THE PARISH HISTORIES OF JAMAICA PROJECT

A HISTORY OF KINGSTON

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INTRODUCTORY THOUGHTS

Located on the south-eastern coast of Jamaica, Kingston is the smallest of Jamaica's fourteen parishes. It overlooks the fine, natural harbour known as Kingston Harbour and commands a spectacular view of the majestic Blue Mountains away to the distant north of the parish. Kingston was the name given to both the town that came into existence in 1692 and to the parish of which the town was a part. Throughout its history, Kingston developed from a small town into an ever-expanding city, becoming the permanent capital of Jamaica in 1872. Although the smallest parish, Kingston is today, the most densely populated and is seen as the hub and heartbeat of the nation.

Kingston Harbour with a View of Kingston and the Blue Mountains in the Background Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Writing a History of Kingston raised the issue of defining the parish as a geographical space which is separate from the neighbouring parish of St Andrew. The issue of where Kingston began and ended was not always easily resolved. This challenge arose mainly because from the twentieth century onwards, the parishes of Kingston and St Andrew have been increasingly treated as one general area known variously as the *Corporate Area*, *Kingston and St Andrew*

and the *Greater Kingston Metropolitan Area*. Indeed, when most people refer to Kingston, they also include areas which are really in the lower parts of St Andrew. One only has to glance at Google's *Map of Kingston* to see this. On this map, the name "Kingston" is applied to a much larger territory, much of it being outside of the official boundaries of Kingston Parish and belonging to the parish of St Andrew.

This blurring between the two parishes became quite pronounced in the twentieth century, when for administrative purposes, the local government bodies of the parishes of Kingston and St Andrew were merged in 1923 to form the unit known as the *Kingston and St Andrew Corporation* (KSAC)

The Headquarters of the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation (KSAC) on Church Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Also, over time, Kingston's population increased and people established their homes in the area to the north, west and east of the original parish of Kingston. These newer residential areas (suburbs) were still regarded as Kingston in the public's eyes even though by strict boundary lines, they were really a part of St Andrew. (The boundaries of Kingston Parish will be fully discussed in a later section). Therefore, for many, it became the acceptable practice to use the name *Kingston* to describe the residential overflow of the parish of Kingston into the adjoining parish of St Andrew, further blurring the separateness of Kingston from St Andrew.

Importantly, this parish history focuses on the birth and development over time of the parish of Kingston as a separate entity from St Andrew. In this respect, close attention is paid to the boundaries and location of Kingston from its earliest emergence as a town and its growth into

the parish known as Kingston. Throughout this history, the separate identity of the parish of Kingston rests solidly on the boundaries as laid down by Law 20 of 1867 and also rests on the present day boundaries as laid out on the map of Kingston today. Of significance is the fact that from 1867 until now, the town of Port Royal as well as the entire strip of land known as the Palisadoes, have become an integral part of Kingston parish and therefore the story of Kingston will properly include references to the town of Port Royal.

A View of Port Royal Town Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

THE TAINO PRESENCE IN THE LAND THAT BECAME KINGSTON

As was the case with the other parishes, Kingston was a creation of the English government. However, long before the English arrived, the area which subsequently became the town and parish of Kingston was traversed by the indigenous Jamaicans, the Tainos, and by the first European arrivals, the Spaniards.

While European colonisation and development of the area literally erased the Tainos and their settlements, archaeologists and historians have provided evidence which supports the conclusion that the area now known as Kingston was once home to the Taino peoples. There is archaeological evidence that the Tainos were dwellers on the Liguanea Plain, which is the general geographic space where the two parishes of Kingston and St Andrew were later located. The Liguanea Plain is an extensive area of flat land that slopes gently down to the

harbour of Kingston. Interestingly, the name *Liguanea* is Taino in origin and comes from the word *iguana*, which was a common-place reptile during the times of the Taino.

Archaeologist Philip Allsworth-Jones identified seventeen Taino sites in the Liguanea area. Most of these were in the general location of what was to become the parish of St Andrew, and included inland hilltop sites at Norbrook, Jacks Hill, Chancery Hall, Mona, Beverly Hills, Long Mountain and Martello Tower. Of the seventeen sites, there was only one located in the area which later became Kingston. This was at Rennock Lodge and will be discussed shortly.

Interestingly, archaeological evidence shows that the Tainos who lived in St Andrew constantly traversed the geographical space now known as Kingston in order to get to their food sources from the sea. Based on the abundant remains of shellfish found at the Kingston coastal sites as well as the hilltop sites, archaeologists like Allsworth-Jones were able to conclude that the dietary preferences of both the hilltop and coastal Tainos seem to have been a variety of shellfish and other marine life. To obtain their favourite foods, hilltop dwellers had to travel across the Liguanea Plain and down to the shores of what is now Kingston Harbour. So the Taino dwellers of what became St Andrew were in almost daily contact with the geographic space now known as Kingston.

Even more amazing evidence of the Taino presence in Kingston was found in 1993-1994 by workmen of the National Water Commission. While digging in the area at the corner of Harbour and Pechon Streets, the workers uncovered a canoe made from a single piece of wood (in keeping with the Taino method of canoe-building). It was later determined to be a Taino canoe and this important artefact is now in the keeping of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. Therefore, since the Tainos were coastal people, tending to establish their settlements along the coast and being dependent on the sea for food and transport, it is not surprising that there is important surviving evidence of their interaction with the south coastal parish now called Kingston.

The Taino Site at Rennock Lodge

Rennock Lodge is to be found in East Kingston. Allsworth-Jones identified the specific Taino site at Rennock Lodge as being west of Harbour View and south of Wareika (Hills). The Rennock Lodge site was located at twenty-five feet or eight metres above sea level and close to the sea at a distance of 0.2 kilometres from the Kingston Harbour. Evidence of the daily lives of the Taino, especially in terms of the food that they ate, is usually found in the garbage heaps which were located close to the Taino settlements. These garbage heaps or Middens were covered over time by layers of dirt, and so their contents were usually preserved from the effects of above ground activities.

When archaeologists excavated these Middens, such as that at Rennock Lodge, the artefacts that they found allowed them to positively identify the area as a Taino site. The Rennock Lodge Midden covered an area of 47,406 square metres. Among the discoveries made at this site were a variety of marine shells, twenty-one pieces of Taino pottery, some of which were decorated as well as plain. Two amulets (ornaments or jewellery) carved and decorated in Taino styles were also found at Rennock Lodge. Modern-day Rennock Lodge is home to places such as Rennock Lodge All-Age and Basic Schools and a cultural community of Rastafarians.

The Taino Interaction with Port Royal

Today, the town of Port Royal is located at the end of a long strip of land which is really an eighteen-mile long sand spit known as the Palisadoes. This sand spit, the Palisadoes, connects the town of Port Royal to the parishes of St Andrew (at the Harbour View Roundabout) and the rest of Kingston. Sand spits are land formations which emerge over time as a result of river and wave action depositing sand in a given area. In the case of the Palisadoes strip, the sand spit was formed over a bed of coral reefs and coral heads which extended quite far out to sea. Over time, these coral heads were joined together by sediment being deposited from the action of rivers flowing into the sea from the east. In the time of the Tainos, Port Royal was not yet connected to the Palisadoes strip but rather, it was a cay which was completely surrounded by water.

Excavations carried out by archaeologists on the land in Port Royal have not revealed any evidence of Taino occupations or sites such as that at Rennock Lodge. However, it is important to remember that a large part of Port Royal sank beneath the water in the earthquake of 1692. In the 1960s, when teams of archaeologists undertook underwater excavations of the area where the sunken city of Port Royal is located, they found undeniable evidence of Taino activity on the cay which later became home to Port Royal. Among items found were shards (broken pieces) of Taino pottery, dating back to about 1,000 A.D. and a stone *metate* which the Taino used for grinding corn. These findings indicate that the Taino must have had some form of settled life on that cay that later became Port Royal as they took the time to prepare food, using the *metate* and clearly used utensils such as pottery for eating and drinking on the cay.

Although archaeologists do not have land-based evidence of Taino villages and middens above ground in Port Royal, given the fact that the Tainos were fisher-folk, it is highly likely that they used this cay as a fishing camp. Perhaps the most interesting piece of evidence linking the Tainos to the space that later become Port Royal is the fact that the cay was considered important enough in their lives for the Tainos to give this place its first name, *Caguay* or *Cagua* (also represented as *Caguaya*). Edward Long, the Historian, writing in 1774, argued that *Cagua* was probably taken from the Taino word, *caragua*, which was their name for the aloe plant. Although the Spaniards kept the Taino name *Caguay* for Port Royal and the English at first

adopted the name and called the port Cagway, the Taino imprint on the name of Port Royal finally disappeared under early English rule.

Tragically, the encounter between the first Jamaicans and the Spaniards proved to be nothing short of disastrous for the Tainos, who rapidly disappeared as a result of disease, over work and ill-treatment. Many of the Jamaican Tainos died during the great epidemic (mainly smallpox) of 1519. By 1611, there were only about seventy four Tainos left in the island (according to Spanish records). Nevertheless, their most lasting imprint on the space that became Kingston remains in the place names of areas located in the Corporate Area, which consists of Kingston and St Andrew. The Taino-derived name of Liguanea lives on in the Liguanea Plain and it was in the southernmost corner of the Liguanea Plain that Kingston was to grow. Other places still bearing this Taino-derived name are in the parish of St Andrew. These include Liguanea Plaza, Liguanea Avenue, the Liguanea School and Liguanea Ridge, among other places. [1]

THE SPANIARDS AND KINGSTON

The Spanish influence over the island of Jamaica began with Columbus' second voyage in 1494 and ended not long after the English invasion of the island in 1655. After exploring the waters off the southern coast of Cuba, it was natural that Columbus' first contact with Jamaica should have been on the north coast. It was at present-day St Ann's Bay (which he named *Santa Gloria*) that Columbus and the Spaniards first touched on Jamaica's shores during the second voyage in 1494. They explored and named several places on the 1494 journey around the coast. Some of these places included *Rio Bueno* (Trelawny); Montego Bay (later named *Bahia de Manteca* by the Spaniards); *Punta de Negrilla* or *Cabo de San Rafael* (Negril Point); *Bahia de la Vaca* (Cow Bay/ Portland Bight); and *Cabo de San Miguel* (Morant Point).

It is clear that on his voyages to Jamaica, Columbus did not name the place that was to become Kingston although on his second voyage his ships must have sailed past this section of the coast on the way to Morant Point. However, the area of Port Royal (later to become a part of Kingston) was visited by Columbus on his second voyage. In making their way eastwards around the south coast of Jamaica, the Spaniards seem to have rested their ships for a brief while at Port Royal. Francisco Morales Padron tells us that Columbus' ships sailed from what is now Port Royal and by 19 August, 1494, were continuing their journey eastwards in line with Morant Point.

In the course of Spanish rule over Jamaica, settlements of varying sizes were established at different points on the island with two being of major significance. Of these, the first was the

Spanish capital on the north coast at *Sevilla de Nueva* in St Ann. In 1534, the capital of Spanish Jamaica was relocated to the south coast at *Villa de la Vega* (Spanish Town) in St Catherine. Once the Spaniards removed their capital to *Villa de la Vega*, the focus of their attention remained on the south coast. Given its location on the southern coast of Jamaica and its commanding access to a large natural harbour, the space which became the site of the town and parish of Kingston must have featured in later Spanish activities along the south coast of the island, even though not much has been written about this. Some of these activities by the Spaniards were centred in today's Port Royal and these will be looked at since the town of Port Royal later became a part of the parish of Kingston.

After 1534, when the Spaniards relocated their capital to the south coast town of *Villa de la Vega,* the Port Royal Cay took on some importance to them. Port Royal's most important early use was as a careening point, meaning a place where the Spaniards would regularly clean and maintain their ships and boats. Ships or boats were deliberately grounded in shallow water or pulled out of the water and on to shore. The hulls of the ships were scraped clean and the wooden hulls (sides of ship) were then caulked or sealed with tar or pitch to make them more water-tight. At Port Royal, the Spaniards also used the opportunity to refit their vessels, that is, to repair areas on deck or to mend or replace any worn-out equipment such as sails.

Given the emphasis on using Port Royal Cay for maintenance (careening) of their ships, it was not surprising that the Spaniards named the cay *Cayo de Carena* or Careening Cay. At the same time, it appears that the Spaniards kept the Taino name, *Caguay* or *Caguaya* for Port Royal. We have no evidence to suggest that the Spaniards built a town at Port Royal, but we do know that they built a few wooden warehouses or storehouses there, most likely to house their careening equipment. They also gave the name *Guayamo* to the main anchorage at Port Royal where Spanish ships were anchored.

Generally, the Spaniards failed to build forts or station soldiers in order to defend places outside of their main settlement at *Villa de la Vega*. This reflected their greater interest in the gold and silver producing mainland of South and Central America (*Tierra Firme*) to the south of Jamaica. Spain's European enemies, especially France and England, used this relative neglect to carry out illegal trade and pirate attacks along the undefended coasts. Soon, Spanish Port Royal became an attraction for European pirates and smugglers. However, despite their greater interest in the Spanish mainland, the Spaniards held firmly to their doctrine of the Spanish monopoly by which they claimed the sole right to own and control lands settled by them such as Jamaica. Piracy and illegal trade in Jamaica by other countries would not be tolerated.

With this in mind, in 1565, the Spanish governor, Blas de Melo, successfully dealt with a French attempt to establish a foothold from Port Royal. Using three ships, the Spaniards were able to defeat the crew of three French vessels which had been anchored in Careena Cay. Governor de

Melo succeeded in capturing two of the French ships, taking thirty-three Frenchmen prisoners. On this occasion, the Spanish forces were also able to rescue about twenty Spaniards who had been taken prisoner by the French.

By the early seventeenth century, there were increased efforts by the English and French privateers and pirates to attack and plunder the Spanish capital at *Villa de la Vega*. The waters off the coast of Port Royal (*Cayo de Careena*) were often used as the launching pad for these attacks because of the lack of fortifications on the cay. In 1643, one of the most famous English privateering attacks on *Villa de la Vega* was launched from Port Royal. On Good Friday of that year, eight English ships commanded by Colonel William Jackson, dropped anchor at *Cayo de Careena*. From there, Colonel Jackson was able, without opposition, to organise and launch his famous attack on *Villa de la Vega*, taking the Spaniards by surprise and bringing them to their knees. Luckily for the Spaniards, the privateers were interested in loot and not in taking the town of *Villa de la Vega*. So the Spaniards were allowed to keep their capital town but they had to pay the English a hefty ransom of seven thousand pesos, two hundred heads of cattle and ten thousand pounds of cassava. Port Royal, of use to the Spaniards only as a careening place, had become a very weak link in the chain of Spanish control.

There are no remains of Spanish structures in the geographic area that became the site of the town of Kingston but the Spaniards would have built houses either on the *Hato de Liguanea* or in surrounding locations. There is enough evidence to prove that their economic activities on the Liguanea Plain, mainly cattle and hog rearing, as well as salt mining, brought them into the area which later became Kingston. It is also clear that the Spaniards recognised and made use of the natural deep-water harbour now known as Kingston Harbour.

Once it became clear to the Spaniards that Jamaica lacked the supplies of gold and silver that they so valued, they focussed on cattle rearing as a principal source of income. Cattle provided them with an abundance of meat, hides and tallow (lard or animal fat) the latter being used for several purposes including making candles. These were important exports for the Spaniards who traded them with passing Spanish ships in exchange for goods needed. After 1534, when the Spaniards relocated their capital town to the south coast (*Villa de la Vega*), this trade with passing ships intensified as the sailing routes to and from Spain took the ships along the south coast of Jamaica on their way to the Spanish Mainland of Central and South America. Therefore, the economic life of Spanish Jamaica depended on a number of vast cattle ranches known as *hatos* which were to be found more in the south of the island since the north coast was increasingly plagued by French, English and Dutch pirates as time went by. *Hatos* were owned by wealthy Spaniards who often built their homes on or near the *hato*. These south-coast *hatos* took up most of the flat land.

However, the owners of *hatos* and their workers represented only a small portion of the island's population. During the period of Spanish rule, the size of the population throughout the island varied. Excluding the small Taino population already mentioned, by 1611, there were about 1,500 persons on the island. This figure included about 523 adult Spaniards, 173 children, 107 free Blacks, 588 enslaved persons and about 75 'foreigners' who were most likely Portuguese Jews who had come to Jamaica after 1580, when the crowns of Spain and Portugal had been united for a while. Most of this population was located in the capital of *Villa de la Vega* but some of the Spaniards and their slaves would have been living on the *hatos* and other areas around the island.

Along the southern coast, *hatos* were established from west to east, with the *Hato de Negrillo* (Negril) in the extreme west and the *Hato de Morante* (Morant Bay) in the extreme east. There were several other hatos in places like today's Pedro Plains (St Elizabeth), Old Harbour and Guanaboa (St Catherine). Along the south coast, in the vicinity of present day Yallahs, there was also the *Hato de Ayala* (Yallahs). These vast cattle ranches on the south coast were all linked together by a trail which ran from west to east along the shoreline and which facilitated communications between their owners. The *hato* which was of importance to Kingston was the *Hato de Liguanea/ Liguani* (on the Liguanea Plain).

The Liguanea Plain is an extensive area of flat land from which both the parishes of St Andrew and Kingston were to be created by the English rulers of the colony. Starting just north of today's Norbrook and Cherry Gardens the vast Liguanea Plain slopes gently down all the way to the harbour of Kingston. Therefore, the strip of land which would eventually become the town and then parish of Kingston was located in the southern part of the Liguanea Plain. The Spaniards established their sprawling *Hato de Liguanea* on the Liguanea Plain. While we do not know the exact boundaries and size of these *hatos*, we do know that they were extremely large, covering extensive areas to provide for grazing of their abundant herds of cattle.

Long before Kingston's birth, the harbour that is now named Kingston Harbour proved to be important to the Spaniards. During the period of Spanish occupation, this large natural harbour (Kingston Harbour) had two ports from which trade was conducted. The first port was located in the extreme western part of Kingston Harbour and this was called *Port Caguaya* (today's Passage Fort) by the Spaniards. Properly located in St Catherine, Port Caguaya or Passage Fort was the main port through which the Spaniards at *Villa de la Vega* conducted trade. The second port, located in the eastern section of Kingston's harbour during Spanish times was *Puerto Principal*, a name which the Spaniards gave to the port and also to the entire body of water that we now call Kingston Harbour. This second Spanish port of *Puerto Principal* served as that part of the Kingston Harbour from which the Spaniards who were connected to the *Hato de Liguanea* conducted trade.

Spaniards made the journey across the Liguanea Plain all the way down to the coast from where their goods were shipped. Goods being traded were taken in smaller boats out to the larger vessels which were anchored in the harbour. The fact that the Spaniards attached the name *Puerto Principal* to the vast harbour indicates that the Spaniards who were active in the Liguanea Plain regarded the future Kingston Harbour as important to their economic activities. It also appears that the Spaniards may have had a wharf or warehouses at *Puerto Principal* which allowed them to store goods from across the Liguanea Plain. Padron suggests that this part of Kingston's Harbour (*Puerto Principal*) was heavily utilized by the Spaniards during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Clearly, they were constantly interacting with the space that would eventually become Kingston.

A View of the Kingston Harbour Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

As was the case with cattle, pigs were introduced to the island by the Spaniards and soon multiplied in great numbers, many becoming wild. On these *hatos*, including the *Hato de Liguanea*, the Spaniards also raised domesticated pigs (hogs) which were used to supplement their meat sources. However, some Spaniards who were not wealthy enough to own *hatos* also raised hogs. As will be seen in the next section on the founding of Kingston by the English, the strip of coastal land that was used to build early Kingston was originally a hog crawle or a place for raising hogs, and at the time of Kingston's emergence, this hog crawle had belonged to Colonel Barry.

