, lizards, crocodiles, iguanas, fish, frogs and humans. The artists seem to have been most gifted in painting the animals in particular. Interestingly, one of the paintings shows a medium-sized dog. For many years it has been believed that the only dogs present in the Caribbean before the arrival of Columbus and the Europeans were small. This painting, so well preserved in Mountain River Cave, has led historians to challenge this assumption.



Taino Rock Painting (Pictograph) at Mountain River Cave showing Images of Dogs and Turtles. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

One painting shows two men in bird masks facing each other and holding wooden spears or throwing sticks. Since so many of the paintings deal with their food sources, nature and the hunt as well as the people themselves, the paintings and the cave itself seems to have played an important role in their religious ceremonies which were carried out to ensure success in hunting.

During these ceremonies, the Tainos priests smoked tobacco, known to them as *cohiba*, which according to their belief helped them to communicate with the gods. So it is not surprising that some of the paintings show human figures taking part in the *cohiba* rite. Archaeologists also found pottery fragments buried in the floor of the cave and these may have been from utensils used during the ceremonies carried out in the cave. These amazing works of Taino art have been estimated at between 500 and 1300 years old.

Although this remarkable treasure house of Jamaican Taino artwork was first discovered in 1896 and reported by J. F. Duerden in 1897, it was not until 1954 that Mountain River Cave was rediscovered by noted archaeologist Dr James Lee when the then owner of the land, Robert Cooper assisted Lee in locating the cave. His son, Enos Cooper sold the two acres surrounding and including the cave to the Archaeological Society of Jamaica in 1976. Steps were taken to secure the site and a protective wall was built around the site and a protective grill and guard rails were designed and installed by the Jamaica Defence Force at the entrance to the site. In May 1982, the Archaeological Society of Jamaica presented the Mountain River property as a gift to the Jamaica National Trust Commission, now the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Mountain River Cave was declared a National Monument in April 2003, a Taino legacy of which the people of St Catherine and all of Jamaica can be justifiably proud. [9]

The Foundation Years of St Catherine: The Spaniards and the Parish

First Encounters with the People and Places in St Catherine

The Spaniards, led by Christopher Columbus, first made contact with the people and the place that later became St Catherine on his second voyage in 1494. After making his first landing on the north coast, at what is now St Ann's Bay in May of 1494, Columbus explored portions of the north coast and gradually sailed westwards around the island's west coast. By August of 1494, as his ships were exploring parts of the south coast, Columbus encountered the coast of St Catherine and the Tainos who lived in the villages which dotted this coast. As his ships travelled slowly along the south coast, the Tainos from coastal villages at Old Harbour sailed out in their canoes to greet and trade with Columbus and his men. In the second week of August, the fleet anchored in what Columbus later described as a small but beautiful cove with about seven very small islands or cays. Columbus named this area *Bahia de la Vaca* which means Cow Bay and he probably gave it this name because he saw a number of manatees or sea cows in the bay. Today the area is still known as Cow Bay but the wider surrounding area including the little islands or cays is called Portland Bight. Among the tiny islands that drew Columbus' attention was the place which we call Pigeon Island today and which the Spaniards named *Cayo de Palomino*. Taino villages covered the entire coastal area of Cow Bay and it was in this part of St Catherine that Columbus and the Spaniards encountered large numbers of curious but friendly Tainos who were anxious to trade with them.

According to Columbus' descriptions, it was here that one of the local caciques (leaders) sailed out to meet and trade with the Spaniards and, according to their report Columbus was able to talk for a long time with the cacique through an interpreter. On the following day, the coastal waters along Portland Bight were the scene of a meeting with a large group of Tainos, led by the cacique from the previous day. Three boatloads of Tainos, including the cacique, his wife, daughters and sons, his five brothers and many others sailed out alongside the ships which had been moving very slowly because there was hardly any wind blowing. The lengthy and unusually detailed description which was given of this experience allows us to conclude that Columbus seemed to have been particularly impressed by the friendliness of the people and the colourful necklaces and feathered headpieces that they wore. According to Columbus, the cacique had been so fascinated by their meeting the previous day, that he expressed his desire to accompany the Spaniards on their return journey to Spain. Columbus persuaded him against doing so. This encounter at Portland Bight along the south coast of St Catherine was the last time that the Spaniards would meet with the Tainos on the second voyage. From there, the ships sailed on to the area that we know as Port Royal and then to Morant Point after which Columbus and the Spaniards departed Jamaica. [10]

An Overview of Spanish Settlements in Jamaica

By the end of Columbus' second voyage, the Crown of Spain had claimed Jamaica as its own. Initially, the Spaniards established a few small settlements on the coasts of Jamaica and these included north-coast locations such as *Bahia de Manteca* (now Montego Bay) from which they shipped lard, a by-product of cattle ranching. They also settled *Puerto Bueno* (Rio Bueno in Trelawny) and *Sevilla La Nueva* (New Seville) at St Ann's Bay. Other places settled included *Melilla* (Port Maria) *Puerto Anton* (Port Antonio) and *Capo Morante* (Morant Bay). On the west coast of the island, *Oristan* (near Bluefields in Westmoreland) was also established. None of these settlements except for *Sevilla La Nueva* was substantial and this became the first capital of Spanish Jamaica. However, there were several problems experienced at Sevilla La Nueva and the decision was taken by the Spanish crown to relocate the capital town from the north coast to the south coast. For this purpose, the south coast town of *Villa de la Vega* (later Spanish Town) was born in 1534 and became the second capital of Spanish Jamaica.

The Establishment of Villa De La Vega (Spanish Town) as the Second Capital of Spanish Jamaica in 1534

Reasons why the Capital was removed from Sevilla La Nueva on the North Coast in 1534

There were several factors which led to the removal of the capital town from *Sevilla la Nueva* (New Seville) on the north coast to *Villa de la Vega* (Spanish Town) on the south coast. Swampy conditions at New Seville encouraged the spread of diseases and made that site very unhealthy for the people who lived there. By 1534, only twenty of the original eighty Spanish settlers remained in *Sevilla la Nueva,* the rest having died from diseases for the most part. In twenty years, many children had been born but many died in infancy and by 1534, only ten children had survived the early months of their lives. Economic reasons also contributed to the decision to shift the capital away from the north coastal New Seville. Hopes of finding gold in and around the north coast capital had not been successful. More importantly, after the Spaniards conquered the mainland of South and Central America, shipping routes shifted from the waters north of Jamaica to the areas south of the island in order to be closer to the mainland (what the Spaniards called *Tierra Firme*). North coastal towns like *Sevilla la Nueva* suffered a decline in trade as a result. Once a healthier and potentially more profitable site for a capital town was located, New Seville was abandoned and remained of interest only to a few Spaniards who were interested in trading illegally with smugglers.

Advantages of the South Coast as a site for Spanish Jamaica's Second Capital

As previously mentioned, Jamaica's south coast was ideal to locate the new capital because it was closer to the newly conquered mainland of South and Central America and settlers on the south coast would reap the benefits of increased trading with Spanish shipping which had shifted to the waters south of Jamaica. There were extensive, grassy and fertile plains on the south coast which would allow for prosperous farming and cattle ranching, both of which were important to the success of Spanish settlements. The inland areas of the south coast were relatively free of the swampy conditions which had plagued New Seville and therefore the environment appeared to be a healthier one for the Spanish settlers.

There were two other areas on the south coast which were the sites of small settlements by the Spaniards and which could have been considered as the location of the new capital town. One was *Oristan* (Bluefields) in what would later be the parish of Westmoreland but this was not chosen because it was too far away from existing farms. The second was Port Esquivel (discussed later) at the top of Old Harbour Bay but although this was in existence before Villa de la Vega, it was more suited as a dockyard for shipping rather than as a capital town. Esquivel was also unsuitable as a choice for the capital town because its coastal location made it an easy target for pirate and privateering attacks which were increasing in the early 1530s. In fact, in 1526, the Spanish government had passed new regulations which stated that as of then, all new towns should be situated further inland from the coast to offer more protection against pirate attacks. Unlike Esquivel, Villa de la Vega's location was further inland and was therefore in

keeping with the new regulations passed by the Spanish crown. By 1534, what we now know as Spanish Town (Villa de La Vega) emerged as the new capital of choice over its possible rivals.

Villa De La Vega Comes into Existence 1534

Who was the Founder of Villa De La Vega?

There is some controversy in the sources as to who should be given the credit for establishing the town we now call Spanish Town. It is sometimes said that Diego Columbus, the son of Christopher Columbus, was responsible for the establishment of the town but this is not supported by evidence in the documentary sources.

Rather, it was Pedro de Mazuelo, the Treasurer for Spanish Jamaica, who first proposed the idea of the town to King Charles 1 of Spain and who carried forward the plans for building the town. Therefore. it is Mazuelo who should be credited as the founder of Spanish Town. Mazuelo was also the owner of an estate and a sugar mill on the west bank of the Rio Cobre and was very familiar with conditions in this part of the south coast. He described to the king, the unhealthy situation and challenges in the north coast town of Sevilla Nueva (discussed earlier). Mazuelo convinced the king that by contrast, the healthy climate and environment, the excellent source of water from the Rio Cobre, as well as the abundance of cattle and food production on the fertile plains of the south, would support the success of a capital town. Charles 1 was sufficiently convinced by Mazuelo's arguments that he ordered Gil Gonzales de Avila to assess and start the project of building the town and granted nine miles of land around the town as public lands which were to be used by the settlers of the town. The king also ordered that the remaining settlers (twenty) of Sevilla Nueva should be relocated to the new town as soon as possible and that, as of 1534, Villa de la Vega should be the new capital of Spanish Jamaica.

Location and Name of the New Capital Town: Villa De La Vega

The new town was laid out on the gently sloping western side of the Rio Cobre River and was located about a mile away from a large Taino settlement at White Marl. As seen earlier, the Spaniards adopted the Taino name for this great river (Cagua) and changed it slightly to Caguaya which they used for quite a while until it was changed to Rio Cobre. Villa de la Vega was located at a crossroads where the north-south route across the island intersected with the east-west route and this meant that from its very beginnings, Spanish Town would be a hub or central point for these routes. Interestingly, even at that time, the north-south route across the island passed through the gorge cut by the Rio Cobre and this gorge was called *Boca de Agua* (Mouth of the Waters) by the Spaniards. This Spanish name became Bog Walk Gorge when the English took over. Villa de la Vega had its own natural harbour, which the Spaniards also called *Caguaya* and which we know today as Passage Fort.

The new town that we now know as Spanish Town got that name much later in Jamaica's history as a tribute to the fact that this was the most important town founded by the Spaniards. What is certain is that the new town was at first called *Villa de la Vega*, meaning Town on the Plain in reference to its location on the vast plains of the west bank of the Rio Cobre. It was not until the seventeenth century that the name *Santiago de la Vega* came into use among the Spanish settlers. When the English took over, this last name was anglicized to St Jago de la Vega and continued as a substitute name for the town late into the nineteenth century even though the generally used name is Spanish Town today. [11]

The Town in Spanish Times: Layout of the Town

When the English took possession of Jamaica, they demolished many of the buildings and other physical structures that had been built by the Spaniards. Nevertheless, some aspects of the original design of the town, such as the layout of the streets and the square were kept by the English and are still seen in the centre of modern Spanish Town. The streets of Villa de la Vega were laid out on a grid plan. This means that the streets ran at right angles to each other and the English kept this design of the streets. As was the case with all Spanish towns in the Americas, there was a large square known as the *Plaza Mayor* at the centre of the town. The streets were then laid out in a quadrangular pattern (having four sides) around the four-sided Plaza Mayor. To the front of the Plaza Mayor or square was the main Spanish church, the town hall or *Cabildo,* as well as a prison. On the south side of the *Plaza Mayor*, the Spaniards built the Abbey (which was the residence of the priests) as well as their administrative building, the Hall of the *Audiencia*. On the north side of this plaza were other buildings, such as a tavern, while on the east side, there were private houses of some of the well-to-do residents. The English eventually erected the Anglican Church over the site of the main Spanish church (the Chapel of the Red Cross) and the only remains of the Spanish church which are still evident today are parts of the Spanish floor paving inside St James Cathedral or the Cathedral of St Jago de la Vega.

Slightly to the north of the Plaza Mayor was a smaller square known as the Plaza Minor. The Spanish governor's palace was located here and when the English took over, they built the governor's house (known as Old King's House) at this site. Archaeologists have found some foundations of the Spanish governor's house in the basement of Old King's House. We also know that a Spanish tavern existed on the site of the present-day Rodney Memorial. The names given by the English to three streets (Red Church Street, White Church Street and Monk Street) which had existed from the Spanish days of the town continue today as reminders of the influence of the Catholic Spaniards in the town. Red Church Street was the location of the Spanish Chapel of the Red Cross and White Church Street was the location of the Spanish Chapel of the White Cross. Two main Spanish monasteries (residences of Catholic monks) were

located in this area and Monk Street was so called by the English because the Spanish monasteries were located on this street. The Franciscan monastery may have been located at the southern end of Monk Street, while the Dominican monastery was probably located at the northern end of Monk Street. While the English kept the street names, they demolished and built over the churches and monasteries that they found there. By 1650, Villa de la Vega also had a small hospital dedicated to St John the Divine. These Spanish buildings, such as the churches, monasteries, administrative buildings and the governor's palace were all made of fine stone.

Houses in Villa de La Vega

When the planter-historian, Edward Long wrote his *History of Jamaica* in 1744, he told us that despite most Spanish structures having been demolished by the English, there were still about fifty of the houses built by the Spanish settlers of Villa de la Vega that were still standing. Houses were small and some were made of sturdy timber such as lignum vitae, brazilletto and fustic. Wattle (cane thatch) and daub covered by mortar and lime were used to build the walls of others. The houses of the leading officials were made completely of stone or adobe (clay) bricks. Most of the houses had tiled roofs. Long believed that the fact that these fifty Spanish houses had survived hurricanes and earthquakes between 1655 and 1774 showed the sturdiness of these original houses of Villa de la Vega. In 1655, there were over two hundred houses in the town and by the time Long wrote, English destruction had reduced this number to fifty. [12]

Early Settlers and Everyday Life in Villa de la Vega

Estimates of the population of Villa de la Vega varied over time. Small numbers of about one hundred persons were living in the town in 1587 but by 1597, the number had jumped to seven hundred and thirty. Among the early settlers of Villa de la Vega were the twenty remaining residents of the first capital, Sevilla de Nueva, who migrated southwards to the new town. Another of the original settlers of the town was the Spanish Treasurer and founder of Villa de la Vega, Pedro de Mazuelo. Besides his official duties as Treasurer of the island, Mazuelo made a living from his sugar estate which was close to the town.

Also among the first residents of Villa de la Vega were the thirty married Portuguese farmers and labourers, as well as their families whom the King had given permission (at Mazuelo's request) to come to settle in the town. Besides having their passage paid, these early settlers had the right to access and use the nine miles of public land granted around the town which had been granted by the king. Land was given to each new settler for building their houses and also for cultivation. African slaves were also present in early Villa de la Vega and among them were the thirty Africans whom Mazuelo had obtained royal permission to import.

A small amount of Tainos were also being used to work in and around Villa de la Vega. Interestingly, some of the town's residents included free blacks and mulattoes who worked in skilled occupations such as leather tanning (using the hides from cattle ranching). Some of these freed blacks and mulattoes also formed an important part of the four militia companies of Villa de la Vega. Since Villa de la Vega was the capital and administrative centre of the island as of 1534, we expect that the Spanish governor and government officials such as the members of the Audiencia and the Cabildo would have been important residents of the town. The wealthiest Spaniards in Jamaica also went to live in the town which was fast becoming abuzz with business and social life. With Villa de la Vega having a main church and at least two other chapels as well as two monasteries, priests and monks also lived in the abbey and monasteries of the town.

Given the fertile plains on which the town was established and the abundance of grassy land for cattle grazing, most of the settlers of Villa de la Vega would have been cattle ranchers who made their living from trading the meat, hides and tallow (animal fat) with passing ships. The cattle industry, as well as a plentiful supply of pigs, ensured that there was always an abundant supply of meat for the settlers of Villa de la Vega. Farming a variety of crops on the fertile plains around the Rio Grande also enabled a steady food supply and income from trade.

Settlers such as Mazuelo were successful sugar cane planters, producing sugar mainly for local use. Others were cultivators of crops such as maize, cassava, pimento, cocoa beans, vegetables and fruits such as citrus, lemons and bananas. Additionally, they also grew tobacco and cotton. They literally lived off the land around them. The growing of mulberry trees was also encouraged for silk production. There were mulberry tree plantations along the right bank of the Rio Cobre, and this activity continued when the English took over. The area behind the Infirmary, which is today known as Mulberry Gardens, took its name from this practice started by the Spanish settlers of the town. True to its name, Villa de la Vega (Town in the Fields) allowed its residents the best of both worlds, the blessings of town life coupled with an income based on agriculture.

As Spanish Jamaica was a Catholic society and its settlers were for the most part, all Catholics, the everyday life of the residents of Villa de la Vega was also influenced by their religion. Sunday mass was celebrated at the town's main church with much pomp and ceremony. Besides the ordinary townspeople, monks from the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries were always in attendance and so were the governor and other officials. As in Catholic societies elsewhere, there were special days set aside to honour the saints. An important saint's day for the people of Villa de la Vega was the Feast of St John. To mark this day, each year the residents of the town went out by boat to *Cayo de Palomino*, now called Pigeon Island, to celebrate mass

and to gather young pigeons, some of which they cooked and feasted on during their day-long celebration, but they also caught enough to take back home to Villa de la Vega.

Life in Villa de la Vega also proved dangerous for the residents. Hurricanes and earthquakes took their toll on the residents, resulting in destruction of crops, damage to buildings and loss of life. But as the capital of Jamaica, Villa de la Vega was often the target of attack by Spain's enemies long before the English captured the island in 1655. Most of these attacks came from English adventurers and privateers (owners of private vessels who used their ships to attack Spanish possessions). One such attack came in 1597 when the English privateer, Shirley, arrived with a small fleet and marched on Villa de la Vega, plundering and burning. The residents offered little resistance on this occasion and Shirley and his men withdrew only after stocking their ships fully with beef and cassava from Villa de la Vega. Resistance from the inhabitants of the town sometimes paid off, as was the case when English captain, Christopher Newport, launched an attack on Villa de la Vega in 1603. This time, the Spanish governor, Don Fernando Melgarejo de Cordoba, along with the militia made up of male residents, mounted a counter attack, using a herd of cattle to stampede on the advancing English. In the face of this and Spanish artillery attacks, the English were forced to beat a hasty retreat without obtaining the ransom of beef and cassava which they had demanded. [13]

Spanish Settlement in other Areas of St Catherine

Under Spanish rule, there was no other place in St Catherine which came close to the importance of the capital town, Villa de la Vega. This is understandable as the population, resources and offices of administration were centred in the town, which remained the capital of Jamaica from 1534 until 1871, long after the English takeover in 1655. However, other places in this parish, namely Guanaboa, Old Harbour and Passage Fort were sufficiently important to the Spaniards to allow them to establish settlements there.

Guanaboa

As seen earlier, Guanaboa was a Taino name which the Spaniards kept and applied to this part of what later became the parish of St Catherine.


GUANABOA VALE
Guanaboa Vale is located approximately eight miles south-west of Bog Walk and nine miles from Spanish Town St Catherine. The area was once occupied by the Tainos, and it is believed that the word 'guanaboa' was derived from the Arawakan word for soursop, 'guanaba' or the Haitian Arawak words 'cauni' and 'boa' meaning 'house of gold'. Under Spanish occu-pation, Guanaboa was used as a cattle ranch, and by the time of British rule, the surrounding area was known as 'Cowhides'.
Guanaboa is also the old name of the parish of St John, which in 1664 was one of the seven original parishes established by the British in Jamaica. John Styles one of Jamaica's early planters, became the largest landowner in St John; he wanted his 3,200 acres of land to be designated a distinct parish. However, two centuries later, by 1867, St John would be merged into the parish of St Catherine under an act to reduce the total number of parishes in the island.
Present-day Guanaboa Vale still boasts the historic Church of St. John, built in 1699, remains of an old Broiler House used during slavery in the production of sugar and Guanaboa Elementry School, attended by National Hero, Norman Washington Manley who came to live at the nearby Belmont Estates in 1903.
Tourism Product Development Co. Ltd
TEF
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SDC
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
Building Communities...Building Jamaica
WEST CENTRAL HOPE
"Tourism Dollars Working For You".

Guanaboa was economically important to the Spaniards even before Villa de la Vega was established. Located to the northwest of what became Spanish Town, Guanaboa was the site of one of the vast cattle-ranching estates which the Spaniards called *hatos*. The large-scale raising of cattle was an important source of income for the Spanish settlers as it provided them with plentiful supplies of meat for local use and also for export (salted meat). The hides of the cattle were important in the production of leather goods and later, there were several tanneries (places where hides were used to make leather) in nearby Villa de la Vega.

Heritage Sign and A View of Guanaboa Vale Today. Images courtesy of JNFoundation

Hides were an important export from the Spanish colony and a valuable item of trade (both legal and illegal trade). The fat (tallow) from the cattle was also an important income earner, being used to make candles, especially for mining operations in South and Central America. Tallow was also used to make soap and was also used in the shipping industry. Not surprisingly therefore, the Spaniards established several across the southern plains of Jamaica, from Negril (*Negrillo)* in the west to Morant Point (*Morante*) in the east.

These *hatos* were not only vast, sprawling cattle ranches, but they were also homes to the wealthy Spanish owners, their families and workers, whether enslaved or free. In a way, the *hatos* served as a means to expand Spanish settlements in the island. Although there were no parishes in Spanish Jamaica, the names of the parishes in which the hatos were located are

given here to allow readers to get a better understanding of where they were. The main hatos included *Hato Morante* in St Thomas, *Hato Ayala* (Yallahs in St Thomas), *Hato Liguanea* in St Andrew, *Hato Yama* in Clarendon, *Hato Pereda* in Pedro Plains, St Elizabeth, *Hato El Eado* in Bluefields, Westmoreland and *Hato Cabonico* in Savanna-La-Mar, also in Westmoreland.

In what was to become St Catherine, there were two important and large hatos. One was *Hato Guatibacoa* in Old Harbour (Old Harbour is dealt with separately below). The second was *Hato Guanaboa* in the area of St Catherine now known as Guanaboa Vale. In addition to its prosperity in cattle ranching, Guanaboa was also important to the Spaniards for its flourishing cocoa trees. Interestingly, one of the Spanish governors had a cocoa walk at Guanaboa, reportedly with twelve thousand trees.

Present-Day Guanaboa Vale, St Catherine. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Police Station at Guanaboa Vale Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Old Harbour (*Puerto de Esquivella*) Esquivel

The first governor of Spanish Jamaica, Juan de Esquivel (1510-1512), is credited with the establishment of a small Spanish settlement at Old Harbour which would bear his name from that time forward. Esquivel first saw the area now known as Old Harbour when he accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1494. Esquivel, like Columbus, was impressed with the beauty of the coast and in particular, he noticed that the area had a natural harbour of its own. Spanish settlement of Old Harbour pre-dated the founding of Villa de la Vega in 1534.

When Esquivel was appointed the first governor of Jamaica in 1510, he set about establishing a small settlement there. A few settlers took up residence after building their houses along the shoreline and what could be described as a small seaside town emerged. However, recognising the importance of the harbour for trade and for the ships that sailed along Jamaica's south coast, Esquivel quickly established a port (Port Esquivel) at the top of Old Harbour Bay and built store-houses and a shipping yard (for repairing and building ships) next to the port. In English times, this name, Port Esquivel, was continued. When Spain conquered parts of the South American and Central American coasts (*Tierra Firme*), Spanish Galleons sailing on the outward

voyage from Spain and on the return voyage to Spain, made stops at Port Esquivel to load and unload trade goods, to get fresh supplies of food and water and for purposes of making repairs to the ships.

Gateway to Modern-Day Port Esquivel. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Because Old Harbour was only six miles away from Villa de la Vega, Port Esquivel became one of two ports that served the needs of Villa de la Vega. The second was Passage Fort (*Caguaya)*.

Passage Fort (Caguaya)

Villa de la Vega's natural harbour was the port of Caguaya or Passage Fort. Caguaya was deep and spacious enough to hold many ships and was first referred to as The Passage, most likely by the Spaniards who used this port as their passage or point of arrival into and departure from Villa de la Vega. The Spaniards in the capital recognised the importance of Caguaya in providing safe passage to and from Villa de la Vega for both persons and goods and so from very early, they took basic measures to protect Caguaya. They built a fortification or fence known as a palisade around a wooden house which served as a reception place for persons travelling to Villa de la Vega. The fortification or palisade was made from lignum vitae wooden stakes and

these were fixed in the ground, forming an enclosure around the building. In a nearby watchtower, a member of the militia was posted to keep a careful eye out for approaching enemy vessels.

A View of Passage Fort Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

These protective measures were unfortunately never enough. From the establishment of Villa de la Vega until the English capture of Jamaica in 1655, the poor defence of Caguaya meant that Spain's enemies repeatedly used this harbour to gain access to Jamaica's capital. What was intended as a safe passageway for the Spanish settlers of the capital turned out to be a passage for Spain's enemies who intended to attack Villa de la Vega or worse, to capture the island.

Soon after he arrived in Jamaica, Governor Melgarejo de Cordoba, recognising the importance of Passage Fort, both to the residents of the capital and to Spain's enemies, wrote to the Spanish King about the importance of stationing a larger number of men (about thirty) at the fortification at Caguaya. He also pointed out the need for more arms and ammunition to defend the harbour. The Spanish crown failed to follow up on this request in a meaningful way and Caguaya remained in a vulnerable state, to the detriment of the people of Villa de la Vega and by 1655, to all of Spanish Jamaica. This was seen, for example in 1596, when the English privateer, Sir Anthony Shirley, along with two hundred and fifty men, entered Caguaya's harbour which was undefended. From there, he and his men made their way to Villa de la Vega where they burnt a few houses and whatever possessions they could gather in the square. The governor eventually had to give in to Shirley's ransom demands for beef and cassava.

It was on 10 May 1655 that the poorly defended Caguaya provided safe harbour for the English ships under the command of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables. Passage Fort ultimately allowed safe passage for the English forces to get to Villa de la Vega and start their conquest of Jamaica. So began the end of Spanish Jamaica.

Spain's departure from Jamaica meant that most of the physical reminders such as the buildings and structures in the capital of Villa de la Vega would be destroyed by their sworn enemy, the English. As seen earlier, it is only through archaeological excavations that some foundations of Spanish buildings have been detected. Nothing of the Spanish town, except for the design of the town's square and the layout of some streets, is visible above ground. The Spanish legacy, which still remains in the parish of St Catherine, is evident in place names around the parish. For example, Angels, just outside of Spanish Town, got its name from the Spanish name *Los Angelos* and Juan de Esquivel's name lives forever in Port Esquivel.

English street names, Red Church Street, White Church Street and Monk Street remain to this day as visible reminders of the presence of Spanish Catholics in the old capital. Although the Spaniards used the name Caguaya for the Rio Cobre for a long time, the change of name to the *Rio Cobre* (Copper River) was most likely influenced by the discovery of copper coins in the river, and this was strengthened by the practice adopted by the Spaniards as they departed Jamaica. Believing that their loss of the island would be temporary, the Spaniards reportedly threw large amounts of copper coins into the river. Over the years, large numbers of Spanish copper coins have been found in the river, especially in the vicinity of the Iron Bridge. [14]

The Foundation Years under the English

From the English Invasion in 1655 to the end of Military Government in 1661: The Role of the Regiments in the Formation of Parishes

The years between the English invasion of Jamaica in 1655 and the final surrender of the Spaniards after the Battle of Rio Nuevo in 1658 were difficult and dangerous for the first English settlers on the island. They faced the constant threat of tropical diseases and uncertain food supplies. Very importantly, there was the ever-present threat of Spanish attempts to retake the island from the English. These efforts were aided by constant guerrilla attacks against the English carried out by Maroon groups of former slaves who were loyal to Spaniards. With this in mind, the government of England, led by Oliver Cromwell, gave instructions for six regiments of soldiers to be stationed at various points on the island and introduced military government of the island.

Military commissioners were sent to Jamaica to run the affairs in the newly captured colony. Most of these military leaders lost their lives, either to battles with the remaining Spaniards and their Maroon fighters, or to deadly tropical fevers. In October 1655, Cromwell appointed Major

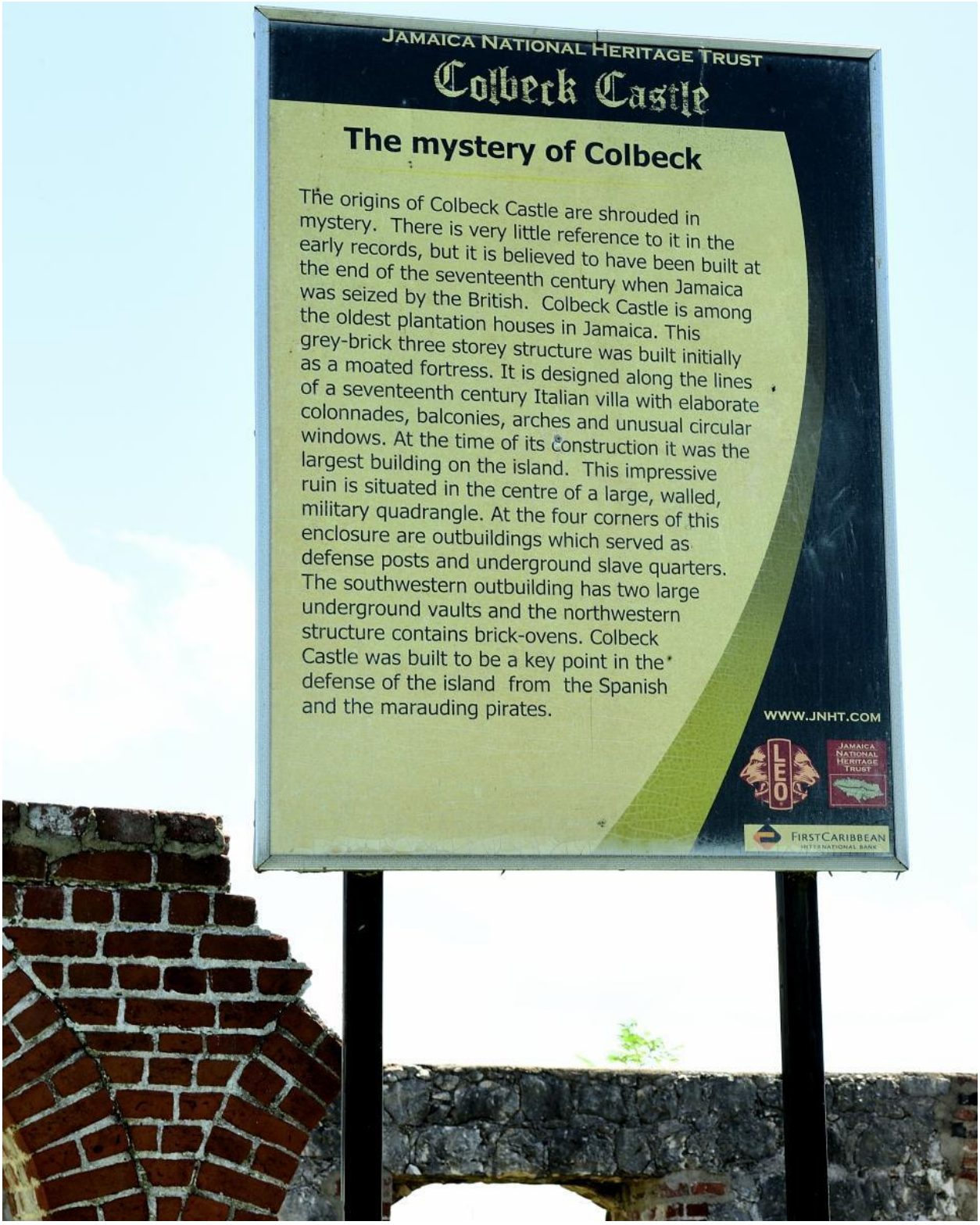
Sedgewick as the first military governor of the island. By 1657, military rule of Jamaica was taken over by Colonel Edward D'Oyley. He governed by court martial which met regularly at Spanish Town until the end of military government in 1661. With the restoration of the monarchy in England (King Charles 11) and the start of civilian government in 1661, D'Oyley became the first civilian governor of the island.

In 1656, three of the six regiments which had been sent out to Jamaica were based in areas west and north of Spanish Town, and they played an important role in safeguarding and settling what was to become St Catherine. One regiment was stationed in the area which the Spaniards had called *Los Angeles* and which became Angels under the English. Land was allocated to the soldiers so that in addition to defending the areas, they could also become farmers, raise families and contribute to the settlement of these areas. The second regiment was stationed at *Guanaboa* (Guanaboa Vale) which would later become part of the parish of St John and eventually St Catherine. Diseases took a toll on the soldiers and settlers alike, but the presence of these regiments served to encourage and protect settlers who came to these areas. Although there was no system of parishes in Jamaica before 1664, the presence of these regiments and settlers contributed to the later creation of parishes as it was necessary to organise these centres of population wherever they emerged. The introduction of the regiment in Angels can therefore be seen as the origin of the parish of St Catherine.

Each regiment had its own base or headquarters and by the late seventeenth century, the regiments in St Catherine may have had their headquarters at the residence of Colonel John Colbeck, who came to Jamaica with the 1655 invading forces. Colbeck remained in Jamaica and represented St Catherine in the House of Assembly until his death in 1682. His house, which became known as Colbeck Castle, started out as a fortified house with storehouses and an area

for the stationing of a regiment.

Colbeck Castle. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation



Heritage Marker for Colbeck Castle. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

Heritage Marker on John Colbeck. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

In addition to the presence of these regiments, additional measures were also taken to safeguard the island from invading forces. The military authorities organised a system of beacons which were used to give early warning if enemy ships were spotted approaching Jamaica's coasts. Some of these beacons were located in what was to become the parish of St Catherine. One beacon was located on a hill just outside of Spanish Town and the location became known as Beacon Hill. There were also beacons on Port Henderson Hill and near to Guanaboa Vale. Torchlights would be flashed from these beacons and this would be the signal

to the regiments stationed nearby to prepare for action.

Port Henderson Hill: The location for One of the Warning Beacons. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Restoration of the Monarchy and Civilian Government of Jamaica in 1661

As mentioned above, with Cromwell's death and the restoration of the monarchy in England, King Charles 11 ended military rule over Jamaica. Civil government (government by civilians) was introduced and Governor D'Oyley was chosen by the king to be the first Governor of Jamaica under civilian rule. It was his successor, Governor Thomas Modyford, who oversaw the creation of the system of parishes, making St Catherine one of the original seven parishes created under his administration.

Creation of the Parish of St Catherine 1664

Size and Boundaries of the Original Parish and Changes to the Size and Boundaries of St Catherine in 1867

St Catherine was one of the seven original parishes created by the Jamaican Assembly in 1664, during the governorship of Sir Thomas Modyford, and, therefore it was one of the seven oldest parishes in Jamaica's history. The other six parishes created along with St Catherine were St Thomas, St David, St Andrew, St John, Clarendon and Port Royal. King Charles 11, who was King of England in 1664, was at that time married to Katherine, and it was in her honour that the parish was named St Catherine.

However, at its birth, St Catherine was much smaller than the very large parish which exists today, and several places which are part of today's St Catherine were not part of the original parish. Instead, some of the places which are part of today's St Catherine were parts of the three adjoining parishes which were created in 1677. These were St Thomas in the Vale (not to be confused with today's St Thomas), St John and St Dorothy. To the north of early St Catherine was the parish of St Thomas in the Vale and at that time, Linstead, a popular town in today's St Catherine, was part of St Thomas in the Vale. The parish of St John was on the north western side of old St Catherine and places such as Lluidas Vale and Bog Walk were part of St John and not early St Catherine. On the south western side of old St Catherine, the parish of St Dorothy contained the entire Old Harbour area. St Catherine remained a small parish until 1867 when the decision was made by the governor, Sir John Peter Grant, to reduce the number of Jamaica's parishes from twenty two to fourteen.

Map Showing Early St Catherine and Surrounding Parishes of St Dorothy, St John and St Thomas in the Vale before Boundary Changes in 1867. Map courtesy of Thera Edwards

The decision to reduce the number of parishes was influenced by the need to reduce the expense of administering so many parishes. In the case of St Catherine, the decision was taken to absorb the adjoining parishes into Old St Catherine. So by the Law of 1867, the three parishes of St Thomas in the Vale, St John and St Dorothy were all made a part of St Catherine,

thereby enlarging the parish and making today's St Catherine one of Jamaica's largest parishes.

Modern St Catherine After the Boundary Changes of 1867. Map courtesy of Thera Edwards

Boundaries of Early St Catherine (Old St Catherine) Before the 1867 Change

The Fresh River, also known as the Ferry River, marked the eastern boundary which separated (and still does) Old St Catherine from the parish of St Andrew. St Catherine's eastern boundary continued past Hunt's Bay and Passage Fort, areas which marked the separation of St Catherine from the parishes of Kingston and Port Royal. The eastern boundary of St Catherine continued past Green Bay, Fort Clarence and Half-Moon Bay to the south coast boundary with the sea. St Catherine's south coast boundary continued past Manatee Bay where the southern boundary met the western boundary which separated St Catherine from the parish of St Dorothy. St Catherine's western boundary followed the path of the Black River going towards the northwest where the parish was separated from St John in the vicinity of today's Dovecot. Old St Catherine's northern boundary separated it from the parish of St Thomas in the Vale below the Bog Walk Tavern so that the entire Bog Walk area was excluded from early St Catherine.