The evidence suggests however, that the practice of raising domesticated pigs as hogs really started with the Spaniards, and the area on which these hogs were kept became known (in English) as a hog crawle. According to the writer, Hickeringill, the term hog crawle and the practice of raising hogs started with the Spaniards. He tells us that the Spaniards often chose a wooded area with fruit trees and provisions such as cabbage to locate the hog crawle. Two or

three little houses were built near this area and an enclosed section for the domesticated hogs was also built. This was the hog crawle. The Spaniards fed the hogs on the fruits of the surrounding land and so when they were let out, they always returned to the source of their food. Before the arrival of the English therefore, the practice of raising hogs in a hog crawle was already established by the Spaniards, and the hog crawle lands that became the site for early Kingston were previously owned and controlled by Spaniards.

In the days before refrigeration existed, supplies of salt were critical to the Spaniards in the preservation of the abundant supplies of beef and pork to be had from their cattle and hog-rearing activities. The south-coastal lands which became the site of Kingston were noted for the *Salinas,* which were rich sources of salt. Salinas were areas of coastal land, such as salt marshes or salt pans, where the sea water was evaporated leaving crystallized salt behind. Salt from these coastal Salinas was also in itself, a valuable item of trade for the Spaniards. At the time when Edward Long wrote about Jamaica (1774), these coastal Salinas were still very important to the English who succeeded the Spaniards. Long pointed out that Kingston's shoreline was the site of large areas of Salinas, several of which were located between Hunt's Bay and what was then known as Waterhouse Savannah. Long added that the Salinas were frequently overflowed by sea water from the harbour (Kingston Harbour), thereby adding to the amount of crystallized salt. Even before the birth of Kingston as a town and parish, Kingston's shores proved quite beneficial to the Spaniards' economic activities. [2]

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

CHALLENGES OF THE EARLY YEARS

Effective occupation of Jamaica by England began in 1655 with the first stages of the conquest. They then focussed on fully defeating the Spaniards (by 1658), establishing English control over the capital of Spanish Town and building the first English naval base at Careening Cay (Port Royal). As noted earlier, the town of Port Royal would later become a part of the parish of Kingston. Therefore, its emergence both as a naval base and as a town is briefly examined here. Not surprisingly, the English rulers at first paid very little attention to developing the space that would become Kingston, although it was on the coast and had a good harbour. This was so because the early years after 1655 were very challenging, with conflicts and disagreements among the conquerors. There was a struggle between those who wanted a civil government and those who preferred military rule. There was also a struggle to stay alive as fighting, disease and death took a severe toll on the first arrivals. Approximately six regiments with 8,000 officers and their men had arrived in Jamaica in 1655 with Cromwell's invading force, but by 1656, only about 3,000 soldiers remained alive. Although land was distributed to the soldiers, it was difficult to convince them to contribute to settlement by farming the land as many felt that they had not been called to a life of farming and wanted to return home.

PORT ROYAL BEFORE 1692: ENGLISH NAVAL BASE, THRIVING TOWN AND CENTRE OF COMMERCE

From as early as 1655, the English realized that the cay which the Spaniards had named the Cayo de Careena (Careening Cay) would be the ideal location for a naval base. Surrounded by deep waters and almost inaccessible by land because of the narrow sand spit that led to the cay, a naval base located there would prove difficult for England's enemies to overcome. Before long, the naval base at Careening Cay developed into a thriving town suitably named Port Royal in honour of the restoration of royal rule in England in 1660 under King Charles 11. Port Royal gradually emerged as a thriving commercial centre based upon both pirate gains and trade in plantation goods produced by enslaved labour in Jamaica.

At the naval dockyard, the town soon developed its own fleet of small vessels, which numbered about 100 ships by 1688. Effective defence of the naval base and the town was important to the English and Port Royal had a strong defensive system of four forts which encircled the town. These were Fort Rupert, Fort Charles, Fort James and Fort Carlisle. Only Fort Charles survived

A View of Fort Charles in Port Royal Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

the 1692 earthquake.

The prosperity of Port Royal's commerce may be judged by the tonnage of shipping which came to Port Royal each year. David Buisseret tells us that by 1670, the tonnage of annual ship

arrivals into Port Royal was 3,000. By 1688, the trade was so prosperous that the yearly tonnage was almost at 10,000. Ships arriving at Port Royal brought food items such as butter, flour, apples and fine wines. Enslaved Africans were also brought, along with manufactured goods such as cloth and hardware. Sugar and tobacco were among those items exported through Port Royal.

Port Royal town itself was a reflection of its prosperity, with three-story brick houses lining the streets. By 1690, the town had a population of about 6,500 persons, of which 2,500 were slaves. Merchants and skilled craftsmen were many.

Views of Port Royal Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

As expected, there were wharves and warehouses, as well as markets, barracks and naval stations. Port Royal had also become quite self-sufficient with its own court house, school and a variety of churches. Quite unlike England where persons who did not conform to the Anglican or Church of England were not tolerated, Port Royal was quite accepting to persons from

different religious backgrounds. In addition to two large Anglican churches, the town also had a Catholic chapel, a Quaker meeting house and a Jewish synagogue. In the early

St Peter's Anglican Church, Port Royal Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

period of English settlement in the capital of Villa de la Vega, Port Royal became somewhat of a rival to Spanish Town, with the governor agreeing to hold early meetings of the Council and Assembly in Port Royal. All this dramatically and suddenly ended with the earthquake of June 1692. Port Royal's demise contributed significantly to the birth of Kingston as a town.

Port Royal Naval Hospital and Lookout Tower Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Port Royal Fishing Village Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Gloria's Restaurant, a Landmark in Present-Day Port Royal Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

A Residential Street in Port Royal Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

LIFE IN KINGSTON BEFORE 1692

There are many who believe that life in the space that became Kingston began after the great Port Royal earthquake of June, 1692. However, there is evidence that before 1692, both life and

livelihoods were underway among the English settlers who came to live in the area which was later designated as Kingston. Despite the high death rate and the dissatisfaction among the soldiers, leadership for the young English colony was provided by some of the army officers who had led the six invading regiments and who had been given land and privileges as a reward. Along with other settlers, it was these army officers who helped to establish the first English settlements around the island.

From as early as 1657, Colonel Barry led the regiment that settled on the Liguanea Plain from which St Andrew and then Kingston later emerged. Other officers who helped to settle the Liguanea Plain at that time included Colonel Archbold (Constant Spring), as well as Lieutenant-Colonel Hope and Lieutenant Brayne (the Mona area). Under the supervision of these officers, agricultural life got underway with the cultivation of tobacco and sugar cane, while cattle, hogs and sheep were also reared. This economic activity spread right across the Liguanea Plain down to its very southern tip where the town of Kingston would be called into being by the Council of Jamaica on 21 July, 1692.

We know that Colonel Barry was the original owner of the land on which the town of Kingston was first established. Barry, like other officers, had been rewarded for their military leadership by being granted large amounts of land. In 1664 Colonel Barry acquired a patent (official documents proving ownership) for his land on the Liguanea Plain and he later sold the land to William Beeston. In the sources, it was Beeston who came to be more closely identified with the birth of the town of Kingston. However, it is important to note that before he sold his land to William Beeston, Colonel Barry was very active in the area that became Kingston. Barry had a warehouse located at the southern end of the Liguanea Plain, pretty close to the waterfront. Historian David Buisseret suggests that this warehouse was situated at the end of present day King Street. There, Barry stored a variety of items produced on the Liguanea Plain, including sugar, tobacco and other agricultural produce. Salted pork, beef, tallow and hides were also stored at Barry's warehouse and these goods were then shipped across to Port Royal. Colonel Barry also raised livestock and hogs and had a rather large hog crawle on the land that would later be sold to Beeston and then to the Council of Jamaica as the site for the early town of Kingston. His house on the plain seems to have been quite impressive and Sloane described it as "all galleried round".

Early maps of Jamaica also show evidence that supports the existence before 1692 of a small English settlement in the place where the town of Kingston would be built. Frank Cundall identified a few of these maps and he was able to conclude that before it was formed into a town or parish, there were a few houses "on or near the spot" where Kingston now stands. In particular, he pointed to the *Map of Jamaica* found in *The English Pilot* of 1689. On the area marked Liguanea on the map, there are seven small houses. In the specific location where

Kingston was later built, there is a larger house and half-way to the Rock (later Rockfort) another large house is shown. So even before the town of Kingston came into being, maps show that there was some settlement in the area even if the settlement was not identified by name.

The 1684 map which was included in the "State of Jamaica under Sir Thomas Lynch" also shows some interesting information on the area that was to become Kingston. On that map, the place where Kingston later stood was named "Beeston". We should not necessarily conclude from this that the original name of Kingston was Beeston. Rather, it is important to note that early maps of Jamaica identified places according to the names of their owners. So this reference to "Beeston" on the 1684 map is a way of telling us that, by that year, the owner of the land where Kingston would later stand was William Beeston. Although Colonel Barry was the original owner of the land, he had sold it to Beeston by 1684. Beeston came to Jamaica as early as 1660 and represented Port Royal in the island's first House of Assembly. He went on to serve as Lieutenant governor (1693-1700) and then governor of Jamaica until 1702. [3]

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1692 EARTHQUAKE: PLANS TO BUILD KINGSTON

Kingston emerged as a town before it was declared a parish. The earthquake of 7 June, 1692 resulted in the destruction of most of the town of Port Royal, taking with it, countless lives and what was once a thriving centre of commerce.

Mural in Port Royal Commemorating the 1692 Earthquake Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

This disaster was closely linked to the emergence of the new town of Kingston. The authorities had to hastily decide on a suitable place to build a new town, relocate the survivors and

hopefully, resurrect the commercial activity for which Port Royal had been known. The area across the harbour at the southern end of the Liguanea Plain seemed suitable because it was fairly close to Port Royal, had access to the harbour and was already fortified to some extent with the presence of the garrison on the Liguanea Plain.

Without hesitation, the Council of Jamaica met on 24 June, 1692 to make plans for the building of a new town. They asked for "a survey of 200 acres of Colonel Beeston's land in St Andrews where the Council have resolved to build a new town." Four days later, on 28 June, 1692, the Council instructed that £ 1,000 should be paid to Beeston (who was in England at the time) for the two hundred acres of his land. The Council then set about outlining procedures which would ensure that some amount of order was maintained in the development of the new town. In fact, the very first official reference to the town by name was in the Council Minutes of 21 July, 1692, when the preliminary regulations for laying out "the new town of Kingston in St Andrews" were set out. Kingston was to be carved out of the lower end of the parish of St Andrew.

Among the regulations drawn up by the Council were those which were aimed at effective settlement of the new town in as short a space of time as was possible. Therefore, it was ordered that every purchaser of land had to build a house worth fifty pounds within three years or be fined fifty pounds for failure to do so. This money was to go towards a fund for building a hospital in the new town. Additional regulations laid down in the Council Minutes of 9 August, 1692 allowed surviving landowners from Port Royal to buy the same number of lots as they had owned in Port Royal, provided that this did not exceed three lots. At the same time it was decided that no buyer from Port Royal should have more than one lot by the seaside in Kingston.

Shortly after the earthquake, the Council had ordered that surviving shipping offices in Port Royal should be removed to the area chosen for the building of Kingston and had made provisions for ships to unload in Kingston Harbour. However, these early decisions were soon reversed as the Council reported that it was more difficult to fortify Kingston Harbour than they had anticipated. There were also reports of sickness and deaths among some of the Port Royal survivors who had resettled in temporary shelter across the harbour. Huts rather than sturdy stone structures had been hurriedly built from boughs and branches and the damp living conditions encouraged mosquito-borne diseases. The shipping offices were once more removed to what remained of Port Royal town and ships were diverted to the fortified remains of Port Royal.

KINGSTON BEGINS: DESIGN, LAYOUT AND BOUNDARIES OF THE TOWN IN 1692

Several writers, including Frank Cundall and Edward Long, credit Colonel Christian Lilly, the British engineer-general, with the design and planning of the early town of Kingston. However, David Buisseret argues that this was a mistaken conclusion and that the new town was designed and laid out by John Goffe in July of 1692. The town was designed in the rectangular, four-sided shape of a parallelogram. Kingston's streets were laid out at right angles which meant that the streets met or intersected at their corners. Streets ran in a straight line from the north of the town to the southern end of the town, ending at the harbour. Other streets ran from the eastern end of the town to the western end and each of these streets intersected with the streets running from north to south. This type of design was known as a grid and gave the lots of land the appearance of boxes. The design of Kingston's streets on a grid pattern remains the same today.

Kingston of 1692 was bounded by four streets on each side of the rectangular, each street marking the outer boundary of earliest Kingston. At the northern end of the town, *North Street* ran from west to east along the entire northern end of Kingston. On the eastern side of the town, *East Street* intersected with *North Street* and ran from North Street all the way down to the Harbour and so marked the eastern boundary of earliest Kingston. A few years later, East Street would be Upper and Lower East Street. The southern end of Kingston looked out onto Kingston Harbour and the street which ran parallel to the harbour was appropriately named *Harbour Street*. In the 1692 design, the southern end of the town was bounded by *Harbour Street,* which intersected with *East Street* and ran from east to west all the way across the southern end of the town. In the west, *Harbour Street* intersected with *West Street* (later, Upper and Lower West Street). *West Street* provided the western boundary for earliest Kingston. Therefore, these four streets were named based on their location and these street names continue till today.

Port Royal Street was not part of the original street plan of Kingston and, as seen earlier, Harbour Street was the last street on the town's south shore. However, over time, the constant action of the sea deposited sand, debris and mud to the south of Harbour Street. As Olive Senior points out, Lieutenant Governor Beeston acquired this area, and by the early eighteenth century, a new street was laid out on the reclaimed land. After 1702 and especially after the disastrous fire in 1703 in Port Royal Town, more persons were coming into Kingston from Port Royal and there was a greater need for more space to build additional docks, wharves and warehouses. So, the new street that was reclaimed south of Harbour Street became *Port Royal Street* (most likely named for the Port Royal survivors who had set up businesses in the town). By the early eighteenth century, Port Royal Street marked the southern land boundary of Kingston Town.

Two streets, King Street and Queen Street, divided the town into four sections or quadrants. King Street ran from its intersection with North Street at the northern end all the way down to the southern end, where it intersected with Harbour Street. King Street literally divided Kingston into two halves and was one of the most important streets in the town. Queen Street, ran from its intersection with East Street, crossed over King Street and ended at its intersection with West Street. Queen Street (later East Queen Street and West Queen Street) going from east to west divided Kingston into two more halves, one to the north and one to the south.

Most of early Kingston's streets were named in keeping with the colonial tradition of naming streets after the monarchy, governors and other influential persons, and these street names continue today with only a few changes. King Street was divided into Upper (above the Parade Ground) and Lower King Street (below the Parade Ground). Queen Street, discussed above, was divided into East Queen Street and West Queen Street. As seen earlier, the four boundary streets were given names based on their location. Going eastwards from King Street, other main streets which ran from the north (from North Street) to south right down to the harbour included *Church Street* (named for the location of the Kingston Parish Church). Next to Church Street, running north to south was *Duke Street* and next to Duke was *Hanover Street*, named for the monarchy's connections to the royal House of Hanover in Germany. Hanover Street was added in the first expansion of the town of Kingston which occurred between 1702 and 1713. Next to Hanover Street was East Street.

To the west of King Street, other main streets also ran from North Street in the north to the southern end of the town. Going westwards from King Street, there was *Knight Street*, which was later renamed *Orange Street* after one of the rulers of England, William of Orange-Nassau. As will be seen in the twentieth-century history of Kingston, a part of Orange Street was to become very significant in the evolution and marketing of Jamaica's reggae music. Next to Knight Street was *Prince Street*. Prince Street later became *Princess Street* to mark the ascension to the throne of England by Princess Elizabeth as Queen Elizabeth 11.

On the western boundary of earliest Kingston was *West Street* (Upper and Lower West Street) running north to south. Besides streets already mentioned such as North, Harbour and Port Royal Streets, others which ran from west to east in earliest Kingston included *Charles Street* (named for King Charles 11), *Bernard Street, Heywood Street* and *Beckford Street*. These last three would have been named for influential persons in the society at the time. Running from East Street towards King Street were *Beeston Street* (named for the later owner of the land on which Kingston was built and later governor of the island) and *Sutton Street* (named for influential British politician, Lord Sutton). Below the Parade Ground, running from East Street to King Street was *Barry Street*, named for Colonel Barry, the original owner of the land on which Kingston was located.

PARADE, FROM EARLIEST DAYS: A LASTING FEATURE OF KINGSTON

Very important to this design of earliest Kingston was another feature that would remain to this day. In the middle or centre of the town where King Street intersected with Queen Street, there was a large, open space which became the Parade Ground. As seen earlier, British regiments had played an important part in the conquest and then settlement of Jamaica. The military base was located in the parish of St Andrew and is now known as Up Park Camp. In Kingston, the Parade Ground was meant to be the venue for military parades and ceremonial functions. Over the years, Kingston's Parade Ground went through changes in function and name, going from military ceremonial ground to a park dedicated to Queen Victoria. Victoria Park, as it was known by the early twentieth century, served both as a bus terminus, as well as a place for public functions such as the tree-lighting ceremony and carol service at Christmas. In the 1950s and the 1960s, the bus terminus was located inside the park itself, but buses now park to the north and south of the park. In keeping with independent Jamaica, Victoria Park was re-branded to commemorate our own leaders and renamed St William Grant Park in honour of one of Jamaica's outstanding Labour leaders. Today, St William Grant Park is also home to memorials in honour of some of Jamaica's National Heroes (see following images).

The Parade and Upper Part of Kingston (Showing the Theatre Royal) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Kingston Park (The Parade Grounds) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The parade ground may have gone through several changes over time, but perhaps its most significant and lasting legacy is the effect it had on the naming of the areas around the parade ground. All of the areas around the vicinity of the parade ground became generally known as *Parade*. The area to the immediate north of the parade ground was known as *North Parade*. South of the parade ground where a lot of stores and shops were located, became known as

South Parade.

Victoria Gardens (the Parade) in the late 1950s, early 1960s when it was used as a Bus Park
Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Areas to the immediate east were *East Parade* and to the west, there was *West Parade*. These place names are still in use today. [4]

The Former Victoria Park now Transformed into St William Grant Park in Honour of Grant and other Leaders of the Labour Movement Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Statue in Honour of the Right Excellent Norman Washington Manley, National Hero, located inside St William Grant Park Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Statue in Honour of the Right Excellent Sir Alexander Bustamante, National Hero, located in St William Grant Park Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

KINGSTON TOWN GROWS SLOWLY: 1692-1702

As early as 16 August, 1692, the Council held its meeting at the house of Mr A. Lowder, an early resident of the area of Kingston. At that meeting, Council members processed applications from persons who wished to buy lots in the new town. On that occasion, they gave orders for the building of a market which was to be held daily. Persons were also appointed to oversee the affairs of the town. Thomas Clarke was named provisional naval officer and Collector of Customs, while Edward Yeamans was to be Clerk.

Although the town of Kingston was first seen mainly as a place to relocate survivors from Port Royal, its location overlooking Kingston Harbour guaranteed that Kingston would develop over time as a town whose life was centred on trade, shipping and commercial activities. This focus on commerce was seen in the numbers of privately owned docks and warehouses which sprung up along Harbour and Port Royal Streets, the streets nearest to the harbour. This part of town was home not only to docks but also many warehouses, wholesale dealers, taverns and businesses connected to shipping and naval supplies.

Lots were purchased on several of Kingston's streets between 1692 and 1702. The sources did not usually indicate whether the structures built were houses or stores or shops. There was an exception on the 1702 *Plan of Kingston*, which specified that the first lot on Lower King Street (East side) was to be the location of the Church (Kingston Parish Church) and the second lot, to be the Parsonage or residence of the Anglican minister. However, given the requirement set out by the Legislative Council in 1692, that buyers should build a house worth fifty pounds on the lot within three years, many of these must have been houses.

By 1702, there were ten property owners on *The Parade, East Side,* including persons such as James Harvey, Edward Turner, Dr Bernard and William Beeston. Six property owners occupied *The Parade West Side*, among them, A. Langley, J. Pinnock Sr. and J. Pinnock Jr. Three of the five residents on *The Parade South Side* were J. Beckford, M. Barry and N. Lawes. In 1702, *East Queen Street, South Side* had only one property owner, and this was M. Freeman. There were eight property owners on *Lower West Street*, including Mary Bolton, Mark Price and James Wood Sr. On the western side of *Prince Street* (later *Princess Street),* there were thirteen properties, including three lots which were assigned to "The Parish". Charles Prince and James Ross were among property owners on this street. Along the eastern side of *Prince Street*, there were seventeen properties, three of which belonged to Thomas Harris, Ed. Robinson and William Mathews.

On the western side of *Orange Street*, there were twenty one property owners, among who were Richard Burke, J. Croskeys and Samuel Knight. *Orange Street* (East Side) also had twenty one properties belonging to persons like Henry Berry, Elizabeth Collins and Charles Sadler. The west side of *Lower King Street* was fairly well populated with thirty one properties. Among the owners were Thomas Ware, James Robinson and Robert Phillips. On the east side of *Lower King Street,* there were twenty four properties, with the first being home to what was to be the Kingston Parish Church and the second being used for the Parsonage. Among the owners on that street were Mark Paget, Dr Baker and Mark Spencer.

Nineteen properties were located on the west side of *Church Street,* and owners included Joseph Smith, William Barnett and Edward Jones. *Church Street* on the eastern side was home to thirty six property owners, among who were Francis Hall, Henry Lamb and George Cash.

Duke Street on the western side had twenty one properties, and some owners were Robert Hall, Peter Hill and Thomas Woolery. Edward Hanson, J. Gaultier and Thomas Clarke Snr were three of the fourteen property owners on the east side of *Duke Street*. By 1702, the west side of *Lower East Street* had only two property owners, Richard Paterson and William Slaughter. Not surprisingly, *Harbour Street*, which looked out onto the Kingston Harbour, was well populated with sixty one properties, many of which were related to trade and commerce. Some of the owners by 1702 included Bradshaw, Carter, Heywood and Croskeys.

FIRST EXPANSION OF THE TOWN OF KINGSTON, 1702-1713: CHANGES IN TOWN BOUNDARIES

From its beginnings in 1692, the town of Kingston remained unchanged in size until 1702. Between 1702 and 1713, Kingston town went through its first expansion, and this growth took place on the eastern side of the original town. Starting at East Street and moving eastwards, a whole block of new streets was added to the town. From East Street, the new streets were George's Lane, Hanover Street, Rum Lane, Rosemary Lane, Maiden Lane, Gold Street, Foster Lane, Ladd Lane, Water Lane and Fleet Street, where the expansion ended. Fleet Street therefore became the new eastern boundary for the town of Kingston. The expansion of Kingston Town to the south ended where Fleet Street intersected with Port Royal Street. To the north, Fleet Street connected with Laws Street just below East Queen Street. During the period 1702 to 1713, the expansion of Kingston's streets northwards went no further than East Queen Street.

According to Michelle Gadpaille, this addition of a block of streets to the town of Kingston was for commercial and not residential reasons. The town's strategic location on the Kingston Harbour meant that over time, more goods from various parts of the island would be exported through the port town of Kingston. Additionally, more imports of goods and slaves would come into the island through the port of Kingston. The town of Kingston was increasingly becoming a significant port of trade. Around 1703, a law was passed which made Kingston the chief centre of trade and the main port of entry for goods into Jamaica. This clearly meant that more space was needed for building docks and warehouses with access to Kingston Harbour. More streets were also needed to connect the additional dock spaces to the centre of town. The extension of the town's streets was also influenced by the increased number of Port Royal residents who relocated their businesses to Kingston after the destructive fire of 1703 in Port Royal.

POPULATION OF EARLY KINGSTON TOWN: FREE AND ENSLAVED

The increase in buildings for commercial and business purposes outstripped the increase in houses for residence. This was an indication of the pace at which trade and commerce were increasing. Also, some merchants and owners of businesses in Kingston did not live in the town in the earliest years. Some whites with businesses in the town lived in the parish of St Andrew.

Moreover, Kingston's economy was not based on sugar plantations, but on trade and commerce. Therefore, many of the island's white plantation owners and their African slaves were living on plantations in other parishes, including St Andrew. Nevertheless, the white population, including Jews, gradually increased and so did the number of enslaved persons living in Kingston. Owners and operators of docks, warehouses and other businesses, as well as owners of pens, used enslaved labour before 1834. Some had their own slaves while others hired groups of slaves called "jobbing slaves" from their owners.

In the eighteenth century, Kingston's population grew slowly and was made up mainly of free coloureds, free blacks and Jews, whites and enslaved persons. This will be looked at more closely in a later section. By 1774 when Edward Long described Kingston, he estimated that there were 1,655 houses in addition to warehouses and other buildings. Altogether he gave the total number of buildings in Kingston as being between 2,000 and 3,000. By 1774, he also estimated that Kingston had thirty five "spacious" streets and sixteen lanes. The town of Kingston did not experience any more changes in size until the very early years of the nineteenth century.

Top East Queen Street, Bottom King Street (view of two-storey houses along East Queen Street and surrounding areas) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

KINGSTON IS MADE A PARISH OF JAMAICA 1693

Up until May, 1693, Kingston was a town located in the parish of St Andrew. So far, this account has been looking at the history of the town of Kingston, from its birth in 1692 until the first increase in its physical size which began in 1702 and ended in 1713. Importantly, Kingston was far more than a town. Kingston was a parish with a town bearing the same name. In May, 1693, the Jamaican Assembly passed a law, *Act 32*, titled *An Act for Making Kingston a Parish*. In the introduction to the law, the members of the Assembly explained the justification for creating the Parish of Kingston. They pointed out that the destruction of most of the town of Port Royal by the earthquake of 1692 had forced the survivors to find a more convenient place to live and to conduct their businesses which were largely trade-related. The Assembly went on to show that the survivors had settled in a place called Kingston in the parish of St Andrew. The Assembly members were of the opinion that the Port Royal refugees had made considerable progress in the building and settling of the town of Kingston and that its ideal location in relation to the harbour (Kingston Harbour) was important to the growth of trade and commerce. They concluded that the time had come to make Kingston a parish in its own right.

BOUNDARIES OF THE PARISH OF KINGSTON AS LAID DOWN IN 1693

In order to have a clear picture of the boundaries of Kingston Parish in 1693, it is important to understand that there was a parish of Port Royal right up to 1867. The parish of Port Royal was located to the east of St Andrew and to the east of what would become the parish of Kingston. Port Royal, the parish, included the town of Port Royal, as well as the Palisadoes strip (Palisades) and land beyond the Palisades (see endnote 5, "*Map of Kingston Harbour, 1774*"). Therefore, in 1693, when Kingston was made a parish, its eastern boundary was the parish of Port Royal. Kingston parish was bounded to the west and north by St Andrew and to the south, by Kingston Harbour. Kingston, the parish, was larger than Kingston, the town, and this difference was seen mainly on its eastern border. Because the parish extended all the way east to Port Royal parish, this allowed Kingston parish to include the present-day Rock Fort and lands immediately beyond it. Interestingly, Rock Fort was first equipped in 1694 to protect the approaches to Kingston against an invading French force led by Admiral DuCasse. As will be seen later, Rock Fort was to become a well-fortified defensive fort later in the eighteenth century, securing the approaches to the parish of Kingston.

In Act 32 of 1693, the Jamaican Assembly described the boundaries of the new parish of Kingston in even greater detail. The parish was bounded to the south by the Harbour. The western and northern boundary lines of Sir William Beeston's land were to form the western and northern boundaries separating Kingston from St Andrew. At the north-eastern corner of

Beeston's land, there was a calabash tree. Kingston's northern boundary was to continue in a straight line from that calabash tree to the foot of the Long Mountain, at a spot which was "eighty chains" or one mile away from the sea. From there, the boundary line continued in an easterly direction "towards three rivers" at the same distance of "eighty chains" or one mile from the sea, until it joined the western boundary of the parish of Port Royal. The parish of Port Royal, therefore, formed the eastern boundary of Kingston parish. Importantly, all parts of the Kingston Harbour which washed the southern coast of the land were included by the 1693 law in the newly created parish of Kingston.

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE NEW PARISH OF KINGSTON

As was the case with all the parishes, certain political and administrative rights and privileges accompanied the granting of parish status to Kingston. As of 1693, Kingston had the right to choose three members to represent the parish of Kingston in the meetings of the House of Assembly. Although the parish had no political representatives in the first two House of Assembly meetings called in 1693 and 1694 by Sir William Beeston, in the third meeting of the Assembly, under Beeston's governorship, Kingston was represented by Josiah Hethcott, James Bradshaw and Samuel Foxley. Kingston was also to have its own courts, the two most important in the early years being the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Court of Common Pleas. Meetings of the Quarter Sessions were to be held every three months, whereas the Court of Common Pleas was to meet every two months. Kingston was also to have its own officials who would oversee administrative affairs such as shipping and the collection of customs. [5]

REASONS FOR GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF KINGSTON TOWN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS

Further growth and expansion in the size of Kingston town in the first half of the nineteenth century was influenced by European wars, migration and by the coming of full Emancipation in 1838. During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars which lasted until 1815, Spain lost control over her American colonies. As a result, most of the Spanish colonies began to trade more openly with Britain and with British colonies like Jamaica. Kingston became a major centre for this trade with the Spanish colonies, and this encouraged expansion of the town's commercial life.

EXODUS AND MIGRATION

During these wars, the enslaved population of the French colony of St Domingue revolted and claimed their freedom under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture. By 1804, the former French colony had declared itself free and independent Haiti, becoming the first Black

independent Republic in the region. However, these events triggered an exodus of wealthy whites who were fleeing the turn of events in the former colony. Many came to Jamaica, and most of these refugees took up residence in the town of Kingston where they became major merchants and retailers. English and Scottish merchants and businessmen also migrated to Kingston in the eighteenth century, and along with the French refugees from Haiti, they formed part of the upper class which emerged in Kingston at this time. This influx was to contribute to the physical expansion of Kingston in the early part of the nineteenth century.

FULL EMANCIPATION 1838

The coming of full freedom in August 1838 contributed significantly to the expansion of Kingston's communities and commerce. Full Emancipation gave the former slaves freedom of choice and mobility to live where they desired. Large numbers moved into Kingston to seek employment and places to live. As a result, there was a tremendous increase in the demand for consumer goods, and this led to a significant growth in numbers of shops and businesses as the retail trade expanded. The freed people also acquired some of the many unoccupied lots in Kingston's streets and lanes, taking up residence especially in areas such as the "yards" (discussed earlier) closer to the docks where there was a heavy demand for labour to meet the needs of the expanding shipping trade.

POST-SLAVERY GROWTH IN KINGSTON'S POPULATION

Soon, this migration into Kingston would also lead to a significant growth in the population, as well as the physical size of the town and indeed, the parish. By 1844, there were 3,831 inhabited houses in the town, up from the 1,655 in 1774. In contrast to the very small number of free blacks who had lived in Kingston town before 1838, by 1844, the freed black population numbered 17,101 (males and females). By 1844, they were the largest racial group in Kingston's population. The coloured population had formed the largest group in Kingston before Emancipation. By 1844, they numbered 11,589 and this made them the second largest group in the town. After 1838 and even before, many whites had chosen to relocate their residence to St Andrew, though they still conducted business in Kingston. By 1844, Kingston's total white population stood at 4,253. [6]

NINETEENTH-CENTURY EXPANSION IN THE SIZE OF KINGSTON: IMPACT ON PARISH BOUNDARIES

Up until the start of the nineteenth century, the only expansion which had taken place in the town of Kingston had been the addition of an entire block of streets and lanes on the eastern side of the town between 1702 and 1713. These additions had not changed the boundaries of Kingston, the parish. This all changed over the course of the long nineteenth century when the growth of new communities forever changed the original grid shape of the town, and in some

cases, influenced a change in the parish boundaries as some communities spilled over into the parish of St Andrew. Several of the new communities were formed from the subdivision of residential, dairy and market garden properties or *pens* as they were then termed. These pens are discussed in a later section of this history. When these settlements were formed, they carried the name of the owner of the pen or property which had been subdivided, as well as the description "town" although they were really small communities and not towns.

EXPANSION OF SETTLEMENTS IN KINGSTON BEFORE EMANCIPATION: IMPACT ON PARISH BOUNDARIES

RAE TOWN TO THE EAST: 1810

Rae Town was originally Rae's Town. Located along the coastline to the immediate east of Kingston's town centre, but within the parish boundary, Rae Town marked the first nineteenth-century expansion of Kingston's communities in 1810. The extension eastwards also changed the grid pattern of Kingston's original layout. It was developed in response to the influx of wealthy French refugees or *emigres* from Haiti and also became home to the English and Scottish merchants who came here at this time. Rae Town was the only place along Kingston's southern shore that was developed for residential rather than commercial purposes and it was seen as an "upper class" community because of its well-to-do residents. Like many communities across Jamaica, Rae Town's socio-economic status changed during the twentieth century as it became well established as a fishing community and a cultural hub. As late as the 1970s, the Royal Jamaica Yacht Club still remained as a reminder of Rae Town's more elitist past.

LINDO'S TOWN/KINGSTON PEN TO THE WEST: 1815

To the immediate west of the town centre, there was a westward expansion along the waterfront to accommodate more docks for Kingston's growing commerce. It was in this area that a second community known as Lindo's Town (after one of the owners of docks) emerged in 1815. Lindo's Town was also known as Kingston Pen. It was mainly a working-class community in the early nineteenth century, with its residents being mainly free artisans (free coloureds and free blacks). Lindo's Town also provided accommodation for groups of jobbing slaves who were hired out by their owners to work on the docks. During the twentieth century, living conditions in Kingston Pen deteriorated, and the area was characterised as one of Kingston's worst slums. In the period of the 1930s to the 1950s, Kingston Pen became known as "Back-o-Wall". After a campaign of slum clearance in the area, the shacks of "Back-o-Wall" were no more and were replaced in 1966 by the concrete high rise buildings of Tivoli Gardens.

HANNAH TOWN TO THE NORTH: 1815

Some of early Kingston's residential communities spilled over into the larger parish of St Andrew. This was the case with Hannah Town, established in 1815 and situated to the immediate north of Kingston's parish boundary. As will be seen shortly, the boundary lines for the parish of Kingston were changed by Law 20 of 1867, and this meant that as of that year, Hannah Town was a part of Kingston and not St Andrew.

BROWN'S TOWN TO THE EAST: 1826

Brown's Town was developed in 1826. The community was located to the east of Kingston Town, quite close to the centre of town and well within the parish boundary. Its location was near to the present-day Windward Road.

RIETTI'S TOWN TO THE WEST/NORTH-WEST: 1826

This settlement was laid out to the west of the town centre in 1826. Abraham Rietti, the owner of the land, divided the property into fourteen streets which ran across both sides of Spanish Town Road. Rietti's Town, like Lindo's Town, became associated with working class residents. At first, these were free black and coloured artisans, and after 1838, Rietti's Town was home to growing numbers of freed people. Both communities came to be seen as part of Western Kingston.

POST-EMANCIPATION EXPANSION OF SETTLEMENTS IN KINGSTON: IMPACT ON PARISH BOUNDARIES

SMITH'S VILLAGE TO THE NORTH WEST: EARLY 1840S

Smith's Village was built to the north west of the original town centre between 1838 and 1843. Along with Rietti's Town and Lindo's Town/ Kingston Pen, these three settlements were all seen as part of West Kingston. Smith's Village was quite extensive, stretching as far west as the present-day May Pen Cemetery. However, a section of Smith's Village lay across the boundary in the parish of St Andrew. This was addressed by Law 20 of 1867, which officially made Smith's Village a part of the parish of Kingston. By the late nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries, housing and living conditions in Smith's Village, as in Kingston Pen, were so poor that constant calls were made in the *Daily Gleaner* for something to be done. In the 1930s, Smith's Village was demolished, and the re-built settlement was then named *Denham Town* in honour of Governor Edward Denham.

FLETCHER'S TOWN TO THE NORTH: 1838-1843

After 1838, with the influx of freed people into Kingston in search of employment, there was an even greater need for expansion of settlements in Kingston. Between 1838 and 1843, the new settlement of Fletcher's Town was established. However, as was the case with Hannah Town

and Smith's Village, expansion helped to extend Kingston's parish boundaries as Fletcher's Town was located just north of Kingston's boundary line in the parish of St Andrew. As was the case with Hannah Town and Smith's Village, this northward extension of the parish boundary would be confirmed by Law 20 of 1867 which made Fletcher's Town a part of the parish of Kingston.

ALLMAN TOWN TO THE NORTH: 1838-1843

Allman Town was located on the eastern side of Race Course and was a very large subdivision. At the time of its development, it lay to the north of Kingston (in lower St Andrew) and was entirely outside of the parish boundaries. As was the case with Smith's Village and Fletcher's Town, Allman Town was made a part of Kingston after the parish boundaries were extended in 1867.

THE LAW OF 1867 OFFICIALLY CHANGES THE BOUNDARIES OF KINGSTON PARISH

After the introduction of Crown Colony government in the aftermath of the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865, Governor Sir John Peter Grant sought to improve the administration of Jamaica's affairs. One way of doing this was to reduce the number of parishes by amalgamating or joining some together. Law 20 of 1867 officially reduced the number of parishes and at the same time, clearly defined their boundaries. This law defined the parish of Kingston as including the "city and parish of Kingston" and included within its boundaries all those places which previously had been part of the parish of Kingston.

Importantly, Law 20 of 1867 enlarged Kingston Parish by officially including within its boundaries, some places which previously had been part of the parishes of St Andrew and Port Royal. Interestingly, the area known as the Race Course (now National Heroes' Park) had been purchased in 1809 to allow residents of Kingston to use it for purposes of recreation between the hours of 5:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. After 1809**,** Race Course remained a part of St Andrew. The law stated that no building should be put up on the property. Law 20 of 1867 brought Race Course into the parish of Kingston. By the 1867 Law therefore, Kingston Parish also included "Smith's Village, Hannah Town, Fletcher's Town, the land on each side of the Slipe Road to Torrington Bridge, between the Admiral's Pen gully on the one side, and the Race Course on the other…" Kingston would also include "the Race Course, Allman's Town and the lands south of the south gate of the Camp…" Also included in Kingston's boundaries were the lands on the west side of the road leading from the south gate of the Camp (Up Park Camp) to Lisle's Chapel. Law 20 of 1867 also made the town of Port Royal and the Palisadoes strip as far as its intersection with the present-day Harbour View roundabout, a part of the parish of Kingston. The remainder of the old parish of Port Royal, including areas like present day Harbour View, were absorbed into St Andrew. Port Royal, the parish, ceased to exist. <u>These 1867 boundaries</u>

of Kingston were to remain in effect during the twentieth century, even as suburban settlement continued to spill over into the parish of St Andrew, thereby blurring the boundary lines between both parishes in peoples' minds.

LATER NINETEENTH-CENTURY AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY EXPANSION OF KINGSTON'S SETTLEMENTS AND EFFECTS ON KINGSTON'S PARISH BOUNDARY

EXPANSION OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF KINGSTON IN THE 1890S: FRANKLYN TOWN

Towards the north east of Kingston Town, other areas were subdivided for residential purposes. Between Camp Road and Mountain View Avenue, Franklyn Town was laid out in the 1890s. This subdivision was well within the parish boundaries of Kingston although it was not well populated until the early part of the twentieth century.