Boundaries and Areas of St Catherine after the 1867 Change

With the absorption into St Catherine of the former parishes of St John, St Dorothy and St Thomas in the Vale in 1867, the boundaries of the much larger St Catherine were changed to what they are today. As of 1867, St Catherine was bordered on the west by Clarendon, on the north by both St Ann and St Mary, on the east by St Andrew and Kingston and on the south by the Caribbean Sea. In terms of the places in the parish, post-1867 St Catherine contained the same areas that are to be found in modern day St Catherine.

Some of these areas (not a complete list) include Lluidas Vale, which is located in the western side of the parish, near to the border with Clarendon. Ewarton is found in the north of the parish, near to its northern border with St Ann. Linstead, celebrated for its Linstead Market, is south of Ewarton. Bog Walk, with its famous Bog Walk Gorge and Flat Bridge, lies to the south-east of Linstead. Angels (Los Angeles from Spanish days) is south of Bog Walk and north of Spanish Town. Guanaboa Vale is slightly south-west of Angels and north-west of Spanish Town. Old Harbour is found to the south of Red Ground and near to the south coast of St Catherine. McCook's Pen lies east of Old Harbour while Central Village is located to the south-east of Spanish Town and near to the boundary with Kingston. Portmore and Hellshire lie on the south coast of the parish, while Port Henderson, Green Bay and Fort Clarence are all located on the extreme south-east coast of St Catherine. The community of Above Rocks is to be found in the eastern part of the parish, on the border with St Andrew. Harker's Hall is slightly north-west of Above Rocks while Riversdale is located north-west of Harker's Hall. Guys Hill is situated near to the north-east border with St Ann and St Mary. Much more will be said about these places and their links to the history and heritage of the enlarged parish of St Catherine. [15]

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

The English in Spanish Town in the Early Years after the Conquest: Spanish Town Becomes the Capital Town of the Parish and the Capital of the Colony of Jamaica

As of 1655, the English set about making the former Spanish capital town of Villa de La Vega their own. However, the transformation of the previously Spanish capital into an English town was not immediate, nor was it a smooth and problem-free transition. The Spanish residents of Villa de la Vega had fled leaving behind empty houses and deserted streets. The first action taken by the English was to make the town the headquarters for their army. Former Spanish houses that seemed suitable were kept as accommodation for the soldiers and the English then set about eliminating reminders of the Spanish presence by first destroying all former Spanish houses that were not needed. The Chapel of the White Cross was demolished, but the brick

church of the Dominican friars (The Chapel of the Red Cross) was still used for worship by the English, who referred to it as the Red Church.

As will be seen shortly, the English eventually built and rebuilt their parish church at this location. Ironically, it was the English who gave the name *Spanish Town* to the newly captured town, perhaps to emphasize their great victory in seizing control of a town that had been the pride of the Spaniards. But the name also showed that despite their efforts to destroy many of the physical structures that they found, the English still saw reminders that this had been a Spanish town. The fleeing Spaniards had taken as many supplies from the town's shops and stores as they could, but the English quickly took possession of supplies that were found in the town. While military rule was in place in the town and in the rest of Jamaica, the military governors, Sedgewick and then D'Oyley, took steps to safeguard the approaches to Spanish Town. D'Oyley strengthened Passage Fort and built a battery (a defence point) with twenty-one guns at Careening Point (Caguaya, later Port Royal).

The early years of the English in Spanish Town were marked by an internal challenge to the authority of the military governor, D'Oyley. Only two years after the final defeat of the Spaniards at the Battle of Rio Nuevo in 1658, soldiers in the regiment stationed nine miles away at Guanaboa under the command of Colonel Tyson and soldiers under the command of Colonel Raymond, took part in a mutiny against D'Oyley. In return for an offer of complete pardon, the rebellious troops agreed to turn over Tyson and Raymond to D'Oyley. After a speedy trial by court martial, both leaders were publicly executed under a big tamarind tree in Mulberry Garden on Monk Street (later the site of the Spanish Town Infirmary).

Port Royal Briefly Overshadows Spanish Town, 1661- 1664

For a brief period, from the introduction of civilian government in 1661, the English relocated the business of government to Port Royal. This was not surprising because Careening Point or Port Caguaya (Port Royal) prospered from the wealth brought by the buccaneers who had established their headquarters there. When D'Oyley was sworn in as Jamaica's first civil governor in 1661, the ceremony took place at Port Royal, not Spanish Town. It was also at Port Royal that the Jamaican Assembly first met in 1664. During this early period, the population of Spanish Town declined from 1,500 persons in 1655 to 354 in 1662. This was because some people were leaving Spanish Town, where life was still chaotic and unsettled, for more attractive prospects in Port Royal.

By late 1664, however, the members of the first Assembly took the decision to return all future meetings of the Assembly, courts and government business to Spanish Town or St Jago de la Vega as it became known. In the end, Spanish Town won out over Port Royal as the place to live and to do government business for several reasons. Very importantly, the members of the

Assembly found it easier to travel to Spanish Town, which was more centrally located than Port Royal. At that time in our history, Port Royal was cut off from the mainland and getting in and out of the town depended on long and expensive ferry rides. Additionally, Port Royal did not have its own source of freshwater and those living there were dependent on supplies of food and water brought in by canoes or boats. It is not surprising that the first Speaker of the House of Assembly delivered a petition on behalf of all the members which requested that all future meetings be held in Spanish Town and that the town be once again the headquarters for all government business. Spanish Town, by 1665, returned to its status as chief town, this time, the capital town of English Jamaica. Before too long, influential settlers began acquiring property and relocating their residence to the capital. Except for a brief period (1754-1759), Spanish Town held pride of place as Jamaica's capital until 1872 when that honour was passed to Kingston. [16]

The Growth and Development of Spanish Town in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The Streets of Spanish Town

In the early period of English settlement of Spanish Town, the English kept the basic layout of the town which had been inherited from the Spaniards. The Spanish checkerboard town plan, which dated back to 1534, with the streets arranged in a quadrangular grid around a central square, remained unchanged during this time. The English did not at first name all the streets in the town, but the names which they gave to the three main streets running from north to south continue to this day to reflect the earlier Spanish presence in the town. Of the three streets, the English named the most easterly street, *Monk Street*, because this is where the Spanish Catholic

Franciscan friary or monastery (home of the monks) was located.

The Rio Cobre Approved School at No. 18 Monk Street. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

They named the centre street, *Red Church Street,* because the red brick Dominican friary which the English called the 'Red Church', was at the end of this street. The third street linked the town's two plazas from Spanish times and ran to the side of the church of the Spanish Abbot of Jamaica. This church was called the White Church by the English and so the street became

White Church Street.

Historic House at No.19 White Church Street. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

By 1774, when Edward Long wrote his *History of Jamaica*, Spanish Town had about twenty streets and lanes. However, most of these streets were not named until late into the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries. In true English tradition, streets in Spanish Town were named after governors and other officials. For example, Nugent, Beckford and Manchester Streets took their names from governors of Jamaica. Adelaide Street honours one of England's queens, while William Street was named for the prince who later became king. Brunswick Street was a reminder of the Duke of Brunswick, while Nelson and Wellington Streets remind us of heroes in English battles. Canning and Melbourne Lanes were named after

prime ministers of England.

Exterior of Old Georgian House at 26 King Street, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Houses and Churches in Spanish Town

As noted earlier, in making Spanish Town their own, the English destroyed most religious buildings and many Spanish houses. However, about fifty of the Spanish houses were kept by the English and served as homes for the early English inhabitants of the town. Several of these were granted to the officers of the invading English army and the regiments that were stationed in and around Spanish Town. Some Spanish houses were converted into warehouses and stables and those for which the English had no use were pulled down to create more living spaces.

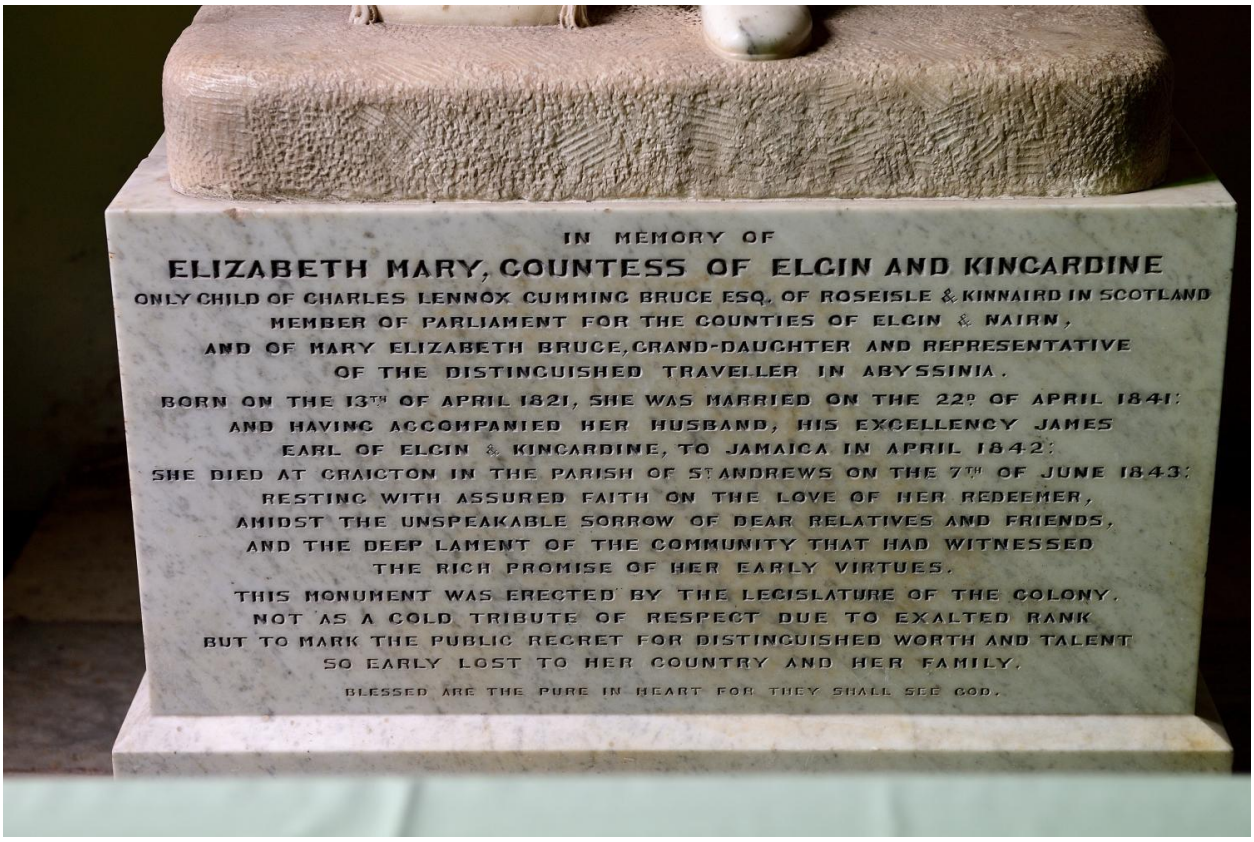
Interestingly, these older Spanish houses, with their wall posts secured deep in the ground, survived the earthquake of 1692 whereas most of the houses built by the English did not. Many of the more prosperous settlers had splendid brick houses of their own in Spanish Town but sadly, most of these collapsed in the earthquake. By the 1770s, many more houses had been built, most occupying large lots. Edward Long, writing in 1774, commented that most of the English-built houses in Spanish Town had large empty land spaces to the front of the houses and these served as gardens but also made the streets narrow as a result.

In 1655, the English Protestants continued to use the red-brick chapel (the Red Church) that they found there and this grew into their main church, or the Parish Church of St Catherine. Having survived the great earthquake of 1692, the Red Church was totally destroyed in the hurricane which swept across the island in 1712. However, by 1714, it was rebuilt and further repaired in 1762. By the mid-nineteenth century, the church had been transformed into the cathedral structure that exists today and the St Catherine Parish Church was rebranded and named for the English patron saint, St James.

An Early View of St James Cathedral, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

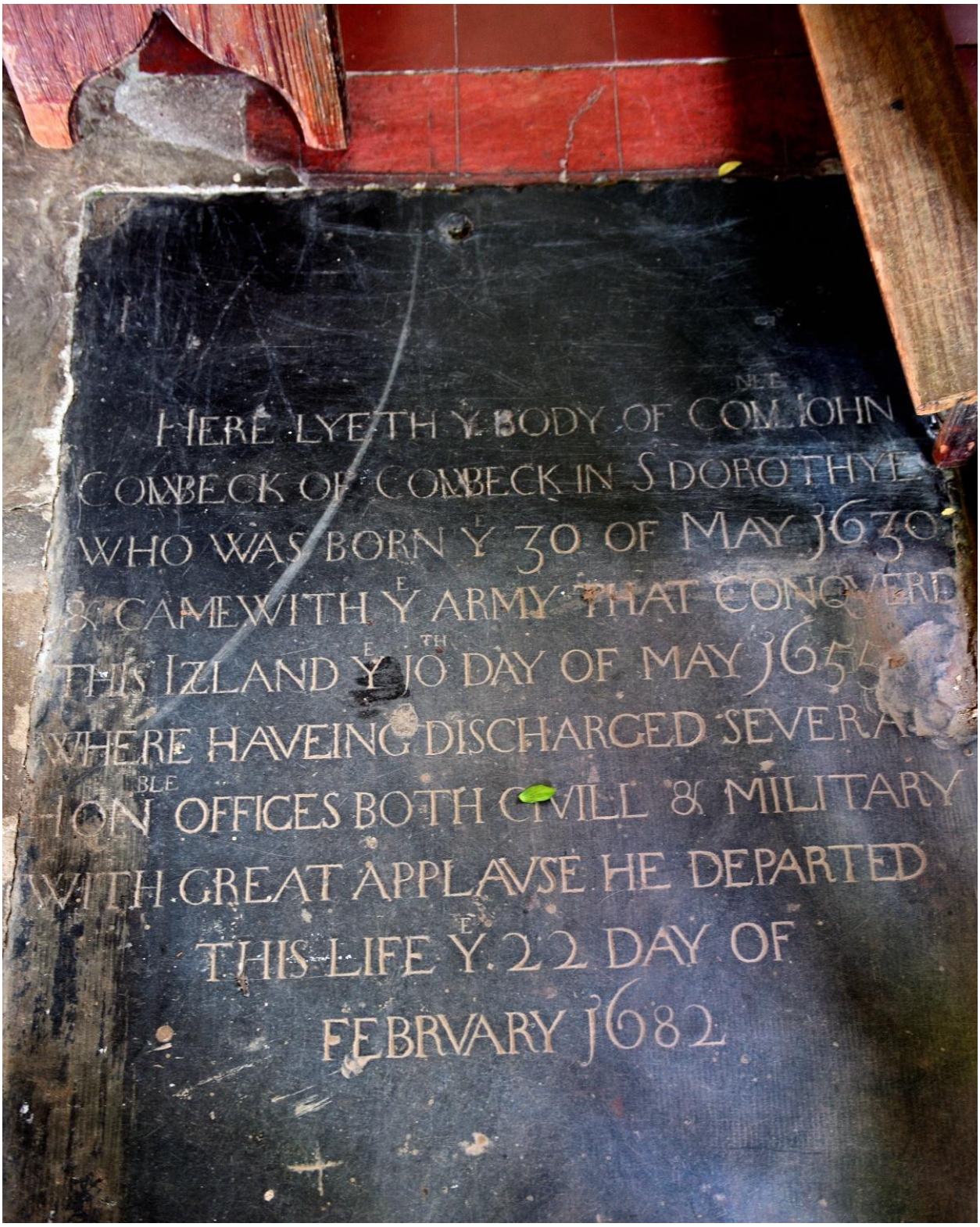
St James Cathedral Spanish Town,1950s. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

St James Cathedral Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation



One of Many Memorial Tablets at the Cathedral: Monument to the Wife of Governor Elgin of Jamaica. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Mural Inside the Cathedral. Image courtesy of JNFoundation



Inside the Cathedral: Monument to Colonel John Colbeck. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Today, St James Cathedral holds pride of place as the chief church of the Anglican denomination in Jamaica and remains the oldest church in the former British Empire (outside of Great Britain). Sir Thomas Modyford, who was governor from 1664 until 1671, and who is credited for creating the parish of St Catherine, is buried there. [17]

Brief Removal of the Capital and Seat of Government from Spanish Town to Kingston, 1754-1759

In 1754, members of the Jamaican Assembly representing Kingston and the eastern parishes, presented a petition to remove the capital from St Jago de la Vega to Kingston. They argued that Kingston had a large and secure harbour and was the centre of a busy trade, especially in the shipping of sugar. They added that Spanish Town, on the other hand, was an inland town, with no harbour of its own and that merchants and planters found it inconvenient and costly to travel to Spanish Town to clear trade documents and conduct business. This inconvenience and expense, the petitioners argued, also affected members of the Assembly and others who had to journey to Spanish Town to attend Assembly sessions or court. Supported by members from the eastern parishes, the request for removal was accepted by the then governor, Charles Knowles, who ordered the relocation of the capital and seat of government to Kingston in 1754. Effective that year, the governor's residence, meetings of the Assembly, the law courts and all public records were relocated to Kingston. The decision was bitterly opposed by nearly all persons living in and around Spanish Town, as well as by persons representing the western parishes.

Opposition to the relocation was supported by Sir Henry Moore who succeeded Knowles as governor of Jamaica in 1758. His support was based on the fact that the central location of Spanish Town and its inland position meant greater security of government and public records in the event of an invasion. In that year, Governor Moore issued the royal proclamation to restore Spanish Town as the capital and seat of government. Shortly afterwards, thirty wagons containing public records and other documents were escorted out of Kingston by a detachment of soldiers. They were met by a second detachment of soldiers at Ferry who then escorted the wagons into Spanish Town. This was followed by the return of the governor's residence, Assembly and law courts to Spanish Town. Pride and joy marked the occasion as jubilant residents waved flags and banners and put on a grand display of fireworks. From then until 1872, Spanish Town remained the unchallenged capital and seat of government.

Spanish Town Grows in Importance as the Capital of Jamaica: Public Buildings in Spanish Town Square (Today's Emancipation Square)

In the unsettled years immediately after the conquest, public offices had all been situated in temporary locations. It was not until after 1759, when Spanish Town was restored as the

capital, that permanent public buildings were erected to grace a very splendid Spanish Town Square (now Emancipation Square). This effort was largely the result of the desire to strengthen Spanish Town's status as Jamaica's capital. Most of these buildings reflected the Georgian style of architecture which was typical of the period. Georgian architecture was representative of the years between 1714 and 1830 when four successive Kings of England bearing the name George (George 1 to George 1V) ruled.

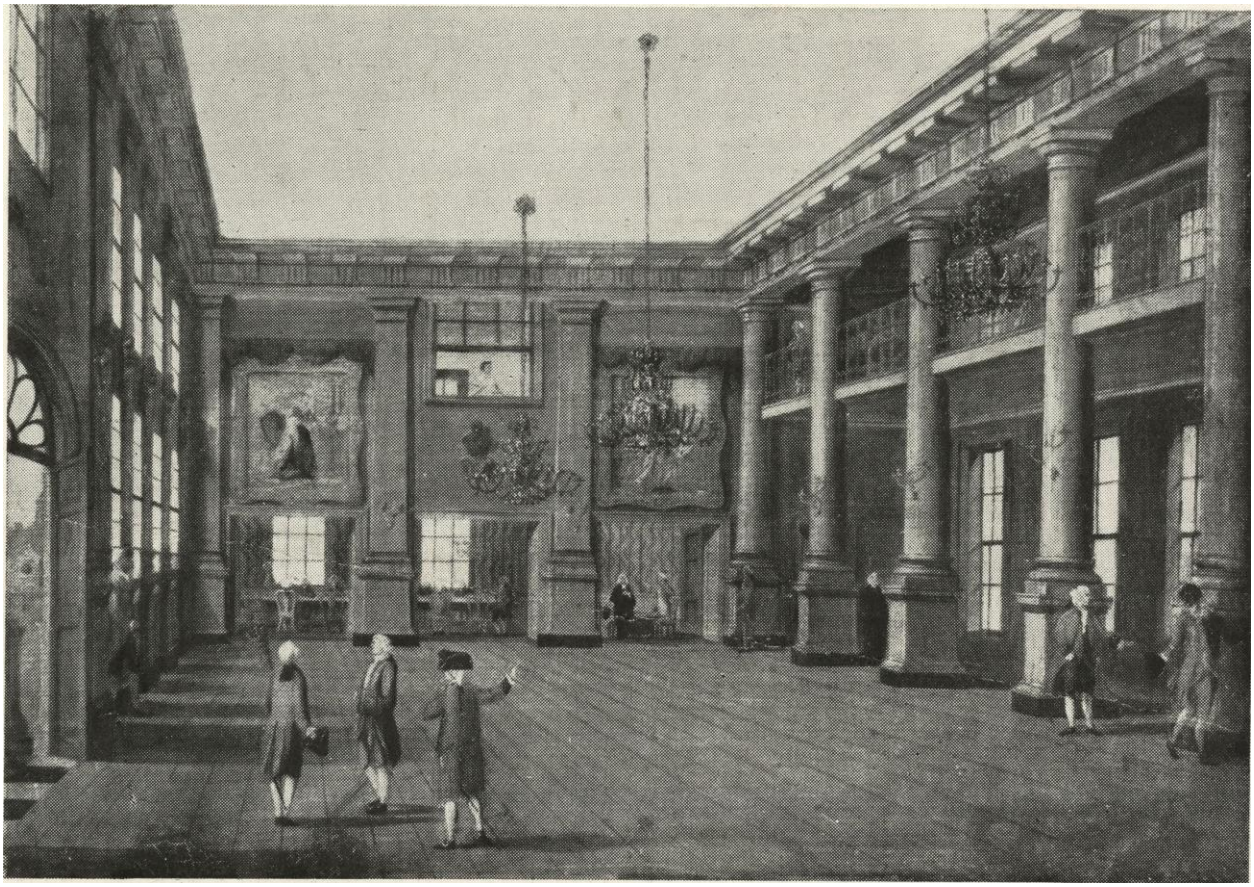
Georgian architecture has many unique features, some of which included a hipped roof (a roof which slopes upwards from all sides of the building), sash windows consisting of six or more panes, as well as a cellar which is visible below ground and which served as a kitchen. These buildings were usually of brick and stone construction, with two or three storeys and a panel door which marked the main entrance to the building. Among the first to be built in the Square was King's House (today referred to as Old King's House to differentiate it from the present King's House in Kingston), the official residence of the governor.

King's House

For many years before the official residence was built, governors of Jamaica lived in temporary accommodation in Spanish Town. In 1675, the Assembly provided £500 to purchase a house in Spanish Town to be used as the residence of the then governor, Lord Vaughn. The intention at that time was that all the governors who came after him should live there. All this changed after 1759 when permanent public buildings were erected around Spanish Town Square.

The first of these was the King's House (as the permanent residence of the governor was called), and this was located on the western side of the square. Thomas Craskell, the engineer of the island, designed the plan for King's House and construction began under Governor Henry Moore's administration (1759-62), as a fitting tribute to the man who had overseen the return of the capital to Spanish Town. King's House was finally completed in 1762, shortly after the arrival of the new governor, William Henry Lyttleton. In all, the cost of building and furnishing King's House amounted to £ 30,000. Limestone from the Hope River and local bricks were used in the construction of what many saw as one of the finest buildings in all of the British West

Indian colonies.



The Interior of Old King's House, Spanish Town, in the Eighteenth Century. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Emancipation Proclamation was read from the steps of King's House. It was here that Paul Bogle led his delegation in 1865 in his failed attempt to meet with Governor Eyre.

The Exterior of Old King's House Facing Emancipation Square. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Even when Spanish Town was no longer the capital, Old King's House proved useful as it provided a temporary home for the governor of Jamaica in 1907 when the new King's House in Kingston was destroyed by the earthquake of that year. Sadly, the interior of Old King's House was destroyed by fire in October 1925 but the remaining external façade gives us an idea of the

splendour that was once Old King's House.

The Exterior of the Remains of Old King's House, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

A Frontal View of the Remains of Old King's House, Emancipation Square. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The House of Assembly

Before the permanent building was finished in 1762, the Assembly and the Council met wherever it was convenient. At times, these government bodies met in the old court house in Spanish Town and other times, especially when court was in session, Assembly meetings were held in the governor's residence or in the Anglican Cathedral. By 1762, the House of Assembly building was completed, although finishing touches were still being done in that year. The magnificent brick and stone building graced the eastern side of Spanish Town Square and was a fine example of Georgian architecture. It consisted of two storeys and a wide staircase allowed access to the upper storey. At the southern end of the upper storey were located the eight-foot long Assembly chamber, as well as the Speaker's room. At the opposite end of the upper floor

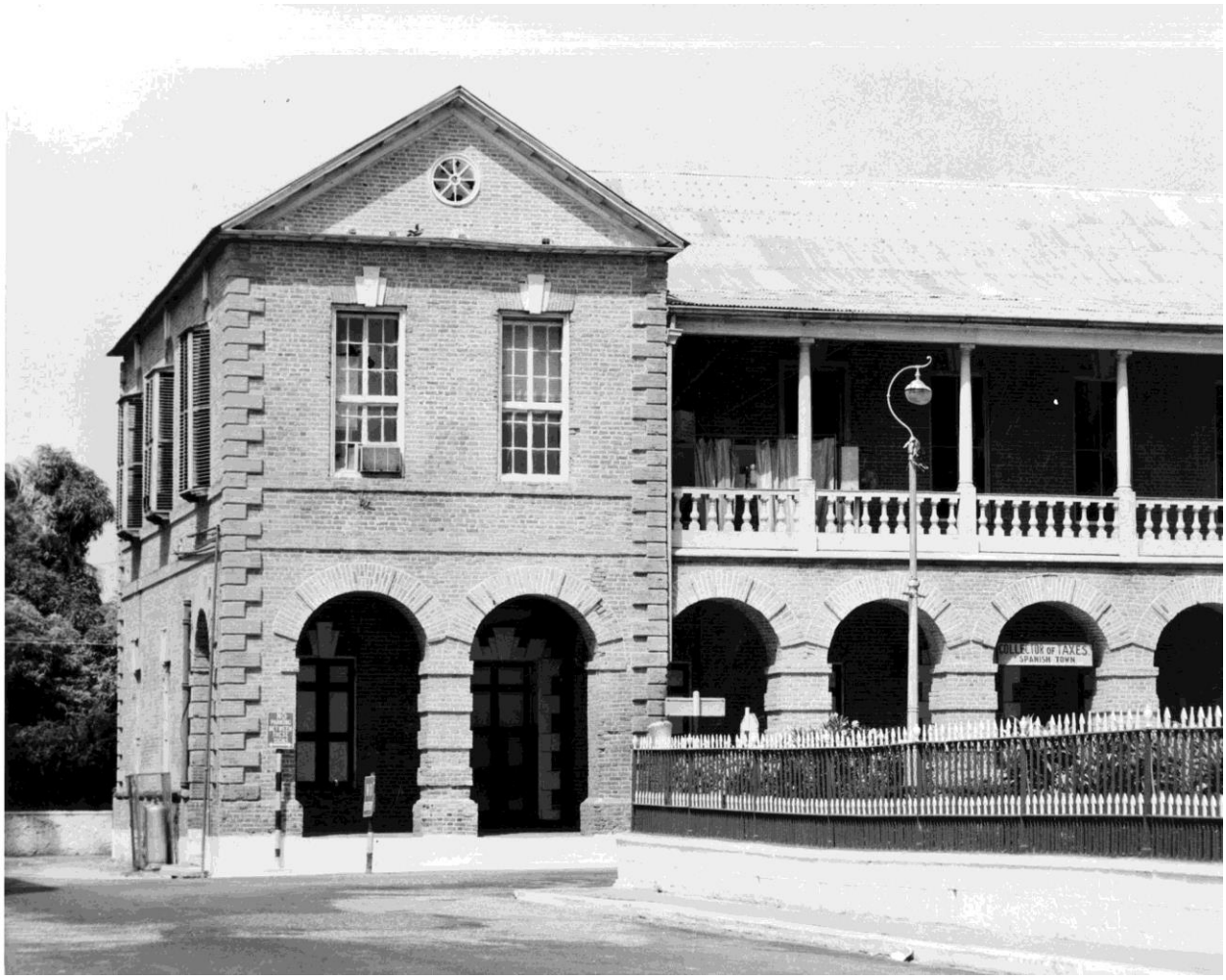
were the court and jury rooms.

An Early Twentieth-Century Image of the Old House of Assembly Building, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Court sessions were held there until the first quarter of the nineteenth century when Spanish Town got its permanent court house. On the ground floor were located offices of several government officials such as the Island Secretary and the Provost Marshall. The Assembly first met in its new home in 1762 while Governor Henry Moore was still in charge of the colony. At this meeting, the members voted for the sum of £1,000 to pay for the finishing touches on the building. Importantly, the House of Assembly met here until 1865 when, in the aftermath of the Morant Bay Rebellion, when the Representative System of government, along with the Assembly's powers, were terminated. As will be seen in the section on schools in St Catherine, the building then became the nineteenth-century home of the Beckford and Smith School for a number of years. In the twentieth century, the building also housed the Tax office for St

Catherine.

The Tax Collectorate Located in the Old House of Assembly Building in the Spanish Town Square. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica



Another View of the Tax Office Located inside the Old House of Assembly Building. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Today, the refurbished House of Assembly building houses the St Catherine Municipal Corporation.

The Site of the Former House of Assembly Building, now Home to the St Catherine Municipal Corporation. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of the Old House of Assembly Site, now the St Catherine Municipal Corporation. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Court House

As seen previously, court sessions in Spanish Town were held in temporary quarters up to 1819. It was not until 1819 that the Spanish Town Court House was built on the southern side of the Square, occupying the entire southern stretch. The court house was actually built where the Abbey (chapel) and a cemetery had been located in Spanish times and where, in the 1760s, the English had established an armoury where small arms such as pistols and ammunition were stored. The government paid £ 3,273 for the location and gave the architect, James Delaney, responsibility for the design and building of the court house which was completed in 1819 at a

cost of £15,700.

A Twentieth-Century View of the Old Court House, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Like the other buildings in the Square, this reflected the Georgian style of architecture, although of a slightly later period. The court house consisted of two storeys which housed the court offices and sessions of the various types of courts, including the Petty Sessions and sittings of the Supreme Court. There was also a town hall located upstairs the building and this was used for concerts and other performances. The Spanish Town Court House was destroyed by fire on March 18, 1986 and today, only the outer structure or façade remains. It is nevertheless an imposing structure which reminds us of Spanish Town Square of old.

The Burnt Out Court House, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

A new court house was built on White Church Street and was officially opened in 1997 by the then Prime Minister, the Honourable P.J. Patterson.

The Rodney Memorial and Complex

What is today known as the Rodney Memorial Complex was built on the northern side of Spanish Town Square starting in 1783 and completed in 1801. The elaborate Rodney Memorial was built as a tribute to the British Admiral Lord Rodney, who was commander in chief of the

Jamaica Naval Station from 1778 to 1782.

A Depiction of Admiral Rodney's Fleet and Admiral Rodney's Memorial Statue. Images courtesy of JNFoundation


GEORG. BRYDG. RODNEY
BARON. RODNEY
NAVAL. PRÆL. VICTORI
PRID. ID. APRILIS
A.D. MDCCLXXXII
JAMAICÆ SALUTEM
BRITANN. PACEM REST.
D.D.D. S.P.Q. JAMAICENSIS

On 12 April 1782, Rodney scored a decisive victory over the French fleet at the Battle of the Saints and by so doing, saved Jamaica from invasion and quite possibly, from capture by the French. In February 1783, the Jamaican House of Assembly passed a resolution to begin the process of constructing a marble statue of Rodney in the Square as a fitting memorial to Rodney's role in saving Jamaica. To make space for the memorial, a barber shop, a lodging house and tavern were demolished.

The Rodney Memorial Complex Today, *Including the Jamaica Archives*. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

By 1879, in the same building as Rodney's statue, but to the right of the statue, was housed the Island Records office in which important documents such as court records, records of births, deaths and marriages, as well as wills and deeds were kept. From the very start of English colonisation, the secure maintenance of public records was important to the colonial authorities so the housing of these records in a designated building was a significant landmark in the development of Spanish Town as the administrative centre of Jamaica. So important were these archives of public records that earlier in 1755, when the capital had been transferred briefly to Kingston, the archives had also made the journey into Kingston. This also explains the triumphant way in which the thirty wagon loads of public records were returned to Spanish Town in 1759 when it became once more, the capital of Jamaica. Today, the Jamaica

Archives building is located on both sides of the Rodney Memorial.

A View of a Section of the Jamaica Archives (in Background) to the Side of the Rodney Memorial Building. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The building to the left of Rodney's statue was known as the Old Armoury and served several purposes. There was a storehouse for arms and ammunition, as well as an officers' mess (a place where officers of the army gathered for relaxation). Parts of the building also housed the police barracks. This area is now occupied by the Jamaica Archives.[18]

Life in Spanish Town in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Soldiers and The Barracks in Spanish Town

Spanish Town had always had a military presence from its early days under English rule. As seen earlier, it was necessary to station garrisons of soldiers in and around the town as a guard against invading forces, but also to provide security for the capital town's inhabitants and visitors. The barracks for the troops were located to the south-west of the town. When the new public buildings were built around Spanish Town Square, it became necessary to enlarge the garrison and extend the existing barracks. Therefore, in 1775, the Assembly voted money to buy a nearby field so as to extend the barracks area. A military hospital was also built on this extension. By 1785, the military area stretched westwards from today's Main Street to Young

Street. An improved military barracks building was constructed on Nugent Street in 1791 from a grant of £ 15,000 voted by the Assembly. It was a two-storey red brick and stone building with a wide flight of steps which allowed access to the upper storey. In addition to being the accommodation for soldiers and officers, the spacious grounds of the Barracks, as it was known, became the centre for drilling, training and military parades. Fairs, festivals and races (dealt with below) were also regularly held on the grounds.

The Middlesex and Surrey County Gaol and (Later) the St Catherine District Prison

In the early years of the town's growth, efforts were made to provide facilities for the punishment of offenders. Usually, prisoners were kept in a secure room in the soldiers' barracks. However, by 1714, a donation from the will of George Fletcher was used to build what was termed a house of correction. This eventually grew to become the Middlesex and Surrey

County Gaol and later, the St Catherine District Prison.

Entrance to St Catherine District Prison. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Provost Marshall (an official of the government) was placed in charge of the affairs of the prison. Because Spanish Town was also home to the justice system and the main courts, a gallows for hangings was also erected at the prison.

An Aerial View of the Prison and Surrounding Buildings. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Among the early offenders hanged in Spanish Town was Lewis Hutchinson of Edinburgh Castle in St Ann. He was brought to the Spanish Town gallows and hanged in 1773 for several murders

that he had committed.

The Exterior of St Catherine's District Prison Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Old Police Station

The old police station was located on Wellington Street from the late nineteenth century until about 1979 when a new police station was built on Burke Road in Spanish Town. interestingly, when the historic Old courthouse was destroyed by fire in 1986, the old police station was repaired and used for sittings of the Circuit and Resident Magistrate's Court as well as the Petty Sessions court. Unfortunately, when rioting broke out in Spanish Town in 2006, the historic old police station was destroyed.

Recreation, Leisure and Horse-racing in Spanish Town

Lands to the west of the town centre originally consisted of about one thousand and two hundred acres. Of these, seven hundred acres were sold in lots for residence and the remaining five hundred acres were set aside by law for recreation and exercise by the townspeople. This area was to be held in common by the residents of the town and so the area was often referred to as 'the commons'. In the southern section of these lands, a race track was created and this was about two miles in circumference. This was known as Race Course and can be seen clearly on James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex*, the south-east sheet. Over time, the Spanish Town races became a main attraction, and initially, the first week in December was set aside for races. However, by the 1770s, March became 'horse-racing' month in Spanish

Town. The top prize in the races was for the 'King's Purse' which amounted to a little over £133 and this was paid out of the public expenditure approved by the Assembly.

Spanish Town was constantly alive with activity. This was so especially as it was the capital town and the residence of the governor and many public officials, including members of the Assembly and Council. The House of Assembly generally met from the beginning of October to the Christmas holidays. Also, the Supreme Court, based in the town, held sessions for four months in the year, and people from all over the island travelled to Spanish Town to attend court or to do business of one sort or another. King's House was always the venue for many fetes and balls, with the most anticipated one being the annual Governor's Ball to celebrate the King's birthday. Balls and concerts were also held to welcome a new governor or to host distinguished visitors to Spanish Town. Wealthy individuals from all over the island were sure to make the guest lists on these occasions. Over time, Horatio Nelson, Admiral Rodney, Captain Bligh and Hans Sloane were among the famous visitors to the town.

While it was the capital and administrative centre, Spanish Town could never be described as a sleepy little town. A thriving commercial life developed as goods and services had to be provided for both the residents and for visitors who came to participate in the seasonal occasions described earlier. Lodging houses, taverns and inns provided temporary accommodation for persons visiting the town, usually on business. There was a wide variety of shops and stores, which sold retail as well as luxury goods, and most of these were owned by the town's resident population of Jews. In 1774, Spanish Town's Jewish population numbered three hundred, about one-third of the town's white population. One of the most famous stores, Henriques' Stores, was Jewish owned. So dominant were the Jewish shops that Old Market Street was at that time known as Jew Street. As will be seen in a later section, Spanish Town's Jewish population got its own place of worship in the 1760s when the *Noveh Shalom* Synagogue was built at the corner of Monk and Adelaide Streets.

There was also a thriving internal trade in the vicinity of Old Market Street where slaves (and later the freed people) came to sell their surplus provisions and other goods on market day. Long before Emancipation, slaves were able to establish a vibrant trading network with the Jewish retailers of provisions and dry goods in Spanish Town. The pattern of this network was that on market days (Sunday), the slaves brought surplus provisions, gums, arrowroot, castor oil and oil nuts from their provision grounds and sold these to the Jewish retailers. With their earnings from these sales, slaves then bought clothes, household goods and other items that they needed from the Jewish retailers. In this way, a strong trading relationship developed between the slaves of St Catherine and the Jewish merchants in Spanish Town and other towns such as old Harbour Market. These trading networks would continue into freedom and would

have significant impacts on both the economic and social welfare of the freed people after 1838.