EXPANSION AFTER THE 1907 EARTHQUAKE: ROLLINGTON TOWN, DEANERY PEN, BOURNEMOUTH, WOODFORD PARK

After the widespread destruction brought on by the 1907 earthquake, undeveloped and unused agricultural lands, some being former pens, were converted to residential areas. In some of these areas, portions were clearly a part of Kingston parish, but in some cases, other parts spilled over into St Andrew, threatening to push Kingston's boundaries further north. However, Law 20 of 1867 remained firmly in force and there was no official change in Kingston's boundaries.

Two of these subdivisions included *Rollington Town* and *Deanery Pen*, both of which were located to the west of Mountain View Avenue. *Rollington Town* lay partly within Kingston's boundaries, but a section spilled over into lower St Andrew. This subdivision filled up relatively quickly with residents who were eager to recover after the 1907 earthquake. Stretching along Kingston's south coast but further east of Rae Town, there emerged another large residential area known as *Bournemouth*, (today's Bournemouth Gardens). *Bournemouth* lay to the east of the town centre and was well within the eastern parish boundary of Kingston. The location of another subdivision, *Woodford Park*, which was situated east of Allman Town and east of the Race Course, seems to have placed it within the 1867 boundary which was laid down by Law 20 as Woodford Park was on lands "south of the south gate of the Camp" but also west of the road (South Camp Road) which led away from the Camp. Today's Google Map however, shows present day Woodford Park as being in St Andrew. *Jones Town* was another subdivision which lay partly in Kingston and partly in St Andrew. It is clear that physical changes to some of these subdivisions may explain some of the differences seen on a modern Google Map.

KINGSTON'S BOUNDARIES TODAY: HIGHLIGHTING THE PLACES IN THE PARISH OF KINGSTON

If we rely solely on *Google Maps* to give us a clear picture of Kingston's Parish boundaries today, the result may be a bit confusing and will definitely be misleading. It is very important to realise that the boundary line which separates the northern part of Kingston from Lower St Andrew is the same one that was laid down by the 1867 Law. Going northward from Kingston Harbour, **Kingston's northern boundary line** lies at the intersection of Slipe Road and Torrington Bridge. Lands below Torrington Bridge are in Kingston. Lands above Torrington Bridge make up lower St Andrew. If the Law of 1867 is observed, the lands on each side of the Slipe Road, including the Race Course or the present-day National Heroes' Park are part of Kingston. Yet, on *Google Maps*, for example, National Heroes Park is shown as being fully in St Andrew. Similarly, if the boundary line as defined in 1867 is observed, then moving to the west from Torrington Bridge, the line crosses through Trench Town. Yet, on the Google map, Trench Town is shown in St Andrew, not Kingston. **This parish history adheres closely to the boundary between Kingston and St Andrew as laid down in the Law of 1867**.

Kingston's western boundary line, separating it from St Andrew, begins by the waterfront along Marcus Garvey Drive in the vicinity of the Spanish Grain Store Ltd. Moving from the Marcus Garvey Drive, the boundary line shifts slightly to the north as it moves from west to east. As it continues from west to east, places such as Greenwich Park, St Andrew Technical High (ironically) are on the Kingston side of the line. A part of Trench Town should be on the Kingston side of the line but it is not shown as such. The boundary line crosses through May Pen Cemetery as it moves east to north-eastwards and crosses over Denham Town. Observing the 1867 boundary law, the line should follow the Slipe Road/Torrington Bridge marker and in this way, pass through the National Heroes' Park, through Sabina Park, through Franklin Town and Rollington Town and across Mountain View Avenue going east. Past Kingston Town and travelling eastwards, the parish encompasses Camperdown, Windward Road, Rae Town, Bournemouth Gardens, Rock Fort, to the Caribbean Cement Company and beyond.

Before 1867, Kingston's eastern boundary line had been the western border of Port Royal parish. As of 1867, as seen before, this part of Port Royal parish had been absorbed into St Andrew. So as of 1867, **the eastern boundary line of Kingston is the western border of St Andrew, in the vicinity of the Cement Company's Marl Quarry**. **Kingston's southern boundary continues to be the sea**. Going eastwards along the Sir Florizel Glasspole Highway, at a point near Balkan Avenue and Willy's Bar, the land within Kingston's southern border narrows to a very thin strip of coastline, and the land all the way to the Harbour View Roundabout is really a part of St Andrew, which includes places like Harbour View and beyond. Kingston's land boundary picks up once more at the point where the Harbour View Roundabout leads onto the

Norman Manley Highway. This section of Kingston includes the entire Palisadoes Strip (Norman Manley Highway) and the town of Port Royal itself. [7]

LIFE AND TIMES OF THE PARISH OF KINGSTON FROM 1700 TO 1838

OVERVIEW: GROWTH IN THE COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF KINGSTON

Born out of Port Royal's adversity, Kingston went from being a small town laid out over two hundred acres of land in 1692, to being an expanding seaport town of growing commercial importance in the eighteenth century and by 1803, the town had been granted city status. As seen earlier, Kingston was bigger than the town of that name, having been made a parish in 1693. From the very outset, life in Kingston Town revolved around trade and commerce, and this was not surprising given the town's location overlooking a fine deep water harbour. It was also not surprising that the parish of Kingston should take on this commercial character given the fact that most of the early residents were surviving merchants and businessmen from Port Royal. Unlike the other parishes of Jamaica, Kingston was not destined to be a plantation parish with the typical rolling sugar estates and a large enslaved population tied to the plantations.

What emerged instead was a town and a society built for trade with an emphasis on the docks and wharves at the southern end of the town. "Downtown" Kingston quickly became the area of warehouses, taverns, wholesale and retail dealers and shops. The industries and occupations which dominated the town were those connected to trade, shipping and naval supply, building and carpentry, repairing and outfitting of vessels, as well as coach repairing and saddlery. By 1838, Kingston had become well established as a centre of trade and commerce for the island. It was no surprise therefore, that by 1803, the town of Kingston was given city status, and this was "in recognition of its new prosperity". Kingston's incorporation as a city was also done in the hopes that a Mayor and his Council would be more effective in administering the affairs of the city than had been the case with the members of the old parish vestry. By the first two decades of the eighteenth century, Kingston had become the chief town of Jamaica and a leading commercial centre.

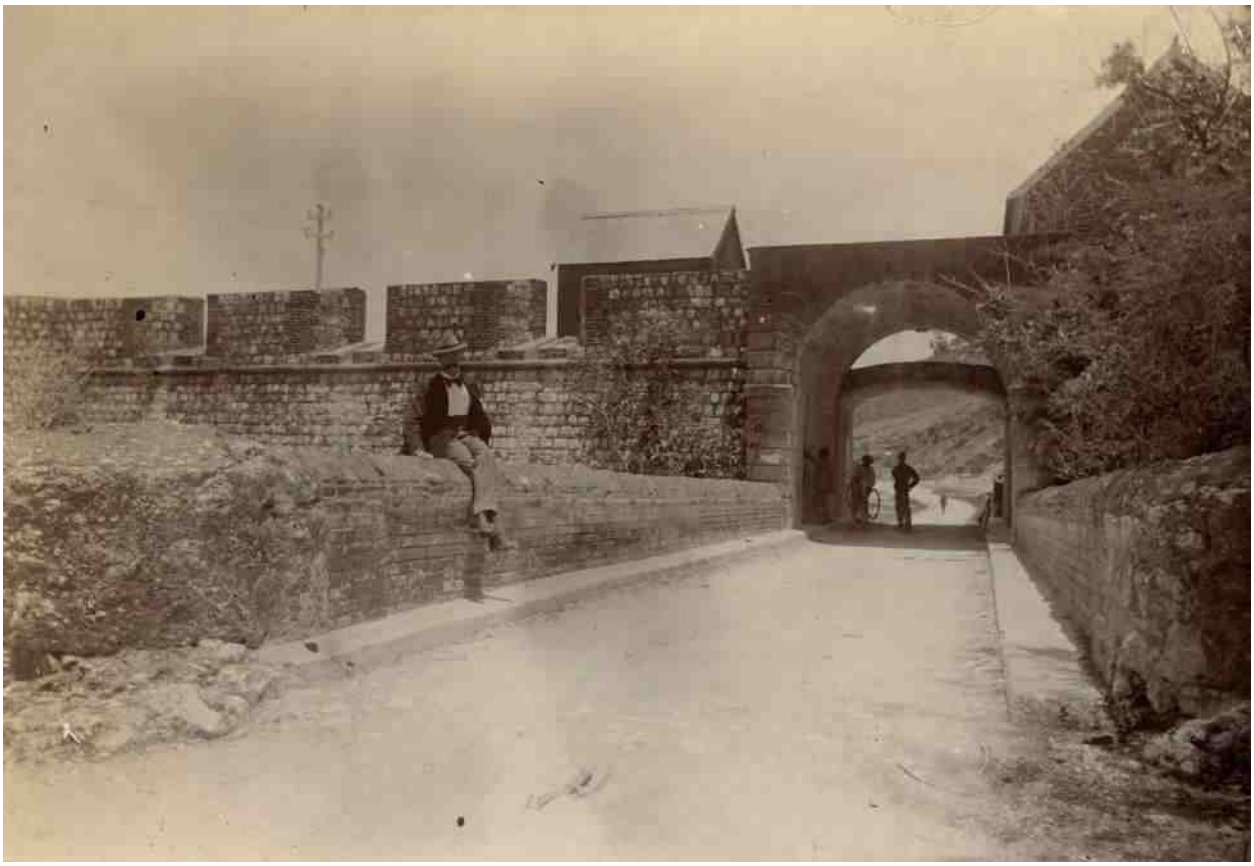
DEFENDING KINGSTON AND THE KINGSTON HARBOUR

From the initial conquest of Jamaica in 1655, England had built a series of forts and fortifications at strategic points around the island to guard against enemy attacks and capture of Jamaica. Long before the birth of Kingston, Port Royal had been the heart and gem of British commerce and a whole line of forts had been built in the town of Port Royal to safeguard these enviable resources. Sadly, the 1692 earthquake destroyed much of the town and all of Port

Royal's forts but one. This one, Fort Charles, would later play an important role in guarding the entrance, not only to Port Royal Harbour, but also to the Kingston Harbour.

As the town and parish of Kingston became established, it was important to guard the approaches to Kingston from enemy attack. There was a constant fear that England's enemies, mainly France and Spain, could launch an invasion from the St Thomas end of the island in the east. Moving overland from there, enemy forces could swiftly overrun Kingston and proceed to threaten Spanish Town, unless faced with resistance. There were two forts which were intended to guard the approaches to Kingston from the east. One was **Rock Fort**, located in Kingston Parish itself and the second was **Fort Nugent**, located to the east of Kingston, in what was then Port Royal Parish and is now part of St Andrew.

KINGSTON'S ONLY FORT BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE FORT AT THE ROCK: ROCK FORT



Rock Fort, showing the gateway through which the old Kingston road passed Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Located on the present-day Norman Manley Boulevard, **Rock Fort** was first built and equipped with guns and canon around 1694. The area where the fort was built was situated at the extreme end of the Long Mountain, at the foot of a very rocky hill. This no doubt, influenced

the name given to the fort. Rock Fort was first fortified in 1694 to protect the south coast against an expected French invasion led by General Du Casse in that year. Although we are not certain, it is possible that Du Casse got wind of the strong fort being built in Kingston, and at the last minute, he mounted his invasion much further west, landing at Carlisle Bay. Kingston was spared and the presence of Rock Fort may have contributed to this.

In the following year, the Jamaican Assembly voted money for strengthening fortifications in Kingston. The structures at Rock Fort were enlarged to enable the mounting of seventeen large guns, all of which were positioned facing the approaches to the island from the east. By 1774, there were twenty-one large guns at Rock Fort. In the late seventeenth into the eighteenth centuries, the roadway (carriage way or bridle path) linking Kingston to St Thomas in the East passed through the fort. There was also a drawbridge at the entrance to the fort which could be closed in the event of an attack. Looking to the east from the walls of the fort, soldiers had a clear view across a narrow, flat landscape and could take defensive action against any approaching enemy forces from the east. Today, the remains of the gateway through which the road passed, are still visible. Rock Fort remains today and the entire Kingston area surrounding the fort has inherited the place name of Rock Fort.

STANDING GUARD OVER KINGSTON: FORT NUGENT

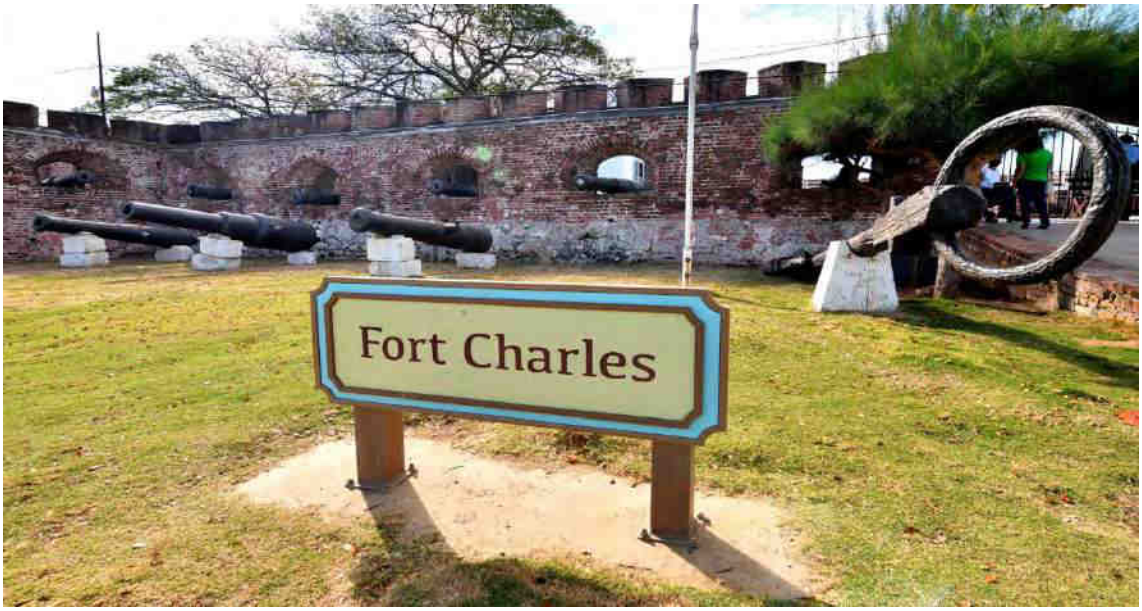
Although it was not located in Kingston parish, Fort Nugent served the purpose of defending the eastern approach to Kingston as the important centre of commerce in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Located in what was then the parish of Port Royal (now Harbour View, St Andrew) the fort was fully equipped between 1801 and 1806 under the governorship of Sir George Nugent and was subsequently named after him.

GUARDING KINGSTON HARBOUR: THE DEFENSIVE RING OF FORTS

The eighteenth century saw frequent wars being fought between England on the one hand and her European enemies, France, Spain and the Netherlands, on the other. Fighting took place mainly in Europe, but was also carried out in the Caribbean waters where the warring countries carried out attacks and counter attacks on each other’s colonies with the aim of capturing, looting or destroying each other’s possessions and sources of wealth. Kingston Harbour was the gateway to the growing commercial prosperity of the parish, and access to the harbour by England’s enemies could pose a serious threat to the economy and security of the island. Therefore, during the eighteenth century, emphasis was placed on building and fortifying a defensive ring of forts, most of which were not located in Kingston, but which would guard the approaches to the invaluable Kingston Harbour.

DEFENSIVE RING OF FORTS

Fort Augusta, though properly located in St Catherine, was ideally placed to guard against the enemy's ships entering the western approaches to Kingston Harbour. Essentially, Fort Augusta's guns covered the entrance to the western part of Kingston Harbour and Hunt's Bay. Building of the huge fort started around 1740 on a site known as Mosquito Point. This part of the land jutted out into the sea and provided a good lookout point from which to guard the harbour. Fort Augusta, upon completion, had eighty large guns mounted, and these did an excellent job of defending the passage leading into the harbour. No hostile ship ever succeeded in making it past the guns of Fort Augusta.



A View of Fort Charles Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Port Royal's **Fort Charles,** which is the oldest standing fort in Jamaica, was built long before the idea of a defensive ring of forts emerged. Having survived the 1692 earthquake, Fort Charles was strategically located to guard the entrance to Port Royal Harbour itself. Ships heading into Kingston Harbour had first to round the point at Port Royal and then sail through the narrow channel guarded by Fort Augusta. Therefore, by guarding the entrance to Port Royal Harbour, Fort Charles also helped in securing the approach to Kingston Harbour. Fort Charles proved to be a vital link in the defensive ring of forts.

Two other St Catherine forts, **Fort Clarence** and **Fort Johnston**, completed the defensive ring of forts. Located at the foot of Port Henderson Hill, **Fort Clarence** was first named Fort Small after the engineer who built it. By 1799, it was renamed Fort Clarence after William, Duke of Clarence. **Fort Johnston** was located along the coast of the Hellshire Hills and was the final of a ring of forts intended to provide security for Kingston Harbour against enemy incursions during

the wars of the eighteenth century. These St Catherine forts clearly served a dual purpose as they were also intended to safeguard the approaches to the capital, Spanish Town. Importantly, access to Spanish Town by sea, could only be gained by access to the western part of Kingston Harbour, and so securing Kingston's harbour meant securing the politically important Spanish Town as well.

A Note on Fort Rocky

Fort Rocky is not to be confused with **Rock Fort**, which was discussed previously. Located on the Palisadoes Strip, not too far from Port Royal, Fort Rocky was first built in the early twentieth century. During the Second World War, Fort Rocky was expanded in order to guard against a possible German invasion. At the end of the war, Fort Rocky was put out of commission and became largely abandoned. The Urban Development Corporation (UDC) plans to re-purpose the structure into an entertainment complex.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF KINGSTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the course of the eighteenth century, Kingston the town, and Kingston the parish, overshadowed what had remained of Port Royal after the earthquake. Kingston's rise to prominence at this time was clearly linked to the aftermath of disaster in Port Royal but was also the result of its growing commercial importance. By the ending of slavery, Kingston had been transformed into the commercial centre of the island, though not the administrative centre, which remained in Spanish Town. The attempt to make Kingston the administrative and political capital in 1754 was short-lived. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that Kingston would supersede all others as Jamaica's capital.

Before Emancipation, political and administrative life of Kingston, as elsewhere in the island, was dominated by the white elite, who were also in the minority. Free blacks and free coloureds (persons of mixed African and European ancestry) did not have civil and political rights until 1830. The Jewish residents, who like the free coloureds and blacks, contributed so much to the growth and development of Kingston did not have the right to vote until 1831. Access to Kingston's political and administrative life was therefore granted exclusively to whites in the eighteenth century.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY WHO REPRESENTED KINGSTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Having been declared a parish in 1693, Kingston had gained important political and administrative rights. As seen earlier, the parish was entitled to send three representatives as

Members of the House of Assembly. In 1751 (the first year for which *Jamaica Almanac* records exist) the three members of the Assembly representing Kingston were Edward Manning, Zachary Bayly and John Knight, Esquires. By 1776, the three members included Thomas French, Simon Taylor and Jasper Hall, Esquires. Taylor and Hall were still representing Kingston by 1779, but were joined by Paul Phipps, Esquire.