This “negroe market” represented only a part of a much larger trading activity which was carried out by the mainly Jewish shopkeepers. A variety of meats, including mutton, beef and pork, as well as fish (brought in from Old Harbour), were sold in the marketplace. So busy was the Spanish Town market activity that the local authorities set out rules which allowed for the sale of fish, fruits, herbs and provisions every day of the week and designated Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays as days on which beef, poultry, mutton and pork could be sold. As the people made their way around town, their method of transportation said much about their social backgrounds. The wealthy residents and visitors had their enclosed coaches or chariots, drawn by four or six horses. Shopkeepers travelled around in their two-wheeled chaises (a horse-drawn carriage made for one or two, usually with an open top and only two wheels). Those who could not afford these carriages, including free blacks in the town, usually had a saddle horse or went on foot. [19]

Traveller’s Rest: The Ferry Inn

As seen earlier, Spanish Town had its share of inns, taverns and lodging houses to accommodate the many people who came to do business, attend courts or engage in the social activities of the bustling town. However, perhaps the most famous in the parish of St Catherine was the Ferry Inn which was located halfway between Kingston and Spanish Town. The Ferry Inn took its name partly from the Ferry River (which was earlier known as the Fresh River)

which served as the boundary separating St Catherine from St Andrew.

The Ferry Inn and the Ferry River. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Fresh River or Ferry River ran through a livestock-raising property known as Ferry Pen and this explained the name given to the river and also to the inn which was built on the banks of the river. In 1677, the House of Assembly passed the "Act for the Ferry between St Catherine's and St Andrew". The act gave William Parker Esquire, an influential resident of St Andrew, permission to establish a ferry service to take persons travelling across the Salt River (in St Andrew, near to the boundary with St Catherine) to the Fresh River (in St Catherine right on the border between the two parishes). Interestingly, this ferry service became known as Parker's Ferry. Parker was also required by the act to build a tavern near to the ferry service. This, therefore, became the Ferry Inn, which provided a well-needed rest stop for persons travelling between Kingston and Spanish Town and had many famous guests, including Lady Nugent, the wife of the governor. The historically important building was forever captured in drawings by

Kidd and Duperly. It has survived earthquakes and hurricanes and the remaining structure of this amazing seventeenth-century cut-stone building may still be seen.

The act also allowed Parker, his heirs and persons authorised by him, to collect tolls from travellers using the ferry service across the river. Persons on foot were charged seven and a half pence, while a man with a horse had to pay fifteen pence. Sixpence was the charge for each sheep, calf or hog being transported on the ferry. At a time when there were no railways and when there were no bridges across the Fresh River, this ferry service proved very helpful to persons travelling between Kingston, St Andrew and St Catherine. The ferry service was operated from 1677 to 1703. When a bridge was built across the Ferry River, the need for this service disappeared. Today, the entire area in the vicinity of the Ferry Police Station takes its name from the river, the ferry service and the famous inn.

Tom Cringle's Cotton Tree, Ferry, St Catherine. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Tom Cringle's Cotton Tree, St Catherine

Long before the days of the Nelson Mandela Highway, when the road leading from Spanish Town to Kingston was just a narrow carriage road, there stood a majestic giant of a tree which has come down in our history as *Tom Cringle's Cotton Tree.* Located just across the road from the Ferry Inn (and later the Ferry Police Station) was the over three-hundred year old massive ceiba or silk cotton tree which was perhaps the most famous and historic landmark on the St

Catherine landscape up until its collapse in 1971. The tree was named after a fictional character called Tom Cringle in the novel, *Tom Cringle's Log* which was written around 1834 by a Scottish novelist and traveller to Jamaica, Michael Scott. Scott apparently took shelter under the shade of this tree as he travelled between Kingston and Spanish Town and the adventures of Tom Cringle were really based on Scott's own experiences. In his novel, Scott described the tree as having a trunk at least 20 feet wide and casting a giant shadow (shade) of about 100 feet.

Besides being a silent witness to over three hundred years of history, *Tom Cringle's Cotton Tree*, like most giant cotton trees in Jamaica, held cultural and religious significance for the Tainos and for enslaved Africans and their descendants who regarded the tree as sacred, as the dwelling place of spirits and as a source of spiritual inspiration. Not long after the two-lane highway (Nelson Mandela Highway) was built, the gentle giant of a tree collapsed on Monday evening, January 18, 1977. Whether the tree fell victim (as was reported in the newspapers) to a lightning strike, or whether its collapse was linked to damage which may have occurred to its roots during the widening of the road, the fact remains that for many lifetimes, Tom Cringle's Cotton Tree was an important part of the physical and cultural landscape of this part of St Catherine.

A Bridge over the Rio Cobre River: The Historic Cast Iron Bridge

In an effort to improve the transportation of persons in and out of Spanish Town and to improve road access to other parts of the island, the Jamaican Assembly passed an Act in 1792 to provide for the building of a bridge over the Rio Cobre River at the eastern end of Spanish Town. The abutments (structures on each side built to support the bridge) for the bridge were made out of cut stone but the bridge itself was cast from iron. An English engineer designed the bridge and the Walker Ironworks Company, also in England, manufactured the parts which

were then shipped to Jamaica and assembled.

The Historic Cast Iron Bridge Across the Rio Cobre. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

By 1801, the eighty-seven ton structure, which covered a distance of eighty two feet across the Rio Cobre, was completed and installed at a cost of £4000. By the start of the nineteenth century, the bridge provided safer travel between Kingston and Spanish Town. Today, the historic cast iron bridge survives as one of only two Walker construction bridges in the world and has achieved distinction as the oldest bridge of its kind in the Western Hemisphere. Understandably, St Catherine's Old Cast Iron Bridge has been declared a National Monument by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.

The Historic District of Spanish Town: A National Monument

Spanish Town, the old capital, has therefore made a magnificent and lasting contribution to the history of St Catherine and the wider Jamaica. The architectural splendour as well as the historical significance of its many buildings and structures described here show that Spanish Town is highly deserving of its designation as a ***Historic District***. Included in the *Spanish Town Historic District* are the many places and structures already discussed in this Parish History. These consist of Old King's House, the Old House of Assembly, Rodney's Memorial, the Jamaica

Archives, the Old Court House, the St James Cathedral, the Cenotaph (discussed later) the Old Barracks, the St Catherine District Prison, the Phillippo Baptist Church (discussed fully in a later section) and the Cast Iron Bridge. As a fitting tribute to Spanish Town's legacy, on December 29, 1994, The Jamaica National Heritage Trust declared *The Spanish Town Historic District* as a **National Monument**. [20]

Settlement Patterns in other Parts of St Catherine up to Emancipation

Before Emancipation, Spanish Town was the only major town and centre of population in the parish of St Catherine. This did not change until after Emancipation as will be seen in a subsequent section. Nevertheless, in Old St Catherine (St Catherine before the boundary changes of 1867), small port communities developed in two other places, these being Passage Fort and Port Henderson. Both of these communities emerged as a result of the trading and shipping activity which occurred there.

Passage Fort in English Times

As seen earlier, Passage Fort (then called Caguaya) had been used by the Spaniards as the main point of arrival and departure for their capital, Villa de la Vega. However, the poorly defended Passage Fort turned out to be a weak spot for the Spanish colony, and the English invading force under Penn and Venables used this to their advantage as they began the conquest of Jamaica in 1655. In the early period of English rule, Passage Fort was referred to as the Passage as it was the point of arrival and departure for Port Royal. Passage Fort's location on the west side of Kingston Harbour and its distance of only six miles from the new English capital of Spanish Town made it ideal to become the main point of entry and departure for persons and

goods going in and out of Spanish Town.

A View of Passage Fort. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, as sugar estates and agricultural production became more well-established under the English, Passage Fort became well established as the port of export and import for most of the plantations in St Catherine, St Thomas in the Vale and St John. A dock was built at Passage Fort for the loading and unloading of goods and wharves, and warehouses were also built where trade goods coming in for the plantations and livestock pens were received and stored until they were sent to their various destinations. Sugar and rum from the plantations were also taken to the wharves before being loaded on to the vessels for export.

Commercial activity shaped the population that came to live in Passage Fort, and a small village community of persons linked to the trade developed at Passage Fort. The community needed persons to be in charge of the wharves and to receive and register the goods. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these persons were known as *wharfingers* (the term is hardly used nowadays). Warehouse keepers were also needed as were operators of two-wheeled hackney carriages which were hired to transport persons to and from Passage Fort on their way to their various destinations. Ferry boats were used to carry passengers and goods from Passage Fort to Spanish Town, Port Royal and Kingston. The ferry usually left Passage Fort between six and seven o'clock in the morning before the breeze became too strong to allow safe navigation.

However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the channel leading up to the dock and wharves had become heavily silted, and the water was simply not deep enough to accommodate larger vessels. Therefore, these remained anchored in deeper water near to Greenwich Farm in Kingston, while boats called *lighters* transported the cargo to and from the larger vessels. By the early 1770s, Passage Fort had changed from being a poorly defended passage to Spanish Town to a small but well-established residential village community.

When Edward Long wrote his *History of Jamaica* in 1774, he described Passage Fort as a small village, containing about fifteen houses. The people who lived there were all connected to the trading activities at the port and the residents included the wharfingers, warehouse keepers, operators of ferries and the drivers of hackney carriages. Butchers connected to the cattle-slaughtering trade in Passage Fort were also residents of the village. Before Emancipation, enslaved labour was used in the loading and unloading of goods and also in other tasks related to the commercial activities in Passage Fort. According to Long, the operators of the ferry boats were almost entirely blacks, but whether these were free or enslaved remains uncertain.

From the mid-1660s, Passage Fort also played a role in the trade of African enslaved persons. The Royal African Company, which was the English-based merchant group that imported Africans into the West Indies, built enclosed areas inside the fort at Passage Fort and used these as holding areas for newly arrived slaves. Planters from across Jamaica came to Passage Fort to buy these slaves at auctions, and sometimes the slaves were transported to Spanish Town where regular slave auctions were also held.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Passage Fort was also the centre for a thriving cattle-slaughtering business. From the 1670s onwards, remaining wild cattle were herded through the Bog Walk Gorge, around Spanish Town and then to Passage Fort. There they were slaughtered and butchers from Passage Fort took the meat by ferry across the harbour to Port Royal for sale. Butchers and cattle herders from Spanish Town were also involved in this activity, and some of the meat was sold in the market at Spanish Town.

As was the case with other areas of the parish, the earthquake of 1692, which demolished much of Port Royal, also brought some destruction to nearby Passage Fort. Writing in 1774, Edward Long commented that most of the structures that had been built in the first settlement in Passage Fort had been completely destroyed by the earthquake. Although some houses and structures had been rebuilt by 1774, the community of Passage Fort was not fully restored to its former self. By the 1770s, the rise of Port Henderson as the preferred port for St Catherine had much to do with the decline of Passage Fort.

Port Henderson Overshadows Passage Fort in the Later Eighteenth Century

Port Henderson, which once was home to Taino villages, succeeded Passage Fort as the main port for Spanish Town in the 1770s. Located to the south of Passage Fort, Port Henderson lies on the north-east side of Salt Pond Hill and is six miles away from Spanish Town. It faces Port Royal across the narrow entrance to Kingston Harbour. The rise of Port Henderson as the main port of entry for Spanish Town and the rest of St Catherine, as well as the adjoining parishes of St Thomas in the Vale, St Dorothy and St John, is explained by its natural advantage over Passage Fort. Whereas the channel of water leading up to Passage Fort was not deep enough to accommodate large vessels, the water leading into Port Henderson was very deep and allowed vessels of all sizes to come quite close to the docks and wharves.

The Waters off Port Henderson's Coast. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Remains of the Wharf at Port Henderson. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of the Remains of the Wharf at Port Henderson. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

This ease of navigation and access meant that more shipping came directly into Port Henderson, and this led to increased commercial activity in the area. Very importantly, the entrance to the port was well guarded by the Twelve Apostles' Battery (an area where cannon and artillery were installed to be used for defence).

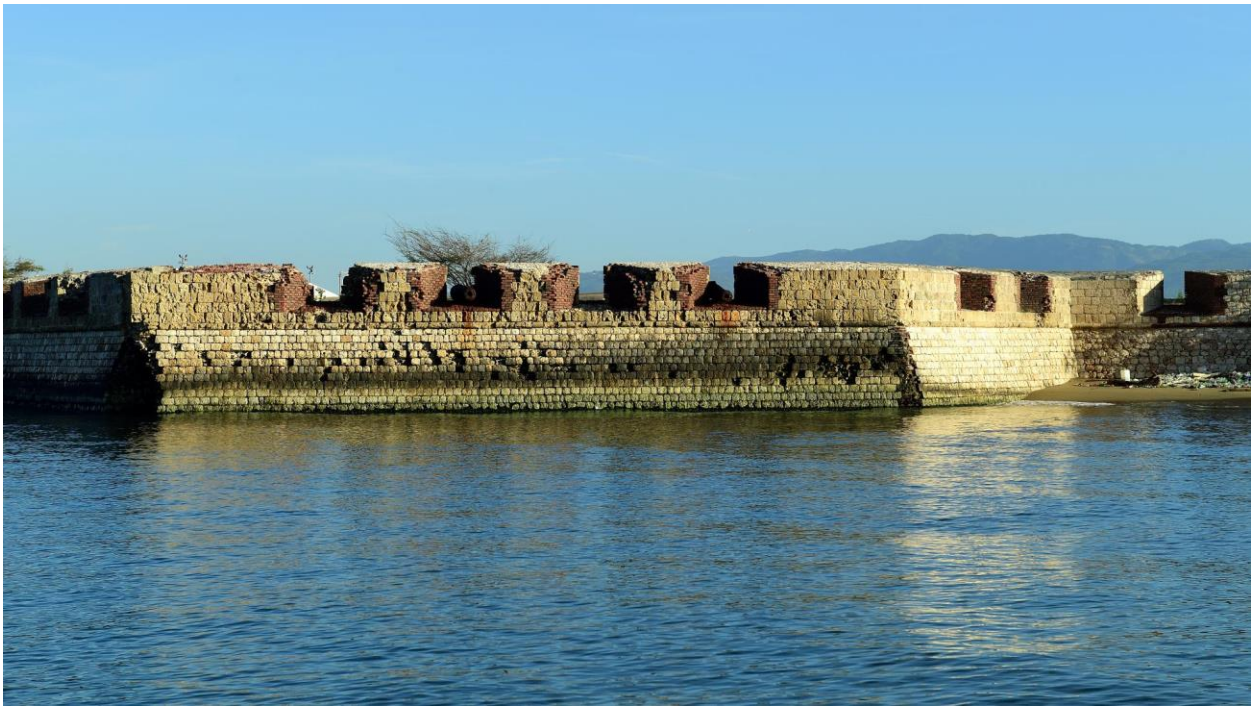
Fort Small (Fort Clarence) and Fort Augusta

By 1782, the need to further safeguard the waters between Port Henderson and the Hellshire Hills, led to the building of *Fort Small*. This fort was initially named after David Small, the man who designed and built the fort. However, by 1799, it was renamed *Fort Clarence* in honour of William, Duke of Clarence, who later became King of England. Today, the name lives on in Fort Clarence beach.

The area between Port Henderson and Passage Fort was also home to another important structure known as *Fort Augusta*. This was built facing the sea and although in St Catherine, Fort Augusta's main purpose was to guard the approaches to the western end of Kingston Harbour. Construction started in 1740 and was completed in the early 1750s. The fort was named in honour of *Augusta,* the mother of King George 111 of England. By 1768, *Fort Augusta*

boasted a complement of eighty guns. Up until 2017, *Fort Augusta* was home to Jamaica's only female prison. The female prison has been relocated to South Camp Road in Kingston.

A View of Fort Augusta from the Sea. Image courtesy of JNFoundation



Another Side of Fort Augusta. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Fort Augusta Showing Area From Which Guns were used to Guard the Harbour. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Growth and Development of Port Henderson

It was through the initiatives of an enterprising settler, John Henderson, that the port was developed and adopted as the main port of entry and departure for the parish in the 1770s. Henderson was a colonel of the militia in the parish in the later eighteenth century, but he was also a very influential owner of at least two agricultural properties immediately west of the port. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* (South-East sheet) shows five agricultural properties, all in the same vicinity, belonging to the Henderson family. Two of Colonel John Henderson's properties were Goshen Pen (cattle farm) and Port Henderson Estate. These were owned by him between 1793 and 1809 and ownership later passed to John Piercy Henderson.

Colonel Henderson combined production of sugar and rum with the raising of sheep, goats and cattle on his properties. Like most planters, Henderson wanted to have easy access to a nearby shipping point in order to quickly export his products and import goods from England. Henderson spent a lot of his own money on equipping the area as a trading port. Docks, wharves and warehouses were built and soon enough, most of the trade in and out of Spanish Town and the previously named parishes was diverted from Passage Fort to the new port. The bustling port was named Port Henderson after the spirited Colonel Henderson who did so much for its development.

Almost immediately, the hectic but profitable commerce which was centred on Port Henderson led to the growth of a small but thriving port town (Port Henderson Village). As with Passage Fort, the people living in the town were all connected to the trade, among them, wharfingers, warehouse operators and ferry boat captains who provided a fast service transporting people and goods in and out of Spanish Town, Port Royal and Kingston. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* (South-East sheet) shows more houses at Port Henderson than at Passage Fort. By 1804, there was also a well-supported tavern in the town.

Port Henderson quickly became the most important port for the shipping of sugar and other produce from St Catherine, and its adjoining parishes and important links were also established with the English squadron at Port Royal. Famed British Admiral George Rodney helped to shape the eighteenth-century landscape of Port Henderson while he was in charge of the British fleet and naval station in Jamaica between 1771 and 1774. He built his house about 600 feet up the slope of Port Henderson Hill, to the west of Port Henderson Village.

Further up the slope of Port Henderson Hill, he also built his look-out base (Rodney's Grass-Piece Lookout). The Lookout was a semi-circular tower with steps leading to the viewing platform and it was built from cut stone and mortar. On James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex*, south-eastern sheet, Rodney's Lookout is identified as the Look-out-House. Both the house and the Lookout were badly damaged in the 1907 earthquake.

The Commanding View from Rodney's Lookout, Port Henderson. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

On Robertson's map, there is also a structure identified as the Cold Bath, and this may have been the location for the spa for which the Port Henderson village became popular with visitors during the nineteenth century.

Rodney's Arms: A Popular Restaurant in Port Henderson Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Old Harbour: A Seaport Town (Today's Old Harbour Bay)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Old Harbour remained outside of the small parish of St Catherine and formed part of the old parish of St Dorothy. However, as of 1867, Old Harbour, along with the entire parish of St Dorothy, became an important part of St Catherine. The growth and development of the town of Old Harbour in the earlier centuries will therefore be looked at here. As previously seen, the Spanish governor, Esquivel, is credited as being the founder of the town and its port, Esquivel. In Spanish Jamaica, Old Harbour was an important shipping point for Villa de la Vega and the Spaniards seem to have established a small port town with a few houses. Under English rule, Old Harbour grew in size and importance. By 1774, the

little town of Old Harbour had grown up largely around the activities of its Port Esquivel which by then was the main port for St Dorothy, St John, a part of St Thomas in the Vale and Clarendon.

A View of Port Esquivel Today. Image courtesy of WINDALCO and JNFoundation

There were about thirty houses in the town and these were the homes of persons connected to the port's activities such as the *wharfingers* and the agents and merchants who handled the import and export arrangements. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* shows the town of Old Harbour as having quite a few houses. The waters of Old Harbour Bay were also an excellent source of fishing and this became a main source of livelihood for several of the town's inhabitants who at certain times of the year also caught turtles which were plentiful along the coast. Very importantly, this eighteenth-century port town would in later centuries be more accurately known as Old Harbour Bay and would really prosper on the basis of a thriving fishing industry. In fact, most people today associate Old Harbour Bay with Old Harbour Fishing Village.

The small fort or battery which had earlier served to guard Old Harbour Bay against invasion was neglected by 1774. This may have been due to the proximity of the town to Spanish Town and Port Royal from which help could have been sent in the event of a threatened invasion. Even more importantly, there were so many cays and shoals marking the entrance to Old Harbour Bay that persons unfamiliar with the area would find it difficult and dangerous to navigate. Nevertheless, a barracks for garrisoning soldiers was also maintained at Old Harbour Bay. There was an inlet or channel which stretched six miles inland leading into Old Harbour Bay's east harbour. Therefore, the harbour was sheltered on all sides, especially from storms and in the seventeenth century, the harbour had provided safe shelter for ships during storms. But by 1774, this channel had become so heavily silted that it was impossible for larger vessels to navigate. Therefore merchant ships had to remain docked further out in the bay and the goods transported in and out of the harbour by smaller vessels or boats.

Old Harbour Market (Today's Town of Old Harbour)

About two miles inland from Old Harbour Bay, another community also emerged and this was known as *Market* or *Old Harbour Market.* This was smaller than the port town of Old Harbour. Old Harbour Market got its name from the market which was held there every Sunday by enslaved persons from the parish who were allowed to sell their surplus provisions at the market. By 1804, Old Harbour Market, though small, had about twelve houses, a tavern and a few shops. The community of Old Harbour Market was located only about a mile away from the parish church for St Dorothy, the St Dorothy's Parish Church (discussed in a later section on

Churches and Schools).

St Dorothy's Anglican Church, Old Harbour. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Considerable growth and development in Old Harbour Market (Old Harbour proper) did not take place until after Emancipation. [21]

The African Presence in St Catherine up to Emancipation

Africans were present in the area that was to become St Catherine almost from the beginning of Spanish colonisation of Jamaica. Captured and brought to the island as enslaved people, Africans nevertheless held a significant place in the history of the parish and the wider Jamaica. Their role in the development of early markets in St Catherine has been noted previously, and their significance to the survival and prosperity of the sugar industry is undisputed. As seen here, Africans contributed not only to the growth of the wider economy, but they also played a role in shaping their own destinies, as well as Jamaica's early political history.

African Maroons in the Hellshire Hills

Under Spanish rule, several of the enslaved had shown their opposition to their forced migration and slave status by escaping from the Spanish hatos or ranches as well as the estates. They became the first Black Maroons, *cimarrones,* as they were called by the Spaniards, and from the earliest years of Spanish rule, the Hellshire Hills of St Catherine provided runaway slaves with safe refuge. In fact, we know that as the English ships under the command of Penn and Venables approached the south coast of Jamaica in 1655, these early Maroons observed the landing at Passage Fort from their lookout point in the Hellshire Hills. In 1655, as the English invaders began their capture of the island, the Spaniards freed some of their slaves and others were simply left to fend for themselves. Many of them fled to hilly and mountainous areas to escape the English. Some of those who had been living in the St Catherine area joined the ranks of the earlier runaways in the Hellshire Hills, and some migrated even further eastwards to join the groups that would later become known as the Windward Maroons.

Under English rule, the Hellshire Hills continued to be an important location for slaves who fled the estates and livestock pens in St Catherine.

A View of the Hellshire Hills in the Background. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

In the eighteenth century, as a result of treaties signed between the main Maroon groups and the English, Maroons were obliged to assist in the recapture of runaway slaves. In 1774, an extensive search was made by English soldiers and Maroons in the Hellshire Hills in the hope of capturing escaped slaves. Reports reaching the English authorities spoke of a large number of runaway slaves who were living in the Hellshire Hills in ‘little villages’. In actual fact, these Africans who had escaped the estates were intent on claiming and keeping their freedom and

so these ‘little villages’ in the Hellshire Hills were really free African communities, lived in by persons intent on remaining free.

Archaeological findings in the area suggest that these African villages were located in the elevated hilly area which lies at about 1,000 feet above sea level. Specifically these Maroon villages were to be found in the area between Salt Island Lagoon in the west, Salt Island Creek in the north and the Great Salt Pond to the east. From time to time and at their own risk, Africans who lived in the hills ventured down into nearby areas in St Catherine, raiding estates for provisions and other goods. They also lived off of the occasional fishing that they were able to do. In 1819, a group of soldiers, led by Major General Marshall and assisted by Maroons, had some success in recapturing some of the inhabitants. They did not succeed in eliminating the entire group in 1819, as Scipio, one of the leaders of the Hellshire Maroons and some of his followers escaped. We also know from archaeological research done in the area that communities of escaped slaves claiming their freedom continued in the Hellshire Hills down to Emancipation and may have continued as freed villages in the period after slavery was ended.

The Role of Juan Lubolo (Juan de Bolas) and other African Maroons in St Catherine: Resistance Fighters and Collaborators

From the English invasion of Jamaica in 1655 until the final defeat of Spaniards at the Battle of Rio Nuevo in 1658, a group of Spaniards led by the last Spanish governor, Ysassi, joined forces with Juan Lubolo (Juan de Bolas), the famed Maroon leader, and Maroons under his command to begin a campaign of resistance against the English invaders. St Catherine was an important base for the resistance movement and both the Spaniards and their Maroon collaborators carried out guerrilla type attacks and raids on the English in Spanish Town. Soldiers who ventured outside of the town were often attacked by groups of Maroon guerrillas.

We know that the Hellshire Hills provided an ideal lookout point from which Ysassi and the resistance were able to spy on English operations in Port Royal. A reliable source of food was vital to the resistance movement, and Juan Lubolo and his followers made an important contribution by clearing about 200 acres of land in the hidden valley of the Lluidas Vale area (a part of St John’s Parish before becoming part of St Catherine in 1867) and planting a variety of food crops. For some time, this area in Lluidas Vale remained the headquarters of Lubolo and the resistance, but it was eventually discovered by Lt. Colonel Tyson, commander of the Guanaboa regiment. Tyson convinced Lubolo to join forces with the English in defeating the Spanish resistance. In return, Lubolo and his Maroon supporters demanded their freedom, land and independence. The English agreed.

Lubolo's support for the English was critical because he and his men knew all the hiding places of the Spaniards, and this helped to bring about the final defeat of the Spaniards. Juan Lubolo and his followers were granted their freedom and full rights of English citizens, as well as thirty acres of land for each man over the age of eighteen. Lubolo was further made Colonel of the Black Militia and given power of authority over his people. Unfortunately, Lubolo was killed shortly after this in an ambush carried out by other Maroons who had not gone over to the English side. The name Juan Lubolo (changed to Juan de Bolas by the English) lives on in the Juan de Bolas Mountains which overlook Lluidas Vale where Lubolo and his people lived. His legacy has been honoured by the *Juan de Bolas Marker* placed on the main road in the centre of the town of Lluidas Vale by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Nearby is the Juan de Bolas Village named in honour of the famed Maroon leader. Juan Lubolo and his followers stand out in the history of St Catherine, not only for their role in the final defeat of the Spaniards, but more importantly, because they were the first free Black Maroon community in Jamaica's history. [22]

Economic Activities in St Catherine up to Emancipation

In the period before Emancipation, the main economic activities which influenced the history, settlement patterns and landscape of the large parish of St Catherine as it is today were sugar production, livestock rearing and other agricultural activities such as pimento farming. At times, the owners of sugar estates also did some livestock farming, but St Catherine also had large livestock properties which were known as Pens. The extent to which sugar production and other economic activities shaped the parish can be better understood if the economic activities in the three adjoining parishes of St Thomas in the Vale, St John and St Dorothy are also examined along with old St Catherine as by 1867, all of these were united to form one large parish, that of present-day St Catherine.

Sugar and other Economic Activities Shape the Parish up to 1834

In the period before Emancipation, sugar estates were located in several areas across the length and breadth of St Catherine as we know it today. Large areas of grassy plains were also suited to livestock rearing on farms or pens as they were called. The vast St Catherine Plain with its expanse of flat land meant that the parish was suited to sugar cane cultivation, which generally thrived on flat lands rather than in mountainous areas.

Parts of today's St Catherine where sugar estates were predominant included all the areas on the fertile banks of the Rio Cobre, which provided irrigation for the estates and an important source of water to power the mills used for the grinding of cane and the extraction of the cane juice. The fertile interior valleys of St Thomas in the Vale, with ample rainfall and rich red soil,

were exceptionally good for sugar cane cultivation, as was the Lluidas Vale area of St John. In these areas, deposits of top soil brought down by rain and rivers flowing down the slopes of surrounding mountains increased the fertility of the soil and this increased the amount of cane juice and therefore sugar, which could be obtained from the cane plants. Sugar estates were also located along the coastal parts of St Catherine as this meant easier and cheaper transportation of the sugar to nearby harbours for export. Many of these areas in St Catherine were also suited to the rearing of livestock and other agricultural activities. There was also some cultivation of coffee done by a few coffee properties before Emancipation.

Sugar, in particular, has shaped the parish of St Catherine in several ways. It was the sugar industry which explained most importations of Africans into the parish and by so doing, sugar contributed directly to the racial composition of the parish, with the presence over time of a high number of persons of African descent. Other agricultural settlements, such as livestock pens, also required an enslaved labour force. Through this forced migration of Africans, African culture, traditions, practices and beliefs remained part of the lives of both the enslaved and later, the freed people in the parish. Over time, these traditions were integrated into cultural practices such as dance and speech.

Before and after Emancipation, the physical landscape of the parish was profoundly changed by sugar in particular, although livestock pens and other agricultural properties also contributed to changes in landscape. Although the Spaniards had done some sugar cane cultivation, their focus had been more on the great cattle-ranching *hatos.* It was under English rule that sugar estates became so pronounced in the parish. Therefore, after 1655, entire areas of the parish outside of Spanish Town which had been uncultivated by the Spaniards, were cleared and brought under agricultural production, largely sugar cane. Economic activities, such as the sugar industry, also led to changes in infrastructure such as the building of roads and bridges in an effort to improve transportation of goods as well as people.

Several place names in today's St Catherine have been shaped by the legacy of the sugar industry and the great livestock rearing pens in the parish. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, diversification of the economy, building of factories, roads and highway construction, as well as housing developments, have removed some of the visible markers of the past dominance of the sugar industry in the parish. Yet, in driving through the parish, reminders such as the many cane fields along the Mandela Highway and the remains of great houses and sugar works still tell the story of the once extensive role that sugar played in the history of today's St Catherine.

Turning the Spotlight on Sugar Estates in Old St Catherine

In the years after the English conquest of 1655, sugar estates were established in various parts of the old parish of St Catherine, with most of these stretching eastwards from Spanish Town across to the Fresh (Ferry) River border with St Andrew. Before Emancipation, the major sugar estates in old St Catherine (the parish before the boundary changes of 1867) included Clearmount Estate (known as Clermont Estate by 1817) and three separate Caymanas Estates, Dawkins Caymanas, Ellis' Caymanas and Taylor's Caymanas. These three estates (looked at in detail shortly), were all located to the east of Spanish Town.

Slightly south-east of Spanish Town was Twickenham Park Estate and to the south-west of Spanish Town, right on the border between St Catherine and St Dorothy, was Mitchell's Bog Estate. Although Grange Pen was called a Pen, this property produced sugar from 1778 to 1789 and from 1790 to Emancipation, the focus switched from sugar to livestock rearing. Another property which alternated between sugar cane, livestock rearing and other crops such as corn, cocoa, pimento and cotton, was Crescent Pen, located north of Spanish Town. Between 1792 and 1826, Crescent Pen was owned and administered by members of the Nedham family.

Clearmount (Clermont Estate)

Clearmount was owned by Charles White from 1775 until 1780, when control of the estate passed to a series of administrators including William Bayley (1809-1811) and John Pusey Wint (1811-1817). William Parke owned the estate for many years between 1817 and 1832, and it was Parke who changed the name from Clearmount to Clermont Estate in 1817. For one year only, between 1775 and 1776, the products of the estate included not only sugar and rum, but also white lime and timber from the woodlands on the property. From 1777 until Emancipation, the owners focussed on the production of sugar and rum exclusively. Clermont was a medium-sized property, having about 69 enslaved persons on the estate in 1809 and by 1817, when Parke took over, the number of slaves had been further reduced to 59, with 30 females and 29 males in this number.

The Three Caymanas Estates in Old St Catherine

In eighteenth-century St Catherine, there were three different estates having the name Caymanas and operating at the same time. The early owners most likely named their estates *Caymanas* after the nearby Caymanas River and Pond. Each Caymanas Estate took the name of its owner and this helped to differentiate them. The three were Dawkins' Caymanas, Ellis' Caymanas and Taylor's Caymanas. All three Caymanas Estates were located to the east of Spanish Town, about four miles from the capital. The three estates were also situated north of

the main road which led from Spanish Town to Kingston and were within close distance to the Fresh or Ferry River.

Dawkins Caymanas Estate

Of the three, Dawkins' Caymanas appeared to have had the smallest acreage, having only 798 acres just before Emancipation. Robertson's 1804 Map of the County of Middlesex, south-east sheet (St Catherine), shows Dawkins' Caymanas as being located immediately east of Ellis' Caymanas and south of Taylor's Caymanas. From 1753, James Dawkins, the younger, was the owner of Dawkins' Caymanas after whom the estate was named. In 1760, ownership passed to Henry Dawkins 11, who remained the owner until 1815. From 1817 to 1832, various attorneys, including Francis Graham and William Shand, were given responsibility for the affairs of the estate. Between 1832 and 1839, attorney Thomas James Bernard of Bernard's Lodge (examined later) was placed in charge of Dawkins' Caymanas. Interestingly, another property in the parish, Dawkins Salt Pond Pen, was owned and managed by these same persons at the same time that they were in charge of Dawkins' Caymanas.

From 1753 to 1762, the estate produced sugar and rum but also grew cotton and reared livestock, such as cattle and horses, for additional income. However, from 1762 right down to Emancipation, Dawkins' Caymanas focussed solely on the production of sugar and rum, using an animal mill in the grinding of the canes. The enslaved population varied in size over the years, numbering for example, 298 slaves in 1809 and 193 by 1832. By 1819, when the previous owners, the Dawkins family, were no longer in charge, the name of the estate was changed to Caymanas and then to Caymanas Estate in 1823.

Ellis' Caymanas Estate

Ellis' Caymanas was located in the same general vicinity as the other two, all being east of Spanish Town. However, Ellis' Caymanas was to the west of Taylor's Caymanas. By comparison with Dawkins' Caymanas, Ellis' Caymanas was much larger, having a total of 2,392 acres. The estate remained in the hands of the Ellis family from 1740 until around 1815. Owners from the Ellis family included George Ellis from 1740 and 1743, John Ellis senior, between 1760 and 1763 and George Ellis between 1777 and 1815. Between 1817 and 1832, various attorneys managed the estate. Between 1740 and 1760, Ellis' Caymanas depended on a variety of goods to provide income, including sugar, rum, coconuts, coffee, livestock, fish and garden produce. However, from 1760 onwards, the estate relied mainly on the production of sugar and rum. Numbers of enslaved persons on the estate were fairly high, ranging from 249 in 1811 to 152 in 1832. One of the notable features about this estate is that slaves from Ellis' Caymanas were noted for their

presence in both the Spanish Town and Kingston markets where they usually sold their fruits and provisions on market day.

Taylor's Caymanas

This was the largest of the three Caymanas Estates, with 2,900 acres. It was located in the same vicinity as the others and was due east of Ellis and north of Dawkins' Caymanas Estates. Like the others, Taylor's Caymanas was about four miles east of Spanish Town and not far from the Fresh or Ferry River. From 1753 to 1781, the property was owned by George Hanbury Taylor, after whom the estate was named. Ownership passed to John Hanbury Taylor in 1781, and he kept control of it until 1790. By 1795, George Hanbury Mitchell became the owner and passed the property to Charles Mitchell in 1807. Between 1815 and 1823, Taylor's Caymanas was owned by Gilbert Mathison, and two years before Emancipation, James Ewing took control of the estate.

As was the case with the other two Caymanas Estates, Taylor's Caymanas focussed mainly on the production of sugar and rum and produced on average, about 260 hogsheads (barrels in which the sugar was stored and exported) of sugar and about 180 puncheons (containers) of rum per year. Like the others, Taylor's Caymanas relied on an animal-powered mill for grinding the sugar cane. From time to time, the estate also engaged in cattle rearing. A steady enslaved labour force was used on the estate, with numbers ranging from 260 in 1809, to 290 in 1825 and 237 shortly before Emancipation.

As will be seen in a later section, Caymanas Estates were merged to form one property in the twentieth century and became known as Caymanas Estates Ltd. Unlike so many other estates in Jamaica, Caymanas Estate has survived over the years. Indeed, many Jamaicans today identify the name, Caymanas, with St Catherine. Even though what comes readily to mind for some are the horseracing events carried on at Caymanas Park, the name also survives in the Caymanas Golf and Country Club and in the housing developments bearing the same name. Without a doubt, the legacy of Caymanas remains a large part of the heritage and collective memories in the parish of St Catherine. The Caymanas sugar estates have forever left their imprint on a vast

area of the physical and cultural landscape of St Catherine.

A Monument to the Modern Focus of Caymanas Park. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

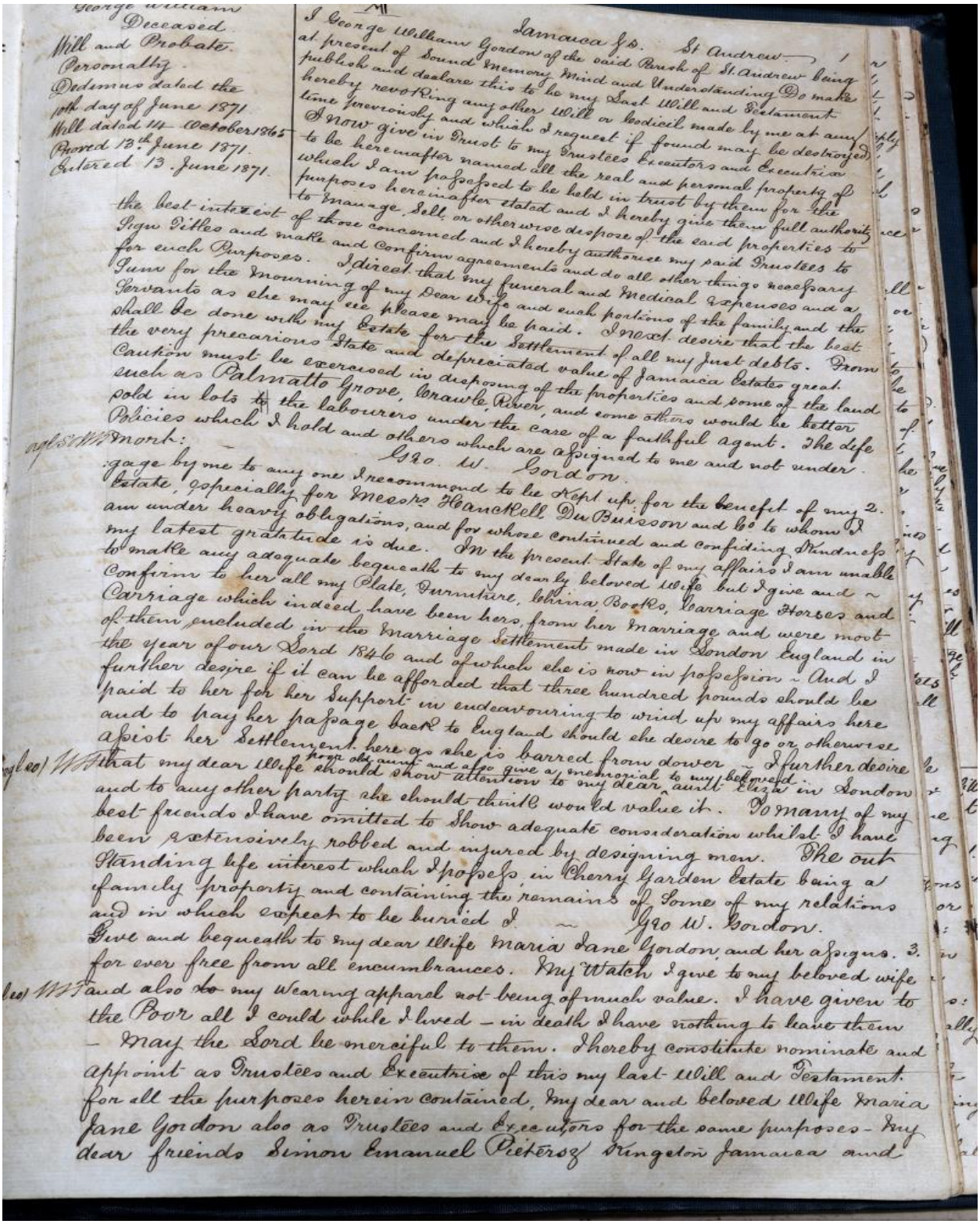
Twickenham Park Estate

Today, people think of Twickenham Park as a place to do business (Twickenham Park Industrial Estate) or as home to the Police Academy. However, like many other areas in modern day St Catherine, Twickenham Park started out as a sugar estate. In the eighteenth century, this was a large estate, occupying about 1,190 acres. It was located very near to Spanish Town and was slightly south-east of the town. Because it was situated on the banks of the Rio Cobre River, Twickenham Park Estate benefitted from a water mill powered by water from the river for crushing and grinding the canes in the factory. An early owner was James Jones, whose ownership and management lasted from 1807 to 1834.

In the late eighteenth century, Twickenham Park Estate seems to have focussed mainly on the production of sugar and rum, with the assistance of an enslaved labour force, which in 1809, numbered 258 persons, for example. From 1803 onwards, they combined sugar and rum production with the raising of livestock. They also hired out wagons to other estates. As with the Caymanas estates, Twickenham Park Estate has left a long-lasting imprint on the landscape of St Catherine, lending its name to an area that is home to institutions such as the *Registrar General's Department,* which is of great significance to the people who live in St Catherine as well as other parishes of Jamaica.

The Registrar General's Department, Twickenham Park, St Catherine. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Old Anglican Marriage Registers Housed at the RGD Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation



George William
Deceased.
Will and Probate.
Personality.
Dedimus dated the
10th day of June 1871
Will dated 14th October 1865
Proved 13th June 1871.
Entered 13. June 1871.

I George William Gordon of the Parish of St. Andrew being at present of Sound Memory Mind and Understanding Do make publish and declare this to be my Last Will and Testament hereby revoking any other Will or Codicil made by me at any time previously and which I request if found may be destroyed. I now give in Trust to my Trustees Executors and Executrix to be hereinafter named all the real and personal property of which I am possessed to be held in trust by them for the purposes hereinafter stated and I hereby give them full authority to manage, Sell, or otherwise dispose of the said properties to the best interest of those concerned and I hereby authorize my said Trustees to Sign Titles and make and Confirm agreements and do all other things necessary for such Purposes. I direct that my funeral and Medical expenses and a Sum for the Mourning of my Dear Wife and such portions of the family and the Servants as she may see please may be paid. I next desire that the best shall be done with my Estate for the Settlement of all my just debts. From the very precarious State and depreciated value of Jamaica Estates great Caution must be exercised in disposing of the properties and some of the land such as Palmatto Grove, Crawle River, and some others would be better sold in lots to the labourers under the care of a faithful agent. The life Policies which I hold and others which are assigned to me and not under mort: gage by me to any one I recommend to be Kept up for the benefit of my Estate, especially for Messrs Hanckell Du Buisson and to whom I am under heavy obligations, and for whose continued and confiding Kindness my latest gratitude is due. In the present State of my affairs I am unable to make any adequate bequeath to my dearly beloved Wife but I give and confirm to her all my Plate, Furniture, Library Books, Carriage Horses and Carriage which indeed have been hers from her marriage and were most of them included in the marriage Settlement made in London England in the year of our Lord 1846 and of which she is now in possession - And I further desire if it can be afforded that three hundred pounds should be paid to her for her Support in endeavouring to wind up my affairs here and to pay her passage back to England should she desire to go or otherwise assist her Settlement here as she is barred from dower - I further desire that my dear Wife should show attention to my dear aunt Eliza in London and to any other party she should think would value it. To many of my best friends I have omitted to show adequate consideration whilst I have been extensively robbed and injured by designing men. The out Standing life interest which I possess in Cherry Garden Estate being a family property and containing the remains of some of my relations and in which expect to be buried I -

Geo W. Gordon.

Give and bequeath to my dear Wife Maria Jane Gordon and her assigns. for ever free from all encumbrances. My Watch I give to my beloved wife and also to my Wearing apparel not being of much value. I have given to the Poor all I could while I lived - in death I have nothing to leave them - May the Lord be merciful to them. I hereby constitute nominate and appoint as Trustees and Executrix of this my last Will and Testament for all the purposes herein contained, my dear and beloved Wife Maria Jane Gordon also as Trustees and Executors for the same purposes - My dear friends Simon Emanuel Pieterszs Kingston Jamaica and

The First Part of National Hero, George William Gordon's Will, Housed at the RGD Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Some Sugar Estates from St Thomas in the Vale (part of St Catherine as of 1867)

As mentioned earlier, the fertile interior valleys of the old parish of St Thomas in the Vale were especially suited to sugar cane cultivation. Therefore, it was not surprising that this area was home to so many sugar estates (at least thirty seven) in the eighteenth century, right up to the time of Emancipation. Included among these were the 1,064 acre sugar and rum producing Banbury Estate, located on the east bank of the Rio Cobre River, which provided water for the estate's water mill. Banbury was owned from 1793 to 1810 by Colonel John Henderson, whose connections to Port Henderson have been highlighted.

Other estates included the 1,025 acre Berkshire Hall, a sugar and rum producing property and the vast 1,700 acre Berwick Estate, which was at that time located south of today's district of Crawle. To the north of Berwick Estate was Crawle Estate, another sugar and rum-producing property. Interestingly, both Berwick and Crawle Estates were close to each other and shared some of the same owners over time, including Sir Alexander Grant. Crawle Estate has left its imprint on the place names in St Catherine, as today's district of Crawle in Riversdale is to be found in the same vicinity where the old estate once stood and took its name from the estate. Because it influenced the history of St Catherine in some interesting ways, the vast sugar estate of Bybrook is looked at separately.

Other sugar properties in St Thomas in the Vale included Dove Hall Estate, Dover Castle (looked at shortly) Enfield, Hampshire, Hayfield, Hoghole, Hyde, Ivy, Knollis, Litchfield, Mickleton, Mount Olive, Murmuring Brook, New Hall, New Works, Palm Estate, Palmer Hut and Rentcombe (the district of Rentcombe is today located in the same area and takes its name from the sugar estate). Other sugar estates included Risby, River Head, Rose Hall, Sandy Gutt, Savage, Seven Mile Walk, Shenton, Stirling Castle, Treadways, Tulloch (looked at shortly) Wakefield, Wallens and West Prospect and Williamsfield Estate.

Williamsfield, Dover Castle and Tulloch Estates

Williamsfield Estate, which was located close to present-day Harewood, covered a large area of 2,893 acres and concentrated on the production of sugar and rum, with labour provided by about 213 slaves just before Emancipation. The name Williamsfield lives on in the district of Williamsfield and in the Williamsfield United and the Williamsfield Seventh Day Adventist Churches. By comparison, Dover Castle was a smaller sugar estate covering some 900 acres and was located to the north-west of Crawle Sugar Estate. It was owned for many years by the Henriques family, including David Henriques, who had possession of the estate from 1798 to 1801 and Jacob Henriques who owned Dover Castle from 1815 to 1821 and again from 1823 to 1825. Solomon Mendes Da Silva was the owner from 1826 onwards.

Dover Castle produced sugar and rum consistently, with a labour force which had an average of under 200 slaves. Today, the name of the old sugar estate continues in the district of Dover Castle, which is located in the same space once occupied by the sugar cane fields, factory and slave village of Dover Castle Estate. Today's Dover Castle is south of Guy's Hill in the parish. To the left of today's Dover Castle is the main road, the Devil's Race Course. Today, the district of Tulloch and the Tulloch Housing Estates are found in the same area where the sugar estate bearing that name was located. Tulloch is near to Bog Walk and is roughly south-east of Crawle and Riversdale in the parish. Tulloch was a vast sugar estate of 2049 acres and produced sugar and rum up to the time of Emancipation. Between 1799 and 1801, Henry Davidson Senior and Reverend George Chandler were joint owners of the property. It then became the property of Francis Graham from 1809 to 1820, and members of the Munro family took over ownership from 1822 until 1839.

Bybrook Sugar Estate

By 1969, Bybrook had been a working sugar estate for three hundred years, having been first established by Carey Helyar in 1669. These early beginnings made Bybrook one of the oldest sugar estates in St Catherine. Bybrook was located in the lush, fertile interior valley of what was known as Sixteen Mile Walk in St Thomas in the Vale. Interestingly, Sixteen Mile Walk was so called because of the distance which persons had to travel to get from Spanish Town to St Thomas in the Vale.

A Breathtaking View of Bybrook Estate Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Carey Helyar arrived in Jamaica in 1664 and having been advised by his friend, Governor Thomas Modyford, to acquire land in the interior valley of Sixteen Mile Walk, Carey began the process in 1667. Accompanied by his dog, Helyar chopped the dense vegetation, and at times, paddled through the six miles of the Rio Cobre Gorge (the Bog Walk Gorge) to find a fertile and well-watered valley (Sixteen Mile Walk) where he decided to acquire 626 acres of land.

At Bog Walk: A Vision of the Lush Vegetation on the Banks of the Rio Cobre in the Bog Walk Area. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Helyar named the property *Bybrook* because the land was by the bank of the Rio Cobre and also because the property lay at the junction of two streams or brooks. The ready sources of water from both the Rio Cobre and the streams meant that a water mill could be used to supply power for a sugar factory. From 1669 to 1672, Helyar, along with William Whaley, were joint owners of the new 626-acre Bybrook Sugar Estate. The estate was located close to the present town of Bog Walk and was about ten miles north of Spanish Town. In addition to the first shipment of sugar from Bybrook, Helyar also shipped tamarind and chocolate from the property. By 1672, Bybrook's size had grown to 1236 acres.

Bybrook remained in the Helyar family for quite a while, with ownership passing to William Helyar from 1673 to 1697 and then from 1697 to 1713, it was held by joint owners, William Helyar Jr and John Helyar. A series of managers and attorneys looked after the property until

Robert Ross became the new owner in 1823, and Bybrook remained in his hands until 1839. By that year, Bybrook had been expanded to a massive 4,580 acre property which had emphasized sugar and rum production throughout its many years of existence. Much later, in 1970, the long-living Bybrook covered an area of 10,000 acres and at that time, one fifth of the estate was under cane cultivation.

The Vast Bybrook Property Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Before Emancipation, the enslaved labour force ranged from 55 in 1672, to 290 in 1799 and then to 336 in 1809. In 1832, shortly before Emancipation, there were 270 slaves attached to Bybrook. Thirteen of these Bybrook slaves were alleged to have taken part in a rebellion in 1678. Quashee Eddoo, one of the most trusted slaves on the estate, was implicated in the rebellion. In return for his life being spared, he agreed to testify against the other twelve slaves who were alleged to have been part of the rebellion. The accused Bybrook slaves were tried and four were burned alive, eight hanged and Quashee was transported (forced to live out his

prison time in another country).

At Work on Bybrook Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Sugar, the Bog Walk Gorge and the Building of the Flat Bridge

One of the ways in which economic activities like the sugar industry in St Catherine influenced the history of the parish was through the development of communications and infrastructure such as roads and bridges. In the early years of English rule in Jamaica, very little if anything was known of the Rio Cobre Gorge or the Bog Walk Gorge as it was later known. There is no evidence to suggest that the Spaniards knew much about the area despite the often repeated claim that the name Bog Walk comes from the Spanish name, *Boca de Agua*, meaning Water's Mouth.

When Carey Helyar chopped and paddled his way through the six miles of dense vegetation and the Rio Cobre River in 1669, he did more than anyone else had previously done to cut through the Gorge and by so doing to increase public knowledge about the Gorge as a way to get from Spanish Town to Sixteen Mile Walk in St Thomas in the Vale. For this reason, Helyar is often credited as the person who 'discovered' the Bog Walk Gorge. The breathtakingly beautiful Rio Cobre or Bog Walk Gorge was formed many centuries before by the powerful force of the water from the Rio Cobre River gushing through the land and rock formation in the area. It stands to reason that persons such as the Taino inhabitants of Jamaica may have known about the Gorge long before either the Spaniards or the English set foot in the island, and they would, therefore, be the true discoverers of the Gorge. Carey Helyar's contribution is that he was the first

Englishman to open the six-mile path through the Gorge and in this way brought the Bog Walk Gorge to public attention.

The First Road through the Bog Walk Gorge and the Building of the Flat Bridge

The gradual spread of sugar estates into the interior valley of St Thomas in the Vale and Helyar's cutting of a path through the Rio Cobre Gorge focussed governmental attention on the need for a roadway which would lead travellers through the Gorge on their way to or from Spanish Town to the estates in St Thomas in the Vale. In 1770, the first road was cut through the Bog Walk Gorge. This was little more than a dirt road, also known as a carriage road, as it was wide enough to accommodate horse-drawn carriages.

The Early Carriage Road (Later Named the River Road) Through the Bog Walk Gorge. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

However, when travellers arrived at the Rio Cobre, they had to be taken across the river by boat or ferry as there was no bridge across the river. Three years earlier, in 1767, an Act had been passed by the Jamaican Assembly to allow for the building of a bridge over the Rio Cobre.

A later amendment to the 1767 Act allowed for the cutting of a road which would lead from the bridge to the Ferry at the border between St Andrew and St Catherine, thereby improving road communications.

While the exact year of the construction of the Flat Bridge remains uncertain, it must have been completed before Edward Long wrote his *History of Jamaica* in 1774 as he spoke about the bridge in his book. The original bridge was flat and was made from wooden planks which were placed across a wooden frame. A stone pier was built on each side of the river and buttresses or stone structures were built against each pier to strengthen and support the pier. The wooden framework of the bridge, complete with wooden planks, was then secured to the stone pier on each end. Labour for the construction of Flat Bridge and nearby road (called *River Road*) was provided largely by slaves from surrounding estates. Each of the sixteen estates in the area (from both St Thomas in the Vale and St John) were required to send one out of every fifty slaves owned by the estate to work on both the bridge and the road that was being built from the bridge leading into Ferry. The tasks of digging gravel, marl, sand and stone proved not only difficult, but also dangerous, and many slaves lost their lives in the process. So began Bog Walk's Flat Bridge and the River Road, today known as the Junction Road.

A View of Early Flat Bridge across the Rio Cobre. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Flat Bridge in the Twentieth Century. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Flat Bridge Today, Showing Traffic Lights Controlling the Flow of Traffic Across the Bridge.
Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Lush Vegetation along the Banks of the Rio Cobre in the Vicinity of Flat Bridge Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

When Bog Walk became *Bog Walk*

James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* shows that there was a tavern called *Bog Walk Tavern* near the side of the bridge leading from the direction of Spanish Town and Kingston. This provided a well-needed rest stop for the travellers who used this route by the late eighteenth century. Very importantly, as a small settlement slowly developed around the tavern after Emancipation, the name *Bog Walk Tavern* was gradually replaced by *Bog Walk*

Village.

Bog Walk Village. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Bog Walk Village was in general use by the end of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century, the name *Village was dropped* and the area referred to as *Bog Walk*. From then on, the name Bog Walk has been used for the entire area, and the gorge is distinguished from the settlement by the use of the name, *Bog Walk Gorge.*

Highlighting some Sugar Estates from St Dorothy (Part of St Catherine as of 1867)

Although St Dorothy did not have as many sugar estates as St Thomas in the Vale, some sugar properties, especially those which were situated in the Old Harbour area, have had a long-lasting impact on the landscape and place names evident in the parish today. Some of the more influential sugar estates included Amity Hall, Bushy Park, Cherry Garden, Cocoa Walk, Colbeck, Lodge and Nightingale Grove.

Amity Hall Estate

Amity Hall was one of a cluster of sugar estates which were located relatively close to each other and all within the vicinity of Old Harbour. This property was in operation from the 1740s, being owned from 1744 to 1772 by Sir Charles Price, 1st Baronet (a title of nobility). Price's grandfather was one of the early English settlers of Jamaica in 1658. Price owned several sugar plantations in Jamaica and was elected Member of the House of Assembly and also Speaker of the House. When he died in 1772, his son, also Sir Charles Price, 2nd Baronet, took ownership of Amity Hall until 1786. The estate passed to William Brailsford between 1795 and 1812 and to Joseph Timperon between 1816 and 1839.

In 1776, Amity Hall was a relatively small property of only 700 acres, but by 1839, it had grown to a massive 2,313 acres. Its location on the west bank of the Black River meant that Amity Hall was able to use a water mill in addition to an animal mill for its factory operations. As was the case with some other estates, Amity Hall produced mainly sugar and rum, but relied on other products, such as corn, logwood, cattle and the hiring out of some of its slaves for an income. In 1815, there were 322 slaves on the property and in 1832, shortly before Emancipation, there were 328. Today, the community of Amity Hall is located in the same general Old Harbour vicinity as the former estate and has kept the name long after the estate ceased to exist.

Cherry Garden Estate

Cherry Garden Estate was located in the Old Harbour vicinity, close to Amity Hall and Bushy Park Estates. The property covered 1,246 acres by 1839, and although sugar and rum were its main products, some livestock rearing was also done. Cattle were sold to nearby estates which did not engage in livestock rearing. Animals were also used to power the animal mill used in the grinding of canes in the factory. In 1809, there were 221 slaves attached to the estate and by 1832, there were 241. Cherry Garden was owned by the Bernal family right up to Emancipation. Jacob Israel Bernal, a Jewish merchant and planter, owned the property from 1790 until his death in 1811. Cherry Garden then passed to his only son, Ralph Bernal, who controlled the property up to 1834. Cherry Garden, the present-day community in the Bog Walk area of St Catherine, occupies the same general area as the Cherry Garden Estate did and reflects the continued influence of sugar estates on the naming of communities in the parish.

Cocoa Walk Estate/Plantation

Cocoa Walk Estate was located nearer to the border with St John, and is historically significant because of its connection to Governor Sligo of Jamaica, after whom Sligoville in St Catherine was named. Cocoa Walk Estate (so named because there was a grove of cocoa trees planted there at one point) was in operation from 1740. It was a vast property of 2301 acres, and its location allowed it to use water from the Mountain River to power the water mill on the estate.

For most of its existence, Cocoa Walk focussed on the production of sugar and rum and molasses but later, livestock rearing was added. In 1809, there were 224 slaves on the estate, and in 1832, two years before the abolition of slavery, there were 172.

Up to 1758, the owner of Cocoa Walk was Dennis Kelly, who had been Chief Justice of Jamaica in 1742. Dennis Kelly's daughter, Elizabeth, inherited the property from her father, and when she married Peter Browne-Kelly (he took his wife's name after marriage), Cocoa Walk then became jointly owned by Peter Browne-Kelly and his wife, Elizabeth Browne (nee Kelly) from 1758 to 1780. From 1780 to 1809, the estate was owned by John Denis Browne, 1st Marquis of Sligo and father of the future governor of Jamaica, Lord Sligo. In 1809, Cocoa Walk was inherited by his son, Howe Peter Browne, 2nd Marquis of Sligo, future governor of Jamaica and he owned the estate until 1839.

When slavery was abolished on 1 August 1834, the British Government ordered that all former slaves six years of age and older should serve a period of apprenticeship to their former masters before they could become fully free. This period was known as the Apprenticeship System, and it was officially ended on 1 August 1838 when full freedom was granted. Howe Peter Browne, 2nd Marquis of Sligo, became governor of Jamaica in 1834, the year when Apprenticeship was to start. Cocoa Walk Estate had its own moment in history because Governor Sligo made the decision to immediately free all of the approximately 172 enslaved persons on the property rather than subject them to the period of Apprenticeship.

Bushy Park Estate and the Bushy Park Aqueduct

One of the ways in which the sugar industry has shaped the physical landscape of St Catherine even to the present day, can be seen in the remains of estate structures, such as factory buildings, houses and aqueducts, which were used to transport water from nearby rivers to power water mills and irrigate the fields. These ruins are important reminders of our history and remain part of Jamaica's heritage, to be studied, appreciated and protected. The *Bushy Park Aqueduct,* which was an important part of Bushy Park Estate's factory works, is one such

structure which has been declared Protected Heritage by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.

The Bushy Park Aqueduct. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Bushy Park Sugar Estate was located north-east of the town of Old Harbour and south-east of St Dorothy's Anglican Church. The estate was west of Amity Hall Estate and in the general vicinity of the St Dorothy estates listed previously. Bushy Park was in operation from the second half of the eighteenth century as a major sugar-producing estate. From 1786 until 1789, the estate was owned by George Bonynge. Ownership passed to William 'King' Mitchell in 1794, and when he died in 1823, Bushy Park was taken over by his nephew, John Mitchell. The estate was vast, covering 2,578 acres by 1839. Its location allowed Bushy Park's owners to channel water from the Spring Garden River by way of the Bushy Park Aqueduct to a water mill used to crush the canes in the factory. Because of its large size and the emphasis that was placed on the production of sugar and rum, Bushy Park also had two animal mills. Although the rearing of cattle was done from time to time, the estate consistently produced sugar right up to the time of Emancipation. Such a large estate required a large labour force and in 1809, there were 651

slaves on the estate, while in 1832, there were 714 enslaved workers.

Still Standing: Remains of the Bushy Park Aqueduct. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Bushy Park Aqueduct was built between 1760 and 1780 and was originally 559 metres or 1,833.99 feet in length. Built by slave labour, the aqueduct was made from bricks which were held together by a mixture of crushed limestone, molasses, dry grass and animal dung. The Bushy Park Aqueduct in St Catherine is an important reminder of the eighteenth-century engineering skills that were necessary to design an aqueduct which would transport water from a river onto the estate. Indeed, St Catherine's Bushy Park Aqueduct is one of a handful of aqueducts which still remain in Jamaica. The remains of the aqueduct are still highly visible today, although over the years, parts of the structure were removed to facilitate the building of the railway line, the parish road and the Old Harbour Bypass which now forms a part of

Highway 2000.

The Bushy Park Aqueduct which Channeled Water from the Spring Garden River to Power the Water Wheel at the Sugar Factory. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Colbeck Estate and Colbeck Castle

Colbeck Estate was located close to the border between St Dorothy and Clarendon and to the north of the town of Old Harbour. The estate had its beginnings in land granted to Captain John Colbeck, who had taken part in the English capture of the island in 1655. In recognition of the role that he played in the 1655 invasion, Colbeck was granted 1,340 acres of land, and he later established a sugar estate on a part of this property. Colbeck went on to represent Old Harbour in the first meeting of the House of Assembly in 1664, and from 1671 until his death in 1683, he served as the Member of the House of Assembly for the district of Bowers, where *Colbeck Castle,* which was named in his honour, was located. However, it was not until the early eighteenth century that Colbeck Estate became well established under the management of Thomas Bernard and William Henry Bernard who were both responsible for the property from 1728 to 1743. Relatives of Captain John Colbeck became owners of the estate beginning in 1765 when John McLeod, the Elder of Colbeck, took possession until 1775. John Mcleod, the Younger of Colbeck, owned the estate from 1786 until 1822.

In these years, Colbeck Estate grew from strength to strength. What had started out as a modest grant of 1,340 acres in the 1660s had grown to a massive property covering 5,586 acres two centuries later in 1839. The estate had an enslaved labour force averaging well over 250 in most years, with 234 slaves on the estate in 1832. Its main products were sugar and rum, but by 1807, the estate's owners added livestock rearing, pasturage, production of corn, logwood and the rental of estate land to their sources of income. Colbeck Estate's sugar works used a water mill powered by water from the Mountain River.

A View of the Brick Oven from the Sugar Works of Colbeck Estate. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

A Closer View of the Brick Oven on Colbeck Estate. Image courtesy of JNHT and JNFoundation

Inside the Brick Oven on Colbeck Estate. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

Colbeck Castle

Although partially in ruins, the magnificent structure of Colbeck Castle stands large and imposing on the landscape of Bowers, about two miles north of Old Harbour. Colbeck Castle was built on a part of the Colbeck Estate property. The entire structure was made from brick and stone and resembled a fortress with towers rising to a height of forty feet at each of the four corners. Colbeck Castle was built as part of a defensive system meant to protect the island

from invading forces, but the castle was also meant to be a residence.

An Interesting Angle from which to View Colbeck Castle. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) and JNFoundation

However, there is a great deal of uncertainty about who built this fortress-like structure, and the exact time of construction is also shrouded in mystery. Information posted on the website of the *Jamaica National Heritage Trust* states that the castle was built around 1680 and that Captain John Colbeck lived at Colbeck Castle until his death in 1683. It seems, however, that Colbeck Castle may have been built much later, perhaps in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as detailed accounts by writers such as Edward Long (*History of Jamaica* 1774) make no reference whatsoever to Colbeck Castle. It is not likely that Edward Long (who wrote detailed accounts of all parishes) could have missed this monumental castle on the landscape north of Bog Walk. Nevertheless, it remains clear that Colbeck Castle had a historical connection to the Colbeck Estate and that it was named Colbeck Castle in honour of the original Captain John Colbeck. Colbeck Castle is owned by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust which

has declared this as Protected Heritage.

The Magnificent Remains of Colbeck Castle. Image courtesy of The Jamaica National Heritage Trust and JNFoundation

Regardless of the uncertainty discussed above, it is clear that both Colbeck Estate and Colbeck Castle have shaped the landscape and place names in this part of St Catherine. The road which leads to Colbeck Castle is suitably named *Colbeck Castle Road*. To the right of Colbeck Castle, there is an entire community (*Colbeck Village*) named after the Colbeck legacy and quite

appropriately, one of the roads in this community is named *Bowers* Drive.

A View of Colbeck Community. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Community of Colbeck. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Site of the New Colbeck Village Development. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Estates from the Old Parish of St John Shape the History of St Catherine

The old parish of St John became part of St Catherine in 1867. Before then, St John was home to several sugar estates, some of which had a lasting effect on the economy and landscape of the parish of St Catherine. One of these was *Dove Cote Park Estate* which was located close to the border between St John and old St Catherine. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* shows Dove Cote Park Estate as being located due west of Spanish Town. Given the present day location of Dovecot Park Cemetery in the same general space, it seems very likely that the *Dovecot Park* of today was named for this sugar estate.

Some of the other St John sugar estates included Retreat Estate and Swansea Estate, the latter being a 4,017-acre property in the fertile Lluidas Vale area of the parish. Although it produced mainly sugar and rum, Swansea also grew coffee in the hilly parts of the estate, which explains why Swansea was also called Coffee Mountain in the 1820s. Swansea had a large enslaved labour force ranging from 374 in 1823 to 344 in 1832. Others included Water Mount, Spring Vale, Mountain River, Lloyd's, Lemon Hall, Fuller's Rest, Belmont and Aylmer's Estates. Of the Lluidas Vale sugar estates, the two that seemed to have had the most lasting effects on the parish are Thetford Estate and Worthy Park Estate.

Thetford Estate

This is a good example of how sugar estates have left their very visible mark on the parish of St Catherine. Located slightly south-east of Worthy Park Estate in Lluidas Vale, Thetford had a long history dating back to the 1650s when Colonel Thomas Fuller was given the Thetford property as a reward for his contribution to the 1655 capture of Jamaica. The estate remained with the Fuller family for a long while, being owned by Peeke Fuller and Charles Beckford Fuller from 1774 to 1777 and then by Peeke Fuller from 1798 to 1825. Over time, the property grew to

3,253 acres, with the average number of slaves ranging from 262 in 1809 to 299 in 1832.

Thetford: The Two-Storey Residence Built in the Nineteenth Century in the Vicinity of the Site of the Original Great House. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

A Side View of the Nineteenth-Century Thetford House. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The ruins of the original Thetford Great House still mark the landscape of what was once a thriving estate. In the late nineteenth century, a new two-storey residence was built in the vicinity of where the original great house stood, but this has not hidden the ruins of the original building. Thetford had no consistent source of water to power a watermill and so the estate had both a windmill and an animal mill to crush the canes for the making of sugar. Although its sails have long since disappeared, the windmill tower remains till today, very visible in the landscape of the area. To the left of the windmill tower, the remains of two animal mills can

clearly be seen.

View of the Surrounding Property from the Front of the Nineteenth-Century Thetford House. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Worthy Park Estate

In 1970, Worthy Park Sugar Estate in Lluidas Vale marked three hundred years of operation as a productive sugar estate in the parish of St Catherine. Its productivity in the sugar industry has continued into the twenty-first century. This estate has had a tremendous impact on St Catherine in that it has created a culture of stable sugar production for over three hundred

years and remains a success story of which St Catherine and Jamaica can be justifiably proud.

Worthy Park and a Breathtaking View of the Vale of Lluidas. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Worthy Park story began in 1670 when its first owner, Lieutenant Francis Price, acquired the property on the west bank of the Lluidas River in fertile Lluidas Vale. It was the only sugar estate in St Catherine's history to have remained the property of one family from the seventeenth century right up to Emancipation. The estate did not start the production of sugar and rum for export until 1720 and has continuously produced sugar from then until now. Part of the reason for its success was the history of family ownership by persons who were resident in Jamaica and who were careful managers. In its long history, Worthy Park has been owned by only three families, starting with the Price family and ending with the Clarke family, the present owners, who acquired the estate in 1918.

Its location on the west bank of the Lluidas River allowed the use of a water mill powered by the flow of water channelled from the river for factory operations. Because it was a vast estate (4,440 acres by 1839), Worthy Park used a large enslaved labour force ranging from 518 in 1815 to 491 in 1832, two years before Emancipation. When the first owner, Lieutenant Francis Price, took out the documents of ownership (a patent), he named the estate *Worthy Park*. The estate

has clearly lived up to its name, being worthy of its economic achievements over the years.

The Water Wheel at the Old Mill House at Worthy Park Estate. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The Entrance to Worthy Park Sugar Estate Today. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

St Catherine's Great Livestock Pens

As was the case with several parishes such as Kingston and St Andrew, many modern day communities grew up in the physical space that was once home to livestock pens or farms. Some of these modern communities inherited and kept the names of the livestock pens which had once occupied those spaces from the eighteenth century onwards. The impact of this economic activity on some place names of the parishes remained long after the livestock pens had ceased to exist. This was the case with St Catherine, where there were several livestock pens in existence from the eighteenth century onwards. Some of the parish's livestock pens included Dawkins Salt Pond Pen, Cumberland Pen, Grange Pen, Crescent Pen and Crawle Pen, also known as Ellis' Crawle Pen. Crawle Pen was owned by some of the same family members, such as George Ellis and John Ellis, who were also owners of Ellis' Caymanas Estate. Though sugar and rum were produced by Crawle between 1782 and 1783, the property focussed on rearing of livestock and pasturage for most of its existence.

Importantly, some of these pens, such as Dawkins Salt Pond Pen and Cumberland Pen, were 'true livestock pens' in that they were devoted largely to livestock rearing and did not engage in production of sugar, even in small quantities. However, there was a very important interdependence between the livestock pens and the sugar estates. Owners of livestock pens were dependent on the sugar estates for purchase of their animals and sugar estates in turn relied on pens for supply of animals, grass and other necessities.

Dawkins' Salt Pond Pen

St Catherine's Salt Pond Pen extended over an area of about 1,250 acres and stretched from Passage Fort to Port Henderson. Salt Pond Pen was one of the many properties (including Dawkins' Caymanas Estate), which belonged to the Dawkins family, and this explains the name *Dawkins Salt Pond Pen*. James Dawkins the Younger owned the property from 1753 to 1760 when Henry Dawkins 11 took over as owner and remained so until 1815. Between 1817 and 1839, Dawkins Salt Pond Pen was managed by various attorneys, including Thomas James Bernard (1832-1839) of Bernard's Lodge Estate. So great was the impact of Dawkins and his property that the Salt Pond itself is today known as *Dawkins Pond*. The lands on which Dawkins Salt Pond Pen (or livestock farm) once stood are now covered by the modern development of Portmore.

Spanish Town and Passage Fort along with Port Henderson were the main areas to which the products of Dawkins Salt Pond Pen were sold. The products of Salt Pond Pen included pasturage and grass for livestock and Guinea corn to feed both slaves and livestock. During the late eighteenth century, the major source of income for the property was the sale of cattle, horses, sheep and goats. A salt works (area from which salt was obtained) was present on the property to the west of what is today's Portmore Mall. Salt obtained from this was used for domestic purposes and also provided additional income from sale at the markets. In 1817, Dawkins Salt Pond Pen had 288 enslaved persons attached to the property, and by 1832 there were 203 slaves. An interesting additional source of income was the sale of fresh fish caught by slaves to the markets in Spanish Town and Kingston. In 1832, sales of fish brought profits of £348.

Cumberland Pen

Cumberland Pen was a vast property of more than a thousand acres, and it was located in the area which stretched from Passage Fort to the mouth of the Salt River. At the time of Emancipation, labour on the property was provided by 300 slaves. On average, Cumberland Pen had about 250 taxable livestock, and the pen was very productive right down to Emancipation and beyond. In 1832, the total income of Cumberland Pen was £6,218. In 1836, it was £4,870 and in 1837, one year before full freedom was granted, it was £5,807. Sales of grass to other

estates and to the markets did very well, year after year, and this led to an increase in the amount of acres devoted to pasturage (growing of grass for feeding livestock). In 1832, sales of grass amounted to £2,830, in 1836, to £3,589 and in 1837, to £4,001. Sales from cattle and sheep brought in £2,722 (1832) £863 (1836) and £1,339 (1837). Wood from the forested areas of the pen was also sold for additional income amounting to totals such as £396 and £418. The increase in the areas under grass cultivation also tells us that there was no slackening in the demand for pasturage by estates which did not grow their own grass to feed estate animals.

The activities carried out by Cumberland Pen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have long since ceased, but the name lives on in the community of Cumberland Pen in today's Portmore. Interestingly, today's Cumberland Pen occupies the same physical space that was once the livestock raising pen. The place name also lives on in the adjoining Cumberland Boulevard and in the Cumberland High School, which is a part of the Cumberland Community.

Longville Park Pen: A Possible Link to the Present-day Longville Park Residential Community in Clarendon

Although it started out with the production of sugar and rum in 1783, Longville Park Pen did not remain in sugar production for more than two years. As of 1785, the change was made to livestock production, and Longville Park became Longville Park Pen, a livestock farm or pen as they were called in Jamaica. This property was located in the old parish of St Dorothy (which became a part of St Catherine as of 1867). It was a large property of 2,166 acres and was situated right on the western border between St Dorothy and Clarendon. In 1867, when St Dorothy was absorbed into St Catherine, the location of Longville Park Pen would have placed it very near to the western border between St Catherine and Clarendon.

The eighteenth-century property from the very outset was owned by members of the Long family, a prominent English family resident in Jamaica. This livestock pen was therefore named *Longville Park* because of its connections to the several generations of the Long family who were owners. An early owner in 1787 was Robert Long and two years later in 1789, ownership passed to his brother, Edward Long, the planter-historian whose three-volume book, *The History of Jamaica,* has provided us with a great deal of information on the history of parishes in the island at this time. Edward Long controlled Longville Park Pen until his death in 1813. From then until the period just before Emancipation, ownership of Longville Park Pen remained with persons who were part of the Long family, either through birth or through marriage. The property was passed to Edward Long's son, Edward Beeston Long in 1817, who held it until 1825. In that year, the property passed to Henry Lawes Long who remained the owner until 1834. Although Longville Park Pen was such a large property, the focus on cattle rearing did not need a very large enslaved labour force and numbers of slaves remained under one hundred, with there being 66 in 1809 and 52 in 1832. A great part of this property was occupied with

woodlands and pasture so it was not surprising that income was also gained from sales of logwood and pasturage (sale of grass to other properties).