CUSTODES, MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES OF KINGSTON'S COURTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Custos was the chief magistrate or chief judge of the Court of Common Pleas (common law courts/civil jurisdiction). Those who served in the office of the Custos also served in the House of Assembly. So in 1751, for example, Hon. Edward Manning was Custos of Kingston and also one of Kingston's three members of the House of Assembly. In 1779, the Hon. Thomas French was Custos of the parish and also Chief Judge of Kingston's Court of Common Pleas. All magistrates in the parish were also made Assistant Judges of Kingston's Court of Common Pleas. In 1779, Kingston had thirteen magistrates/Justices of the Peace, some of whom included Bryan Edwards, Paul Phipps, Robert Brereton and George Scott.

OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS IN KINGSTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As a parish, Kingston was also entitled to have its own administrative officials to oversee important areas of the economy such as commerce and collection of customs duties. In 1751, Kingston's Receiver General and Commissioner (of customs) was the Hon. Benjamin Hume, while Hubert Taffel was the Collector (official who supervised all collections of taxes and custom duties). The Comptroller was Thomas Ellsworthy, and this official had the responsibility of supervising all accounting having to do with the collection of duties and taxes owed to the government. Kingston's Naval Officer in charge of all matters related to shipping was William Murray. An important office then was that of the Parish Coroner. In 1751, Peter French held this position, while in 1779 James Dun [sic] was Coroner and also a judge of the Grand Court.

KINGSTON BECOMES THE CAPITAL AND SEAT OF GOVERNMENT FOR A SHORT PERIOD, 1754-1758

In 1754, members of the Jamaican Assembly representing Kingston and the eastern parishes presented a petition to remove the capital from Spanish Town 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 from the other parishes. 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 difficult and costly to travel to Spanish Town to clear documents and conduct business. The petitioners argued that these challenges also affected members of the Assembly and others who had to journey to Spanish Town to attend meetings of the Assembly or sessions of the

courts. This petition was clearly in the interest of those Assembly members from Eastern and south-eastern Jamaica, but it found no favour among representatives from western and northern parishes who saw such a move as even more problematic for them in terms of distance.

Nevertheless, the request for removal was accepted by the then governor of Jamaica, Charles Knowles, who ordered the relocation of the capital and seat of government to Kingston in 1754. Effective that year, the governor's residence, law courts, meetings of the House of Assembly and all public and official records were relocated to Kingston. This transfer of the capital, although short-lived, was an important recognition of Kingston's increasing commercial success.

This decision was bitterly opposed by nearly all persons living in and around Spanish Town, as well as by assembly members representing the western parishes. Opposition to the relocation was supported by Sir Henry Moore, who succeeded Knowles as governor in January 1758. His criticism of the removal was based on the argument that Spanish Town's inland position meant greater security of government and public records in the event of an invasion. In 1758, Governor Moore issued the royal proclamation to restore Spanish Town as capital and seat of government. Kingston's brief time as the capital ended with the procession of thirty wagons containing public records and other documents (escorted by a detachment of soldiers) in the direction of Spanish Town. To the jubilation of the Spanish Town supporters, the Governor's residence, the Assembly meetings and the law courts were all restored. [8]

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN KINGSTON, 1700 TO 1838

KINGSTON: A PARISH OF COMMERCE, NOT OF PLANTATIONS

British colonisation of Jamaica left a lasting impact upon economic activities and the economy of the island and shaped the society through the exploitation of enslaved Africans. Plantation economies dominated the economic lives of every parish except Kingston. In every parish except Kingston, the land was subdivided into a number of large properties (plantations/estates) which were devoted to the production of exportable products such as sugar, rum, molasses, pimento, indigo, cotton, coffee, logwood and bananas.

Kingston was linked through trade to the plantation economy of the rest of the island. However, Kingston was never to develop as a plantation parish. Because of its small size, Kingston could not be a parish whose economy revolved around these large plantations and estates. Despite this, the records indicate that there may have been two plantations on the outskirts of the town and these will be looked at shortly. Kingston may not have been a plantation parish but its economic activities were significant to the parish and in the case of trade and commerce, to the island as a whole.

In most parishes, some of the land was also used for the rearing of livestock and for the production of food. These properties were large livestock pens that sometimes combined the rearing of animals and crop production. Large livestock pens were commonly found in parishes **outside** of Kingston. There were also residential pens, which were to be found **mainly in towns like Kingston**. The owners of these pens lived on their properties and used enslaved labour to do some market gardening and small-scale animal rearing. In the history of Kingston, it was the subdivision of these residential and grass pens which gave rise to the emergence of new communities. As seen earlier, these communities such as Rae Town, Lindo's Town, Hannah Town, Brown's Town, Rietti's Town, Fletcher's Town and Allman Town contributed to the physical expansion of the town and parish over time. Pens are discussed shortly.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PROSPERITY: KINGSTON'S ECONOMY BASED ON COMMERCE AND TRADE

REASONS FOR KINGSTON'S COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY UP TO 1838

Without a doubt, Kingston's eighteenth-century prosperity rested on the successful role played by the parish in trade and commerce. From its foundation, Kingston was destined to be more connected to trade and commerce than to agriculture. From Kingston's early years, its economy would be focussed more on maritime/shipping activities in order to handle the growing volume of imports and exports coming in and leaving this seaport town. The location of the town and parish on the shores of the Kingston Harbour guaranteed that this was the direction in which Kingston's economy would grow. With Harbour Street (and later, Port Royal Street) bordering the waters of the Kingston Harbour, this part of the town was ideal for the building of docks and warehouses right along the stretch of streets facing the harbour. Soon, the southern end of Kingston town became covered by warehouses, taverns, docks, wholesale dealers' shops and stores and the all-important "counting houses" which were the buildings used for keeping the accounts and money connected to the business.

Port Royal's role in shaping early life in Kingston also contributed to the economic path along which the parish developed. Many of Kingston's early residents were refugees from Port Royal, which before 1692, had been a bustling, thriving centre of shipping, trade and commerce. They brought with them the skills, the business expertise and the occupations which were the trademark of seaport towns like Port Royal. In a sense, some refugees saw Kingston as their opportunity to re-create the glory days of commerce that had once been associated with Port Royal. To the extent that these refugee merchants and business people were able to contribute to its development, then Kingston's commercial success was really a legacy from Port Royal.

Jamaica's economy during this period was export and import based and was highly dependent on the few seaport towns and good harbours that existed. From earliest days, commodities

such as sugar, rum, molasses, pimento, indigo, cotton and logwood had to be shipped to England mainly. Profits from sales went to enrich the "mother country," merchant capitalists, planters, shipping agents and other business people connected to the trade. Being a plantation colony, Jamaica was also dependent on imports of manufactured goods such as tools, utensils and clothing which were seen as essential to life in the island. Most importantly, up to 1807 (when the British slave trade ended), Jamaica's plantation economy was dependent on regular imports of enslaved Africans to provide the labour needed for production.

Kingston may not have developed as a plantation parish, but it played a critical part in the success of the island's plantation economy through its command of an excellent and secure harbour and a well-organised shipping trade. The reality facing most plantation parishes was that they did not have ready access to fine natural harbours of their own. Spanish Town, the island's capital town, lacked the export facilities that Kingston had. Therefore, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a great deal of the exports of sugar, rum, molasses, hides and products from around the island were shipped abroad from the port of Kingston Harbour. Imports of manufactured goods and enslaved Africans, destined for other parishes, were also channelled through the port of Kingston.

The tremendous benefit to the colony's government and to the Kingston-based merchants, shippers, insurance dealers and other business people was all the revenue raised by collection of shipping and customs duties. Wholesale dealers and retail store owners also reaped profits from the increased demand for consumer goods, both from inside the town and from other parishes like St Andrew and St Catherine. Kingston developed a reputation among the well to do and visitors as being the place to shop.

Another contributing factor to Kingston's early commercial success was the fact that for quite a while, between 1713 and 1750, the town was the seat of operation of the English *Asiento Company,* led by John Castello. Spain had earlier accepted that she could not supply her colonies in the Americas with the amount of manufactured goods and slaves that were needed. Therefore, Spain had developed a system known as the *Asiento,* which was a license granted to other countries (in this case, England) to supply manufactured goods and slaves to the Spanish colonies. The southern port of Kingston was chosen by the English as the ideal location from which to operate the *Asiento Company.* Kingston Harbour had the advantage of its size and secure position because of the defensive ring of forts around it. Importantly, its location on the south coast provided the easiest and quickest access to the Spanish colonial markets of *Cartagena, Porto Bello* and *Vera Cruz*, which were to the south and south-west of Kingston. It was to these Spanish colonies that Kingston sent shipments of slaves and manufactured goods under the *Asiento* agreement. Until England's access to the *Asiento* ended in 1750, Kingston's

shipping and commerce benefitted significantly from supplying the Spanish colonies with manufactured goods and slaves.

Wars in Europe stimulated shipping from Jamaican seaport towns like Kingston and brought new trading opportunities to the town. The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars towards the end of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century were particularly important to Kingston. During European wars, trans-Atlantic shipping was often interrupted and the supply of goods became scarce, especially for colonists living in the Americas. During the wars, there were increased opportunities for shipping and traders operating out of Kingston, to fill the gaps by supplying much needed goods and shipping services to other colonies in the Americas.

During these wars, the African enslaved of St Domingue claimed their freedom and declared their independence from France in 1804, as Haiti, the first Black, independent Republic in the Americas. This triggered an exodus of wealthy white refugees from Haiti. Many came to live in Kingston, where they became merchant investors and retail shop owners and further contributed to the growth of Kingston's commercial economy. Also, during the early nineteenth century, several of Spain's American colonies revolted against Spain's tight economic controls and turned to the English colonies to supply their trade needs. Once more, because of its geographical location, Kingston became the grand "central supply station" through which goods destined for these territories passed.

KINGSTON LEADS THE ISLAND IN COMMERCE AND SHIPPING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In recognition of the town's growing commercial importance, the Jamaican Assembly passed a law in 1703, making Kingston the chief centre of trade and the main port of entry for goods coming into the island. By 1774, Edward Long reported that approximately four hundred ships entered and cleared Kingston's port on a yearly basis. By 1783, Kingston accounted for seventy percent of all the shipping traffic coming in and leaving the island. As a seaport, Kingston was the unchallenged leader, with Montego Bay running second with nineteen percent of the shipping traffic. In the same year, Savanna-La-Mar ran a distant third with five percent of the shipping traffic.

PROPERTIES IN KINGSTON UP TO 1838 AND RELATED ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The University College of London's database website, *Legacies of British Slave Ownership*, identified some 522 properties as existing in Kingston during the eighteenth century and up to 1838. Most of these were listed as urban properties, which would have included shops and stores, wharves and warehouses, as well as residential and grass pens and military holdings

such as barracks and Fort Rock. Most properties were not identified by name, and in most cases there was no information on the owners or on the location of the property. However, some properties were named and persons connected to the properties were also named. In several cases, enslaved persons were listed as being attached to the properties. Information given in the database also sheds some light on the economic activities which may have been conducted at these locations. Of the 522 listed properties, two were identified as "sugar estates". These were Townwell Plantation and Windsor Forest Estate or Pen.

Townwell Plantation and Windsor Forest Estate or Pen

Records do not pinpoint the exact location of either Townwell or Windsor Forest but list them as Kingston properties. Townwell was identified both as a sugar estate and a cattle property in operation from 1743 until 1766. It was owned by the Rt. Hon. Temple Lawes until his death in 1754 and after that, by Watson Swymmer and Co. Its products included rum, sugar, corn, logwood, cattle, sheep, copper and brass. Some income was also gained from hiring out the labour of enslaved persons attached to the property.

Windsor Forest seemed to have been in operation between 1779 and 1813. Its products included sugar and rum and was owned by Thomas Aspinall. Writing in 1774, Edward Long made reference to "two houses for refining sugar" in Kingston but nothing else is known about these.

PENS IN THE PARISH OF KINGSTON

Of the 522 listed properties in Kingston during the eighteenth century, there were between twenty six and thirty pens in Kingston by 1832. The Kingston Tax Roll of 1776 identified twenty-six pens in Kingston. A look at James Robertson's 1804 *Map of the County of Surrey* shows that there were approximately thirty pens in the parish in 1804, while the Kingston Tax Roll of 1832 showed that there were twenty-seven pens located mainly outside of the town centre itself. Robertson's *Map* shows that most of the pens and settlements were to the east of the town. On the eastern side, some were to be found near the eastern boundary of the town, while others were south-east of the Long Mountain range which ran across the north-east border of the parish. Of the thirty pens shown on Robertson's *Map*, some were identified with the owner's name while others were unnamed. Some of the pens that were named by Robertson were Government Pen, Dean's, Todd's and Spring's. Interestingly, Government Pen may have gotten its name because it was the residence of the governor whenever he was in Kingston. Government Pen had been built for this purpose in 1777. Lady Nugent, wife of Governor Nugent, referred to Government Pen as "our little pen, our little farm" whenever she came into Kingston during the period 1801 to 1805. To the west of the town, only Howard's was named on Robertson's *Map,* and this was found north-west of Greek Pond.

Most of Kingston's pens were residential pens with owners living on them. Wealthy merchants, storekeepers, shopkeepers and professionals usually lived on these pens. There was usually some land adjoining the pen where animals such as hogs, sheep, goats, poultry and maybe a small number of cattle were reared. Vegetables and fruits were also grown, and the meat and produce were sold in the Kingston markets. These pens sometimes had some woodland and pasture. Before 1838, enslaved persons did the labour tasks on Kingston's pens. Some of the pens were grass pens on which guinea grass was grown to provide food for livestock and horses, which were kept for transport. Surplus guinea grass was sold to nearby parishes. As mentioned earlier, it was these pens which were later subdivided and gave rise to Kingston's expanding settlements.

MARKETS IN KINGSTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Weekly markets in Kingston were held on Sundays during slavery as this was the only free time for the enslaved when they could get the chance to sell some of the food items from the market gardening that they were allowed to do on the pens. This was also the opportunity for them to socialise, if even in a very limited way. Sunday markets in Kingston were lively affairs, providing opportunities for business as well as socialising. It is most likely that the location of the market was in the area immediately to the west of the Parade Ground, in the area known as West Parade. This was an open-air market and became known as *Solas* or *Sollas Market.*

Another Sunday market was also held at the end of King Street, near the harbour. In the eighteenth century, this was known as "the Negro Market" or simply, the "Sunday Market." (See section on Kingston's markets in the nineteenth century). Persons from different social groups, some from nearby St Andrew, came to buy and to sell. Free coloureds, Jews, whites and enslaved took part in what William Gardner described as noisy and crowded gatherings.

Among the items sold were small animals like pigs, goats and chickens. Beef, salt pork, codfish, rice, flour, bread, as well as yams and vegetables were also sold at the market. Small manufactured goods and craftwork such as mats, baskets, bark ropes, yabbas (bowls used for storing water and food) and jars were also on sale at the market. Kingston also had a meat market, and this was kept well supplied with meat by town butchers. There was also a separate fish market which was open every day between 8:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. and Edward Long described the fish sold there as "superior".

OTHER PROPERTIES IN KINGSTON AND THEIR RELATED ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

With Kingston's economy shaped by trade and commerce, it was not surprising that there were many businesses spread throughout the town that were linked to the commercial character of Kingston. Many privately owned docks, wharves and warehouses lined Harbour Street and Port Royal Street, giving their owners direct and immediate access to the loading and unloading of

vessels in the Kingston Harbour. By 1750, Kingston Port had no less than fourteen finger-piers jutting out into the harbour. This allowed a large number of vessels to be docked near the warehouses and offices where the merchants were based. In 1754, one Mr Stibbs was the owner of a wharf located on Port Royal Street. The very successful and prominent Jewish resident of Kingston, Alexander Lindo established Lindo's Wharf in 1788 on the harbour front.

Prominent merchants and attorneys of the firm, Chapone and Yeates, were located on the same street, but opposite to Stibbs' wharf. Attorneys in Kingston usually acted on behalf of Kingston based merchants and dealers, ensuring that all obligations and responsibilities were fulfilled and that the interests of their clients were protected. Some of the more well-known firms of attorneys by 1754, included Curtin and Parker, Davis and Bland (Port Royal Street) and Henry Chapone and Yeates, also of Port Royal Street. Merchant and wholesale dealer, Elrington Husbands and Co. had a store on Port Royal Street as well. Counting Houses (explained earlier) were essential in a town organized around trade and commerce. One of Kingston's well known counting houses was Bogle, Atkinson and Company, owned by Matthew Atkinson and his business partner, Bogle, around 1801.

Merchants, importers, wholesale and retail dealers, as well as those businesses offering specialized services in the town, depended on the local newspapers to advertise not only their business but also the dates and times of ship arrivals in the harbour. A Kingston newspaper which was popular with the commercial interests in the town in the eighteenth century was *The Jamaica Courant*. This was printed in Kingston at the General Printing Office which was located on King Street in the middle of the eighteenth century. The printer in charge of *The Jamaica Courant* was William Daniel, who also carried on his business as a bookseller and stationer on King Street. So William Curtin, who was a clock and watchmaker, used *The Jamaica Courant* to inform his potential clients in 1754, that he was living in a house opposite the General Printing Office on King Street.

Apparently, King Street was a central location for storeowners and businesses connected to the bustling life of the town. For most who could afford it, horse and carriage (coach or buggy) was the main means of getting around town and from Kingston to other parishes. Roads in the eighteenth century were little more than bridle paths, just wide enough for the coaches. Coach makers were very much in demand in towns like Kingston in the eighteenth century. Most coach makers were also harness makers as the harness was needed to guide the movements of the horse, which moved the coach forward. By 1754, Richard Quin was able to advertise his coach and harness maker's shop on King Street. Saddlery was another business which was related to transportation in the town. Saddlers made, repaired and sold saddles and bridles, as well as other equipment for horses. William Brig operated his saddlery business on Harbour Street in the middle of the eighteenth century.

There were many stores and shops which sold dry goods such as clothing, imported manufactured goods and food items. Wholesale dealers had larger businesses and they usually stocked the imported goods and resold these in smaller quantities to the owners of retail shops, who then sold the items to the public. Some of the store owners were also merchants who dealt with the import trade. Kingston also had a few well-established jewellers, clock-makers and repairers. Perhaps the most famous of these was John Wolmer, the goldsmith who practised his trade in Kingston for twenty years and who died in 1729, leaving the bulk of his estate (funds) to establish a free school in Kingston. So was born the *Wolmer's School* (looked at under Education). An interesting addition to the social life of Kingston was the fact that many of Kingston's shop owners and tavern owners were licensed to sell spirits (rum/liquor). In the decade of the 1770s, of all licenses approved to sell liquor in the island, three quarters were from Kingston.

Of the dry goods and provisions shops and stores, quite a few were located on Orange Street in the eighteenth century. Shop owners on Orange Street included William Jamison and John Sill, who was a merchant and also had a store on Orange Street. Mrs Mary Barclay's shop was also on Orange Street, on the opposite side of the street from Sill's store. An interesting but important business was carried on by George Stewart, who was licensed to sell gunpowder from his shop on Harbour Street. Among his clients would have been the officers in charge of the Kingston Barracks.

THE FOUNDRY IN KINGSTON AND BRICK-MAKING AT BUCK KILNS

In 1771, Mr John Reeder had a foundry in Kingston where metal was melted and cast or made into tools and utensils which were usually in great demand by estate owners outside of Kingston. Reeder also used his skills to help in the repairing of ships of war and other vessels.