Interestingly, the Long family also owned a sugar estate in Clarendon which was located in the eastern part of Clarendon, not far from the present location of today's Longville Park residential community. In the eighteenth century, the Longs named this estate *Longville*. As noted, St Catherine's vast livestock pen, *Longville Park Pen*, was located on St Dorothy's (today's St Catherine) western border with Clarendon, also very close to today's Longville Park residential community located in the eastern end of Clarendon. Importantly, both properties, though separated by the parish boundary line (between Clarendon and St Catherine) clearly had some impact on the name given to today's Longville Park residential community. Given the common history of ownership and naming by the Long family of both properties, then the present-day Longville Park Community in eastern Clarendon may very well have been named after these two nearby properties which had such a lengthy history and connection to the Long family in Jamaica.

Coffee Properties in St Catherine up to Emancipation

Compared to sugar production and livestock rearing, coffee was grown on only a few properties in the parish, and this took place mainly in the higher elevations or on the hilly slopes of estates. In Old St Catherine, there were only a handful of coffee properties. These included *Cocoa Walk* Plantation, which was located in the hilly areas of what is today known as Williamsfield. Richard Gilbourne began coffee cultivation around 1796 in response to a greater demand for the supply of coffee when production in St Domingue (Haiti) declined during the revolutionary disturbances there. Pimento was also grown on Cocoa Walk Plantation, which had 85 slaves in 1809. In today's St Catherine, in the hilly regions of Williamsfield, the fairly large community of *Coco Walk* continues the name of this eighteenth-century coffee property. *Guanaboa*, owned by the Beckfords, was not devoted to coffee alone, but this was grown along with sugar and livestock rearing in the later eighteenth century. Coffee, along with fruits, vegetables, pimento and sugar cane were cultivated on *Healthful Hill* between 1770 and 1832.

Coffee was also grown on a few properties in the old parish of St Dorothy before it became a part of St Catherine in 1867. These included the 602-acre *Blue Hole Coffee Plantation,* which focussed almost entirely on coffee cultivation beginning in 1798, in response to the shortfall in coffee coming from St Domingue. A smaller property (110 acres) called *Gold Mine* grew coffee beans with a small enslaved labour force of 61 in 1815 and 27 in 1832. *Milton*, another small property of only 272 acres produced coffee between 1821 and 1839 and appears to have gone out of operation after Emancipation. Between 1815 and 1823, coffee was grown on a property known as *Industry* by a small enslaved labour force which ranged from 22 in 1815 to only four

persons in 1823. In today's St Catherine, the community of *Mount Industry*, which is located between Long Hill and Grateful Hill, reflects a continuation of this place name. [23]

St Catherine in the Post-Slavery Period up to 1900

Spanish Town: Witness to the Proclamation of the Abolition of Slavery, 1 August 1834

The Spanish Town Parade Square was the focus of island-wide attention on 1 August 1834. Addressing a large crowd gathered in the Parade (now Emancipation Square) from the steps of King's House, Governor Sligo read *King William's Proclamation* which abolished slavery as of 1 August 1834. As of that date, it was no longer legal to enslave anyone, and therefore, all slaves were declared free from slavery. However, they were not fully free and this proclamation of freedom for the many thousands of enslaved persons in the island came with conditions. All slaves who were six years of age and under on 1 August 1834 were to be immediately and fully freed while those who were over six years of age were to serve a period of apprenticeship to their former masters. House slaves were to serve a period of apprenticeship for four years while field slaves were to serve for six years. Largely because of protests by apprentices and by their humanitarian and missionary representatives against injustices carried out under the Apprenticeship system, it was ended for all apprentices ahead of schedule and full freedom was granted to all former apprentices as of 1 August 1838.

Spanish Town: Scenes of Jubilation: The Emancipation Proclamation, 1 August 1838

Once again, this time on the morning of 1 August 1838, the Spanish Town Parade Square was the setting for a massive crowd gathered in front of King's house to hear Governor Sir Lionel Smith read Queen Victoria's *Emancipation Proclamation* of the arrival of full freedom. However, the apprentices across Jamaica had started their celebration of 'full free' from the night of 31 July 1838. They flocked to churches and chapels around the island to give thanks for the ending of the Apprenticeship system, and Spanish Town was no different. On the morning of 1 August 1838, about 7,000 residents and 2,000 schoolchildren from Spanish Town and surrounding areas in the parish gathered at Spanish Town's Phillippo Baptist Chapel and from there, they walked to the Parade Square with banners which expressed how they felt about full freedom.

One of the many banners in the Parade read, “We are free! Our wives and children are free!”

Spanish Town Parade Square (Emancipation Square) on 1 August, 1838. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Phillippo Baptist Chapel in Spanish Town. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

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

Factors which had Influenced Settlement Patterns before Emancipation

Before Emancipation, settlement patterns around the parish had been influenced largely by three considerations. The first and perhaps the most important of these three factors had been economic activity. Where people lived was largely determined by the type of economic activity in which they were engaged. As seen in the previous section, the cultivation of sugarcane and the production of sugar had been quite extensive, not only in the old parish of St Catherine, as it was before the 1867 boundary changes, but also in the three adjoining parishes of St

Dorothy, St Thomas in the Vale and St John, all of which were merged into St Catherine in 1867. English settlers had therefore established settlements on the large plains of the parish, on flat, coastal areas such as Old Harbour, which were close to ports and in the fertile interior valleys of St Thomas in the Vale and Lluidas Vale in St John. Owners of livestock pens also tended to settle on the vast, grassy plains of St Catherine.

As we have seen, coffee production, although done on a comparatively small scale, also influenced settlement patterns for those who chose to enter into coffee production, making it necessary for them to live in the higher elevations or hilly regions of St John for example. Persons connected to the export and import trade, such as owners and operators of wharves and warehouse keepers, boat and ferry captains, tended to live in or near ports in settlements such as Passage Fort and then Port Henderson.

Settlement patterns had also been influenced from the very start of English rule by the second factor, which was a preference for living or working in urban spaces rather than the rural outlying countryside. Therefore, merchants, shopkeepers, government officials, as well as some who simply had a preference for town life tended to live in the capital, Spanish Town, rather than elsewhere.

The third factor which influenced settlement patterns was one's status, whether free or enslaved. As seen in the discussion on sugar estates, enslaved persons had no choice but to live in the assigned villages on the properties of their owners. However, for those who claimed their freedom by flight from the estates, the desire to remain free of re-enslavement was a powerful factor in the decision by St Catherine Maroons to take up residence in remote and relatively unexplored parts of the parish, such as the Hellshire Hills.

How Emancipation Affected Settlement Patterns in St Catherine

The coming of full freedom in 1838 did not fundamentally change the first two considerations which had influenced settlement patterns before Emancipation. People still continued to live in areas of the parish according to their occupation and economic activity. What changed was that full freedom in 1838 allowed the former slaves to choose occupations such as peasant farming which in turn would influence where they lived.

Freedom to Choose Places to Live and Work

Most importantly, Emancipation affected settlement patterns in St Catherine by providing the former slaves with *freedom of choice* over where they would live and raise their families. The freed people could now choose whether or not to remain working for wages on estates or

livestock farms. For those who wished to work for wages on estates or pens or elsewhere, Emancipation also gave them the freedom to choose their place of employment. Because ex-slaves could now freely move around in search of the best terms and conditions of work, this would also influence where they lived, whether in towns or the countryside and so settlement patterns were affected by freedom. Emancipation also provided the freed people with the ability to choose how and where they would live, whether as tenants on the estate where they were working, or on land of their own. Making decisions as to where to work and live therefore influenced settlement patterns among the freed people after 1838.

A Desire to Experience the True Meaning of Freedom

Settlement patterns were also influenced in a profound way by the freed peoples' desire to experience the true meaning of freedom. Real freedom for the formerly enslaved meant several things. It meant being able to make decisions about the welfare of themselves and their families and how best to achieve this. Tied to this was a strong desire on their part to remove their women and children in particular from the formerly abusive conditions of life on the estate, and this really meant that they would have to relocate their place of residence away from plantations on to land of their own. This desire on the part of the freed people to promote family welfare was a strong factor in determining their place of residence and, therefore, settlement patterns after 1838. True freedom also meant the ability to have economic independence from working on estates or livestock farms or to become as self-reliant as possible even if they could not immediately achieve full economic independence.

Settlement Patterns Influenced by Desire for Land ownership

Access to land of their own was an important means by which ex-slaves could achieve a degree of economic independence from reliance on estate work. Depending on the amount of land and the quality of the soil, the freed people could make a living from peasant or small farming. If and when they needed additional money, they could also determine for whom and where they would work to supplement their income from farming their lands. Access to land would also provide them with a secure shelter of their own, free from high and often unfair rental demands by planters.

In the years following Emancipation, land ownership also became an important means by which freed people could help to shape their futures by voting for individuals to represent them in the parish vestries (similar to local government elections) or in the House of Assembly. The significant impact by black smallholding voters on elections in St Catherine, St John and St Dorothy between 1838 and 1865 was a tremendous indication of the influence which the freed owners of land had on shaping the post-slavery landscape of electoral politics in the parish as we know it today. This is discussed in a later section. In the post-slavery period, land ownership

by former slaves therefore became a gateway for them to realize the true meaning of freedom. This desire to gain access to land, whether on individual plots of their own or in free villages, was the most important factor which influenced settlement patterns around the parish of St Catherine after 1838.

Settlement Patterns in the Long-Established Towns after 1838

As a result of the decline of many estates, both sugar and coffee, some ex-slaves who did not or could not acquire land of their own moved to the long-established coastal towns across the island in search of employment. In the case of St Catherine and surrounding areas like St Dorothy, Old Harbour and Old Harbour Market, there were settlements which had existed before 1834. These, along with the capital, Spanish Town, attracted a flow of the newly-freed population after 1838, many of them having decided not to return to estate labour after freedom.

Therefore, the settlement patterns in these places also changed from the pre-Emancipation pattern, where the residents of these towns and villages were mainly whites and some coloureds, to a post-slavery pattern where, in every case, the black ex-slaves outnumbered the white residents of the towns. There was also a growth in the numbers of the coloured residents in these towns as trade and commerce in the towns increased and shops and general stores multiplied, with almost all being owned and managed by the class of Jewish and coloured businessmen.

Post-Slavery New Towns Influence Settlement Patterns in the Parish

But there was also an interesting change in settlement patterns which occurred *only after Emancipation,* and this was the emergence of new, interior marketing towns such as Linstead. These new towns owed their very existence to the vibrant internal trade and marketing activities carried on by the smallholding class of farmers who became well established in the post-slavery period. They established networks of trade with the coloured and Jewish operators of shops and general stores which multiplied in these new towns. These new towns attracted largely black and coloured populations which sought to benefit from opportunities arising in the new towns such as Linstead (discussed later).

One Man's Misfortune, Another Man's Fortune: Decline in Estates Affect Settlement Patterns after 1838

Economic fortunes or misfortune affecting some owners of mainly sugar estates and coffee properties in St Catherine also influenced settlement patterns after 1838 in two ways. Firstly, as will be seen shortly, several formerly prosperous sugar and coffee properties in St Catherine fell on hard times after Emancipation. For some owners of these properties, the difficulties pre-

dated Emancipation and were often linked to financial mismanagement. With Emancipation, the challenges were made worse by the expenses of having to pay cash wages to all workers. Extreme indebtedness and inability to meet operating responsibilities led to the abandonment or sale of some of these properties.

This in itself contributed to changes in settlement patterns as there was a reduction in the number of estates in operation in St Catherine in the years after 1838. Secondly, some estate owners chose to sell some of their land, usually to persons such as missionaries as a means of obtaining funds to address their expenses. Whether through abandonment or through sale of portions of estates, the important fact is that the misfortunes that plagued some estates after Emancipation directly contributed to the ability of the freed people to gain access to land after 1838. This in turn helped to bring about the rise of free villages and the peasantry in parts of St Catherine. The spread of free villages and small-holding settlements in the parish was the single most important change in settlement patterns in the parish after Emancipation.

The Establishment of Free Villages and Small-holding Settlements across the Parish

Missionary-Assisted Free Villages in St Catherine

Sligoville

The very first free village in Jamaica, Sligoville, was established in St Dorothy, which became part of the parish of St Catherine as it is today. Unlike other free villages which were formed after 1 August 1838, Sligoville was started during the Apprenticeship period in 1835. As was true of most free villages, land to establish the community was usually bought by a minister (the Baptist Minister in Spanish Town, Reverend James Phillippo, was most helpful to the freed people in this regard). The land was then subdivided into smaller plots and sold to the ex-slaves. It was expected that the people who bought the land would live in a Christian community, respecting the religious and moral principles of the church which had assisted them in getting

the land.

The Main Road through Sligoville Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Reverend James Phillippo initially purchased twenty-five acres in 1835 from a nearby property which was experiencing hard times. Phillippo chose this location because there were carriage roads leading into and out of the community and it was in proximity to both Kingston and Spanish Town (ten miles away). He felt that “good roads” were important because the freed people who were to live in the village would need to get their farm provisions and other goods to the markets of Spanish Town.

A Spectacular View of the Old Greathouse and the Plains Below Sligoville. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

It was clear that the property owner from which the land was bought was unable to attend to the upkeep of the property, and it may have been abandoned and neglected because Phillippo remarked that apart from a few run-down “negro huts” and garden plots, the twenty-five acres purchased were almost entirely wilderness. In June 1838, the first lots were put up for sale and Henry Lunan, a former slave and headman on Hampstead Estate, an adjoining property, was the first to purchase a lot. The first twenty-five acres were quickly bought by freed persons anxious to gain access to land of their own. In short order, an additional twenty-five acres were bought and similarly subdivided and sold. In all, about one hundred families settled in the 50-

acre free village.

Sligoville Square Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Residents of the free village also gave of their time and labour to build a chapel, a school and a residence for the Baptist minister. The village, described by Edward Underhill as a "township", was named *Sligoville* in honour of Howe Peter Brown, the 2nd Marquis of Sligo, who was governor of Jamaica at the time. Everyone agreed with the choice of name because Governor Sligo had shown a great deal of interest in the progress of the free village and he had made it known that the establishment of a community of freed persons was an important event which showed the intention of the freed people to be self-reliant and to work together as a community to build a new life in freedom. They also thought that *Sligoville* was a perfect choice of name because they had heard that Sligo, who owned Cocoa Walk plantation in St John, had freed all his slaves on 1 August 1834, rather than have them endure a prolonged apprenticeship. This had indicated to them that Sligo had their best interests at heart. So began

Sligoville, the oldest free village community in Jamaica.

Self-Help Continues in Sligoville Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

St John's Anglican Church in Sligoville: Built in 1840. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Playfield, Police Station and St John's Church in Sligoville. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Highgate Park House in Sligoville

Long before the free village of Sligoville was established, the area became home to a famous structure that was known as Highgate Park House that is considered the oldest building in the area known as Sligoville. It was built to serve as a summer home for governors and was originally a two-storey Georgian cut-stone home with verandahs on both floors. Although the first governor who lived in the house was Sir John Dalling, Governor Sligo was its most famous resident. Today, the remaining structure has only one storey and Highgate Park House is owned by the government of Jamaica.

Highgate Park House. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Other Missionary-Assisted Free Villages in St Catherine

The second free village formed by Reverend Phillippo was named *Sturge Town* after the humanitarian, Joseph Sturge. This Sturge Town was a different village from that established in St Ann. Phillippo received some help from Baptist Missionaries in England who assisted with funds to purchase lands from an abandoned estate. This was subdivided and sold in small plots to the freed people. *Kitson Town*, located about eight miles from Spanish Town, was also formed in 1839 with the assistance of Phillippo. However, the lots in Kitson Town were sold mainly to ex-slaves who had been ejected from sugar estates because they would not meet the

unreasonably high demands for rental of estate housing. *Clarkson Town*, another missionary-assisted free village, founded by Phillippo, was located about eight miles away from Spanish Town in an area that was near to Taylor's Caymanas Estate.

The hope of some estate owners was that if they sold land near to or adjoining their property for the founding of free villages, the residents would want to work on the estate, even occasionally. This township had two main streets, which were named Victoria Street and Albert Street after Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Cottages were laid out on both sides of each street at equal distances from each other and in front of each cottage was a garden area.

Kitson Town was declared open on 12 May, 1842 in a grand ceremony. Baptist congregations in the parish clearly formed more free villages than are described or even named in the historical sources. This is indicated by the comments made by Baptist Minister, William Knibb in his *Memoir*. Knibb reported that in the few years after Emancipation, there were ten free villages containing a total of 1,780 houses in St Thomas in the Vale. Baptist Ministers usually had this type of information because they had played a role in the start of these free villages and therefore kept records of numbers of villages and houses.

Independent Free Village Communities in St Catherine

Not all of the free village communities in St Catherine were formed with the assistance of the missionaries. Some were independent of missionary assistance and missionary control. In cases like these, the freed people often pooled their resources together, bought land on their own and established free villages and communities. Through hard work and sacrifice while they were still slaves, many had saved the money that they got from the sale of their surplus provisions in the Sunday markets which took place mainly in Spanish Town. These savings often formed the source of their pooled funds which were used to buy land. Sometimes, planters facing difficulties were willing to sell marginal land from their estates to the freed people with the hope that they would in turn work on the estate when it became necessary for them to supplement their income.

Some of these villages formed independently of missionary assistance and control included *Kent Village,* which Edward Underhill mentioned on his tour through sections of the parish. He emphasised that it was the emancipated people who had formed this village. Today, the much larger community of Kent Village is to be found south-east of Bog Walk. Underhill also referred to a "considerable village" which was named *Hampshire* and commented on the neat and well-built cottages which lined the roadway. The names given to these independent free villages by the ex-slaves at times showed a sense of pride and confidence in their achievement and also an awareness that their efforts might result in challenges as well as successes. A good example of

this naming practice was seen in a very large village in St Thomas in the Vale which was given the name ***Try and See*** by the persons who formed the village.

Land of Our Own: The Growth in Individual Peasant Plots and Smallholdings across the Parish after Emancipation

The freed people's desire to gain access to land of their own met with success not only in the free villages and communities which emerged after Emancipation, but also in the widespread purchase of individually owned plots of land which allowed ex-slaves to achieve a degree of independence and security for them and their families. The size of these plots of land varied. Size of plots ranged from less than an acre (rare) to about ten acres and sometimes more. These plots of land were often referred to as freeholds or smallholdings and the owners as freeholders or smallholders or peasant farmers.

Generally, these plots of land were bought wherever the opportunity arose, especially where planters and other property owners were prepared to sell individual plots of marginal land as an incentive for them to work on the estate. Most of these plots were bought in the period between 1838 and 1848 when sugar estate owners in particular faced mounting costs of labour and production, competition from foreign producers of cheaper sugar and falling prices for sugar on the market. These problems often meant that they would be more willing to sell marginal land, and for some it meant abandonment of sugar and coffee properties, and this in turn meant that land would be available for sale to ex-slaves.

This widespread drive to acquire land of their own was illustrated by the experience of the Baptist congregation of Mount Hermon Church in St Thomas in the Vale shortly after Emancipation. Out of a total 543 ex-slaves in the congregation, only 24 persons were still living on the estates. The rest had purchased freeholds of their own, either from estate owners or near to estates where they could get work if and when they needed to.

In the parish of St John, some large sugar and coffee properties had started to decline even before Emancipation and this became worse after 1838. Many freed people settled on lands obtained from abandoned coffee plantations in the hilly areas of St John and they also bought marginal lands on some of the livestock pens around the parish of St Catherine. As Swithin Wilmot has shown, they also acquired plots along the old sugar road which ran from Lluidas Vale to the south-coast shipping ports of Old Harbour and Port Henderson. Smallholders also established their settlements in the hilly areas near Point Hill, in Guanaboa Vale and on the fertile and well-irrigated lands of the Juan de Bolas Mountains. On these lands, smallholders grew and produced a variety of crops from which they made an income. These crops included coffee, provisions, pimento, fruits and vegetables, as well as hardwood from trees grown on their land.

By 1844, the number of small holdings under ten acres gives us an idea of just how widespread was the growth of smallholders across what we now know as St Catherine. In 1844, old St Catherine had 450 smallholding settlements under ten acres. In the same year, St Thomas in the Vale had 1,604 small settlements under ten acres and St Dorothy had 380 such settlements. Smallholding settlements were established by the freed people in the more mountainous parts of St Dorothy, including Rose Hall, Logwood Valley, Bannister Hall, Springfield, Somerset Hall, Bartons, Stoney Hill, Macca Tree, Bellas Gate and Blue Hole. St John, with its hilly interior, had 935 smallholding settlements under ten acres. Therefore, less than ten years after full freedom had been granted in 1838, the landscape and settlement patterns of the parish had been transformed. Once occupied almost exclusively by white-owned sugar estates, great livestock pens and some coffee properties, the areas beyond Spanish Town witnessed the establishment and growth of black-owned small holdings. Access to land ownership by the freed people would bring challenges for sure, but land of their own would also present them with opportunities to realise the full potential of freedom. [24]

Estate Cultivation in the Post-Slavery Period to 1900

As shown previously, several sugar and coffee properties in old St Catherine, St John, St Dorothy and St Thomas in the Vale were experiencing problems of mismanagement, indebtedness and falling prices for their products on the market, even before Emancipation. Some estates had closed down or were simply abandoned in the face of these difficulties. Emancipation worsened the challenges as owners were faced with rising costs associated with wage payments to free workers.

In many cases, the acquisition of small holdings by the freed people had meant a degree of economic independence from estate work for the ex-slaves. Therefore, estate owners and managers often found that reliable and steady labour was no longer available when needed because many ex-slaves were occupied with farming on their own plots of land. Beginning in 1846, the challenges facing estate owners were worsened by competition coming from foreign producers of sugar in particular, because the British government began the process of equalising the duties payable on all sugar, for both foreign and British colonial products entering Britain.

Without these higher duties placed on foreign sugars, colonies like Jamaica had no protection after 1846, from the cheaper and most times superior quality sugars produced by places like Cuba and Brazil. This proved to be a death blow to many estates in Jamaica, including St Catherine as we know it today. Nevertheless, some estates in the parish were able to survive by more careful management, reduction of operating costs, the use of technological

improvements, such as the vacuum pan and the centrifugal dryer in factory operations, to produce better quality sugar and also by the introduction of steam mills. Estates which survived were also able to do so because they used immigrant East Indian labour to overcome the shortage of ex-slave workers.

A Picture of Decline: Sugar and Coffee Plantations

As seen earlier, coffee properties, crippled by indebtedness and competition, had also began to decline. To the benefit of freed people seeking land, many coffee properties were simply abandoned. According to Underhill, between 1832 and 1849, seventy coffee properties in St Thomas in the Vale had been abandoned. The gradual decline and reduction in the number of sugar estates in old St Catherine and the adjoining parishes which would later be absorbed into St Catherine is clearly seen in the following figures.

In 1790, there were approximately 76 sugar estates in the combined parishes of old St Catherine (9), St Dorothy (15), St Thomas in the Vale (39) and St John (13). A few years after full Emancipation in 1844, *Jamaican Census* figures for that year show that this number had fallen to approximately 49 in the combined parishes of old St Catherine (5), St Dorothy (10), St Thomas in the Vale (24) and St John (10). In St Thomas in the Vale, which had always had very productive estates, the picture of decline in numbers becomes even clearer from the following description by Underhill.

In 1846, there were thirteen sugar estates in operation in Jericho in St Thomas in the Vale. By 1862, when Underhill toured the area, there were only seven estates still operating. In Mount Hermon, which had eleven estates working in 1846, there were only four remaining in production by 1862. As noted earlier, in 1867, under the administration of Governor Sir John Peter Grant, St Catherine was made into a much larger parish with the absorption of St Thomas in the Vale, St Dorothy and St John. By 1880, the enlarged parish of St Catherine had only seventeen sugar estates in production, and by 1882, this number had been further reduced to fifteen. In 1882, St Catherine's fifteen sugar estates produced 3,882 hogsheads of sugar and 2,826 puncheons of rum. By 1893, the remaining twelve sugar estates in the parish produced 3,599 hogsheads of sugar and 2,656 puncheons of rum.

As the nineteenth century was drawing to a close in 1898, there were only five surviving sugar estates in St Catherine. These were the *Ewing Caymanas Estate*, *Cherry Garden Estate*, the *Lodge Estate*, *Treadways* and *Worthy Park*. It is interesting to note that these five surviving estates had been a part of the St Catherine landscape long before the abolition of slavery.

A Picture of Hope: 1838-1900

Despite the misfortunes of many large coffee and sugar properties over the course of the post-slavery nineteenth century, there were signs of hope in the general economic activities of St Catherine during this period. The many livestock or grazing pens across the St Catherine Plains continued to do well, especially those irrigated by the Rio Cobre River. By 1844, there were nineteen (19) livestock farms or pens in operation in St Catherine, seventeen (17) in St Dorothy and four (4) in St Thomas in the Vale. Before and after 1838, the livestock pens focussed on sheep and cattle rearing (for meat and dairy), and they kept the markets well supplied with mutton and beef. The Salt Pond district located between Spanish Town, Port Henderson and Passage Fort became noted for the excellent quality of mutton obtained from there, as well as the fish which thrived in the salt pond. Spanish Town continued to be a main market for the supply of salt from the salt pond.

There were signs of hope too in the continued productivity of the five remaining sugar estates in the parish (see above) by 1893. They had all managed to remain in business because of the use of immigrant labour and factory improvements, such as the centrifugal drier and the vacuum pan, both of which produced a drier and finer quality of sugar. In 1891, the estates combined were able to produce 2,621 hogsheads of sugar and 2,120 puncheons of rum. Of the five estates, Caymanas and Worthy Park Estates were consistently the leaders in production.

By 1893, the agricultural output of St Catherine had become diversified, largely because of the production of a variety of crops, such as coffee, pimento, bananas, provisions, fruits and vegetables, by the small farmers of the parish. Without a doubt, coffee production on large properties had disappeared by 1900. Instead, coffee had become the small farmers' crop, grown on many small holdings in the hillier areas of the parish. By 1898, coffee production on small farms accounted for 4,332 acres under coffee cultivation.

Even though St Catherine could not compete with the leading banana-producing parishes of Portland, St Mary and St Thomas, the production of bananas was prominent in the parish in the post-slavery nineteenth century. By 1898, there were thirty-seven banana-producing plantations, some of which had started out as sugar estates in the pre-Emancipation period, but which had converted to banana cultivation after 1838. Boston Fruit Company had invested in the banana trade on some of the properties in St Catherine by the later part of the nineteenth century. By 1898, they owned 400 acres at Great Salt Pond and were cultivating bananas on Cedar Grove (87 acres), Hayfield (100 acres), Tamarinds (40 acres), Watson Grove (126 acres), part of Cottage (42 acres) and a part of Cow Park (198 acres).

Small holders also contributed to banana cultivation on properties less than twenty acres. These small holdings accounted for about 185 acres in total under bananas by 1898. Some of the larger properties were also growing cocoa on sections of their land by 1898. For example, Worthy Park had devoted 127 acres to this crop, Mt Pleasant had 40 acres under cocoa,

Cambrians had 28 acres of this crop, Hawker's Hall had 20 and Tulloch had 80 acres devoted to cocoas.

In spite of challenges with the large-scale production of sugar and coffee, there were signs of hope too, because the owners of large properties, some of which had been engaged in sugar production earlier in the nineteenth century, were flexible enough to turn to the production of other commodities in the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, many former sugar properties converted to livestock rearing or a combination of livestock and mixed farming, growing coconuts, bananas, citrus, corn and tobacco. In this way, several properties which had been a part of St Catherine's landscape even before the nineteenth century were able to survive well into the late nineteenth century.

This longevity of several properties in St Catherine is obvious from an examination of the 1878 *Directory of Estates, Pens and Properties in Operation in St Catherine*. Listed properties included Angels, Bellevue and Bernard Lodge, both owned by Isaac Levy at in the 1870s. Also listed were Berkshire Hall, Bodles, Bushy Park, owned by Louis Verley, Cherry Garden, owned by Charles A. Robinson, Dawkins Caymanas, owned by Colonel Dawkins, Dove Hall and Enfield, Ewing's Caymanas, Knollis, Mickleton, Mulberry, New Works, Pear Tree Grove, Phoenix Park, Rose Hall, Salt Pond Pen, The Lodge, Thetford, Tulloch, Woodlands, Woodside and Worthy Park. [25]

Post-Slavery Developments in Towns and Infrastructure in St Catherine to 1900

Population Growth in St Catherine in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

In 1844, just six years after full freedom, old St Catherine (before the union with the other three parishes) had a total population of 12,795 persons. This total was made up of 854 whites (male and female), 3,409 coloureds and a black majority of 8,532. St Dorothy had a total population of 5,265, which consisted of 182 whites, 890 coloureds and 4,193 blacks. St John's population in 1844 stood at 8,185, which included 156 whites, 1,209 coloureds and 6,830 blacks. St Thomas in the Vale had a total of 15,700, the largest population of the four parishes. Of this number, there were 323 whites, 2,337 coloureds and 13,040 blacks. When the totals for the original St Catherine are combined with the totals of the other three parishes, this shows that by 1844, St Catherine as it is today had a population of 41,945 persons.

By 1861, there had been no dramatic changes in the total population of old St Catherine. In fact, its total population had declined very slightly from 12,795 in 1844 to 12,706 in 1861. However, a look at the population figures by racial makeup gives an interesting picture. The

white population had declined significantly, down to 547 from a total of 854 whites in 1844. This may very well have been the result of the changing economic fortunes after 1838 and the decline in and abandonment of some sugar estates in the parish.

Figures for St Dorothy show a total population of 5,438 in 1861, which was not much different from the 1844 total. By 1861, the parish had 164 whites, 1,118 coloureds and 4,156 blacks. St John's total population stood at 9,301 in 1861, with 87 whites, 1,435 coloureds and 7,779 blacks. St John's white population had also decreased from the 1844 figure, and this could have been linked to the abandonment of coffee plantations in that area. At the same time, the increase in St John's black population was not surprising as ex-slaves continued to migrate to the hilly regions of the parish to acquire land where coffee plantations had been abandoned. St Thomas in the Vale's total population in 1861 was 19,020, which was a significant increase over the total population figure of 15,700 in 1844. Of this total, the white population had decreased to 249, the coloured population increased to 3,139, and the black population increased to 15,632.

St Thomas in the Vale's fertile land and farming opportunities had attracted both black and coloured persons into the parish. When the totals for old St Catherine are added to those of the other three parishes, this shows that St Catherine as it is today had a total population of 46,465 in 1861. This significant increase in the overall population was largely the result of movements of blacks and coloureds into parts of the parish in search of better economic opportunities.

Developments in Spanish Town from 1838 to 1900

Spanish Town's Water Works

In the post-slavery nineteenth century, Spanish Town experienced a mixture of positive developments, as well as disappointing experiences. Even before full freedom, the first steps were taken to introduce a regular supply of water to the capital town. In 1836, a company was formed for the purpose of supplying Spanish Town with water from the Rio Cobre River. Water pumped from the Rio Cobre was channelled through cast iron pipes and distributed throughout the town. The only challenge was that the water pressure was low, and this affected the amount of water that actually flowed through the pipes. This problem continued until around 1870 when improvements were made to the system but this came at a cost. In return for getting a regular strength of flow through the pipes, residents had to make do with getting water according to a schedule. As a result, different parts of the town got water on different days of the week.

To Spanish Town and Beyond: Introduction of Railway Service

Transportation of persons and goods by railway was an important development in Spanish Town's history. The carriage road which linked Spanish Town to Kingston was very bad, and the traffic in carriages was usually very heavy. Therefore, transportation by railway would ease some of this congestion and shorten travel time for persons and goods going to and from the two towns. In 1843, the Jamaica Railway Company was formed by William Smith of Manchester, England and his brother, David Smith, who lived in Jamaica. The company and the building of the railway were to be privately organised, and the Smith brothers raised all the money necessary in England.

The opening of the Kingston to Spanish Town Railway Line took place in November 1845. This line, linking Spanish Town to Kingston, was thirteen miles long and came at a cost of £222,250 to the developers. This first leg of the railway would improve life for people, especially those who needed to travel and transport goods between Kingston and Spanish Town. Estate produce which came by road from the productive districts of St Thomas in the Vale and Lluidas Vale to Spanish Town could now be transported quickly to Kingston. In the same year (1845), the now historic Spanish Town Railway Station was built as the centre for trains travelling into and out of Spanish Town. The base of the building was made of stone and the rest from bricks, and it was built in the Georgian style with sashed windows and panel doors. As the capital, Spanish Town remained the important junction for the railway.

Although no extensions were made to the Spanish Town Railway until 1867, it did eventually become the heart of a busy train service which connected Spanish Town (and by extension Kingston) to other parts of St Catherine. In 1867, the Jamaica Railway Company extended the railway lines from Spanish Town to Old Harbour, which was a distance of eleven miles. The extension was completed and opened to public use on 1 July, 1869 at a cost of £60,000. A branch of the Spanish Town Railway Line was also extended by three miles to Angels. Before 1877, the existing lines had been extended from Kingston through Spanish Town, with a branch

to Angels and then on to Old Harbour.

The Old Harbour Railway Station. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of the Old Harbour Railway Station. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

In 1877, the government, under Sir Anthony Musgrave, purchased the existing railway lines from the Railway Company for the sum of £93,932. Under governmental operation, Spanish Town (and by extension Kingston) was brought into railway connection with other parts of St Catherine. Further extensions of the railway line were made from Angels through St Thomas in the Vale and on to Ewarton in the parish, a distance of fourteen and a half miles. This section of the railway line to Ewarton was opened on 17 August 1885. Extensions of the railway line were

also made from Old Harbour to Porus by way of Clarendon and opened to public use in 1885.

Bog Walk Railway Station House Today. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Population, Businesses and Housing in Spanish Town after Emancipation

After the ending of slavery, the freed people often moved around in search of land and also, employment opportunities, whether as agricultural labourers on estates or in skilled occupations in towns. Some relocated to Spanish Town where they worked in skilled and unskilled jobs. Spanish Town also had a considerable number of Jews and coloureds who either owned or worked in business places such as dry goods stores, retail shops and groceries. In 1861, there were 425 whites, 2,217 “browns” and 2,720 blacks. Spanish Town’s total population in 1861 was 5,362 persons.

By far, the people who benefited most over the years from the business opportunities in Spanish Town were the Jewish and coloured owners and managers of retail and wholesale shops and stores. Life was far from rosy for the large majority of the skilled and unskilled labour force which lived in the town. Challenges finding employment became even greater in the period leading up to 1865 when a series of droughts affected production on peasant farms, and scarcity of goods and high prices decreased profits which owners of shops and stores were able

to make from their trading links with the small farmers. As such, employment possibilities were decreased in the town in the difficult years leading up to 1865. Their situation was made worse by the fact that at times their numbers were greater than the demand for their services.

Examples of this can be seen in the fact that in 1865, there were 91 shoemakers, 127 tailors and 228 carpenters, among others who lived in the town and were competing for scarce jobs. There were 1,000 domestic workers in Spanish town in 1865, with less than half of them able to get employment. Approximately 772 seamstresses (dressmakers) lived in the town but could only hope to get work in the period before the August and Christmas holidays. Hard times in the 1860s forced many of these Spanish Town residents to apply for poor relief.

By 1878, conditions were somewhat improved for those who remained in Spanish Town after the removal of the capital to Kingston in 1872. That removal had resulted in some persons leaving the town for Kingston or other parishes and the number of skilled persons in the town was considerably less than before, so that those remaining had a better chance for employment. By 1878, Spanish Town had a well-established business district where most of the shops and other businesses were located.

There were five solicitors in Spanish Town in 1878, and their offices were to be found on Beckford, Adelaide, Martin and Nugent Streets. The town had two baking shops and these were at the corner of French and Beckford Streets and the corner of Adelaide and French. Four blacksmiths (persons who worked with and repaired things made from iron) were at the corner of Wellington and Young Streets and also at the corner of Young and Manchester Streets. There were four cabinet makers at the corner of Hanover and Nugent Streets and also on Wellington, Adelaide and Beckford Streets.

Adelaide Street was the location of two drug stores while Spanish Town's only fish shop was located on Adelaide Street, conveniently next to the market. Fourteen dry goods (cloth, flour, tea, hardware) shops and stores were concentrated in areas such as Beckford, Adelaide, Young, French and Wellington Streets. There was only one furniture store and this was on Adelaide Street. The town's three grocery shops were all on Adelaide Street next to the Spanish Town Market. Fourteen retail shops where goods, such as provisions which had been bought from farmers, were then sold to customers in smaller amounts. These were usually found on Cumberland and Young Streets although one was located on Wellington opposite Spanish Town's fish market. The town's three physicians and surgeons were to be found on Monk Street and on the corner of White Church Street and Ellis Street. Spanish Town had three lodging houses at this time.

Residents of Spanish Town who owned or operated businesses usually had their homes elsewhere in the town. The town was also home to many who worked on banana plantations,

livestock farms and the sugar estates just outside of the town, such as Dawkins' Caymanas and Ewing's Caymanas. In the later years of the nineteenth century, residents built small but sturdily constructed houses which lined the older streets of Spanish Town. These houses were noticeable for the fretwork designs carved over the doors and verandas. King Street was commonly listed as the location of homes (for people of different backgrounds), as were Young, Cumberland, Adelaide, Beckford, Nugent and Wellington Streets. White Church, Red Church, Monk, Old Market, King and Martin Streets were also listed several times as locations of homes. St John's Road, Old Harbour Road and Hampden Green were listed only occasionally.

Crown Colony Government and its Effects on St Catherine and Spanish Town in Particular

A major consequence of the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865 was that the Jamaican House of Assembly, fearful of a "black ascendancy" in the political affairs of the island, voted in favour of ending the Representative System of Government by which persons had been elected by qualified voters to represent the interests of the people in the Assembly. By so doing, the Assembly voted itself out of existence in 1865. Crown Colony Rule, by which the British government took direct control and made all laws and policies for Jamaica was introduced as of 1865.

The island's first governor under this new system of government was Sir John Peter Grant. On the advice of the British government, he introduced new policies and measures meant to promote greater financial management and more efficient administration. Some of these measures directly affected the parish of St Catherine and Spanish Town in particular. By Law 20 of 1867, the parishes of Jamaica were reduced to fourteen and St Thomas in the Vale, St John and St Dorothy were merged into St Catherine, making it one large parish. St Jago de La Vega (Spanish Town) was to remain the parish capital.

Impact of Crown Colony Rule on Spanish Town: New Institutions and Offices in the Capital

Since the House of Assembly was no more, the vacant offices in the old House of Assembly building were used to house some secondary institutions which were relocated to Spanish Town. From the early 1870s, the Island Records Office, the local post office and a branch of the Government Savings Bank were located in King's House Square (Spanish Town Square, now Emancipation Square). These institutions remained in Spanish Town even after the removal of the capital to Kingston. Earlier, in 1860, the Office of the Protector of Immigrants, which generally supervised East Indian immigration into Jamaica, was established on White Church Street. Arriving and departing East Indians were temporarily housed at the nearby St Catherine

Alms House (Poor House) at the southern end of White Church Street until they were processed.

One of the changes introduced under Governor Grant was the reorganization of the police force, and the establishment of the Jamaica Constabulary Force in 1867. As part of this new and improved force, recruits were to be trained for ten months to a year and so the Constabulary Training School was established in Spanish Town.

The National Police College of Jamaica Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Faces of The National Police College Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Other institutions which were moved to Spanish Town included the Leper Hospital, which Governor Grant had initially moved to Hellshire. It was relocated to a location about a mile south of Spanish Town. In the 1860s as well, the island's main prison (St Catherine District

Prison) was relocated to the building which had housed the Middlesex County Gaol.

Two Views of St Catherine District Prison Today. Images courtesy of JNFoundation

These institutions which were relocated to Spanish Town were really of secondary importance, and their removal to Spanish Town was perhaps a sign of things to come. Soon enough, the

really important institutions, those associated with government and the justice system, would be permanently removed from Spanish Town to the new seat of government in Kingston.

The Transfer of the Capital from Spanish Town to Kingston, 1872

By the late 1860s, the Crown Colony government of Jamaica had decided that Kingston had advantages over Spanish Town which made it suitable to become the new capital of Jamaica. Its population was rapidly expanding and so was its trade and commerce. Spanish Town lacked the facilities for expanding trade and commerce that Kingston's Harbour offered. With its declining sugar economy, Spanish Town increasingly seemed unable to compete with the bustling pace and growth of Kingston.

Governor Sir John Peter Grant made the decision to relocate the capital to Kingston. Spanish Town's fate was sealed when, on 27 January 1871, a law was enacted, ordering the removal of the Supreme Court to Kingston. Other important departments and institutions were similarly removed. Of these main institutions, only the Island Records Office and Archives remained in Spanish Town. In 1872, the curtain came down on Spanish Town when the Governor's official place of residence was removed to Kingston. With the removal, Spanish Town declined in importance, and life was never the same again for the remaining residents of the town. [26]

The Development of the Town of Linstead

The area now known as Linstead was located in the parish of St Thomas in the Vale before it was absorbed into St Catherine in 1867. There is no evidence in any of the sources that the area was called *Linstead* at that time. Although James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* marked the location of places like Old Harbour, the name *Linstead* is not on the map. This is largely explained by the fact that the town of Linstead did not exist in the days of slavery. Rather, Linstead emerged as an interior market town in the period after Emancipation, and it was brought to life by the vibrant and expanding trade in provisions, coffee and pimento, (among other products) carried out by the smallholding class of farmers from St Catherine, St John and surrounding parishes like St Mary and St Ann.

Linstead's Birth as an Interior Market Town in the Post-Slavery Period

All of the existing evidence supports the conclusion that Linstead developed as an interior marketing town in the period after slavery was abolished. Its growth and expansion as a marketing centre continued into the late nineteenth century, and this was influenced by the extension of the railway service to Linstead and beyond in the early 1880s. The main reason for Linstead's rapid development as a marketing town was its central location. Roadways (little

more than bridle paths and carriage roads) leading from St John, St Ann, St Mary and old St Catherine met or converged near Linstead. This meant that Linstead was at the crossroads of all these roads, and this made the community the ideal location where trade could be done.

Another reason why Linstead developed as a marketing town was that the surrounding hills and mountains above Linstead were home to a growing number of smallholders who had acquired land after Emancipation.

Nestled in the Hills of Linstead: Dinthill Technical High School Showing a View of the Mountains and Countryside Around Linstead. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

These small farmers grew a variety of goods, including coffee, pimento, provisions and other crops, for which they needed a market, and Linstead's central location made the town the market of choice. Small farmers travelled from as far as St Ann, over Mount Diablo and along the old road which led southward through St Thomas in the Vale, making their stop at Linstead. Here, the farmers sold their goods to the local shopkeepers in the town, and they in turn sold the produce to wholesalers. A weekly market was also held on the main street of the town where residents could buy food and other produce. These weekly "Linstead Markets" attracted an average of about two hundred persons, both sellers and buyers.

Linstead Grows and Expands as a Town

The community that grew up around this bustling market trade also benefited because shop and store owners could buy and resell the goods purchased from the small farmers, in addition to their regular sale of dry goods, clothing and groceries. Residents of Linstead who were participants in this trade were therefore able to make a reasonable living. Soon, the numbers of wholesalers and retailers, as well as shopkeepers, increased, and this led to an expansion in the commercial activity in the town.

Gradually, more people came to live and work in the town whether by setting up their own shops or by working in the stores and establishments in Linstead. The population as well as the infrastructure of the town gradually increased. In 1861, Linstead had a total population of 554 residents, 45 of whom were white. There were 241 coloureds or browns and 268 blacks. While on his tour around Jamaica, Edward Underhill described Linstead as a flourishing village which had grown up after Emancipation, and he pointed to the many fair-sized shops and stores in the town.

Jewish and coloured residents tended to be the owners of larger shops (called General Stores). Among these store-keepers living in Linstead in 1878 were George Abrahams, J. DeSouza, Felix Gadpaille, William Forth and Henry Green, who were all owners and managers of general stores. These were the main persons to whom the small farmers sold their coffee and pimento for repackaging and sale. Shopkeepers also sold other items from clothing to draperies and dry goods. A number of tailors like James Kennedy, boot and shoe-makers like James Brookes, blacksmiths (persons who repaired and made tools from iron) like Richard Harrison, house and sign painters, bakers like Mrs Gaynor and Mrs Forth and carpenters and builders like George Gardiner, lived and worked in the town. So did Ms J. March, the school teacher at the Wesleyan school and Miss E. Smellie, the town's postmistress. James Neish was the Government Medical Officer in Linstead.

Railway Lines in and out of Linstead: Increased Growth and Development

As seen earlier, the Kingston to Spanish Town railway line was opened in 1845 and was extended to Old Harbour, with a branch to Angels. In 1885, the railway line was further extended through St Thomas in the Vale, with the main train stop at Linstead. The Linstead Railway Station was built in that year and reflected Linstead's growing importance as a market town. It was built in a simple Georgian architectural style, with wooden louvre windows and a recessed wooden panel door. Covered passages to provide shelter for passengers were built on

either side of the structure.

Linstead Railway Station. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Extension of railway connections beyond Linstead to Ewarton, Porus and Clarendon in the same year meant improved and faster transportation for goods and people in and out of Linstead. Rail connections with so many other areas accelerated the growth and development of Linstead into the late nineteenth century and after. For persons coming in to Linstead from Kingston and Spanish Town who did not wish to use the train, the route was through Bog Walk and over the Flat Bridge and on to Linstead.

By the 1880s, Linstead had its own court house, a Methodist chapel and a Baptist chapel, in addition to its long-established Anglican Church of St Thomas in the Vale. Postal services had been in existence from much earlier, and by the 1889s, Linstead also had its own Public General Hospital, as well as an Alms House. The Alms House was really a Poor House (which each parish had) which looked after the elderly and sick who were otherwise not cared for. In keeping with its status as a market town of significance, Linstead had a new market by the late nineteenth

century.

Linstead Hospital. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

In the early 1880s, plans were put forward by the Director of Public Works to the Municipal Board of St Catherine for the creation of a water supply for the town of Linstead. The water was obtained from the Berkshire Hall River and the Cistern Gully stream. July 1883 marked the start of operations. Several hydrants were located along the streets of the town so that in the event of a fire, water could be taken from these. By the early twentieth century, in 1922, approximately 360 houses in Linstead were supplied with piped water. In the late nineteenth century, the cost to householders was forty shillings a month. The famed *Linstead Market* of the nineteenth century had not only survived into the twentieth, but had also given birth to *Linstead,* the thriving interior market town of St Catherine's Parish. [27]

Old Harbour Bay after Emancipation

As seen earlier, the shipping trade and commerce of eighteenth-century Old Harbour Bay and its port, Esquivel, had led to the emergence of a fairly well-established port town. The residents of the coastal town had made their living from occupations connected to the shipping of sugar from the nearby parishes. With Emancipation, Old Harbour Bay continued to attract new

residents who sought employment in the continued activities at the port. What was different after 1838 was that the trade in goods being exported from the port no longer consisted only of sugar and rum from the remaining estates in the surrounding parishes. Instead, Old Harbour Bay's trade expanded to include the export crops that were being grown by small farmers who sold these to wholesale dealers who in turn re-packaged them for export. This growing trade generated more opportunities for persons leaving the estates in search of work in the coastal towns.

Moreover, the excellent fishing available from the waters off Old Harbour Bay continued to provide benefits (as was the case before Emancipation) for those who became fishermen. Ex-slaves in search of non-estate means of earning a living took to the sea, whether as a full-time occupation or as a means to gain additional income. This was the beginning of the Old Harbour Bay Fishing Village. By 1861, Old Harbour Bay's population stood at 454 persons. Of these, there were only three whites in the port town, perhaps a reflection of the fact that coloureds had taken control of Old Harbour Bay's increased trading activities. There were 229 coloureds living in Old Harbour Bay in 1861, while the black population stood at 222 persons.

Old Harbour Market after Emancipation (Now the Town of Old Harbour)

During slavery, the little settlement known as Old Harbour Market, located two miles inland from Old Harbour Bay, was smaller than Old Harbour Bay and seen as less important than the settlement at Old Harbour Bay. In the post-slavery nineteenth century, in an ironic turn-around of history, it was Old Harbour Market which grew to eclipse Old Harbour Bay in terms of infrastructure and importance. Down to the early nineteenth century, the full name of *Old Harbour Market* was required in order to distinguish it from the originally more important settlement of Old Harbour Bay. Gradually, Old Harbour Market became the more important settlement and the usage of the name *Old Harbour* in reference to *Old Harbour Market* became more accepted by the late nineteenth century into the twentieth.

Today, no one calls the place by its original name as "Market" has been permanently dropped from the name, and the town is simply called Old Harbour. Old Harbour Market's post-Emancipation growth and development had a lot to do with the vibrancy of the trade which had existed from the days of slavery, but which expanded and flourished after 1838 as a result of the participation of the growing class of small farmers who engaged in a bustling network of trade with the coloured and Jewish merchants and shopkeepers who had established shops and stores in the town. In addition to provisions, fruits and vegetables, corn, bread, poultry, meat and fish, which were sold at a well-attended weekly Saturday market, the freed people also brought coffee and pimento to the town of Old Harbour Market for sale to the coloured and Jewish shopkeepers and store owners, who then re-packaged the crops and sold them to the wholesalers for export.

As noted earlier, this trade in provisions, meat, poultry and fish had been started by the enslaved who were allowed to sell their goods at the Sunday market at Old Harbour Market and this explains the origin of the name “Market”. In 1841, Stipendiary Magistrate Bell, reporting on Old Harbour Market’s growth, indicated that the town had a “neat court house”, many well-built houses, between ten and twelve shops, two taverns, a police station, a post office, but no jail or house of correction. By 1861, Old Harbour Market had a population of 375 persons, including 46 whites, 137 browns and 192 blacks.

In 1867, Old Harbour and all of St Dorothy, along with St John and St Thomas in the Vale, were absorbed into the much larger parish of St Catherine. In that same year, the railway line was extended from Spanish Town to Old Harbour (Old Harbour Market) a distance of eleven miles. The Old Harbour Railway Station, which was built to accommodate the train passengers passing through, was of Jamaican Georgian style of architecture and was a two-storey structure. The ground floor had a paved concrete passageway with timber posts to support the upper floor which housed the station master’s quarters. On 1 July, 1869, the extended railway line was completed and opened to the public.

Old Harbour Railway Station. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of Old Harbour Railway Station. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

This brought a tremendous boost to the town of Old Harbour Market, accelerating the transport of people and trade goods in and out of the town of Old Harbour. The commerce of Old Harbour was further strengthened when the railway line was extended through Clarendon to Porus in Manchester in 1885.

By 1878, signs of Old Harbour's increased trade and importance could be seen in the growing number of stores, shops in the town and the presence of a variety of skilled residents who provided well-needed services to the people of the town. There were several larger stores, known as General Stores, and these were owned and operated by Jewish and coloured

residents. Examples of owners of general stores included George Arthur, Elijah Abrahams, D.R DaCosta, H.G. Melhado, *D.H. Mendes & Company* and Arthur Abrahams, whose business, *Arthur Abrahams & Company General Store,* was one of the most successful in the town. There were several shop keepers throughout the town, blacksmiths, carpenters and builders like Charles Gordon, as well as sign and house painters like Nathaniel Edwards and William Beckford. Boot and shoemakers, tailors, lodging-house keepers and butchers all provided a range of services needed by the townspeople. Old Harbour Market's Government Medical Officer in 1878 was George Cheyne.

The expanding town of Old Harbour Market had at least two churches, the first being the long-established Anglican Church of St Dorothy, which had been the parish church of the old parish

of St Dorothy, and this was located about a mile outside of Old Harbour Market.

St Dorothy's Anglican Church, Old Harbour. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Wesleyan Methodists also built a chapel there. By 1892, the town also had a new court house, and a new public market was built in the town. However, the residents had long suffered from a lack of water supply, and drought often took its toll on the residents. In 1876, the then Custos of St Catherine, L.F. MacKinnon, brought the need for a good water supply to the attention of the government, and a petition signed by many residents of the area was also presented to the government.

Water from the Bowers River emptied into a gully known as Bowers Gully on Colbeck Estate, which was about five miles north of Old Harbour Market. This was the same Bowers district which Captain John Colbeck had represented for many years in the House of Assembly (see section on Colbeck Estate). The water was then channelled into the town through a series of pipes. With the support of Isaac Levy, construction of the Old Harbour water works was started in 1881, and by 1882, service pipes had been connected to over 160 homes of all the householders living in the town.

On 1 August 1882, Old Harbour Market's Waterworks project was handed over from the Director of Public Works to the St Catherine Municipal Board (predecessor of the Parish Council). A report from the Municipal Board noted that the residents continued to receive water (at a cost) both day and night. Fire hydrants were also placed along the streets of the town to help in the event of a fire. The water supply was later extended to residents of Old Harbour Bay and the Bower's Pen District by means of stand pipes in the communities. Special rates were extended to the Jamaica Railway Company in Old Harbour. By the early years of the twentieth century, the water supply had been connected to over 328 houses in Old Harbour. [28]

The Clock Tower, Old Harbour. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Socio-Cultural Developments in St Catherine up to 1900: Churches and Schools

Overview of Religious Groups in the Parish

Although the Catholic Spaniards were the first colonisers of Jamaica, the circumstances of their departure from the island beginning in 1655, meant that no significant legacy of Catholicism was left in the society after the English conquered the island. This was particularly true of St Catherine as we know it today. Indeed, as seen in the history of Spanish Town, the English forces did whatever they could to remove traces of Catholic churches and religious institutions in the town. Catholicism would return to several parishes of the island from the late nineteenth century onwards, especially in the establishment of schools, but it never again became the dominant or official church in Jamaica.

As a colony of Great Britain, from 1655, Jamaica's religious history was that of Christianity, and churches which were established by the early colonial rulers had to be Anglican or of the Church of England. Therefore, as the English rulers stamped their influence on the social fabric of Jamaica and divided the island into parishes, the building of an Anglican church in every parish as the main or parish church was considered an essential cornerstone in the development of the society. Not only was there an Anglican church built in every parish, but the English rulers went further to ensure that every town or village had an Anglican church which was expected to cement the faith and morals of the white settlers who formed the congregations of these churches before Emancipation.

Even before Emancipation, the Non-Conformist Missionaries (so called because they refused to conform or agree to the teachings of the Church of England) played an active role in many Jamaican parishes and especially in St Catherine. As will be seen shortly, the English Baptist missionaries were particularly instrumental in St Catherine before and after Emancipation. It was the Baptists, not the established Anglican Church, which most gained the loyalty and trust of the black population in St Catherine, and the influence of the Baptists was more extensive in St Catherine than any other Christian denomination. The Anglican Church remained the church of the white planter elites and most coloureds before and after Emancipation.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, local black Baptist leaders known as Native Baptists became active in the parish and elsewhere, notably in St Thomas-in-the-East. Wesleyan Methodists also had an impact on church and society in St Catherine. With such a fundamental Jewish presence in St Catherine's socio-economic life, it is not surprising that the Jewish Synagogue was a significant part of the Spanish Town society during the nineteenth century. Presbyterians were also active in the parish although they, like the Society of Friends (Quakers), ministered mainly to the East Indian immigrants in the parish.

The Influence of the Anglican Church in St Catherine

The First Anglican Church in St Catherine: The Spanish Town Cathedral (St James Cathedral)

The Parish Church of St Catherine

As seen earlier, the English conquerors and settlers firmly established their Jamaican presence by turning the previously Spanish-ruled town into an English town in every way possible. They saw the establishment of an Anglican place of worship as a way to unite the early settlers in Spanish Town and to stamp English culture and beliefs on the young town. Contrary to earlier accounts, more recent research done on Spanish Town's history by Professor James Robertson of the UWI's Department of History and Archaeology at Mona has shown that the English did not immediately demolish the red brick chapel (the Red Church) which had been the main church of the Catholic Spaniards in the town. Rather, as mentioned in an earlier section, the English used the red brick chapel as the foundation for their main church which was to become the St Catherine Parish Church.

In December of 1666, the church was granted a royal charter which made it the parish church of St Catherine. The strongly built Spanish structure survived the 1692 earthquake but was destroyed by the hurricane of 1712. In the rebuilding of the church, the English placed their stamp upon the structure, making it more substantial than before. By the mid-eighteenth century, the church was transformed into the cathedral structure that exists today, and the square tower was added shortly after. By 1843, the parish church was given cathedral status

and renamed the St James Cathedral after the English patron Saint, St James.

An Early View of Spanish Town Cathedral. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Spanish Town Cathedral in Earlier Times. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

In the period before Emancipation, most of the townspeople (not the Jewish residents) worshipped at this church, were baptised, married and were buried there. The floor and walls of the cathedral are lined with monuments which reflect the social history of Spanish Town before Emancipation, which was dominated by the wealthy and influential whites. Monuments include those to dead governors, rich planters and other town residents, including physicians and soldiers posted in the town. Colonel John Colbeck, Governors Sir Thomas Lynch and Sir Thomas Modyford, as well as Sir Charles Price, famed Speaker of the House of Assembly for many years, are all memorialised in the church. The Spanish Town Cathedral was significant as the chief church of the Anglican denomination in Jamaica, and it was the oldest church in the

former British Empire outside of Britain.

St James Cathedral Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Inside St James Cathedral. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Without a doubt, the Spanish Town Cathedral of St James played a significant role in the history of Spanish Town in particular, prompting the white and freed coloured residents of the town to worship together even though they did not see themselves as having much in common with each other. After 1838, although a few former slaves may have worshipped at the church, there was still a social divide which was symbolized by seating the black members of the congregation at the back of the church. The St Catherine Parish Church remained the church of the elites in the society throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.

St Dorothy's Anglican Church

Although St Dorothy later became a part of St Catherine in 1867, it was a separate parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and therefore needed its own parish church. St Dorothy's Church was located about one mile east of Old Harbour Market (today's Old Harbour) and was at times referred to as the Tamarind-Tree Church, most likely because of the nearby tamarind trees.

St Dorothy's Anglican Church. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

In the seventeenth-century history of the parish, representatives of the planter class often gave a lot of support to the establishment of Anglican churches. This was the case with St Dorothy's Church which was built on land donated by one of the early settlers and property owners in the

parish, Colonel Thomas Fuller and his wife, Catherine. Colonel Fuller had been given large grants of land at Thetford and Fuller's Pen in recognition of the role which he played in the capture of the island. He also donated additional land on which the Rectory (residence of the clergyman in charge) was built. Colonel John Colbeck, another early and wealthy settler provided some of the money used in the building of the church. Construction of the church got underway about 1682. The present-day community of Church Pen, located just outside of Old Harbour in the direction of Spanish Town, is said to have been named after this very historical and old church. There is a monument to Colonel Fuller (who died in 1690) inside St Dorothy's Church.

Up to 1845, the old church was called the "Old Harbour Barn", probably because it resembled a barn with its red brick walls and wooden window shutters.

Another View of St Dorothy's Church. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

In later years, St Dorothy's was renovated and restored by another of the parish's outstanding citizens, Alexander Bravo. At that point, a belfry (where the church bell was hung) was installed on the roof. As was the case with the St Catherine Parish Church, St Dorothy's was the church of the white planter class and other property owners in the surrounding areas of the parish. James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Middlesex* shows the properties surrounding St Dorothy's Church. Planters and other settlers from Cherry Garden Estate, Nightingale Grove,

Colbeck's Estate, Bushy Park, the Lodge Estate and Fuller's Pen, for example, formed the congregations that attended St Dorothy's Church before and after Emancipation.

Inside St Dorothy's Church. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

St Dorothy's Welcomes You Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

St Thomas in the Vale Anglican Church

This was the parish church of St Thomas in the Vale before that parish was absorbed into St Catherine in 1867. St Thomas in the Vale Parish Church was located to the north-west of Bog Walk and, therefore, as with the other Anglican Parish Churches, the congregation would have been drawn from properties in the surrounding areas. These included Bybrook, Blue Hole, Hyde, Shenton, Tulloch, Burton's, Prospect and Hog Hole. Before Emancipation and to a great extent afterwards, congregations at the church were largely white with some coloureds as well. For those freed blacks who attended after 1838, their numbers would have been small in comparison to the hundreds of freed people who flocked to Baptist chapels in what is now St Catherine. Although some sources date the church's beginning back to about 1675, Frank Cundall presents evidence that suggests that it was built after that.

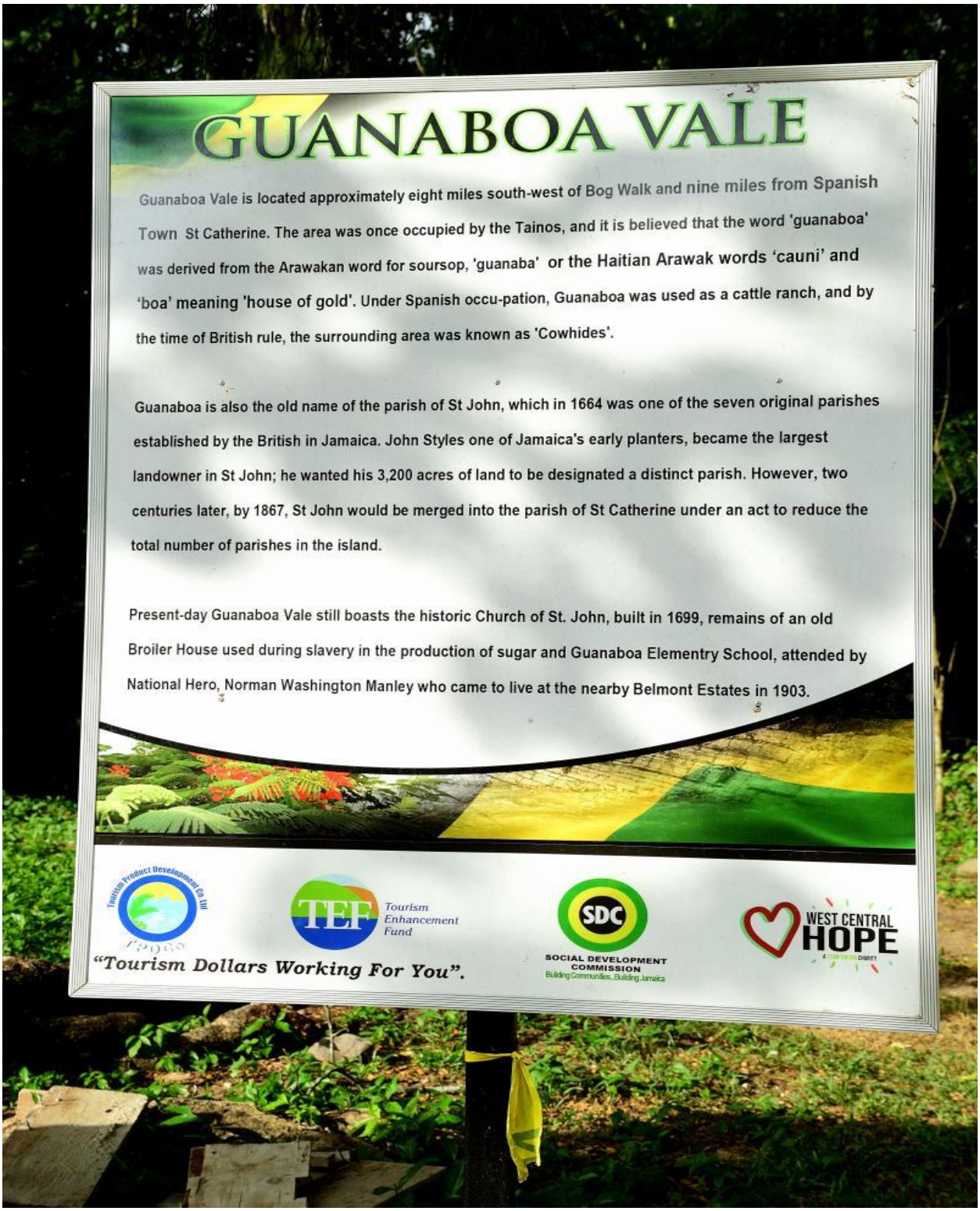
As was the custom with Anglican churches, especially parish churches, memorial tablets were usually laid in the church (on the walls and sometimes the floor) to pay tribute to members of the congregation who had passed away. Cundall tells us that the oldest memorial tablet was that of Elizabeth Burton who died in 1747. He suggests that the Church of St Thomas in the Vale was probably built between 1705 and 1715. It was blown down in the hurricane of 1822, but

was rebuilt soon after and a bell tower was added in 1830. The 1907 earthquake which destroyed much of Kingston also did severe damage to the St Thomas in the Vale Church. It was rebuilt and consecrated by 1911. St Thomas in the Vale Church is also important historically because it was to this church that all the public records and documents, normally kept in Spanish Town, were removed in 1765 under armed guard in order to safeguard them from a threatened French invasion.

By 1867, there were Anglican Churches throughout the newly enlarged parish. Besides the Spanish Town Cathedral, there were Anglican churches in Old Harbour, Point Hill, St Faith's Harewood, and Bog Walk. In Guanaboa Vale in the old parish of St John before it was absorbed into St Catherine, there was the historic St John's Anglican Church. This was built in 1669 and was the parish church of the former parish of St John.

St John's Anglican Church, Guanaboa Vale. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of St John's Anglican Church. Image courtesy of JNFoundation



Heritage Sign on Guanaboa Vale, Featuring Information on St John's Church. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

As far as the black population was concerned, the appeal of these churches was limited, and if the Anglican Church had any influence among the black small- holding and labouring classes, it was in connection with those elementary schools which were operated by the church (looked at shortly). The majority of black residents of St Catherine looked outside of the Anglican churches to the Baptist preachers whose message held greater appeal to the freed people. [29]

The Impact of the Baptists in St Catherine

Although there were other Baptist Ministers who supported and looked out for the well-being of the black population in St Catherine before Emancipation and afterwards, it was Reverend James M. Phillippo who had the greatest influence on the black population before 1838 and after. Part of his appeal lay in the fact that he had been the minister in charge of the Baptist Church in Spanish Town for a long time, from his first appointment in Jamaica in 1823 until he retired in 1873. Enslaved persons from the surrounding estates at times spoke with or interacted with Phillippo when they were allowed to bring their provisions into Spanish Town for sale at the weekly Sunday Market.

Baptist ministers in general were advocates for the enslaved and later, the freed people, counselling them at every opportunity even while they sought to pass on ideas about Christian principles. Many times, the Baptist missionaries were faced with planter opposition and outright hostility. Planters, as owners of slaves, were convinced that the Baptist missionaries were inciting the slaves to rebel and overthrow the system of slavery, and this resulted in several episodes of violence against ministers and the chapels which they had built.

Despite these attacks, Phillippo and the Baptists persevered, and in the immediate aftermath of freedom, they were most helpful to the freed people, counselling them about everything from labour relations to the possibilities of landownership and the need to register to vote in later elections. Ultimately, it was the Baptist missionaries more than any other religious group which worked in close cooperation with the freed people to acquire land of their own and in the setting up of free villages after Emancipation. Phillippo's role in this respect has already been looked at.

This therefore explains why the Baptists had such influence among the people of St Catherine and especially in Spanish Town. They had found a way to apply the Christian principles to the everyday lives of the freed people, helping them in practical deeds which spoke louder than words at the pulpit. This was the edge that the Baptists had over all the other churches. This support for the English Baptist missionaries remained strong until, in the 1850s, in the face of extremely challenging times, people became disenchanted with the seeming inability or unwillingness of the English Baptists to do any more and many turned to native preachers (Native Baptists), who seemed better able to identify with them and their needs. One such

Native Baptist Church was established in Old Harbour (Old Harbour Market) in 1842. The simple building was constructed at a cost of £900 and was built entirely through the labour of the congregation.

Phillippo Baptist Church

Most of the freed people associated the Baptist Church at the intersection of William and French Streets with the missionary, James Mursell Phillippo and so the church became known as 'Phillippo's Church'. Work on the construction of this church was challenging because of a lack of funds. However, with the help from the Baptist Missionary Society in London, construction was completed and the church was dedicated on 18 February, 1827. It was built at a cost of £4,500 and had a seating capacity for 2,000 persons. It was at Phillippo Baptist Church that over 7,000 apprentices from all over the parish and 2,000 schoolchildren gathered on the morning of 1 August 1838 before marching in a procession to the Square to hear the governor read the proclamation of full freedom.

Phillippo Baptist Church, built about 1827

Phillippo Baptist Church in Spanish Town. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Over the years, Phillippo's Church became like a rallying cry for the over 2,000 who attended services on a Sunday. By 1867, the average Sunday attendance had fallen off to about 1,200. This may have been the result of harsh economic conditions which affected people's ability to either attend church or to give offerings. It could also have been an indication of growing disaffection on the part of some members. By the time he died in 1885, many more Baptist chapels and schools had been established across St Catherine, and memorial tablets were laid in the church, honouring James Phillippo and his wife. Although Phillippo Baptist Church was severely damaged by Hurricane Charlie in 1951, every effort was made to retain the original features of this historic church in the restoration process. Phillippo Baptist Church is deservedly an important part of the *Spanish Town Historic District* which was declared as a **National Monument** by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust on December 29, 1994.

Other Baptist Churches and Missionaries in St Catherine as it is today

Other churches and chapels were established by Phillippo before he died. These included the church at Passage Fort which had a weekly attendance of about 500, the chapel at Sligoville, with a weekly congregation of about 350 and the Old Harbour Baptist Church, with a weekly attendance averaging about 400 persons. Other missionaries like John Clarke also contributed to the founding of Baptist churches in St Catherine. Jericho Baptist Church was established in 1835 during the Apprenticeship system by Reverend John Clarke.

Jericho Baptist Church Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Jericho Baptist with a Spectacular View. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Memorial to the Wife of Reverend John Clarke at Jericho Baptist. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Memorial to Baptist Minister, Joseph Kendon at Jericho Baptist. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

It was reported that when the original cut stone and brick church was built, it could not accommodate the crowds that turned out on a Sunday (a free day during Apprenticeship) to hear the gospel preached. By 1867, Reverend John Clarke was still the minister at Jericho and by then, the average Sunday attendance numbered 1,500 persons. Baptist Churches were also

established at Mount Hermon, Mount Nebo, Mount Merrick and Shady Grove.

Mount Nebo Baptist Church. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Inside Mount Nebo Baptist Church Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Churches and Missions Established by other Denominations in St Catherine: The Wesleyan Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics

By 1867, the Wesleyan Methodists had extended their religious outreach to several areas in the enlarged parish of St Catherine. Wesleyan Methodists were secondary to the Baptists in terms of their influence, but nevertheless, their influence was considerable. The Spanish Town Methodist Church had a capacity of 1,000 persons, and by 1867, the average Sunday attendance was 700 persons. In the same year, Linstead Methodist, with a seating capacity of 400, had 300 people attending regularly. Garden Hill had 200 out of a possible 350 attending, while at Red Hills Methodist, there were usually 150 out of a possible 250 at church.

Old Harbour Methodist Chapel was relatively small and they had an average of 80 out of 150 in regular attendance. Grateful Hill, which was a large smallholding community, had excellent attendance, usually by about 550 out of a possible 600 persons. The Presbyterians had established a church in Cedar Valley in the former parish of St Thomas in the Vale, and they had about 150 persons attending services usually. The work of the Presbyterian missionaries was more evident among the population of East Indian workers in St Catherine (see below). By 1867, the Roman Catholics had established a church in the section of Above Rocks which was designated part of the old parish of St Thomas in the Vale, and the priest who was in charge, Rev. J. Dupont, reported that a typical turnout on a Sunday was 150 out of a possible 250 persons. In the same year, the priest at the Catholic Church of St Joseph in Spanish Town reported that 50 out of about 80 persons usually attended services.

The Work of the Presbyterian Missionaries, the Quakers and the Anglicans among the East Indians in St Catherine

St Catherine's Old Harbour Bay is significant, not only for its fishing and commerce, but also because it was here that the first shipment of East Indian Immigrants to Jamaica arrived in 1845. Christian missionaries saw it as an important task to spread Christianity to the immigrant labourers, who were mainly Hindu and Muslim. The Presbyterians, the Society of Friends, Iowa (Quakers) and the Anglican Church worked to varying extents among the Indians. In St Catherine, the group which undertook the most extensive and successful work was the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

To overcome language barriers, two Indian trainees were sent by the Church to Jamaica to interpret and help with communication tasks. One interpreter was based at Ewing's Caymanas Estate. In this task of evangelisation among the Indians, the Presbyterian missionaries were given a great deal of help by some owners and managers of estates in St Catherine. They gave the missionaries easy access to the Indian workers on their estates, and at times provided accommodation for them. A good example of assistance came from the owner of Ewing's Caymanas Estate, Crum Ewing. He gave land to the Scottish Presbyterians at White Marl for the

purpose of building the *Susamachar Church* for Indians in 1894. When Scottish missionary Martha Croll died in 1906, Ewing also donated funds towards the construction of an Indian Presbyterian Church in her memory, on his Caymanas Estate.

By 1896, the Presbyterian missionaries seemed to have made progress among the Indians in St Catherine as they reported that over one hundred Indians had become Christians in a two-year period. Subsequently, the Presbyterians also set up other missions in other parts of St Catherine, including Wakefield and Linstead in 1895 and Great Salt Pond and Spanish Town in 1900. The Society of Friends, Iowa (Quakers) also set up a mission at Salt Pond in St Catherine. However, this was later turned over to the Presbyterians who appeared to have more success with them. An Anglican Church station for Indians was also set up in Spanish Town.

The Jewish Synagogue in Spanish Town

As seen earlier, there were significant numbers of Jewish residents in Spanish Town and in the other towns across the parish like Linstead and Old Harbour Market. Some Jewish residents of Port Royal had migrated to Spanish Town in the late seventeenth century. Their significant numbers in Spanish Town had influenced the street name, *Jew Street*, which is now old Market Street. The Jewish Synagogue in Spanish Town, the *Noveh Shalom* (Dwelling Place of Peace) was built on Monk Street, and part of the land was enclosed for use as a Jewish cemetery. The *Noveh Shalom* Synagogue provided a substantial place of worship and ceremonial rites for the Jewish population of Spanish Town and surrounding areas during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [30]

Schools in St Catherine in the Post-Slavery Period to 1900

In the period leading up to Emancipation, the planter-dominated Jamaican Assembly and most members of elite society were fearful that freeing the slaves would eventually lead to social disorder because in the government's opinion, there would be little to prevent the freed people and their children from lapsing into barbarism once they were free of the controls exercised by the plantations. It was the belief of both the government and the churches that the only way to ensure social order after 1838 was to instil in the freed people and their children, values and principles of discipline and appropriate behaviour, as well as Christian teachings, along with basic literacy. From the viewpoint of the Christian denominations, education for the masses should have a heavy dose of religious teaching, in addition to basic literacy and numeracy skills.

Denominations such as the Anglicans, the Baptists and the Wesleyan Methodists felt that this type of basic education (which was really training) should be given to children in what was then called day schools, which later became elementary schools. Adults could be taught in adult Sunday schools where the goal was to enable them to read and write and so be able to master the basic principles of the Bible. For the Christian denominations, therefore, Church and School went hand in hand, and they established day schools and elementary schools wherever they established churches. At first, the day and elementary schools were free, but gradually, fees were charged, and although members of the clergy believed these to be reasonable, in later years, some parents found this a challenge and in such cases, attendance was irregular. This was the approach followed all across Jamaica after 1838.