A good example of one of these Kingston business properties was **Buck Kilns**. The exact location was unknown but we do know that Buck Kilns was a brick-making business operating in Kingston between 1817 and 1832. Brick-making would have been an economic activity that was essential to the physical expansion of Kingston. There were two owners, Thomas Anderson, who owned the property between 1817 and 1832 and Robert Hunter, who seemed to have had a share in the ownership from 1820. Very importantly, the data show that enslaved labour was essential to the brick-making business at Buck Kilns. There were fifty four slaves attached to Buck Kilns in 1817, and by 1823, this number had grown to 103. Two years before the abolition of slavery, there were ninety nine slaves attached to the property. [9]

POPULATION AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN KINGSTON UP TO EMANCIPATION

A general look at Kingston's population figures during the eighteenth century and up to Emancipation, shows that in spite of being the smallest parish, Kingston led the island in population numbers at various times. Before the official census was started in the nineteenth century, periodic reports on the island's population were sent from the governor in Spanish Town to the Colonial Office in Britain. These reports on the island's population were known as the *Return of Inhabitants of Jamaica.* According to the 1788 *Return*, Kingston parish had 26,478 inhabitants, this being the largest of the parish totals for that year. Trelawny had the second largest total population in 1788, with 22,053 persons. In the same year, St Andrew had a total population of 10,873. A breakdown of Kingston's parish total for 1788 is given below. By 1800, the town of Kingston had a sizeable population of between 25,000 to 30,000, and this made Kingston town the largest town on the island at that time, in terms of population size.

KINGSTON'S WHITE POPULATION IN 1788

A general idea of the population of the social groups in Kingston in the later eighteenth century may be gathered from the *Return of Inhabitants of Jamaica 1788* sent from the governor in Spanish Town to the Colonial Office in England. In 1788, there were 6,539 whites living in the parish of Kingston. This number included men, women and children. Of all the parishes in Jamaica at that time, Kingston had the largest white population, with St James running a close second, having 1,559 white men, women and children in 1788. St Andrew was listed as having 785 whites in the same year. Kingston's large white population at this time is understandable because of the many Jews who had taken up residence in the town from Port Royal. The white population would also have been enlarged by new waves of immigration from *St Domingue* (Haiti) and Britain in the period. Jews and immigrants in Kingston will be looked at shortly.

KINGSTON'S FREE COLOURED POPULATION IN 1788

Of all the parishes in 1788, Kingston also had the largest number of persons who were categorised as free people of colour. In total, Kingston had a free coloured population of 3,280, while St Elizabeth ran second with 2,000. St Andrew had 475 free coloureds in the same year.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN KINGSTON UP TO EMANCIPATION

Parishes in Jamaica which were predominantly sugar-producing had quite large populations of enslaved people in the eighteenth century and this was as expected. Leading sugar parishes such as Clarendon, St Mary, St Thomas in the East, Westmoreland, Hanover and Trelawny, all had larger slave populations than Kingston. Kingston may not have been a sugar-producing parish, but its extensive commercial activity guaranteed that there was considerable reliance on

enslaved labour. In 1788, there were 16,659 slaves in the parish of Kingston. At the same time, there were 9,613 slaves in St Andrew.

KINGSTON'S ROLE IN THE SLAVE TRADING COMMERCE

Kingston-based merchants were heavily involved in the business of receiving shipments of African captives who were destined to be sold as slaves throughout Jamaica. The trade was controlled from England, where powerful merchant firms like James Rogers and Co., operated out of English slave trading ports like Bristol and Liverpool. The English slave trading companies financed and organised the voyages to West Africa, where Africans were captured or traded in exchange for manufactured goods from England. In what was known as the Middle Passage, the slave ships then delivered their human cargo to various destinations in the Americas. In eighteenth-century Jamaica, Kingston was the main point to which these ships delivered their African captives.

There were merchant companies in Kingston which specialised in receiving these shipments of Africans. These companies, which were really slave-dealing companies, were called slave factors or agents. Kingston's slave-dealing companies received the shipments of slaves in Kingston Harbour and then sold them to plantation owners and others in many parishes across Jamaica. Kingston companies (slave factors) also engaged in the highly profitable business of the *Asiento,* selling the captured Africans to Spain's American colonies. As seen earlier, even after the ending of the *Asiento*, Kingston merchants continued to make huge profits from trading slaves to parts of Spanish America. Some of the captured Africans were also sold to Kingston buyers.

As will be seen shortly, Kingston's Jewish merchants were heavily involved in the trade and commerce between Kingston and the Spanish territories. Some of them were slave factors, receiving and redistributing African captives. Among the slave-dealing businesses in Kingston were Lindo and Lake, operated by partners, Alexander Lindo and Richard Lake. This later became Lindo, Son and Co. in 1795, when Alexander's son, Abraham, joined him in the slave factoring business. Other well established slave factoring companies in Kingston at this time included Wedderburn and Co. and Taylor, Ballantine and Fairlie. In May, 1793, Wedderburn and Co. received a shipment of 352 Africans. Taylor, Ballantine and Fairlie received a shipment of 770 Africans in November of 1794 and then another 983 in December of the same year.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE ENSLAVED POPULATION OF KINGSTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY UP TO EMANCIPATION

As seen in an earlier section, right up until the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807, the majority of slaves shipped to Jamaica to meet the labour needs of the island came through the port of Kingston and were delivered from there to the various parishes. Still, Kingston kept a

considerable number of enslaved persons to meet labour needs across the parish, as seen in the foregoing population figures. In Kingston, slaves were used in just about every economic undertaking, including construction, road-clearing, loading and unloading at the docks, work at wharves and warehouses, taverns, shops and stores, ship and boat repair, market-gardening and animal rearing on pens, among many areas that required slave labour. Some owners of slaves in Kingston also hired out their slaves to work for others. In many instances, enslaved persons were made to live at or near the business to which they were attached. For example, slaves who were attached to pens were given accommodation on or near to the pen.

In addition to those who lived on the property to which they were attached, enslaved persons were usually housed in what Barry Higman described as *"yards"* which were located in some of Kingston's lanes and on the outskirts of established settlements. During slavery, a *yard* consisted of an enclosed area. Inside the *yard*, there were a few houses or huts which were grouped together. Going back in time to the period of slavery, people in the society accepted the idea that *yards* were places where the poor and the deprived lived. In the Kingston Tax Roll of 1776, there were 108 places listed as *"yards"*. In some of these *yards*, there were as many as ten slaves living, and there were also free blacks and some free coloureds living in the *yards*.

In 1811, the *Jamaica Almanac* showed records of taxes having been paid on 6,500 slaves in Kingston. At that time, the practice was to underrepresent by about one half, the amount of property/goods on which the recorded tax had been paid. Therefore, it may be safely concluded that there were most likely at least 13,000 enslaved persons living in Kingston by 1811. [10]

THE JEWISH POPULATION IN KINGSTON UP TO EMANCIPATION

Jews first arrived in Jamaica during Spanish colonisation of the island and remained even after the departure of the Spaniards. Many had settled in Port Royal before the earthquake. After the disastrous earthquake of 1692, many surviving Jews migrated to the new town of Kingston and continued to move into Kingston after the fire of 1703 in Port Royal. Before too long, they were joined by other Jews who came to Kingston from Spanish Town. These Jewish migrants brought with them, their maritime and business skills and over time, made a significant contribution to the commercial life of the town of Kingston. According to Eli Faber, large numbers of Jews took up residence in the western part of Kingston, and by 1707 they had managed to establish a synagogue in that part of the town. Before long, Kingston's Jewish population was larger than that left in Port Royal, and by the second decade of the eighteenth century, they made up eighteen percent of Kingston's population. Up to Emancipation, Kingston had the largest Jewish population on the island.

Impact of the Jewish population on Kingston

Cultural and social influence

The Jewish communities made their mark on the religious history of the town of Kingston from as early as 1707. In 1744, the *Shaar ha Shamain* synagogue was built but was later destroyed in the Kingston fire of 1882. In 1787, the Shangare Yosher synagogue was established and was replaced by a newer building in 1837. However, this was also destroyed by fire in 1882. A Spanish-Portuguese synagogue was established on East Street in 1750. They were also active in the development of social life and landmark events in Kingston's history. For example, in 1788, there were ten Jews among the forty two members of the town's social and literary society, known as the *European Club*. As white residents with some amount of wealth, Jews gained acceptance within the circle of whites who would have traced their connections back to Britain and other European countries. Jews also made a significant contribution to intellectual and cultural affairs in the town. Perhaps the best example of their role in this respect was the founding of the *Daily Gleaner* in 1833 by Jacob and Joshua de Cordova. At that time, the *Gleaner* was intended to be a channel for the views of the influential and well to do in the society.

Economic influence of the Jews on Kingston

Jewish residents of Kingston played an important role in the economic growth of the town and parish during the eighteenth century. As seen earlier, Kingston was an increasingly prosperous centre of commercial activity during the eighteenth century. At the centre of this commercial success was a vibrant import and export trade linking ports like Kingston to other parishes in the island, as well as to Britain, North America and the Spanish American colonies. At the same time, there was a bustling commercial life unfolding in Kingston, which saw businesses, stores and shops established in connection to wharves and warehouses and wholesale and retail trade.

In Kingston Town, there were many opportunities for craftsmen, merchants and traders, accountants and attorneys, pedlars and tavern operators, among so many others. Jews and non-Jews alike made their contribution to Kingston's growth in these ways, but the Jewish segment of the town seemed to have excelled in all of these areas. Many Jews were wholesale dealers and retail traders, and some were agents/factors for slave ships transporting Africans through the port of Kingston. Many properties on Harbour Street and Port Royal Street were occupied by Jewish businessmen connected to the import/export trade. Kingston's Jewish merchants were wealthy and highly respected members of the society.

Highlighting some Jewish Residents of Kingston up to Emancipation

Abraham Rietti was a merchant of Kingston, whose business, Rietti and Company, imported manufactured and dry goods on consignment (goods ordered and shipped) from British-based companies. He seemed to have been in the clothing business as the consignment included hosiery (plain cotton and woollen hosiery) from Britain. According to the 1817 Slave register, Rietti also owned a few slaves. As seen earlier, it was Abraham Rietti who subdivided his land to provide for the development of a new residential community in 1826, known as Rietti's Town. By so doing, Rietti helped in the westward expansion of the town in the vicinity of the Spanish Town Road.

Among the Jewish residents who made their mark on Kingston's development, the Lindo family were outstanding. **Alexandre Lindo,** who was the father of Abraham Lindo, arrived in Jamaica in 1765 by way of Amsterdam. He laid the foundation for the family business and legacy in the island. When he arrived in Kingston in 1765, he rented a house on Port Royal Street, and by 1769 he had relocated to a rented house on Peter's Lane. Alexandre had many children, seven with his first wife, Hannah, and after her death, sixteen with his second wife, Esther Salome. From early, Alexandre set up business on Princess Street, where over time, he acquired several properties. Lindo was a successful businessman who bought and traded goods captured by the British Royal Navy. He also bought and sold small houses and property in Kingston and outside the parish. In 1788, he bought a row of houses on Port Royal Street leading to the harbour and established Lindo's Wharf there. Operating through his slave factoring company, Lindo and Lake, Alexandre Lindo became one of the main Kingston-based factors/agents for the importation and sale of African enslaved persons.

His was a story of success, even as it was partly based on exploitation of the trade in slaves. By the end of the eighteenth century, Alexandre owned six houses in Kingston and these were located on Hanover Street, Rosemary Lane, Orange Street, Port Royal Street, North Street and Tower Street. In addition, he had a block of four buildings on Princess Street, as well as thirty servants. By the time Alexandre Lindo returned to England in 1805, he had a house and a large commercial business on the Kingston waterfront. Lindo's Wharf was imposing, complete with its own crane and scale, along with several warehouses. Alexandre Lindo died in 1812.

Abraham Alexander Lindo was the son of Alexandre Lindo, and there is no doubt that he continued his father's commercial legacy in Kingston. The main focus of Abraham Lindo's business activity was in the import/export trade with England and Spanish America, and in particular, as a factor or agent for captured Africans shipped to Kingston. In this regard, he continued his father's business, becoming a partner in Lindo and Lake until 1802. When his father left for England, Abraham took over the company which later became known as Lindo,

Son and Company. Under his watch, this company became exclusive dealers in enslaved persons. He owned between ten and fifteen slaves.

Like his father, Abraham had a large family of eleven children with his wife Luna (Henriques). In his father's footsteps, he also invested in real estate in the parish. Lindo had bought property to the west of the town centre, and in the early nineteenth century, he subdivided these into small lots to create a working class township. This became known as Lindo's Town (later Kingston Pen) which was discussed much earlier. A number of other properties in places like Sutton Street were also rented out to French emigres. Abraham expanded his father's wharf at Lindo's Wharf and also acquired two vessels to help in his share of the trans-Atlantic trade. While ensuring their own prosperity, Alexandre and Abraham Lindo in their own ways, contributed to Kingston's commercial success. [11]

FRENCH AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS INTO KINGSTON IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH INTO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars lasted from the late eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century. During this time, there was chaos, unrest and insurrection in the French Caribbean colony of *St Domingue* (later Haiti). Colonists, white and coloured, had seized the opportunity to demand a greater level of equality and to be given the same privileges and rights as Frenchmen. The enslaved majority joined the fight, but for their own freedom from enslavement. By 1804, the black majority had declared the former colony the free and independent republic of Haiti. From 1791, war and social upheaval in St Domingue had triggered an exodus of wealthy whites and some coloureds.

In 1791, the first group of French immigrants arrived in Kingston, followed by more in 1792. French emigres continued to arrive until the early years of the nineteenth century (1804). Most of the emigres took up residence in Kingston, and many eventually became merchants and retailers. For the most part, these French emigres were Catholic, and their arrival influenced the establishment of a Roman Catholic chapel in Kingston, the first in a hundred years. The members were mainly French, but there were also Spaniards, Irish, Scottish and English immigrants. Some French refugees and their families who arrived in Kingston came with very little of their material possessions, having fled Haiti under difficult circumstances. For a while, they were given assistance by the government here.

Some of the French immigrants remained in Kingston, getting married and raising their children here. Life was challenging at first, but as they became successful in the commercial life of Kingston, they soon became identified with the wealthy, upper class residents of the parish. As seen earlier, Rae Town was established in 1810 as a residential community east of the town centre. In this period, Rae Town became well-known as the home of the wealthy and successful

French residents, along with some English and Scottish immigrants who had arrived in Kingston during the late eighteenth century. Over the generations, the French and their descendants left their imprint on the business life of Kingston, and some of their descendants as well as their surnames, are still with us today as reminders of their first arrival.

A familiar surname from the French refugees is *Desnoes*. Pierre Desnoes 1 arrived in Jamaica either during or after the revolution in St Domingue. His grandson, Pierre (Peter) Blais Desnoes, was one of Kingston's wealthiest merchants. He married into the *Malabre* family, also from St Domingue. Peter Blais Desnoes bought Bull House on North Street, renovated it and made it his home. He died there in 1901. Interestingly, Bull House had been given this name by its previous owner, John Bull, another of Kingston's wealthy merchants from the eighteenth century. The commercial strength of the Desnoes family would later leave its mark on Jamaica's economic landscape, with the formation of the soft drink giant, Desnoes and Geddes. Other family names which came with the French immigrants and remained with the Jamaican society include *Du Quesnay, Espeut, Malabre* and *Gadpaille*.

Other Immigrants in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries

In 1783, the War of American Independence, fought by American colonists against Britain, officially ended, and Britain recognised the independence of the United States of America. Although most Americans living in the colonies had desired and fought for their independence from Britain, some did not. This group of Americans were known as Loyalists because they remained loyal to Britain. But the ending of the war in 1783 meant that they no longer felt safe in an independent USA and many feared persecution. These Loyalists fled to other countries, including the Bahamas and Jamaica. In 1783, a large group of Loyalists arrived in Jamaica from South Carolina. Their numbers included four hundred white families along with their 4,500 slaves. Many of them settled in Kingston and entered into business as shopkeepers and merchants. In the 1780s, immigrants also came to Jamaica from Honduras.

By the early nineteenth century, Kingston also saw another group of immigrants who came mainly from England and Scotland. These were persons who came to take advantage of the expanding commercial life in Kingston, and some were connected to merchant firms in Britain. They came with their families and settled into life in Kingston. Some were given grants of land in the parish. Interestingly, some women were given land grants, and under the circumstances, these may have been widows or daughters left behind after the death of the male. Among the persons who received land grants in Kingston were James Claypole, who received two lots of land in 1809 and Johanna Reid Glasspole and family, who also got two lots in the same year. In 1810, Catline Lindsay received two lots and Elizabeth Burke also got two lots. Robert McClelland was given land in Kingston in 1814.

In the immediate post-slavery period, indentured (contract workers) immigrant labour was also brought into Jamaica from India and from China to offset what the planters saw as a labour shortage on the plantations. When their period of service under the indenture contract ended, those Indian and Chinese immigrants who chose not to return home, settled down in various parishes around the island. The Chinese, in particular, were attracted to the commercial life in Kingston, and, as will be seen in the later section on Kingston's business sector, many of them migrated to Kingston in the later nineteenth century and established themselves as small shopkeepers and traders.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF SOCIAL LIFE IN KINGSTON BEFORE EMANCIPATION

Before Emancipation, the different social groups had their own means of relaxation and interaction. Constrained by the system of slavery, the enslaved of Kingston were limited in their interactions to their own spaces in the "yards" and on the pens where they lived under the watchful eyes of their owners. The weekly Sunday market was highly anticipated by them, not only because they could earn a little money from selling provisions and other goods, but also because this was the one public occasion when they could socialise and meet with friends and relatives.

For the free residents of Kingston, the commercial nature of the town helped to shape the opportunities and venues for relaxation and socializing. Taverns, lodging-houses and inns provided spaces in the city where the residents could relax. Taverns were early "watering holes" where food, drink and company could be enjoyed. Social interactions tended to be done within the different social groups. Although some free coloureds were successful and well off, by virtue of their mixed race, they were not as a rule, accepted into the social gatherings of the commercially successful whites. Jews, who were legally regarded as whites, interacted freely with the other whites at their clubs and gatherings. This was especially true for the successful Jewish merchants and businessmen.

The European Club was one way in which the upper echelons of Kingston society socialised. Meetings were held at the prestigious Watson's Tavern where members spent the day dining, drinking and toasting (usually to the long life of the King). A list of those in attendance read like a roll call of "Who's Who" in Kingston society of the eighteenth century and included assemblymen, military officers, leading merchants, businessmen and others. In 1793, a leading Kingston Jewish businessman, Aaron Nunes Henriques, was vice-president of the club. These meetings, complete with the names of all in attendance, were reported on in detail in the *Royal Gazette* newspaper.

Theatre Performances: The Kingston Theatre

The very first theatre that was located at North Parade was the Kingston Theatre, which was built in 1777. It was the drawing card for the wealthy and well known members of Kingston's society during the eighteenth century. The Kingston Theatre was located on the exact site as the present-day Ward Theatre. It was Kingston's first public theatre and was in existence from 1777. Interestingly, there is a marble cornerstone at the base of today's Ward Theatre with an inscription which reads:

"On this site has stood a public theatre since 1777"

Kingston's trading contacts with Britain meant that touring English companies offering dramatic performances (in those days, Shakespeare's plays) would regularly stop in Kingston on their way from England to Boston and New York. These touring companies always performed to a Kingston Theatre that was filled to capacity with Kingston's elite.

A View of the Kingston Theatre Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

In 1838, the *Theatre Royal* was constructed on the same site of the Kingston Theatre which had been torn down earlier. An improved *Theatre Royal* was rebuilt in 1897 and continued to be a major attraction. It was destroyed in the 1907 earthquake and later rebuilt as the Ward Theatre. *Ward Theatre* was built on the same site by the generosity of Colonel Ward, the nephew of John Wray. Both John Wray and Colonel Charles James Ward had been associated with the *Shakespeare Tavern*, next door to the theatre and with the dynamic liquor producing business in Kingston, J. Wray and Nephew Ltd. The Ward Theatre, named after its benefactor, was presented as a gift to the city of Kingston in 1912.

Places of Public Entertainment

Kingston had two places of public entertainment, which were the Ranelagh and the Vauxhall. The Ranelagh allowed visitors to have an extensive view of the town and harbour. These venues had large, long rooms where lavish balls and concerts were held. These were patronised mainly by the wealthy residents and visitors to Kingston.