Day Schools and Elementary Schools in St Catherine

The Anglican Elementary Schools

In the post-slavery period, the Anglican Church established elementary schools wherever they established churches and chapels. Normally, a separate schoolroom or two were built near to the church. Usually, the rector of the Anglican Church in that district was appointed manager of the school, and only one or two teachers were needed at these schools. Teachers who were employed at these Anglican elementary schools were usually required to be members of the Church of England. The Anglican elementary school established at Spanish Town was managed by an Anglican Committee of Ladies, and by 1867, the sole teacher was a female, Mary Morgan. By 1867, other Anglican elementary schools had been established in Old Harbour Bay, where the Reverend H.S. Cooke was manager, and as in all the elementary schools, the students were taught reading, writing and arithmetic along with religious instruction. Schools at Caledonia, Harewood and Ham Walk were under the control of Reverend J.G. Richards. Anglican elementary schools were also operating at Lluidas Vale, Point Hill and Barton by 1876.

Baptist Day and Elementary Schools

When Baptist Minister James Phillippo first arrived in Spanish Town in 1823, he established a Sabbath school (Sunday School) and bible classes. When slavery was abolished, day schools for the freed children were operated on the same premises as the church. By 1867, the elementary school in Spanish Town was still being managed by Phillippo, although the teaching was left to

Eliza O'Meally. Phillippo went on to set up day and elementary schools at Passage Fort, where Thomas Morris was the teacher in 1867 and at Taylor's Caymanas, where Julia Innis taught the basic literacy skills as well as religious instruction. Baptist elementary schools were also in existence at Hartlands and Sligoville.

Reverend John Clarke, who had established the chapel at Jericho, was responsible for a large number of elementary schools in St Catherine by 1867. Most of these were established in small-farming communities where the Baptists had also set up missions and stations even if there was no large church in the area. Reverend Clarke's schools were located in areas which included Tiswell, Berry Hill, Lucky Valley, Caledonia, Robson Ville and Time and Patience (a free village community which had been set up at this location by the ex-slaves). York, Redwood, Ewarton, Mount Hermon and Wallens rounded out the list of Clarke's schools. By 1867, elementary schools were also located at Mount Nebo and Victoria Township, two other small farming communities created in the early post-slavery period.

Wesleyan Methodist and Catholic Elementary Schools

By 1867, Garden Hill, Spanish Town, Grateful Hill, Linstead and Mount Rosser all had Methodist elementary schools, usually on the same premises as the churches and chapels. The Catholics seem to have operated one elementary school at Above Rocks beside the church in 1867. Regardless of the denomination or church which was in charge of these schools, all elementary schools in the parish were judged by whether the children could read and write and do simple arithmetic. Most importantly for the churches which ran these schools, successful students were those who showed a healthy mastery of religious knowledge and the bible. None of these elementary schools provided anything other than rote learning which really tested the children's ability to memorise and repeat.

Higher Learning: Phillippo's High and Common School in Spanish Town

In 1824, quite a few years before the ending of slavery, James Phillippo established a "high and common school" on the premises of the first Baptist chapel in Spanish Town. This school was intended to offer a higher level of learning similar to what Phillippo had been exposed to in the grammar schools in England. The school was also intended to be "common" that is, all children should be able to attend, regardless of race or class or whether they were free or enslaved. Phillippo's school got underway with the teachers, including Phillippo, his wife and a few others who worked for little. Many parents sent their children to the school because Phillippo had the reputation of being an excellent teacher. Rumour had it that the governor at the time, the Duke

of Manchester, sent four or five of his illegitimate children to Phillippo's school so that they could benefit from a good education. Phillippo's reports on his school emphasised the "common" nature of the school in that children of all backgrounds, races and class were accepted. It is difficult to imagine how Phillippo could have had slave children in his class as his report seemed to suggest. It is more likely that along with Jewish children, the African Jamaican children referred to must have been the children of free blacks in Spanish Town at that time.

Endowed Schools in St Catherine

Endowed schools were schools which were established in different parishes of Jamaica with money left by a benefactor in a charity fund or an endowment strictly intended for the establishment of a school. Usually, the details of the endowment specified the terms and conditions under which students could be admitted to these schools. In Jamaica, several of today's high schools started out as endowed schools. Some early endowed schools did not survive to the present day. In the case of St Catherine, there were two endowed schools between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These were Ludford's Endowed School and Beckford's and Smith's Endowed School, both of which are in existence today, although we know them by different names.

Ludford's Endowed School

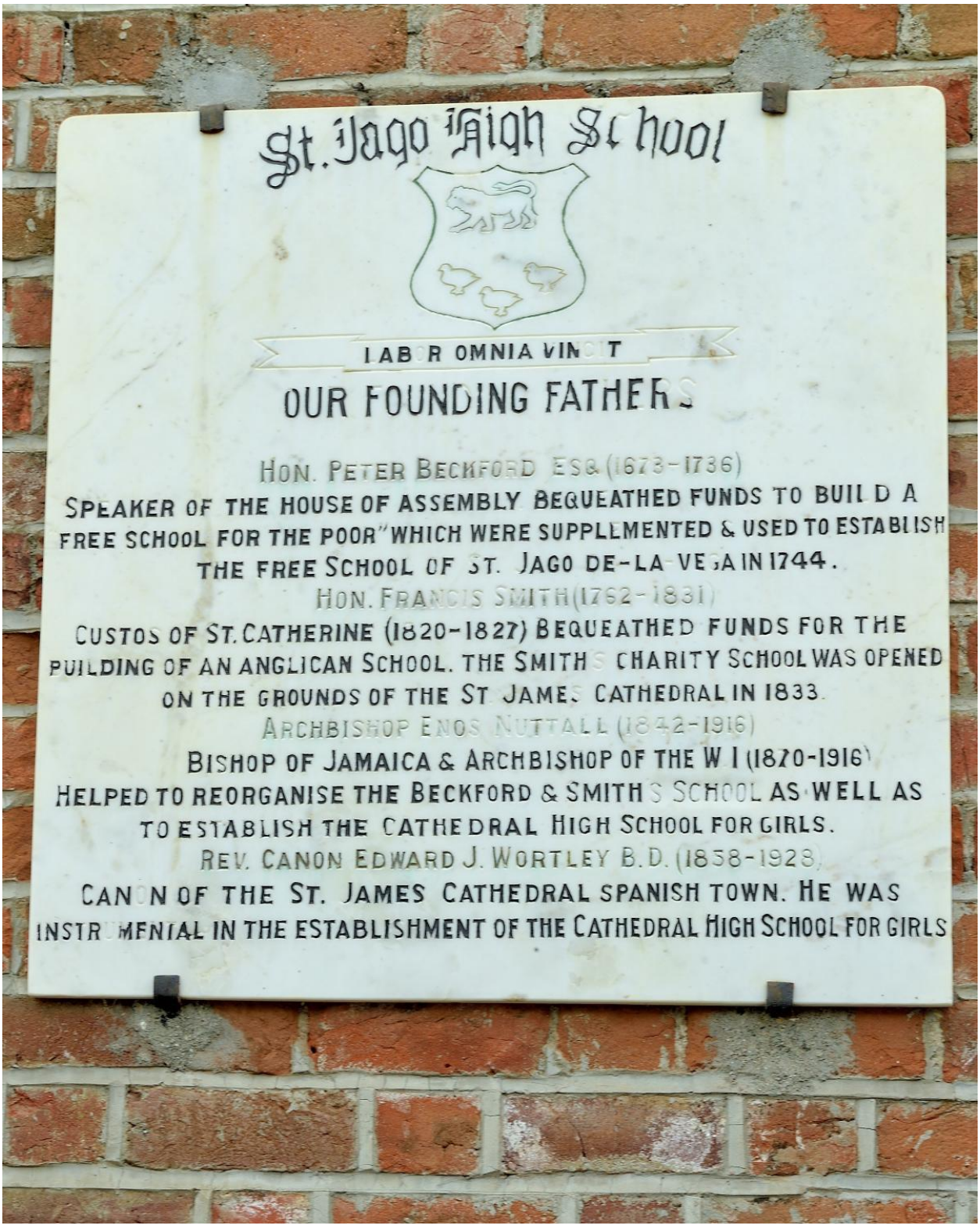
Funds for the launch of this school were left by Thomas Ludford of St Dorothy's district in St Catherine in his will, which was dated 12 July 1875. Ludford instructed that the funds be paid over to the governor who should use the money to establish and maintain a free school in the town of Old Harbour (Old Harbour Market). After this school was established, the governor could use remaining funds to start similar schools elsewhere. The main conditions attached to the fund or endowment were that the school should be in the town of Old Harbour, that the school should be open and free of charge to children of all denominations who were considered destitute, and finally that the school should provide elementary education.

In 1881, Governor Sir Anthony Musgrave announced that part of the fund would be used to build a school at Old Harbour Market (now the town of Old Harbour) that would be large enough to accommodate all children who wished to attend. Interest on the remainder of the endowment money would be used in part payment of the teacher for the school at Old Harbour Market with the understanding that the government would pay the rest. The governor also announced that some of the remaining interest would be used to pay part of the salary of the teacher at the other location of Old Harbour Bay, provided that the school accept the condition that it should be free and non-denominational. The Ludford Endowed School was opened at Old Harbour Market in January 1886. The elementary school at Old Harbour Bay was also to be operated from the fund. Today, the Ludford School still exists but is not known by that name.

The Ludford School in the present-day has become the Old Harbour Primary School and the Old Harbour Bay Primary School.

The Beckford's and Smith's Endowed School (now the St Jago High School)

The Beckford's and Smith's Endowed school came about as a result of the merging of the two endowed schools which developed from two separate funds. The first endowment or fund was left by Colonel Peter Beckford, former Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, in his will dated 1735, in which he left the sum of £1,000 to be put towards building a free school or hospital for the poor. Beckford's charity fund led to the opening of the Free School of St Jago de La Vega in 1744.



In Honour of the Founding Fathers of St Jago High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The second endowment was made by the Hon. Francis Smith, Custos of St Catherine, in his will dated 1830. Smith's endowment amounted to £ 3,000. Smith's will specified that the school

should be open to the poorer classes of all colours (race), whether free or slave and that the students should be taught according to the principles of the Church of England. Smith's Free School was formed from Smith's endowment. By Law 30 of 1869, the two schools formed from the endowment were merged to become known as Beckford's and Smith's School.

In 1876, the merged school was opened under the name, the "Graded Middle Class School", and funds from the Beckford and Smith charity were to be used to operate the school. This was a secondary school and so the curriculum specified that the students were to be taught languages, mathematics and bookkeeping, along with the teachings of the Church of England. The principal had to be an Anglican. The school was not free. An annual fee of £9 excluding books and stationery was charged. The "Graded Middle Class School" is today, the St Jago High

School.

The Motto of St Jago High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Classrooms at St Jago High School Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

A Glimpse of the many Academic and Sporting Trophies Won by St Jago High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Views of Dinthill Technical High School. Images courtesy of JNFoundation

The Socio-Cultural Impact of the East Indian Immigrants on St Catherine

As indicated earlier, 1845 marked the year when the first numbers of East Indian immigrants (261) arrived in Jamaica, and they landed at St Catherine's Old Harbour Bay. According to the laws which governed this immigration, at the end of their specified time of contract, Indians could choose between paid return passages home, or if they decided to stay in Jamaica, they would be given plots of land on which to settle. Those Indians who decided to stay in Jamaica went on to form a permanent East Indian community in the island. In this way, their presence here added to the racial mix and cultural practices of Jamaica. In St Catherine, Indian immigrants who chose to stay received 123 acres of land, which allowed them to settle in the communities of Retirement, Hog Hole, Pimento Grove, Bish's, Pretty Bottom, Russell Mountain, Osborne, Ferara's, Gibraltar and Gibraltore.

These areas still reflect the presence of Jamaicans of East Indian descent. In 1983, a monument was unveiled at Old Harbour Square which commemorates the arrival of the first group of East Indians in 1845.

In Old Harbour Square: The Monument to Commemorate the Arrival and Impact of East Indians. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

One of their cultural practices which continue to be celebrated by the East Indians in the parish and elsewhere is the Muslim festival of Hussay. In this festival, the participants take part in a grand procession led by drummers and dancers to celebrate their traditions of homage to Hasan and Hosein, the grandchildren of the prophet Mohammed. Usually Muslims from Spanish Town and other parts of St Catherine, Kingston and Westmoreland, celebrate along with non-Muslim Jamaicans as they gather to honour one of the cultural legacies of the Indian community in St Catherine and the rest of Jamaica. [31]

The Significant Impact of Black Smallholding Voters on the Political Landscape of St Catherine, St John and St Dorothy in the Post-Slavery Period to 1865

In the post-slavery period, the property qualifications which allowed men to vote either in general elections (for the House of Assembly) or in elections for the parish vestries (like parish councils) were quite high. Adult males had to satisfy one of the following requirements: ownership of land valued at £6 and the payment of taxes on that amount; payment of £3 in direct taxes each year, or payment of £30 a year in rent on real estate. These high property qualifications excluded many ex-slaves who either did not have access to land or who had access to land that was valued at less than the amount necessary to qualify for the right to vote.

However, as seen in the earlier discussion on the rise and expansion of the class of black small farmers, the steady acquisition of land by the former slaves in the parishes of old St Catherine, St John, St Thomas in the Vale and St Dorothy meant that quite a few small farmers had managed to acquire enough land to satisfy at least one of the property qualifications, that of ownership of land to the value of £6 and payment of taxes to that value each year. As a result of this, black smallholders in old St Catherine, St John and St Dorothy were able to decidedly influence the outcomes of the elections for representatives in the House of Assembly in elections beginning in 1847 and ending in 1854.

The Significance of Black Smallholding Voters in the 1847 By-Election for the St Catherine Seat in the House of Assembly.

In 1847, one of three House of Assembly seats for the old parish of St Catherine became vacant when the sitting member resigned to take up a government position. Edward Vickars, a black retailer from Kingston, announced his intention to contest the seat for St Catherine, which included the capital, Spanish Town. When the election results were announced, Vickars had won a resounding victory over his political opponent, Dr Palmer, winning the St Catherine seat by a total of 99 votes to the 43 votes that Dr Palmer got. This election victory of 23 October 1847 was a historic one because this was the first time in the history of Jamaica that a black

man had won the right to sit in the House of Assembly, and he had done so for the seat in St Catherine where the House of Assembly met.

Dr Swithin Wilmot of the Department of History and Archaeology at the UWI, Mona, in his analysis of the pattern of voting in the 1847 St Catherine election, has shown that it was the class of black smallholders who had acquired land outside of Spanish Town who were the major deciders of this election outcome. As Wilmot indicated, 63% of the people who voted for Vickars were smallholders who owned land as far as five to ten miles outside of Spanish Town and who journeyed the distance to Spanish Town on election morning to make sure that they voted for someone whom they thought would represent their interests.

Black Smallholding Voters and the 1849 General Elections for the St John Seat in the House of Assembly

Two years later in 1849, black smallholders would again shape the outcome of elections, this time in the general elections for the Assembly seat for St John (part of St Catherine as of 1867). Charles Price, a black builder and master carpenter from Kingston, announced his decision to run for the St John seat. As seen in earlier discussions on the rise of the class of black freeholders after 1838, the abandonment of large scale coffee production, as well as the decline of some sugar properties in the area had allowed freedmen to acquire land, especially in the hillier regions of the parish and engage in productive farming. In the 1849 election, Charles Price received 51 votes compared to his political opponent's 43 votes. Price's running mate, Bell, with 50 votes, defeated the opponent's running mate, Lynch, who got 36 votes. In a few short years, Price had become the second black man to have won a seat in the House of Assembly. As Wilmot indicated, two thirds of the voters of St John, largely black and coloured people, voted for Price and Bell.

Black Smallholding Voters and the Outcomes of Three Elections for the St Dorothy Seat in the House of Assembly

As seen earlier, slaves from old St Catherine as well as those from parishes that would become part of St Catherine in 1867, had set up trading links and networks with the predominantly Jewish and coloured retailers and store owners in Spanish Town in old St Catherine, Old Harbour Market in St Dorothy and in other market towns in the surrounding parishes. This trading relationship, centred on the Sunday market buying and selling of goods, had been strengthened after Emancipation with the growth of a vibrant and productive group of black smallholders who expanded the range of goods that they sold to the predominantly Jewish retailers in the towns. Given this time-tested relationship, it is hardly surprising that in three separate elections to decide who should represent St Dorothy in the House of Assembly, black smallholders from the hillside farms of the parish should use the power of their votes to elect

Jewish retailers to the House. This was even more understandable as in each of the three elections, the Jewish candidates were outspoken on issues that mattered to the ex-slaves, such as the burden of high taxation and the need to allocate more money to education.

The 1849 General Election

In the 1849 general election, Moses Lyon, a Jewish tavern operator in Spanish Town, won the seat for St Dorothy, defeating Peter Harrison, a coloured shopkeeper from Old Harbour Bay. Small settlers voted convincingly for Lyon because of his connections to the wide-ranging links between the Jewish retailers and the small farmers of St Dorothy. They also helped him to victory because he called for a reduction in taxes and a cut in official salaries.

The 1850 By-Election

In the following year, 1850, a by-election became necessary for one of the St Dorothy seats left vacant by the death of the sitting member. David Brandon, a Jewish retailer with stores and connections in Linstead and Kingston, ran against the coloured shopkeeper, Peter Harrison. Black voters, this time from Old Harbour Market (which had a long history of trade networks between smallholders and Jewish retailers), contributed to Brandon's victory. As shown by Wilmot, deciding black votes were also made by the rural settlers in the hills of St Dorothy. This was a significant outcome because for the first time, with the support of black freeholding voters, two Jewish retailers were successful in representing St Dorothy at the same time in the House of Assembly.

The 1854 General Election

The general election of 1854 saw Solomon Rodriques, a member of the Spanish Town Jewish community, with links to other Jewish retailers in Old Harbour Market, running against David Smith of the Jamaica Railway Corporation, himself linked to the planters of St Dorothy. Importantly, Rodriques campaigned on issues that really mattered to the smallholders such as burdensome taxation, the need for more funding for education and the impact of immigration on the lowering of wages. The smallholding voters from Old Harbour Market and communities in the hills of St Dorothy like Bartons, Rose Hall, Bellas Gate, Macca Tree, Somerset and Blue Hole, contributed to a convincing victory for Rodriques. For the freed people from around the parishes that would all become part of St Catherine, the outcomes of their participation in these elections were a powerful illustration of the true meaning of freedom. [32]

St Catherine in the Twentieth Century

Changing Economic Fortunes in St Catherine in the Twentieth Century: The Sugar Industry

Sugar and Rum Output 1900-1905: Farewell to Some of St Catherine's Historic Estates

As the twentieth century got underway, there were five sugar estates in St Catherine which were manufacturing sugar and rum, largely for export. These were estates with a long history and which had all survived into the new century. The five included Caymanas Estate, which by then was one large entity, Cherry Garden, Lodge, Treadways and Worthy Park. By 1900, the survival of sugar production depended heavily on the use of the latest technological improvements in the manufacturing process.

For the period 1900 to 1901, Caymanas produced 960 hogsheads of sugar and 806 puncheons of rum. As the estate moved into the first two years of the twentieth century, the steam mill, used in the late nineteenth century, became standard equipment for crushing the canes and extracting the juice. Manufacturing technology carried over from the late nineteenth century, including the vacuum pan and the centrifugal dryer, both of which resulted in a finer quality of sugar, was still being used on the Caymanas Estate. Perhaps as a sign that fortunes were about to change dramatically for the estate, production on Cherry Garden Estate was way down to a mere 190 hogsheads of sugar and 109 puncheons of rum by 1901. Use of steam mills and the centrifugal dryer did not help in the case of Cherry Garden because not enough cane was being cultivated by the estate to allow for healthy production levels. Only 200 acres of the Cherry Garden Estate were under cane cultivation by 1905. After 1929, the estate appears to have gone out of business.

Lodge, another of St Catherine's long-standing sugar estates, was in even worse shape than Cherry Garden, producing 46 hogsheads of sugar and 48 puncheons of rum. Although Lodge had also adopted the centrifugal dryer and the steam mill, these were clearly not helpful because of woefully insufficient cane cultivation. Like Cherry Garden, the curtain was about to fall on the Lodge Estate. Another long-standing estate, Treadways, reported no sugar production for the period up to 1901 and had gone out of production by 1905. Worthy Park, a stalwart in sugar and rum production ever since the start of cane cultivation in 1720, had production levels, which were in second place behind Caymanas Estate with outputs of 353 hogsheads of sugar and 289 puncheons of rum in 1901. However, the use of the latest technology, such as aspinal pans, in manufacturing would allow for some recovery by Worthy Park.

Sugar and Rum Production 1929: Continuity and Change

By 1929, Caymanas produced 824 tons of sugar and 22,220 gallons of rum, while continuing the use of steam mills, the vacuum pan and centrifugal dryer in the factory processes. Worthy Park continued the use of the steam mill and centrifugal dryer and by 1929, had introduced the updated triple vacuum pan to produce an even finer quality of sugar. By that year, Worthy Park

overtook Caymanas in sugar output, producing 1,464 tons of sugar. Innswood, a twentieth-century arrival in St Catherine's sugar history, used the steam mill and centrifugal dryer and produced 1,133 tons of sugar and 44,990 gallons of rum in 1929.

Bernard Lodge Sugar Estate and Factory, located 15 miles from Spanish Town, began operations in 1918 and produced its first crop in 1919. By 1929, using steam powered mills, the centrifugal dryer and the triple vacuum pan, Bernard Lodge outdid all other properties in the parish by producing 7,412 tons of sugar and a whopping 178,310 gallons of rum. Its distillery had the capacity to produce 2,000 gallons of rum per day.

A View of the Remains of Bernard Lodge Sugar Factory. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

A View of the Old Mill House at Bernard Lodge. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of the Old Bernard Lodge Sugar Factory. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The purchase of Bernard Lodge by banana giant, United Fruit Company in 1929 had a lot to do with the production levels in that year. Bernard Lodge remained under the control of United Fruit Company from 1929 until 1973. United Fruit Company also purchased other unproductive sugar cane properties in St Catherine, and by 1929, United Estates produced 960 tons of sugar and 29,513 gallons of rum with the latest manufacturing technology.

St Catherine's Sugar Output for 1948

In 1948, as the mid-twentieth century approached, St Catherine's sugar estates were utilizing mid-century improvements such as the quadruple crystallizer in the manufacturing process. In 1948, Caymanas Estates produced 9,785.4 tons of sugar and 108,553 liquid gallons of rum. Worthy Park's output was at 6,185.4 tons of sugar and 67,829 liquid gallons of rum. In that year, Innswood produced 6,300 tons of sugar and 177,796 liquid gallons of rum. Most likely as a result of United Fruit's investment, Bernard Lodge out produced all of the other St Catherine estates by far in both sugar and rum. Its sugar output was at 16,048.4 ton,s and the property

distilled 352,788 liquid gallons of rum in 1948.

Bernard Lodge: A Grim Reminder of The Glory Days of the Estate's Sugar and Rum Production. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

United Estates produced 7,406 tons of sugar and 106,327 liquid gallons of rum.

St Catherine's Sugar Output for 1963

One year after Jamaica's Independence, sugar production on the parish's five sugar entities increased significantly over the production levels of 1948. Caymanas Estates Ltd. produced 16,580.2 tons of sugar. Caymanas produced no rum in that year, most likely because of efforts to curb the over production of rum which had become problematic by the early 1950s. Worthy Park's output was at 15,645.2 tons of sugar. Importantly, Worthy Park ended the production of rum in the 1950s under an agreement with the *Spirits Pool Association of Jamaica* to reduce the overproduction of Jamaican rum which had been a problem in the years after World War 11. Innswood produced 21,815 tons of sugar and continued distillation of rum, producing 103,408 liquid gallons in 1963. Bernard Lodge again topped production levels, with 30,654.5 tons of sugar in 1963, but produced no rum for reasons similar to the decision taken by Caymanas and Worthy Park. United Estates was not doing badly, with 18,148.8 tons of sugar and 161,994 liquid gallons of rum.

By 1974, United Fruit Company's control of Bernard Lodge came to an end, and the property was bought by a Jamaican group led by Lester Chin and Noel Young. The name was changed to *Jamaica Sugar Manufacturing Company Ltd. Bernard Lodge Sugar Factory*. The government's nationalization of the industry in 1976 under the Michael Manley administration led to the purchase of Bernard Lodge Factory by the government-owned National Sugar Company. In 1986, the Petroleum Company of Jamaica (PCJ) acquired the Bernard Lodge Factory which then became a subsidiary of the PCJ Group of Companies.

Of all the St Catherine estates, Worthy Park has withstood the test of time and has been true to its name.

Still Worthy of its Name: Worthy Park Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Worthy Park is now 3,600 hectares in size and sends 210,000 tons of cane each year to the mill. Of this total, 90,000 tons of canes are grown by the estate, and the rest is bought from cane farmers. In this way, Worthy Park contributes to the income level of farmers from surrounding communities. The estate continues to produce annually, about 24,000 tons of sugar and 7,000 tons of molasses. A notable achievement is that the efficiency of the Worthy Park Sugar Factory has been rated at number one in Jamaica for every year since 1968. [33]

Changing Economic Fortunes in St Catherine: The Rio Cobre Irrigation Scheme and the Expansion of the Banana Industry in the Twentieth Century

As in other parishes such as Portland, St Thomas and St Mary, the banana trade became a profitable enterprise in St Catherine from the late nineteenth century (discussed earlier). Small farmers had grown bananas for home use from the early post-slavery period, and by the late nineteenth century, with the entry of United Fruit Company into Jamaica's banana trade, small farmers were growing bananas for sale to the banana giants. As seen earlier, several owners of large, unproductive sugar estates had also turned to banana cultivation and export. Many of these estates in the Rio Cobre delta of St Catherine were among those which progressively converted some of their acreage to the cultivation of bananas. Between 1895 and 1897, 2,000 acres had been planted, largely in bananas, but also in citrus on lands watered by the Rio Cobre. In this respect, the completion of the Rio Cobre Irrigation Scheme in 1876 had resulted in thousands of acres of well-watered land being made available for banana and other crop cultivation.

The Rio Cobre Irrigation Scheme and its Impact on the Banana Industry and Agriculture in General.

The idea of building a canal to irrigate at least 43,000 acres of previously dry and unproductive land was first proposed by Governor Sir John Peter Grant in 1871. The aim was to harness the water supply of the Rio Cobre River firstly by building a dam (the Rio Cobre Dam) and then diverting water from the Rio Cobre into an open canal which would then irrigate the plains of St Catherine. Work on the building of the dam across the Rio Cobre near Spanish Town started in 1871 but was not completed until sometime between 1874 and 1876. The end result was to make available thousands of acres of well-watered lands in the St Catherine Plains and this contributed significantly to the successful expansion of the banana and citrus industries, as well as to agriculture in general.

Much later, the flood rains which badly affected Jamaica in 1991 resulted in the collapse of the original Rio Cobre Dam and this led to the reconstruction of the more modern Rio Cobre Dam that exists today. Harnessing the water from the Rio Cobre was a major development in the story of agricultural success in St Catherine.

Early Work (1871-1876) on Building the Dam to Harness the Water of the Rio Cobre. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Today's Rio Cobre Dam Head: Harnessing the Power of Water. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Water for Irrigating St Catherine's Fields. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Success of St Catherine's Banana Industry

By the start of the twentieth century, land values in the Rio Cobre Delta had more than quadrupled as a result of both the irrigation scheme and the accompanying profitability of banana production. Between 1928 and 1929, three of the largest producers in the parish were St Catherine Estates Limited, which had 2,695 acres under banana cultivation, Caymanas Estates Ltd., with 1,978 acres devoted to bananas and the United Fruit Company Ltd. with 3,134 acres. Small farmers were encouraged to sell their bananas to the United Fruit Company's dealers, who paid St Catherine's cultivators three pence a bunch, but this varied according to the quality of the fruit. Bananas are easily damaged when picked and in the transport of the fruit, more damage could result. Nevertheless, small farmers were at first able to realise some gains from selling their bananas to United Fruit.

However, by the second decade of the twentieth century, banana cultivation was dominated by the larger properties, and by that time, small farmers were no longer able to compete with the larger producers for market benefits. Generally, larger property owners in St Catherine were

the main beneficiaries of the banana boom and the accompanying prosperity that went with it. As James Robertson pointed out, the possibilities of good returns on sales of bananas contributed to more investment in the industry, greater employment for local labourers (in spite of the use of immigrant labour on some banana properties) and some recovery in the prosperity and standard of living in Spanish Town in particular. Effects of the banana boom on St Catherine could never be described as negligible, even though overall production and profits could not compete with the major banana-producing parishes of St Thomas, Portland and St Mary.

The extension of railway services across the parish, connecting most towns in St Catherine, facilitated the speedy transport of bananas from the countryside and the market towns to United Fruit Company's Depot and wharf at Port Henderson. Bananas from St Catherine were then shipped from Port Henderson. By 1948, United Fruit Company Ltd.'s banana properties in St Catherine included Cedar Grove, Congreve Park, Cookson and Morris Park, Goshen, Great Salt Pond, Half-Way-Tree Farm, Phoenix Park, Reid's Pen and Watson Grove. Privately owned properties which had some acreage under banana cultivation by 1948 included Cumberland Pen, Caymanas Estates, Cottage and Belmore, Mount Olive, Williamsfield, Watermount, Woodhall and Carew Castle.

Banana cultivation was not without its challenges, as was the case in the other banana-producing parishes. A series of storms and hurricanes in the 1880s and early 1890s had resulted in thousands of plants being blown down, and devastating hurricanes in 1934 and 1935 caused further damage and shortage of the fruit. Periodic plant diseases threatened the survival of hundreds of acres of bananas in the early twentieth century. Panama disease destroyed the *gros michel* bananas across the island, and St Catherine's banana growers, large and small, suffered significant fall-offs in income. These were challenges from which larger producers in St Catherine could recover, but these two problems contributed to the growing inability of small farmers to make headway in the banana export trade.

The Rio Cobre, The Bog Walk Tube and the Provision of Hydro-Electric Power

Beginning in the late nineteenth century (around 1897) water from the Rio Cobre River was also used to provide hydro-electric power. A massive cast iron pipe was installed in the Bog Walk area of the Rio Cobre and carried water from the Rio Cobre to the Bog Walk Hydraulic Station

(also known as the Bog Walk Power House or the old Water Turbine Building).

The Power House at Bog Walk Showing the Massive Pipe Alongside it. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The force of the water gushing over the water turbines at the power house then generated hydro-electric power. The massive pipe was 6,200 feet long, eight feet in diameter and weighed approximately 1,700,000 pounds. Known as the *Bog Walk Tube*, this pipe was described as the

largest pipe in the world at that time.

The Largest Pipe in the World: Transporting Water to Provide Hydro-Electricity. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

The hydro-electric power generated from the Bog Walk station was used by the West India Electric Company to power the tram car system operating in Jamaica at that time. In the 1930s, the Bog Walk Power Station was closed and the tram car system was gradually replaced by bus transportation. Today, the ruined remains of the Bog Walk Power House can still be seen,

although covered in part by surrounding vegetation.

Remains of the Old Water Turbine Building/Power House at Bog Walk. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Another View of the Ruins of the Old Water Turbine Building. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Where the Massive Pipe Entered the Old Water Turbine Building/Power House. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Changing Economic Fortunes in St Catherine: Livestock Pens in the Twentieth Century

St Catherine's grassy plains and lands well irrigated by the Rio Cobre had continued to support a thriving livestock industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Initially, the main purpose of the livestock and grazing pens was to support the needs of the sugar estates for animals to power the animal mills and to supply meat to the markets. Grass or pasturage was also in great demand from these pens. Livestock and grazing pens continued into the twentieth century. There were many grazing pens with cattle, grass, common pasture and other acreage devoted to the growing of corn and other crops in St Catherine during this time. In fact, St Catherine had the greatest number of grazing pens between 1947 and 1948. In total, St Catherine had seventy-three grazing pens by 1949. The communities of Angels, Caymanas, Cumberland Pen, Ellerslie, Charlemont, Colbeck, Bybrook, Wakefield, Enfield, Hampton Green, Worthy Park and Riverhead were home to these properties.

However, by the 1930s into the 1940s, many of these livestock properties also focussed on raising dairy cows for what was to become a thriving dairy industry in twentieth-century St Catherine. The success of the dairy farmers was assisted by the opening of the Bybrook Condensary (discussed shortly) in Bog Walk in 1940 as this intensified the demand for fresh cow's milk from St Catherine's farmers.

The Dairy Industry in St Catherine: Hand in Hand with the Bodles Research Station in Old Harbour and the Bybrook Condensary at Bog Walk

As seen previously, several livestock farms began to concentrate on raising dairy cattle in the first half of the twentieth century. The dairy industry in St Catherine benefitted from two main sources of support. These included the work of the Bodles Research Station and the market for fresh cow's milk provided by the Bybrook Condensary in Bog Walk.

Bodles Research Station is to be found in Old Harbour on 2,300 acres of land located on the plains of the former St Dorothy's parish.

Sign at Bodles Agricultural Research Centre, Old Harbour. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Bodles Research Station was set up in 1963 under the authority of the then Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. Its main responsibility, as suggested by its name, was to carry out

research in dairy cattle breeding. In particular, Bodles was to concentrate on improving the quality of dairy cattle so that the quantity of milk produced by each cow could be increased.

The Livestock Research Section at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Earlier, in 1952, the breed of dairy cows known as the *Jamaica Hope* had been developed by Dr Thomas Lecky through a process of cross-breeding carried out at the Hope Agricultural Station

in St Andrew.

The Old Research Lab at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Remains of Dr T.P. Lecky's Home at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Lecky's new breed of cow was named Jamaica Hope after the institution at which the breed was developed. The Jamaica Hope was suited to Jamaica's tropical climate and produced a large volume of milk. Bodles was therefore given the task of finding ways to improve the milk output of the Jamaica Hope and other cows and to improve dairy production on livestock farms in St Catherine and around Jamaica by working with the dairy farmers.

A herd of 650 cows is kept at Bodles to carry out this research.

Some of the Cows at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The National Animal Fertility Centre at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Ultimately, the work done at this St Catherine-based research centre and the outreach to farmers was significant in that it helped to improve dairy production on St Catherine livestock farms and throughout Jamaica.

The Hayfield at Bodles Research Station. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Experiments with Sweet Potato at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Experimenting with Bananas at Bodles. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Production of milk on livestock farms in St Catherine was given a tremendous boost with the opening in 1940 of another St Catherine-based company, Jamaica Milk Products Ltd., which was to operate the Bybrook Condensary at Bog Walk. Its purpose was to manufacture large volumes of sweetened condensed milk and evaporated milk for the local market. To achieve this, Bybrook needed to obtain large volumes of fresh milk, and the intention was to get this from the St Catherine farmers of dairy cows. The significant impact that the condensary had on St Catherine's dairy industry was seen in 1940, the very first year of Bybrook's operation. In that year, Bybrook purchased 1,546,582 quarts of fresh milk from dairy farmers, largely in St Catherine. From this, Bybrook produced 36,477 quarts of sweetened condensed milk.

Twenty three years later, in 1963, they bought 9,892,882 quarts of fresh milk from which 813,869 standard cases of condensed and evaporated milk were produced. By 1960, Bybrook Condensary was able to meet Jamaica's total demand for both condensed and evaporated milk and has worked consistently with dairy farmers in St Catherine. The wider significance of Jamaica Milk Products and the Bybrook Condensary to Jamaica is seen in the fact that before 1939, the island was dependent on importation of condensed and evaporated milk to meet the needs of Jamaicans. Now this is no longer necessary. In 1990, Jamaica Milk Products changed its name to Nestle JMP Jamaica Limited and was responsible for the distribution of all Nestle

products in Jamaica. SEPROD currently operates the company.

The Entrance to Seprod/Serge Island Factory in Bog Walk (Formerly Jamaica Milk Products).
Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Inside the Compound of Seprod/Serge Island Factory at Bog Walk. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Present and the Past: Founded on Condensed Milk Produced at Bybrook Condensary. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Other Agricultural Production in Twentieth-Century St Catherine

By 1928, the fertile lands of St Catherine supported a variety of agricultural products, some of which were grown mainly by small settlers, and others being produced mainly by the larger properties. In that year, the acres under cultivation in the parish included 387 acres in oranges which were to gradually become concentrated on larger farms. On larger properties, acreage was set aside to plant coconut trees, and by 1928 there were 1,797 acres in coconuts. As seen earlier, bananas moved from being a small holder's crop in the nineteenth century to become the focus of the larger property owners who had enough acreage to engage in profitable cultivation of bananas in an effort to cash in on the banana boom. By 1928 there were 13,993 acres being cultivated in bananas and 6,563 in sugar cane.

Smallholders were the cultivators of coffee in the hilly areas of former parishes of St John and St Dorothy, and by 1928, there were 6,698 acres under cultivation. They were also the sole cultivators of ground provisions, and by 1928 smallholders were producing ground provisions from 2,317 acres. Cocoa, another smallholder crop, was being grown on 2,171 acres by 1928. Livestock properties and other estates accounted for 8,584 acres of guinea grass and 55,224 acres of common pasture by that year. Tobacco and rice cultivation, which were just getting underway in the first two decades of the twentieth century, would become more important to the economy of the parish by the 1960s. In fact by 1963, the main agricultural products of St Catherine were classified as sugar, rum, coffee, bananas, rice, oranges and grapefruits, corn, tobacco, cocoa, grass, beef and milk.

Rice Cultivation in St Catherine: The Role Played by East Indian Settlers

Although the most successful efforts at growing rice in Jamaica occurred in Westmoreland, there was also a suitable environment for wet-rice cultivation on swamp lands in St Catherine. In this parish, swamp lands existed in the Caymanas, Bog Walk, Hill Run and March Pen areas of St Catherine, and East Indians who lived in these areas began to experiment with rice growing. The formation of the Central Rice Growers' Association (C.R.G.A.) in the early part of the twentieth century facilitated the development of rice growing in St Catherine. The C.R.G.A. made efforts to secure lands which were suitable for rice growing on which Indian rice growers could be employed. They were successful in doing so and bought land at Hill Run and March Pen from the United Fruit Company. Lands were also obtained at Caymanas Estate and Bog Walk for the purpose of rice growing.

Although the majority of Indian rice cultivators were small-scale growers, they were able to contribute to the island's food security, especially during the Second World War when there were shortages in the food supply. At Hill Run, there is still a strong rice-growing culture today, especially at the Lindo Farm. Rice growing was therefore an important legacy of the East Indian presence in the area. Rice cultivated at Hill Run and the other areas is sent to Kingston to the Jamaica Rice Mills for processing. In light of the effort of successive Jamaican governments to

reduce imports of rice in favour of local suppliers of the product and to "eat what we grow and grow what we eat", the contribution of the St Catherine cultivators to self-reliance in food production is highly significant. [34]

Citrus Cultivation in St Catherine: Trade Winds Citrus Ltd (Formerly United Estates Ltd.) and the Citrus Growers' Association

In 1927, there were only 387 acres of land devoted to citrus cultivation in St Catherine. By 1963, citrus had become one of the principal products of the parish. Citrus, mainly oranges dominated the estates in the Bog Walk area of St Catherine from the mid-twentieth century onwards. A great deal of this citrus cultivation was done in the Bog Walk area of St Catherine, and the group of producers most associated with citrus cultivation in the parish was United Estates Ltd. When United Estates first started operations in the early twentieth century, the main crop grown on the estates was sugar cane. Gradually, more and more acreage was being devoted to citrus, mainly oranges but also to grapefruit.

Properties which were part of the citrus-growing focus by United Estates were all located in the Bog Walk area and soon enough, Bog Walk came to be thought of as St Catherine's citrus belt. The main citrus-growing farms which were part of United Estates were Bybrook, New Works, New Hall and Enfield. These estates comprised about 5,422 acres of farmland, of which 2,647 acres were entirely devoted to citrus. In addition to United Estates, other big properties which produced citrus included Worthy Park, Cambria and Wakefield. Citrus was also grown by small farmers in various parts of the parish.

In 1982, United Estates Ltd. was bought by the McConnell family, namely David, Peter and Stuart McConnell. They invested heavily in improving the several properties in United Estates Ltd., and by 1984, United Estates was the single largest exporter of fresh fruit from Jamaica, exporting 6,000 tons of citrus at that time mainly to Britain, Canada and New Zealand. Under the McConnell influence, United Estates established a plant in Bog Walk to grade and package the citrus for export, and this plant employed about 800 persons in 1985. The offices of United Estates were located at Bybrook in Bog Walk. Even before the year 2000, United Estates Limited had started to produce orange juice marketed under the *Tru Juice* line of orange juices. In 2001, when United Estates were sold, the new company became known as Trade Winds Citrus, and they have continued and expanded the range of citrus products, including the famous *Tru Juice* line of juices, which have done extremely well on the market.

In the 1970s, the bulk of the citrus crop grown in St Catherine was processed locally into concentrates, fruit juices, segments, citrus oils and marmalade. Concentrated orange juice was sold to the United Kingdom and a small percentage to Germany. The interests of all citrus growers in the island, large and small, were looked after by the *Jamaica Citrus Growers'*

Association Ltd. which was a co-operative made up of all commercial citrus growers in Jamaica. Its offices and factory were located on ten acres of land in Bog Walk, St Catherine. It was established in 1949 to provide an outlet for citrus farmers to sell their fruit. The fruit was then processed into frozen concentrated citrus juices and sold locally under the brand *Juciful, at* home and abroad. [35]

Industrial Growth and Development in St Catherine in the Twentieth Century

As seen in sections previously discussed, Bog Walk and its immediate surroundings provided the setting for the emergence of St Catherine's own "citrus belt". At the same time, the Bog Walk area had become an important centre for the processing of milk products, and in this way, the Bog Walk companies were instrumental to the growth and development of the dairy farms across St Catherine. In addition to the Bybrook Condensary and the citrus grading, packing and processing plants located in Bog Walk, several areas of St Catherine became the focus of significant development of Industries in the twentieth century.

Industries and Companies Located at Twickenham Park Estate

The lands of the former Twickenham Park Sugar Estate on the main road leading from Kingston to Spanish Town were used for two major economic activities during the twentieth century. In the first half of the century, the estate was purchased by banana giant, the United Fruit Company and placed under extensive banana cultivation. As the mid-twentieth century approached, United Fruit Company sold these lands in 1946 to the government of Jamaica. From the second half of the twentieth century onwards, the lands of the former Twickenham Park Estate became home to several factories and industrial companies. In a sense, Twickenham Park became at that time, St Catherine's industrial belt. Some examples of these

factories and industrial companies are discussed here.

Rotoplastics Jamaica Limited, Twickenham Park, St Catherine. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Caribbean Foods Limited

In 1967, *Caribbean Foods Limited*, a new plant for the manufacture of breakfast foods in Jamaica, was officially opened by the Honourable Robert Lightbourne, then Minister of Trade and Industry. It was located at Twickenham Park on the main road leading to Spanish Town. The company was intended as a joint operation between Kellogg's, the world's largest maker of breakfast cereals and Charles E. Ramson Limited of Kingston. This company had been the distributor of Kellogg's products in Jamaica since 1923. Caribbean Foods Limited was to be headed by Mr Laurie Ramson, who was made Chairman and Managing Director. In all, £75,000 was invested in Caribbean Foods Limited, and the plant started with the making of *Foska Rolled*

Oats.

Caribbean Foods Limited, Twickenham Park, St Catherine. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

At the time of its launch, the plan was for Caribbean Foods to produce a variety of ready-to-eat cereals such as cornflakes. Significantly, when the Ramson family bought out the Jamaican operations of Kellogg's in 1991, Caribbean Foods Limited became one hundred percent Jamaican owned and the "*Foska"* name and trademark were registered as Jamaican owned in countries such as the United States, Canada, the Dominican Republic and Barbados.

WISYNCO Group Limited

This famous and time-honoured company in St Catherine was formed in 1965 by the Mahfood brothers, Ferdinand, Sam Jr, Joe and Robin. This was the West Indies Synthetics Company Limited (WISYNCO). The Mahfood brothers borrowed £150,000 from the then Barclays Bank (now NCB) in 1964 to build and equip a factory at Twickenham Park in St Catherine. At the time, there was a policy of the government to offer incentives to persons wishing to set up factories in the country, and the Industrial Incentive Scheme, as it was known, allowed the brothers to acquire the land at a concessionary rate. WISYNCO came into operation the following year in 1965.

Their first product was the very successful *Iron Man water boots*, made right there in Twickenham Park. It was geared to farmers, casual workers and factory workers, whose jobs required them to protect their feet. Their product soon expanded to include "Mr Robin" which

were plastic shoes and boots for children. WISYNCO started out with 6,000 square feet of factory space and quickly increased this to 12,000, then to 20,000 square feet by 1970. In 1971, they produced the Gator brand of footwear which proved extremely popular in the market.

WISYNCO remained in operation when several investors were leaving Jamaica during the troubled years of the Michael Manley administration, and by the end of the 1970s, they expanded office space to 60,000 square feet in order to meet the demands of the Jamaican market for an expanding range of products. Over the years into the 1990s, WISYNCO added to their product range and included beverages, caps, containers and by 1996, they had begun making the line of BIGGA soft drinks. WISYNCO's story is one of a successful St Catherine company dedicated to employing the local labour force and meeting the needs of the Jamaican people.

Grace Foods Distribution Centre. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Progressive Grocers, Twickenham Park. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Omni Industries Limited, Twickenham Park. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Very Amazing Products Limited, Twickenham Park. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Factories and Companies Located in Old Harbour

Jamaica Broilers Group of Companies

Before the start of Jamaica Broilers, Byron Coombs of Coombs Meats Ltd. on Bond Street, Sydney Levy of Levy Brothers Ltd. and Larry Udell, a U.S. citizen, began to import broiler meat from the U.S. in the 1950s. Coombs, Levy and Udell came up with the idea to start a broiler company in Jamaica. At first the group used the idea of contract-farming by which the chicken processors supplied farmers with baby chicks and feed on the understanding that when the chickens reached maturity, the farmers would sell them to the chicken processors. The three men began small-scale chicken-processing at the back of Coombs' Meats Ltd. on Bond Street.

They soon built a chicken-processing factory in Old Harbour and began operations by 1960. At first, the company had to fly in day-old chicks to supply the farmers but soon decided to start their own hatchery. The name *Best Dressed Chicken* was coined in 1962 and applied to the chickens that were processed at the Old Harbour plant. Soon, imported feeds were replaced by locally produced feeds made in the feed mill opened at Old Harbour in 1971. The feed mill was ideally located in the middle of the farming belt which spans St Catherine into Clarendon. This

marked the beginning of the first and largest local animal feed mill under the brand, Master Blend Feeds. Today, Jamaica Broilers Ltd. owns Hi Pro Feeds and continues to supply the Jamaican market with the best quality chicken meat, as well as supplying farmers with the best quality animal feed.

Other Manufacturing Companies in Old Harbour

Other manufacturing companies which were developed in Old Harbour include *Jamaica Soya Products Industries Limited,* which was officially opened in December 1977. It was located on the outskirts of Old Harbour at Rhoden's Pen and aimed at supplying the local market with vegetable oil processed from soya beans. The company also produced soya bean flour and soya meal and supplied some of these products to the government's school-feeding programme.

The government-owned *Cotton Polyester Mill* in Old Harbour was a joint project between the Jamaican Government and the People's Republic of China. Cotton and polyester fabrics were to be produced when it opened for operations on 1 July 1980. China undertook to supply spinning and weaving machines, and the factory provided well-needed employment for Jamaicans in St Catherine and surrounding areas. This company was expected to form part of the *Jamaica Industrial Development Complex* at Old Harbour.

In 1966, the then Minister of Trade and Industry, the Honourable Robert Lightbourne, announced the opening of *General Telephone and Electronics (Jamaica) Limited*, which was a subsidiary of the General Telephone and Electronics International of the United States. This was intended to be part of the Industrial Development Complex in Old Harbour and was responsible for the manufacture of television sets, including Sylvania television sets (which became popular in the 1960s). The company would also manufacture other electronic products such as radios and stereo units.

Manufacturing Companies in Spanish Town

Spanish Town had its share of manufacturing companies, which were established in the second half of the twentieth century. These included the *West Indies Chemical Works Limited,* which manufactured dyes out of logwood in the early 1960s. This was an important support industry which would supply dyes for the textile industry which also came into its own at this time. One of the most famous and successful textile factories in Jamaica was the *Ariguanabo Textile Mill* which was established in Spanish Town in 1950. At the time of its operation, Ariguanabo (of Taino origins) had the reputation of being able to supply all the textile needs of the island. Moreover, cloth produced there was reported to be attractively designed, of good quality and priced for sale at reasonable rates. Textile factories like Ariguanabo also provided well-needed employment for persons living in and around Spanish Town. In 2010, the government sold the

land on which the Ariguanabo Mill once operated to New Era Homes for the sum of $163.8 million. A housing development is now located there.

One of the most important manufacturing companies established in St Catherine was the *Industrial Chemical Company (Jamaica) Limited*. Salt mining was not new to St Catherine and, as seen earlier, had been carried out in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries on Dawkin's Salt Pond Pen. The Industrial Chemical Company (Jamaica) Limited was formed by a group of Jamaican businessmen in 1961 and opened its operations in 1964, carrying out salt mining on Great Goat Island. In addition to salt mining, the company produced sulphuric acid which was important to the bauxite industry as it was used to process bauxite into alumina. Production of sulphuric acid also benefited other companies in the making of batteries, soaps, detergents, rum, beer and leather. The company also produced Aluminium Sulphate which was used in water purification and paper making. The Industrial Chemical Company Limited remains in operation on Windsor Avenue in Spanish Town. It currently manufactures table salt, offering brands such as *Freeflo*. Brine salt, which is used in the curing of salted fish, is also a product of the company. [36]

Bauxite Operations in St Catherine

The Canadian Aluminium Company with its subsidiary, *Alumina (Jamaica) Limited,* carried out important dredging operations in Old Harbour Bay and constructed a deep-water pier in the western section of Old Harbour Bay in 1953. The pier was connected by railway to the Shooter's Hill Alumina Plant (Manchester) and also to the rail network of the Jamaica Railway Corporation. Construction of the deep-water pier benefitted shipping in general from Port Esquivel in Old Harbour, but was also clearly intended to facilitate the shipping of bauxite products from the company. The second Bauxite Company was *ALCAN Jamaica Limited*, which was incorporated in Jamaica in 1943. It was a subsidiary of the Aluminium Company of Canada. Alcan had large bauxite land holdings in St Catherine as well as Manchester and St Ann. The third Bauxite Company was *ALCOA Minerals of Jamaica Limited.* Alcoa established a 22-mile railway transportation system to connect its bauxite sites with the shipping site at Rocky Point in Portland Bight, south-west of Old Harbour. Production and shipping of bauxite from Rocky Point started in 1963.

ALCOA was the only company at that time which produced alumina (aluminium oxide) from bauxite in Jamaica. There were two production locations for the alumina. One was at Kirkvine Works near Mandeville, and the second was at the Ewarton Works in St Catherine. The Ewarton Works were completed in 1959 and had the capacity to produce 250,000 tons annually. By 1971, ALCOA shipped alumina in bulk from Port Esquivel to Canada, Scandinavia and other places. Because the company also had an extensive agricultural programme on its properties, it became an important producer of beef, citrus and milk. A great deal of employment for

residents of surrounding areas of St Catherine was generated by the activities of these bauxite companies.

A View of Port Esquivel. Image courtesy of WINDALCO

The Entrance to Port Esquivel. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Electricity Generation in Old Harbour Bay, St Catherine

One of the largest electricity generating stations in the Caribbean was built by the Jamaica Public Service Company at Old Harbour Bay between 1968 and 1971. In total, there were four power generating units which were brought into service in 1968, 1970, 1971 and 1973, respectively. In this project, the company was able to significantly increase its power-producing capacity to the entire island, especially to rural Jamaica. In this sense, the use of Old Harbour Bay's resources had significant benefits for the wider Jamaica. [37]

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

Leonard Howell and Pinnacle in the Development of Rastafari in St Catherine

Within the Rastafari movement, Leonard Howell is seen as being one of the first, if not the first preacher of Rastafari and an important spiritual leader of the movement. Howell's legacy is deeply connected to the history of Pinnacle in St Catherine. From his earliest years, Howell's

driving ambition was to establish a community of believers in the teachings and philosophy of Rastafari. With this in mind, Howell got a loan from a commercial bank in 1940 and bought the 400-acre property called Pinnacle in St Catherine for the sum of £1,200. Pinnacle is located off the road that leads from Spanish Town to Sligoville. Howell set up a residential community at Pinnacle, along with five hundred of his followers. He then set about building a community of believers that was so important to him.

Pinnacle in St Catherine. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Pinnacle was a well-organised community. Labour was provided by everyone who worked together on projects that benefited the community. This was the case with the construction of the flats at Pinnacle. Although Howell's followers took part in this communal labour, each family was still expected to provide for itself by farming the family plot which was assigned by Howell. Tenement flats were built near a small watering pond which was used for watering plants and providing for livestock. Lanes separated every three or four flats and these were given names. To the front of the houses, there was a parade ground where parades symbolizing the beliefs of the community took place. Pinnacle also had a play field where children could enjoy their games. Howell did not live in these flats.

He was the leader, the "Gong" or the "Counsellor" or "Prince Regent", and therefore, Howell lived apart from everyone else, alone on the hill that overlooked the estate. This was also a

symbol of his authority over his people. He was the sole ruler and decision maker. Very shortly after establishing the community, Howell began to instil in his people the belief that he was the returned Messiah.

The Balm Yard at Pinnacle. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Most of the land at Pinnacle was too rocky to allow large-scale farming of provision and other crops. Nevertheless, Howell and his community were able to live off the land by burning charcoal for sale in the market and then by farming marijuana. It would seem that Howell was a successful marijuana farmer, producing enough of his cash crop to meet the increasing demand for it in Kingston. Pinnacle gained the reputation as the source that one could always depend on to obtain supplies of the herb. Food grown by the community was also stored to meet needs in times of scarcity.

This reputation soon worked against Howell and his followers. The police took action when they received reports of large amounts of marijuana being sold from Pinnacle to persons in St Catherine and Kingston. In 1954, the police raided Pinnacle and arrested seventy of the residents. Others were chased away and their houses and plots destroyed. Howell escaped, but was caught towards the end of July, tried for beating residents who did not carry out his orders and sentenced to two years in prison. After his release, he went to Bushy Park where he again took up residence with a few followers. He was never allowed to re-establish the community at

Pinnacle. Howell may not have had an impact on the wider St Catherine community, but the time spent with his people at Pinnacle allowed him to reach the people in his community. Time spent at Pinnacle also strengthened the beliefs of Rastafari in working together for the common good. For the Rastafari community, this was a small but important part of his legacy.[38]

The Impact of the 1938 labour Disturbances on St Catherine

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 labour protests around the island. In every town of every parish, the rallying cry was for improved working conditions for all workers and for fair and just wages to be paid and to be paid on time. These were not new concerns, neither were they limited to workers across Jamaica. What was different was the presence of charismatic labour leaders like Alexander Bustamante who were committed to seeing improvements for workers and who were prepared to take their struggles forward to a just conclusion. The demands for improved conditions for workers were being made around the colonies of the British Caribbean, and in every case there were labour leaders willing and ready to take the demands of workers forward. In several parishes across the island, striking workers and protesting demonstrators came into violent confrontations with the police. By 1938, the workers and other residents of St Catherine found themselves affected by the labour protests that were rapidly erupting across the country.

Towards the end of May 1938, as the labour protests spread outside of Kingston, St Catherine's location next door to the capital meant that St Catherine would be among the first areas to witness the spread of protests and strikes. In Spanish Town, the sanitation workers at the Parochial Board (like the Parish Council) were the first to take action by going on strike on 23 May 1938. Before long, this developed into a general strike which was marked by demonstrations. Local labour leaders like Lawrence Washington Rose, a popular Garveyite, who was the Spanish Town Branch Secretary of the Jamaica Workers' and Tradesmen Union (JWTU) played a major part in the demonstration.

At the nearby Caymanas Estate, striking workers blocked the entrance to the estate, and there was a clash between the striking labourers and the estate's employees, headed by the manager, Mr P. A. Bovell. The demonstrating crowd was fired on by the police. Four of the demonstrators were injured during this confrontation and in response, the cane fields of Caymanas were set on fire. Pretty soon, other sugar and banana estates in St Catherine were set ablaze, perhaps to send the message that workers viewed estate management as perpetrators of low and uncertain wages. Across St Catherine, workers employed to the Public Works Department lay down their tools and joined the protesting crowds.

Local labour leaders from the parish like L.W. Rose had earlier allied themselves with Allan George Coombs, who was leader of the Jamaica Workers' and Tradesmen Union (and seen as a rival of Bustamante). Their demands for change give us some idea of the deeper issues that galvanised workers into widespread protests. They asked for more local industries to be set up in the island so that workers might be more fairly treated. Workers also demanded the immediate establishment of a land settlement scheme and the creation of an Agricultural Loan Bank to help farmers to improve their production. Clearly, St Catherine's workers were looking at the long term prospects for improvement, as well as the short term need for better wages and working conditions. In all of this, the workers indicated that they wanted no one else but Alexander Bustamante to lead them in a union. One week before this, Bustamante had addressed a meeting in Spanish Town, attended by over 2,000 persons. For the workers of St Catherine, Bustamante's name was a household word. They wanted no other leader. Not long after this, the St Catherine labour leaders like Rose announced that they were transferring their support to Alexander Bustamante. The writing was on the wall. Workers of St Catherine had spoken up and acted on their grievances. The time had come for resolution. [39]

St Catherine's Twentieth-Century City: The Birth and Development of Portmore

The Historical Background to Portmore

Present-day Portmore occupies land that was once part of a vast property known as the *Salt Pond Pen.* For much of the period leading up to the late nineteenth century, this property took the name of its owners, the Dawkins Family and was therefore called *Dawkins Salt Pond Pen*. This was the same Dawkins family that owned one of the Caymanas Estates, Dawkins Caymanas. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Dawkins family renamed the property Portmore after the 2nd Earl of Portmore from Scotland, into whose family the Dawkins had married. In the early twentieth century, the Portmore property was sold to banana giants, the United Fruit Company, which put only the northern part of the property to use. The rest was left to turn to grassy wasteland. In the middle of the twentieth century, United Fruit Company sold the Portmore property to Caymanas Estate, but again, this was not fully utilised. In the late 1960s, the Portmore Land Development Company purchased the property from Caymanas Estates and began discussions with the Jamaican government regarding the possibility of establishing housing solutions on the Portmore property.

Portmore Begins: Preparing the Infrastructure

Portmore in the south-east part of St Catherine was seen as capable of presenting the ideal housing solutions for the rapidly expanding population of Kingston. In September 1968, the government of Jamaica entered into an agreement with the Portmore Land Development

Company limited to facilitate three major objectives. One of these was land reclamation. The Harbour had to be dredged and the material used to fill in the flat lands. Also, marl had to be quarried from the Port Henderson Hills to assist the reclamation of the land. It was also necessary to build a dyke to contain the Rio Cobre in order to prevent flooding. A causeway had to be built which would connect Kingston to Portmore. Once these conditions were fulfilled, housing construction could begin and social amenities could be provided.

Portmore: The City Across the Water. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Portmore Begins: Building the City

Portmore began with the construction of the Independence City Housing Project in 1968. Independence City was to be built on 163.9 acres, the provision of 1,383 building lots and the construction of two and three-bedroom units on 1,000 of these lots. Provisions were made for space for parks, schools, commercial areas and the installation of a system for disposal of

sewage.

A View of Portmore Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The second instalment in the development of Portmore was the construction of Ensom City. It was agreed that 1088 building lots would be provided on 198.6 acres of land known as Ensom, St Catherine, and provision was also made for the same amenities as had been provided in the case of Independence City. By 1977, several private housing schemes had developed in the

area, which provided about 10,000 housing solutions.

Road Improvement in Portmore Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

At the Crossroads: Portmore Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

However, in the case of these later developments, not enough attention was paid to the provision of the necessary infrastructure for parks, commercial areas and schools. Subsequently, the Urban Development Corporation was asked to partner with West Indies Home Contractors to provide further solutions. [40]

Naggo Head Primary School in Portmore. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Around and About in Portmore. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Cultural Legacies Associated with the Parish of St Catherine

Horse racing in St Catherine: Not Simply a Caymanas Affair

Horse racing was part of the English cultural tradition, and it was the English who introduced the sport in Jamaica. Over the centuries, many Jamaicans have adopted this cultural tradition, and there are many who would argue that horse racing is part of the cultural legacies left by over three hundred years of British rule. Horse racing has been a part of the Jamaican landscape for many years, and for most of that time St Catherine has been home to the “Sport of Kings”. With this in mind, horse racing may be considered one of the cultural legacies of the

parish, which some persons will embrace and others may not.

Nice to Meet You! One of the Stars of Horse Racing at Caymanas Park. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Under English rule, horse racing was introduced in the very early years when Spanish Town was being laid out. A large area was set aside for recreation and leisure, and a racetrack was built on the southern end of the common area that had been set aside for recreation. The English named this the “Race Course”, and this is clearly seen on James Robertson’s 1804 Map of the County of Middlesex. As shown in the early section on English settlement of Spanish Town, the English eagerly anticipated the races which were usually held in December and later, in March.

By the 1860s, horse racing was being staged at Cumberland Pen and at Bernard Lodge, to the east of where the sugar factory is currently located. The Cumberland Pen Race Track was most likely held in the area now known as Gregory Park. In 1896, the entry fee to the Cumberland Races was about four shillings. Louis Verley, a leading planter and businessman and Captain Kavanagh (the Governor’s assistant) organised the Cumberland Pen races. Horse racing held a wide social appeal, and the governor was usually in attendance. It was reported that the Afro-Jamaican masses found racing an affordable sport. For a while, horse racing departed St Catherine in favour of Kingston where races were held at Knutsford Park which is now New Kingston.

Horse racing in St Catherine gained new life when Caymanas Estates Ltd. bought the Portmore property from United Fruit Company for £20,000. By 1959, Caymanas Park Racetrack was opened with much excitement.

Caymanas Park Race Track Today. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

This was made possible because Knutsford Park Ltd. which had managed horse racing in Kingston had relocated their racing enterprise to a part of the Caymanas Estate. In 1960, a new company, Caymanas Park Limited, took over the promotion and operation of race meetings at Caymanas Park. The assets in horse racing that had belonged to the two existing race companies, Knutsford Park Ltd. and Jamaica Turf Club Ltd., were acquired by Caymanas Park Limited. From 1959 until the present, horse racing has returned to Caymanas and St Catherine.

Another View of Caymanas Park Race Track. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Monument to the "Sport of Kings"at Caymanas Park. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The "Sport of Kings" first started in St Catherine and was there to stay. For many Jamaicans, Saturday being race day, going to Caymanas Park is not simply about betting on races. For many it has become a much anticipated opportunity to socially interact and maybe even to demonstrate a competitive sense of fashion.

"Festival" at Hellshire

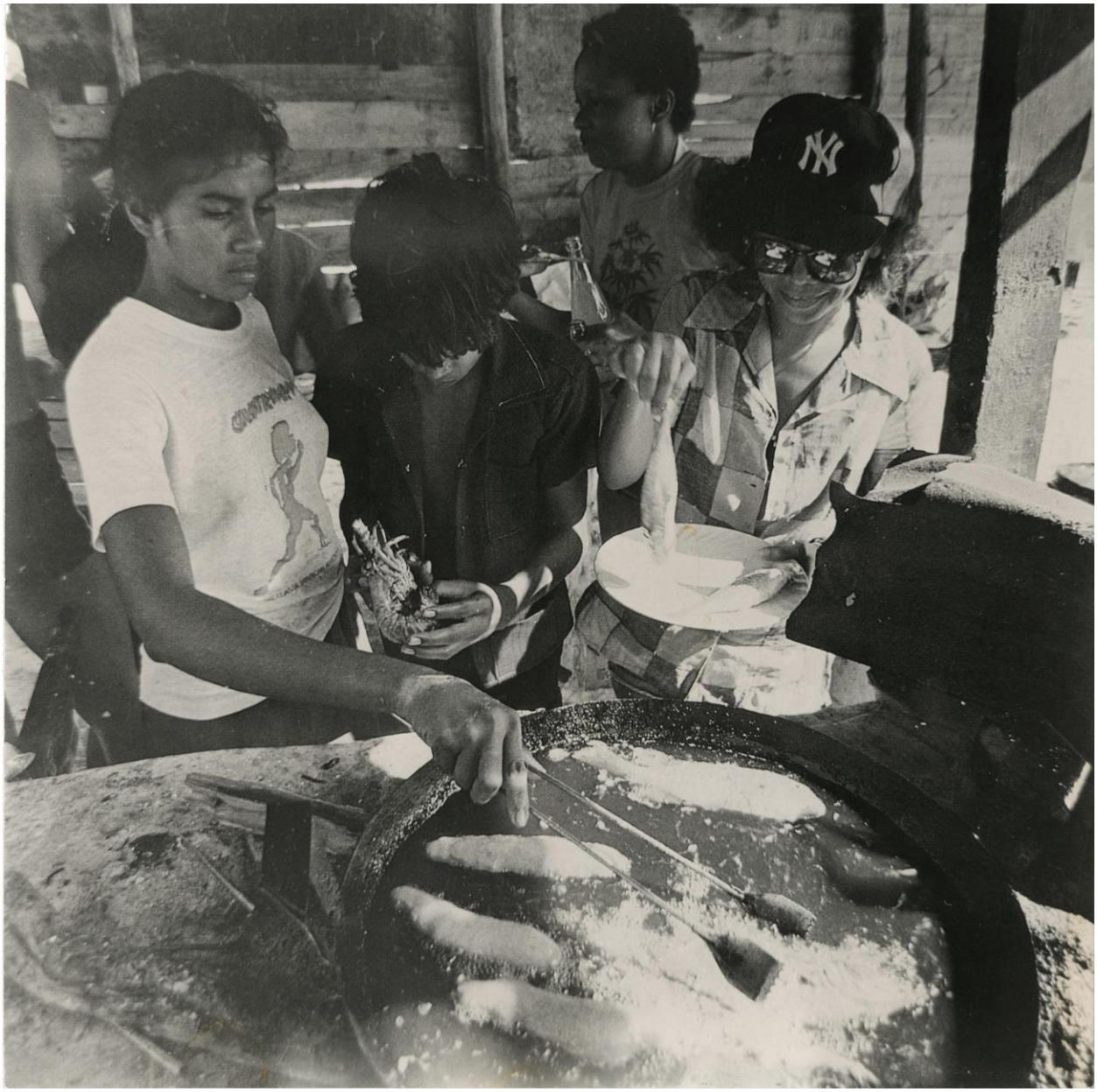
When Jamaicans think of eating fish and festival, they associate "festival" with Hellshire in St Catherine. This is so because Hellshire has always been linked to the unique way of preparing the dish known as festival. In fact, "festival" was created at the then newly established and very

popular Hellshire Beach.

A Section of Hellshire Beach Showing the Fishing Village. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Festival became accessible to persons travelling from Kingston by way of the causeway that was built in the 1970s to link Kingston to the relatively new development of Portmore. In this way, a unique piece of St Catherine's cultural heritage became available to any and every

Jamaican or visitor who wished to partake of festival.



Preparing Festival in Earlier Days. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Barry Higman, who has studied the history of food culture in Jamaica, tells us that “festival” was named for the Jamaica Festival of Arts and Culture that was a feature of our annual

Independence celebrations.

Fishing at Hellshire. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Festival is really a cornmeal dumpling which uses both cornmeal and white flour with baking powder and sugar as important ingredients. All ingredients are mixed together and the mixture is shaped then fried in deep hot oil in order to obtain that golden crisp crust. But festival is not an ordinary cornmeal dumpling re-invented at Hellshire Beach. What differentiates ‘festival” from a cornmeal dumpling is the sweet taste that comes from the added sugar and the fact that

the mixture is deep fried rather than boiled as was done with the cornmeal dumpling.

Frying the Fish that Goes with the Festival. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

In 1991 when Jamaica Flour Mills launched their festival mix, they claimed that festival was invented by a Braeton fisherman. The Flour Mills advertising line reads “If you thought you had to go to Hellshire to get the real taste of festival, think again.” Many Hellshire vendors disagree with the explanation of festival’s origin. They claim that festival was invented by Oratius Thompson, a Naggo Head seaside cook who insists that he had created and named “festival” in 1975 and that his recipe was unique. Jamaica Flour Mills’ advertising line for their festival mix is an unintended recognition of the important way in which people all over Jamaica associate the best ‘festival” with Hellshire. That will never change as the association is by now, culturally

imbedded in people's experiences. "Nobody does it better" would seem to apply here.

The Finished Dish: Fish, Festival and all the Goodies. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The People's Museum of Craft and Technology

The People's Museum of Craft and Technology which is now housed on the grounds of the old King's House (in the stable block) in Spanish Town is an important reminder of the material culture that is part of the cultural heritage of the freed people and by extension, our cultural heritage.

Entrance to the People's Museum of Craft and Technology in Spanish Town. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

When the museum was first established in 1961, it was named the Folk Museum and in 1979, the name was changed to the present *People's Museum of Craft and Technology.* The displays include a wide collection of earthenware, yabbas, basketry and farming tools and implements,

among other cultural reminders, of how the emancipated people lived and how they worked.

Implements on Display at the People's Museum. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Drums on Display at the Museum. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Each display item tells its own story, and it is a story written on the steep hillside farms of St Catherine's smallholding class of farmers and in the villages that they were proud to call "Free". They lived and struggled yet survived in places that still have deep roots and connections to the farming heritage of days long since gone.

Implements of Work by the People, for the People. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

In this respect, the People's Museum of Craft and Technology is in itself, a tangible piece from our past which must be secured and appreciated for generations to come. [41]

At the People's Museum: Earlier Methods of Transportation. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Personalities from the Parish of St Catherine

There are and were so many thousands of people from the parish of St Catherine, whose stories need telling, if only because they have lived and died, most of them, completely unnoticed, unacknowledged and invisible in the historical records. Their stories need telling because many of them were in their own way the real shapers of their families' lives and the strength of their communities. Their legacy becomes our story to cherish, to tell and to pass on. This can only be done if we know their stories. By researching and reading about the history of a parish such as St Catherine, we get a glimpse into what life must have been like for the people who lived back then, regardless of status, race or gender. Since they are no longer with us, this is all we have, a glimpse into their past through the study of their history and the tangible and intangible reminders of a heritage which has been passed down to the present.

For those whose stories have been documented, the length of the list defies description in a work like this. Nevertheless, they are named, acknowledged and appreciated even as they remain visible and present reminders of the outstanding sons and daughters of St Catherine. Heading the list of persons who are from the parish of St Catherine is the *Most Honourable*

Portia Lucretia Simpson-Miller, who was born in Wood Hall in rural St Catherine and who rose to become Jamaica's first female Prime Minister. To her enduring credit, she never forgot the humble circumstances of her early years growing up. Throughout her political career, she remained a faithful and committed champion of the poor and the oppressed and her genuine care for the welfare of the Jamaican people remains an unchallenged part of her life and her legacy.

Born to working class parents in Spanish Town, the *Most Honourable Andrew Michael Holness* has the distinction of being Jamaica's youngest Prime Minister to date. Though official birth records suggest that he was born in Clarendon, former Prime Minister, the *Honourable Orett Bruce Golding* can lay claim to being a true son of St Catherine's soil as he spent quite a few years in Ginger Ridge, St Catherine and recalls aspects of his father, *Tacius Golding*'s political life story (featured shortly). *Asafa Powell* may have left his birthplace of Linstead, but he has easily blazed a trail of athletic greatness in his hometown and in Jamaica that is not likely to be forgotten any time now.

Born in Byndloss, near Linstead in St Catherine, *Mallica "Kapo" Reynolds* has left a lasting legacy as one of Jamaica's greatest Intuitive artists. The Kapo Gallery at the National Gallery of Jamaica

is a lasting testimonial to his artistic and cultural brilliance.

Mallica "Kapo" Reynolds: A Lasting Artistic Legacy. Image courtesy of The National Library of Jamaica

Clinton V. Black spent most of his adult life at the Jamaica Archives in Spanish Town, and through his work and dedication to the preservation of historical records, has made it possible to access sources that convey our history for generations to come.

Jonathan Grant

Jonathan Grant was a former Member of Parliament who served the people of St Catherine in two different constituencies. In 1955, he was elected to serve the constituency of South-Eastern St Catherine. Later, in 1959, when the number of constituencies in the parish was increased from three to four, he won the right to represent the people of Central St Catherine. As Minister of Labour in the administration of the People's National Party, he served the workers of this country and of the parish that he represented well. Grant died in 1962 before the General Elections were held. His life of service to the parish did not go unnoticed as seen in the fact that *The Jonathan Grant High School*, located on White Church Street in Spanish Town, is named in his honour.

Students with Their Teacher at Jonathan Grant High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Snapshots to Inspire: Jonathan Grant High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Tacius Golding

Tacius Golding was a teacher by profession, whose first and lasting contribution to the people of St Catherine was made through his work of educating young minds. He later distinguished himself as one of the most outstanding political figures in St Catherine. He taught at Ginger Ridge Primary School for eight years and was also Headmaster at Ginger Ridge. When he decided to shift his service to representational politics in the 1949 General Elections, Golding won the right to serve the people of South West St Catherine on his very first try. His son, Bruce Golding, the former Prime Minister, tells us that his father would leave home very early, notebook in hand to visit with his constituents. He would spend the entire day, going from village to village, listening to the people and writing down everything of what they were saying. His son would occasionally have to write for him. With this record of attending to his constituents, it is no surprise that Golding was returned as Member of Parliament for his constituency every time he contested the seat. He won the elections in 1949, 1955, 1959, 1962 and 1967. Tacius Golding was also the first Speaker of the House of Representatives after Independence. *Tacius Golding High School*, formerly Brown's Hall Secondary, was named in his

honour.

A View of Tacius Golding High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

Inside: Grounds and Buildings of Tacius Golding High School. Image courtesy of JNFoundation

The Cenotaph: A Fitting Memorial to the Courageous Soldiers of St Catherine

This memorial is located north of St James Cathedral and forms part of *The Spanish Town Historic District*. the Cenotaph was erected as a memorial to the citizens of St Catherine who fought and died in World War 1 (1914-1918) and World War 11 (1939-1945). Their spirit of loyalty, service and sacrifice makes them outstanding sons and daughters of St Catherine.

Concluding Thoughts:

Having the distinction of being among the seven oldest and one of the largest parishes in Jamaica, St Catherine has contributed to the shaping of the island's history in very fundamental ways. Almost from the beginning of English rule, St Catherine and in particular, Spanish Town, was at the centre of the administration of Jamaica's affairs. Being home to the capital, St Catherine was the parish to which people from other parts of the island came to conduct their political, economic and social affairs. For a very long time, the parish was a connecting point from Kingston to other parts of the island. Some may argue that St Catherine lost a great deal of its appeal when Spanish Town lost its pride of place as Jamaica's capital in 1872. However, such a conclusion would hardly do justice to the historical legacy of St Catherine. Long before 1872 and long after Kingston's rise, the diverse people of St Catherine had collectively shaped a rich cultural legacy and through their agricultural and industrial enterprises, they enhanced the wider Jamaican economy. This legacy remains very visible in the canefields, farmlands (great and small) and the factories which mark the landscape of the parish today. The fact that Spanish Town Square has been officially declared a *Historic District* and a *National Monument* remains a lasting commentary on the impact that this parish has had on the shaping of our history.

GUIDE TO PLACES OF HISTORICAL INTEREST IN ST CATHERINE

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