Taverns: Shakespeare Tavern (John Wray's Tavern)

John Wray's Tavern Today (Shakespeare Tavern) Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Taverns were perhaps the most popular venue for relaxation and socialising for the residents of Kingston. Most owners of taverns, including Watson's Tavern and Shakespeare Tavern, were licensed to retail and sell spirits (liquor). Taverns also provided overnight accommodation for travellers and visitors. Tavern charges were not considered as excessive, and all taverns served dinner, if requested, beer, ale, rum punch and coffee.

Shakespeare Tavern had an interesting beginning and an even more fascinating history. Shakespeare Tavern was opened in 1825 by John Wray, a wheelwright (repairs carriage wheels) who was originally living in St Ann. Having relocated to Kingston, Wray observed that the Theatre Royal in North Parade was always playing to large crowds. He also noticed that there was an open-air market (*Solas* Market) to the west of the Parade Ground which attracted large crowds and was always bustling with activity. Wray decided to build a tavern in North Parade, right next to the *Kingston Theatre* as he was confident that his tavern would be supported by some of the crowds from both the theatre and the market place and that business would be good. He named it *Shakespeare's Tavern* because the touring English drama groups which came to the *Kingston Theatre* performed Shakespeare's plays.

In the later nineteenth century, John Wray, along with his nephew, Charles James Ward would start their company, *J. Wray and Nephew*, right there at Shakespeare's Tavern (discussed in the section on Business). It was here that John Wray started to blend his own rums which he then served to customers at the tavern. In 1863, J. Wray and Nephew relocated the business to larger premises on Port Royal Street. Wray died in 1870. The name of the tavern was changed to **John Wray's Tavern**, a name which still stands above the restored and brightly painted building today.

Horse Racing at Littleworth and the Race Course

Horse racing and attending the races were popular sources of enjoyment and relaxation for Kingston's residents from the early eighteenth century. Horse racing was a major event done annually at first and then more frequently as time progressed. It was also an opportunity for the fashionable to parade their sense of style, and residents saw the races as a much anticipated family affair. Before horse racing began at the Kingston Race Course (so called because of the activity that took place there) the residents of Kingston were enjoying horse racing at another venue in the parish.

At the start of the eighteenth century, there was a large race track that covered the area that now includes the May Pen Cemetery and the area that extends down to the Kingston Railway Station. This race track, complete with grounds, was known as **Littleworth**. Horse racing was done at Littleworth as far back as 1718. Governor Sir Nicholas Lawes had also given permission for the venue to be used for a variety of sporting games. After 1809, when Kingston residents gained access to the Race Course, Littleworth lost some of its attraction. These lands would be converted into May Pen Cemetery later in the nineteenth century.

Even before it officially became a part of the parish of Kingston in 1867, the area, known then as the **Race Course** (now National Heroes' Park) was made accessible to residents of Kingston.

Before 1867, Race Course was properly located in the parish of St Andrew. However, as seen earlier, in 1809, the government had purchased Race Course and ordered that Kingston residents were to be allowed to use it for purposes of recreation between the hours of 5:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. At the same time, Race Course was to remain part of St Andrew and no buildings were to be erected there. Various sports such as ball games and boxing were played there by Kingston residents. The main activity which took place there was horse racing and this was why it became known as the Kingston Race Course. The first horse racing event was held there in 1816, and this was the venue for regular horse racing until that sport was relocated to Knutsford Park in the early twentieth century. Later in the nineteenth century, Law 20 of 1867 officially made Race Course a part of Kingston parish. [12]

Other Aspects of Kingston's Society before Emancipation:

Famous Houses in Kingston from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

The Malabre House at 150 East Street

As seen earlier, the Malabre family originally came to Kingston as emigres from St Domingue (Haiti) during the revolutionary disturbances in that island from 1791 to 1804. They became a very wealthy and influential family in Kingston, especially in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. They built one of Kingston's more famous houses at 150 East Street. It was a two-storey building made of brick and timber and was built in the Jamaican Georgian style. In addition to this house, the Malabre family also owned at least three houses on North Street.

Hibbert House/ Headquarters House

Hibbert House/ Headquarters House in the Twentieth Century Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, three very wealthy Kingston merchants, Thomas Hibbert, Jasper Hall and John Bull, seemed to have been very competitive as to who could build the most spectacular house. As a result, Kingston became home to magnificent houses, including ***Hibbert House, Jasper Hall, Harmony Hall*** and ***Bull House***.

Thomas Hibbert came to Jamaica around 1734 and eventually became one of Kingston's wealthiest and most successful merchants. He gradually acquired property, at first on Orange Street, and by 1753 Hibbert was able to buy land above the Parade Square. It was at 79 Duke Street that Hibbert was able to build his splendid two-storey home that was named after him, ***Hibbert House***. A mahogany staircase led to the upper floor of the house which was built in the 1750s. While Hibbert was alive, the House of Assembly on occasion would meet at his house.

In 1814, the War Office bought Hibbert House and used the building as its headquarters in Kingston. At that point Hibbert House became known as ***Headquarters House*** or the ***General's House***. In 1872, when Kingston became the permanent capital of Jamaica, the government bought Headquarters House for £ 5,000 sterling. From 1872 until 1960, Headquarters House was the location for the meetings of the Legislature of Jamaica. In 1960, Hibbert House

(Headquarters House) lost its political function as in that year, a new building, the ***George William Gordon House*** on Duke Street, became the venue for all meetings of the Jamaican Legislature. Hibbert House/ Headquarters House would remain as a centre of historical interest in Kingston as it has been the home of the **Jamaica National Heritage Trust** since 1983.

The Former Hibbert House/Headquarters' House, now home to the Jamaica National Heritage Trust Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Jasper Hall or Constantine House

High Holborn Street in Kingston was the location of **Constantine House**, more commonly called **Jasper Hall**. The house was built in 1756 and named after its owner and builder, Jasper Hall. One of the wealthiest Kingston merchants, Jasper Hall went on to become Receiver-General and Speaker of the House of Assembly.

Jasper Hall was a two-storey mansion, with a spectacular view of the surrounding landscape and harbour. It had large, spacious rooms such as the drawing room (now called a living room) which was sixty feet long. A magnificent mahogany staircase led to the upstairs floor. Other features on the property at 37 High Holborn Street included a paved courtyard and outbuildings made of brick. **Jasper Hall** was complete with coach house and stables. Jasper Hall died in 1778. When a second Catholic chapel was established in Kingston in 1799, it was for a time located at Jasper Hall, before being relocated to Harmony Hall.

Harmony Hall

Although it was viewed as one of Kingston's most magnificent houses from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, **Harmony Hall** seemed to have developed more as a centre for elite entertainment than as a place of residence. Very little is known about who may have built Harmony Hall or why this building was given that name. At various stages of its history, Harmony Hall, which was located on Hanover Street, became home to a Catholic chapel as well as to the Mico College in its early years.

Some sources suggest that one of Kingston's richest merchants, Eliphalet Fitch, was the person who built Harmony Hall. However, the fact that Fitch was born in 1740 makes it unlikely that he could have been the person who built Harmony Hall by the middle to later decades of the eighteenth century. For most of the later eighteenth century, Harmony Hall was known as Kingston's venue for concerts attended by exclusive audiences, including the governor. In the late eighteenth century, the mansion was converted into Harmony Hall Gardens, complete with flower-lined walkways and spacious rooms which hosted nightly singing performances with accompanying drinks and refreshments.

In 1799, a second Catholic chapel was opened in Kingston by William Le Can, who was a Dominican priest. At first this Catholic chapel was housed at Jasper Hall but was removed to Harmony Hall on Hanover Street in the early years of the nineteenth century. At this time, Harmony Hall was the location of both the chapel and the residence of Father Le Can. Harmony Hall was sold while Le Can was still living there and he died at the residence in October of 1807. After the building of Trinity Church at the corner of Duke and Sutton Streets in 1811, Harmony Hall was no longer associated with Catholic worship in Kingston. As will be seen in the later section on *Church and School* in Kingston, Harmony Hall became the location for the start of the Mico Normal School for the training of teachers in 1836.

Bull House

A prominent and successful merchant, John Bull built his house at number five North Street in Kingston around the middle of the eighteenth century. Named for its wealthy owner, Bull House is shown on Hay's 1745 *Plan of Kingston* as occupying the lots on North Street between East Street and George's Lane. In the late 1880s, Peter Blaise Desnoes, originally of the émigré family from Haiti, but better known for his successful company, P. Desnoes and Son became associated with Bull House. After he bought Bull House in the 1880s, Desnoes renovated it and made it his place of residence. He died there in 1901. The Desnoes family were still in possession of Bull House when it was destroyed by fire in 1917. [13]

KINGSTON FROM EMANCIPATION TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Kingston's Population during the Post-slavery Nineteenth Century

As seen in an earlier section, the expansion in Kingston's boundaries was also the result of an increased population in the parish after Emancipation. The 1844 Census gave the total population of Kingston in that year as 32,943. Especially in terms of the black population, this increase in the population of Kingston was directly explained by opportunities created by Freedom after 1838. Compared to the approximately 13,000 enslaved persons present in Kingston in 1811, by 1844, there was in total, 17,101 blacks in the parish. According to the 1861 *Census*, the number of Blacks living in Kingston by then had declined to 13,337. The white population of Kingston in 1844 numbered 4,253 while by 1861 this was more or less the same with 4,074 whites. Kingston's coloured population stood at 11,589 in 1844 while by 1861 there were 9,948 persons classified as "brown".

Effects of Emancipation on Kingston

The law which abolished slavery in the British colonies came into effect on 1 August, 1834. However, for most of those who had been enslaved, 1 August, 1838 did not mean complete freedom as they were forced to serve a period of apprenticeship to their former masters. With the ending of the Apprenticeship system and the arrival of full freedom on 1 August, 1838, a new era in Jamaica's history had begun. Enslaved labour had been the foundation on which the plantation economy of the island had been built. As of 1 August, 1838, workers would all have to be paid for their labour. Most importantly, the formerly enslaved majority were now free to move around the island to explore different opportunities for work and for making a living. In many instances, when workers exercised their freedom of choice and movement, this contributed to a fall-off in the labour supply for some plantations and a movement of the newly freed people across parish boundaries in search of a better way of life. The effects of Emancipation were felt all across the island and Kingston was no exception.

Effects on Kingston's Export-Import Trade

After Emancipation, when sugar production declined in many parishes, this affected Kingston's commercial prosperity for a while. Before Emancipation, as seen earlier, a great deal of the sugar being exported from different parishes had been channelled through Kingston's port, by way of the Kingston Harbour, to overseas markets. This sugar trade had brought considerable wealth to Kingston merchants who had been connected in a variety of ways to the export trade. Between 1838 and the early 1840s, there was a steady decline in the volume of sugar production across the island, and this was seen in the decreased profits which Kingston merchants had previously made from activities such as operating wharves and warehouses on Harbour and Port Royal Streets.

These effects of Emancipation on Kingston's economy were made worse in 1846 by the Sugar Duties' Act which exposed British West Indian sugar producers to competition from foreign producers of better quality and cheaper sugar. As a result, more sugar planters around the island faced mounting difficulties, with some having to abandon their estates altogether. The end result of all this was an even sharper decline in the amount of sugar being exported overseas through Kingston's harbour and a lessening of the profits obtained by Kingston merchants from the sugar trade.

Emancipation Increased Commercial Activity in Kingston

Kingston no doubt suffered a decline in the volume of sugar exports passing through the parish after Emancipation. However, this decline was countered by the increase in commercial activity in Kingston which resulted from Emancipation. With freedom, there was a movement of the former slaves into Kingston in search of new opportunities to make a living. This exodus into Kingston involved persons looking for skilled as well as unskilled jobs. Skilled work as tailors, shoe makers, straw hat makers, carpenters, masons, tin men and cigar makers was in great demand, but limited in supply, and wages paid were low. There were opportunities for unskilled labour, working at the many privately owned docks on Harbour and Port Royal Streets, as well as work at the warehouses and wharves.

Freed people were also drawn to Kingston in search of employment at the various foundry-yards that existed in the city. Foundry-yards, such as that operated by Messrs W. James and Company, specialised in repairing and outfitting of steam boats. Many Kingston merchant firms, such as the firm of Thomas Lundis, owned iron steam boats which they used to pick up goods, from places like Port Henderson, to be exported from Kingston. These boats needed constant upkeep, and this was done at Kingston's foundry-yards, thereby providing jobs for persons migrating to Kingston after Emancipation.

Not everyone was able to find jobs, and the available labour was always greater than the supply of jobs in the post-slavery nineteenth century. Nevertheless, a large number of the freed people took up residence in Kingston in the nineteenth century and, as seen earlier, this led to an expansion in the number of communities in the parish. In the early period after Emancipation, the newly freed people moved into communities such as Smith's Village, Fletcher's Town and Allman Town (discussed previously).

With the introduction of wage labour, there was a greater demand among the growing population of Kingston for consumer goods, most of which had to be imported. Increased amounts of items like clothing, food stuffs (such as salted mackerel, salted fish, flour, wheat, cornmeal and rice), dry goods and manufactured products had to be imported into the island after 1838. This increase in the import trade of the island directly benefitted Kingston because a

great deal of the imports were brought in through Kingston's port and then re-exported to other parishes. This clearly meant increased revenue for wharf and warehouse owners as more goods had to be stored in Kingston before being sent on to their destinations. More revenue through the collection of import duties and other taxes now flowed into the government's coffers by way of Kingston Harbour. For the newly freed working class, more opportunities for employment at the docks, warehouses and wharfs meant that there would be an even greater demand for imported consumer goods. Kingston merchants and store keepers benefitted tremendously from this increased import trade coming into Kingston. Store keepers in particular benefitted because they now had a greater amount and a wider variety of imported goods to sell to the people of Kingston. This had not been the case before Emancipation, because estate owners had ordered estate supplies and other items directly from their merchants in Britain, and store keepers had been left out of the trade.

Emancipation Increased Export Trade through Kingston

Freed people around the island exercised their freedom to choose the means by which they would earn a living after Emancipation. In many parishes where land became available through the sale of abandoned sugar or coffee plantations, ex-slaves, either in groups or as individuals, bought small amounts of land (under ten acres and sometimes up to twenty) and established themselves as peasant farmers. They cultivated provisions such as yam, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and bananas for sale in the local markets. By the early 1840s, peasants were also cultivating crops such as pimento, ginger and arrowroot for the export market. These peasant exports along with other products, led to an increase in the export trade leaving from other parishes and channelled through Kingston's port after Emancipation. This meant more profits for Kingston's merchants, but also provided more jobs at the docks, wharfs and warehouses. [14]

Economic Life in Kingston, 1838-1900: A Significant Expansion in the Business Sector

From 1838 until the end of the nineteenth century, Kingston's business district for the most part remained within the original grid of streets which made up the town centre. However, a few retailers and service providers, such as shoemakers and accountants, also established their businesses in the outlying suburbs such as Rae Town and Allman Town and on Spanish Town Road by the end of the century. Almost all types of businesses and occupations experienced a marked expansion or an increase in numbers in the later nineteenth century after Emancipation. This was not a surprising development as the population in Kingston increased in the period, and there were more consumers who required a greater variety as well as an increase in goods and services.

The very large numbers of different businesses in Kingston by 1878 by themselves show the extent to which the parish had become the commercial centre of the island. Among the

business activities, there were some that could be considered traditional as they had been around before Emancipation. There were also new business offerings after 1838, and many of these were an indication of the level of development in Kingston, as well as the changing tastes of consumers as the century wore on. A fitting indication of the high regard in which Kingston's business sector was held by the late nineteenth century was the fact that by then, it was thought necessary for Kingston to have a **Chamber of Commerce** worthy of a city of such commercial importance. Therefore, on 1 February, 1886, the Jamaican Society of Agriculture and Commerce opened for its members, **"The Merchants' Exchange"** at the north-west corner of Duke and Harbour Streets. The idea was to have a central gathering place for merchants, traders, wholesale importers and exporters, where the latest shipping and trade information could be accessed by them.

Insurance Companies, Insurance Agents and Banks

Among the businesses in Kingston which seemed to have really grown by the 1870s were insurance companies. Before Emancipation, there had always been merchants and others who provided shipping insurance, but these had usually operated under instructions from their parent companies in Britain. Given the number of disasters which periodically affected the island in general and Kingston and adjoining parishes in particular, it is not surprising that insurance companies would increase in number and expand their offerings in later nineteenth-century Kingston. Moreover, Kingston's population was increasing during the post-slavery nineteenth century and this also meant an increase in people's need for property as well as life insurance. The fact that Kingston experienced an expansion in the numbers and types of businesses over the course of the century also encouraged the growth of insurance companies which would provide some level of protection for the business.

By 1878, Kingston had three insurance companies which were constituted and based in Jamaica. They were not branches of overseas companies, but were independent entities, as indicated by the names of the companies. The three were *Jamaica Co-operative Fire*, located at 44 ½ Port Royal Street, with J.W. Humphrey as secretary of the company. *Jamaica Marine* (no location) with J.W. Humphrey as manager and *Jamaica Mutual Life* at the corner of Port Royal and Duke Streets, with John S. Brown as secretary, were the remaining two.

At the same time, there were a great many (seventeen in all) insurance agents based in Kingston who represented or acted as agents for insurance companies which were based overseas. Agents were often businessmen with their own companies which were engaged in a variety of activities. Their track record as successful businessmen no doubt led to a degree of confidence in them by the overseas-based groups. For example, a number of agents were well-

established merchants such as Altamont DeCordova, whose companies participated in the wholesale and retail trade. Others were from the legal fraternity, while a few were government representatives. For example, while the Hon. Henry J. Kemble was the Custos of Kingston and chairman of several parochial boards, he also had an office at 3 Duke Street, from where he acted as the agent for the foreign-based Standard Life in 1875. McDowell and Barclay at 1 King Street were agents for British and Foreign Marine, as well as for Commercial Union Fire Life and Marine. One of Kingston's most successful businessmen, Altamont DeCordova, represented Equitable Life from his offices at 42 Port Royal Street. John C. Fegan and Co. at 58 Port Royal Street was the agent for Guardian Fire and Life, while A. L. Malabre and Co. at 48 Port Royal Street acted on behalf of Liverpool, London and Globe. Corty and Co. at the corner of Orange and South Street was the agent for London and Lancashire. Located at 2 Church Street, Davidson, Colthirst and Co. represented Northern Fire and Life. At times local businesses represented more than one foreign-based Insurance company. This was the case with the firm of solicitors, Anderson and Watson at 8 Duke Street, who were agents for Royal Fire and Life as well as Scottish Amicable Life.

Banking in Kingston

Before Emancipation, there was very little use of cash in the society. Goods imported into the island were done through British-based merchant companies. Planters and local importers took goods needed on credit from the merchant companies abroad. These foreign merchant companies received payment for their goods only after the products exported to Britain were sold by these merchant companies, who then reimbursed themselves for goods sent to Jamaica on credit. Emancipation changed all this and rapidly brought about the need for a cash economy. Wages had to be paid in cash and items bought in the local stores and shops also needed cash payments.

In 1837, in anticipation of this need, the Colonial Bank (of London) was opened at 126 Harbour Street in Kingston. By 1878, there was also the Government Savings Bank, located at 5 Port Royal Street in Kingston. During the twentieth century, the Colonial Bank was to evolve, first into Barclays Bank of London (1925), then into Barclays Bank Jamaica (1975), which became the National Commercial Bank in 1977. By 1889, the Bank of Nova Scotia was established in Kingston at the corner of Church and Port Royal Streets. W. E. Stavert was the agent in Kingston who acted on behalf of the Bank of Nova Scotia in Canada.

The Colonial Bank, Kingston Image Courtesy of the National library of Jamaica

Food and Drink

As is the case with most commercial businesses, the businesses established in Kingston between 1838 and 1900 were centred on the need to provide a service that was required by the people living in the city. One category of businesses that would have existed before 1838, but which rapidly expanded and became diversified was that which catered to food and drink.

Bakers and Cake Makers and Bread Dealers

Some businesses related to providing food and drink had been in existence before 1838. This was especially true of bakers and cake makers. As the century progressed, both individuals and small enterprises went into the activity of baking and cake making. By 1878, there were ten bakers and cake makers in Kingston and most of the businesses were located in the streets and lanes of the original town centre. Several were on Luke Lane and the rest were on Tower Street, Barry Street, Orange Street, and one establishment was on Harbour Street. Of the ten bakers and cake makers, eight were men and two were women. One man, Robinson Verley, had his cake business at 188 Harbour Street in 1878. Persons also specialised as suppliers of bread or bread dealers as they were known. By 1878, there were nine bread dealers in Kingston, and for the most part, they were not the same people who specialised in cake making. Robinson Verley and Co, also in cake making, was the exception. Verley operated a bread depot at 17 Luke Lane. Of the nine bread dealers, six were women. Four of the bread dealers were to be found on East and West Queen Street, with two on Tower Street, one on Barry Street, one on Orange Street and one on Luke Lane.

Wholesale and Retail Provisions and Groceries

Perhaps the greatest expansion in businesses operating in Kingston in the post-slavery nineteenth century took place in the area of supplying provisions and groceries, both wholesale and retail. This was not surprising in view of the larger numbers of people living in Kingston at this time, who provided a much increased market for foodstuff by way of provisions and groceries. Very importantly, the massive expansion seen in this group of businesses was also the result of the growth of the peasant farming sector in various parishes of the island. Large quantities of provisions like yam, cassava, pumpkin, sweet potatoes, fruits and vegetables, among several other crops, were being produced by peasants across Jamaica. Although some of this produce was for home consumption, a great deal was intended for sale in the market towns and in the large cities like Kingston.

Wholesale businesses in Kingston, dominated by Jewish families as well as by coloured businessmen, purchased large amounts of produce and then re-distributed it to smaller (retail)

operators of shops who then sold the provisions in smaller quantities to the residents of the town. Although some sale of provisions took place in Kingston's markets, the greater portion was sold to the public on a daily basis by owners of these shops and businesses. Some of the provisions and groceries also included meat-kind, pork and poultry, also supplied by the peasants. Very importantly, the wholesale dealers in provisions and groceries also took part in the business of importing items like salted fish, salted mackerel and salted beef, which were then sold to retail business operators who sold the items to the public.

At this time in the nineteenth century, large amounts of produce and provisions were brought into Kingston Harbour by boats from other ports around the island like Port Henderson. So businesses which specialised in dealing in wholesale provisions and groceries were usually located near the harbour on Port Royal Street or Harbour Street. By 1878, there were seventeen wholesale produce dealers in Kingston. These were usually the larger companies and included ones like Abrahams and Co. at 35 Port Royal Street, Altamont DeCordova at 42 Port Royal Street, Davidson, Colthirst and Co. at 25 and 27 Port Royal Street and Philip Levy at 142 Harbour Street.

The shops and stores which sold groceries and provisions retail were usually smaller business operations, although some wholesalers also carried out retail business as well. There were sixteen shops which sold groceries retail and these were to be found mainly on Water Lane, King Street, Harbour Street and Tower Street. Several operators of the retail grocery stores were Jewish or coloured. Owners included Samuel DaCosta at 137 Harbour Street, R. Nunes, at the corner of Beeston and Orange Streets and Theodore Nunes at 23 King Street. Unlike the wholesale businesses, the operators of retail provisions shops could be found on most streets and lanes of Kingston.

In 1878, there were sixty six retail provisions dealers in Kingston and these were located in Tower Street, Luke Lane, George's Lane, Heywood Street (9), Spanish Town Road, Beeston Street, Parade, Princess Street, East Queen Street, Laws Street, Beckford and Barry Street. Several of these smaller operators were Chinese with names like *Fo Chaf* on Barry Street, Henry *Lea Hong* on Tower Street and Luke *Mahong* on Beeston Street. Altamont De Cordova, a large wholesale dealer in provisions and groceries, had quite a few business places which sold these goods retail. These included shops at 14 Barry Street, 96 Barry Street, King Street, corner of King and Port Royal Streets, Duke Street, North Street, Tower Street, Beeston, Sutton, West Queen and Hanover Streets.

Fish Dealers Fish Net Makers and Fish Pot Sellers

By 1878, Kingston had small businesses which specialised in the sale of fish, although some of this also took place at Kingston's several markets. Interestingly, from those days, Princess Street

emerged as the area most identified with fish selling. There were five fish dealers in Kingston in 1878, and they were all located on Princess Street. As expected, because of their connections with fishermen, most of the fish dealers were men, with one female owner. Persons also sought to open other types of businesses connected to fishing in Kingston. In this regard, Caleb Hall was a fish net maker who established his store at 6 Harbour Street, while Henry Stephenson made and sold fish pots at 147 Barry Street.

Dining Rooms (Early Restaurants) and a Chocolate Factory

Place at which persons could be served a meal had always existed especially in the taverns. As the century progressed, places known as Dining Rooms, which specialised in the provision of cooked meals began to dot Kingston's landscape. These could be viewed as Kingston's early version of the restaurant. By 1878, there were five of these food establishments in Kingston. They included *Australia* (early hotel) managed by James W. Ward, the dining room owned by Egbert DePass Jr at 20 Port Royal Street and Mrs A. McCrindle's dining room at 101 Harbour Street. Charles Gadpaille also operated a dining room at the corner of Water and Temple Lanes. The *Star Hotel*, managed by Horatio DaCosta at 39 Port Royal Street was a popular place for dining. Catering to the sweet tooth, there was one Chocolate Factory operated by F. Laugier and Co. at 26 King Street.

Soft Drinks, Milk, Wines, Liquors and Ice Companies

By the 1870s, the refreshing taste of sparkling carbonated drinks, for a long time known as *aerated water*, was fast becoming fashionable and popular in Kingston. These were the predecessors of *Pepsi* and *Coca Cola*. By 1878, Kingston had three businesses, called Aerated Water Manufactories, where the sparkling drinks were made and sold. W.B. Hannan at 13 Church Street, Ozouf and Co. at 69 King Street, and William Arbouin Paine at 2 Little Port Royal Street, were the owners and operators. By 1891, when the fizzy, "soft drinks" had become even more in demand, there was a larger company, Jamaica Aerated Water Company, located at 13 Port Royal Street which was engaged in production.

At a time when Kingston had no electricity, Ice-making companies made good business sense. In 1878, there was one ice-manufacturing company in Kingston, and this was Jamaica Manufacturing Ice Company, owned by William Arbouin Paine and William Robert McPherson (no location). Tudor Ice Company, located at 1 Duke Street, may have been just a distributor of ice, but this was not clear from the source. There were also three establishments which bought and sold fresh milk (obtained from the few cows reared on Kingston's remaining pens). The milk dealers were Maria Caquelard at 6 Parade, Mrs John Escoffery at 166 Tower Street and Antonio Guevarra, located at 145 Tower Street.

Today, beer manufacturers add a plant called *Hops* to the process by which beer is made, and this is what gives beer its distinctive flavour and also helps to preserve it. In the nineteenth century and before, most people made what was called ale, which is like a beer but without the addition of hops. In Kingston in the 1870s, there was one place that made ale and this was at 13 Orange Street, where its owner, C.G Alberga referred to his business as the Ale and Porter Brewery. Understandably, the soft drink and wine/liquor businesses stood to benefit from the emergence of bottling companies, and there were three of these in Kingston by 1878. Not surprisingly, one was owned by C.G. Alberga at 13 Orange Street, while the other two were owned by Nathaniel Morais at 22 Orange Street and J.W. Nicholas and Co. at 117 Tower Street.

The demand for and the popularity of fine wines and liquors in Jamaica goes back in time before the nineteenth century. However, it was in Kingston in the second half of the nineteenth century that wine and liquor merchants really made their mark and began to build a business legacy that for some endures till today. Wine and liquor merchants were really importers of foreign wines and liquors for the most part, and the merchants then engaged retailers to sell to the public. Sometimes, Kingston's wine and liquor merchants also doubled as retailers of the spirits. All who participated in this business had to apply for and be granted a license to deal in and sell liquors. In 1878, there were twelve wine and liquor merchants operating as importers in Kingston. Of these, two above all the others, left a lasting imprint on Kingston's (and Jamaica's) business landscape. One of the two was *J. Wray and Nephew.* The story of how J. Wray and Nephew started is dealt with under the section, "Social Life in Kingston before Emancipation". The second was *P. Desnoes and Son,* later to become *Desnoes and Geddes*, famed bottlers and distributors of their popular line of soft drinks.

Some of Kingston's twelve wine and liquor merchants in 1878 included P. Desnoes and Son, based at 72 and 74 Port Royal Street; Daniel Finzi and Co. at 28 Port Royal Street; and J. Wray and Nephew, located at 24 Port Royal Street. Charles Gadpaille at 117 Water Lane; Moses Levy at 20 Port Royal; Samuel Mendes at 5 King Street; Joseph Millingen at 125 Water Lane; and Charles L. Vendryes at 30 Port Royal Street were also among these Kingston dealers who imported wines and liquors. At this time, there were also twenty three retail businesses which sold or distributed the wines and liquors.

Some of the wine and liquor merchants also doubled as retailers or distributors of the spirits. For example, J. Wray and Nephew had retail outlets at 13 West Queen Street, 100 Orange Street, 72 King Street, 33 Harbour Street and 105 Water Lane. P. Desnoes and Son had several retail establishments, including those at 15 and 31 Port Royal Street, 53, 139 and 177 Tower Street, as well as at 2 West Queen and 26 East Queen Streets. Their other retail outlets were at Luke Lane (2), North Street, King Street, Heywood Street, Princess Street, Barry Street (2), Oxford Street and Water Lane. In addition to dealing in imported wines and liquors, by 1878, P.

Desnoes and Son were also distributors for what they termed “native wines” at their outlets at 72 and 74 Port Royal Street.

Old Wray and Nephew Building (Twentieth Century) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Dry Goods: Wholesale and Retail Businesses

As with the demand for items of food and drink, there was a considerable expansion in the demand for other consumer items such as dry goods at this time. An ever increasing population in Kingston after Emancipation stimulated a constant demand for dry goods such as fabric, hats and caps, clothing and textiles and shoes. In response, there was also an expansion in the number of businesses dealing with dry goods, either as wholesale importers or as retailers who sold to the public in shops and stores. By 1878, there were eight wholesale businesses which specialised in imported dry goods. These were the more established merchants like Joseph Cardozo, DaCosta and Son and Turnbull and Co., and most were located on Port Royal Street. There were also some well-established merchant businesses which combined both wholesale importing of the goods and retail. At this time, Kingston had twenty three of these, and they

were all located on Harbour or King Street. Persons like Fred Alexander, Eustace DeCordova and W. Malabre engaged in wholesale and retail.

Mainly women controlled the retail businesses in dry goods, with twenty seven out of thirty nine shops and stores being owned or managed by women in 1878. Princess Street quickly became identified with the retail trade in dry goods as most of the stores were located there, with only a few on Beckford, King and Harbour Streets. Some of the more well-established stores like Nathan and Co. at 98 and 100 Harbour Street and Fred Myers at 35 King Street carried a wide variety of goods in addition to dry goods and were like the early versions of today's department stores. Nathan's and Fred Myers were two of eight establishments that were known for fashionable clothing in Kingston at this time. They also sold items like hats and caps. Fancy goods were also sold in stores like Nathan and Son and Fred Myers.

Hardware, Wholesale and Retail

In the nineteenth century, hardware items were mainly tools, utensils, cutlery, as well as material for fencing and building. This type of business activity had been in evidence before Emancipation, but there was also an increased demand for hardware items as the century wore on. What was different too was that a few business owners began to specialise in the wholesale importation and retail trade of these items and so hardware stores sprung up in Kingston. Some may also have carried items like paints and oil, tin ware and saw filers, although these items were usually imported by the established merchants like the Briscoe Brothers, A. Malabre and W. A. Nethersole and sold to the hardware businesses. Because most items sold in the hardware business were imported, the nine hardware businesses were mainly located near the waterfront on Port Royal Street, Harbour Street and Lower King Street around 1878.

Businesses Linked to Transportation

For most of the nineteenth century, people travelled from one part of Kingston to the other and in and out of Kingston. The methods of transportation that they used varied, depending on what they could afford. Walking was a common means of getting around town but for most of the nineteenth century, horse and carriage was the choice of those who could afford it. These ranged from the exotic to the ordinary "buggy and mule". For those heading from Kingston to Spanish Town, the single line railway connecting both places was introduced in 1845. By the 1870s, there was something of a revolution in transportation with the introduction of street cars drawn by mules, and by 1899 electric streetcars (tramcars) were introduced in Kingston.

Transportation, especially so by horse and carriage, gave rise to a whole group of related business activities. This was a traditional, long-established form of business which pre-dated

Emancipation, but which continued throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. For the well to do, American carriages were imported by four well known Kingston businessmen, including G. J. DeCordova at 7 Harbour Street. Interestingly, there were eleven carriage manufacturers in Kingston by 1878. Most of these would have been master craftsmen who fine-tuned their skills over time. G. J. DeCordova was a carriage manufacturer as well as importer.

There were also skilled occupations and small businesses relating to the use and care of the horses, and by 1878, there were five horse-shoers (perhaps blacksmiths), fifteen harness makers and saddlers (repairs) and five operators of livery stables, who saw to the care and accommodation of the horses. Saddlery, which is the riding equipment used on the horses such as saddles, harnesses and bridles, were for the most part imported by six dealers who included the Briscoe brothers and A. Malabre.

Businesses Related to Skilled Services

Most of these businesses were small operations carried out by individuals rather than companies or groups and involved skills which had been perfected over time. The majority of these would have been in existence before Emancipation, but evolved over time. A few which cropped up later in the century would have been in response to some changing needs of the society. Blacksmiths forged tools out of iron and repaired iron tools. For a long time, they were essential to transportation by horseback as they also made and applied horse shoes to the hooves of horses. In the second half of the nineteenth century, blacksmiths could also be found working on repairing parts of iron steam boats in the foundry yards that existed then. As seen earlier, foundry yards specialised in repairing and outfitting iron steam boats which Kingston merchants used to transport goods from places like Port Henderson into Kingston. By 1878, there were two foundries operating in Kingston. These belonged to P. Charles and Co. at 183 Harbour Street and W. H. Lewis, whose foundry was at 171 to 173 Harbour Street. There were twelve blacksmiths by 1878, with several located at Parade and others at Tower Street, Water Lane and Mark Lane.

In plantation parishes, coopers were usually associated with repairing the hogsheads or barrels used to transport sugar, and they could also be found mending fences. In commercial, maritime Kingston, coopers worked mainly alongside the docks, repairing casks and barrels for exporting goods on the ships. They provided an essential service for the many merchant companies engaged in trade in and out of Kingston. Coopers had developed their skills over time, and by 1878, there were eight of them living in Kingston in places like Tower Street and along the lanes of the city.

Boot and Shoe dealers usually catered to a more well to do clientele, importing and selling the finest in gents' and ladies' shoes. There were twelve of these dealers in Kingston by 1878 and included businesses like Charles Nunes and Co. at 21 King Street, Nathan and Co. at 98 and 100 Harbour Street and Fred Myers at 35 King Street. On the other hand, Boot and Shoe makers were highly skilled in their craft which was really to repair worn shoes and boots, and they catered to persons from various social backgrounds. This was perhaps the most popular skilled business venture in the post-slavery period, with fifty six of them living and working in Kingston by 1878. Most were to be found on Tower and Barry Streets, as well as on Water, Luke and John's Lanes. The degree of success that they encountered depended on their reputation which was spread by word of mouth. The skill of the shoe maker (as repairer of shoes) has persisted into modern times.

There were skilled business activities that were important to the building of Kingston, both in terms of the structure (wooden and brick work covered by masonry) and the furniture and utensils needed for the insides. There were two brick manufacturing businesses in Kingston by 1878, and these were located on King Street and North Street. Carpenters and builders were among the oldest established trades in the city, and by 1878, there were eleven of these craftsmen in Kingston. Cabinet makers were also around before Emancipation, but by the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a greater demand for their services. There were eighteen cabinet makers in Kingston by 1878, and they were located mainly in lanes such as Temple, Water, Peter's and Mark Lanes and also on Beeston, Harbour and Port Royal Streets. Upholsterers' services were required for repairs to furniture, as well as for furniture making. There were seven upholsterers in Kingston by 1878.

Tinsmiths were highly skilled craftsmen who made utensils such as tea and coffee pots, mugs, pans, needle cases and candlesticks, all from tin. Tin was the metal of choice used for making utensils before the twentieth century. There were eleven tinsmiths by 1878, and they were located mainly on Princess and Barry Streets. The tin ware that they made was sold in shops located mainly on Princess, Tower and Barry Streets and also on Luke Lane. There were thirteen of these shops by 1878, and they were operated by women as well as by men.

Hairdressers Dressmakers and Tailors

Kingston had the services of nine hairdressers by 1878, and in keeping with the tradition of those days, they were all males. They were located in several areas such as Church, Orange, Duke, Tower, Gold and Fleet Streets as well as Water Lane. The 1878 *Business Directory* for Kingston recorded that there were ten dressmakers in Kingston in that year. As expected, these were all women. Dressmakers created and made the finished product, the dress. However, they

may also have employed seamstresses and needle workers to assist in putting the garment together. For the most part, dressmakers, seamstresses and needle workers were from the lower middle class. However, their ability to earn a living was affected by the widespread depression of the 1860s, which meant that their potential customers had less money to spend. Also, with the increased importation of ready-made clothing, demand for their services suffered some decline.

By the 1860s, the importation of sewing machines meant that there was less work for seamstresses and needle workers who sewed by hand. By 1878, there were two dealers in Kingston who imported and sold sewing machines. They were A.C. Carillon at 119 Water Lane and John Craddock at 104 Tower Street. There were thirty three tailors (all male) in Kingston in that year and they were located mainly on Luke Lane, Tower, Harbour and Orange Streets. Five merchant tailors were part of large establishments like Nathan and Co. on Harbour Street and E. DeCordova and Co. at 8 King Street. These catered to the fashion needs of a more exclusive clientele.

Business Services by the Professionals

Legal Services, Auctioneers, Commission Agents, Bill Brokers and Accountants

Apart from the insurance companies and insurance agents discussed earlier, the main businesses which offered professional services were from the legal practitioners, medical practitioners, accountants, auctioneers and commission agents, as well as bill brokers. Legal services were provided by barristers and solicitors. They sometimes worked as individuals or as a group or company. By 1878, there were sixteen barristers and solicitors in Kingston, and they included Anderson and Watson, Paul Vendryes and S.D. Lindo. Church, Port Royal, Duke and Harbour Streets seemed to have been the preferred locations for the legal services.

Auctioneers and commission agents as well as bill brokers worked closely with wholesale merchants who imported goods into Kingston. There were seven commission agents and auctioneers and four bill brokers by 1878, and they were located close to the source of their business at the docks and warehouses on Harbour and Port Royal Streets. There were two accountants who offered their services to the expanding number of businesses across Kingston. They were Herbert Cunha who was located at 67 Duke Street and A.C. Henriques, who had his business at 91 King Street.

Physicians and Surgeons, Veterinary Surgeons, Druggists

Of the sixteen physicians and surgeons practicing in Kingston by 1878, there were two who were based at the Public Hospital in Kingston (now the Kingston Public Hospital). These were Drs D. P. Ross and William Steventon. Most of the others practiced from their offices which

were mainly located on East, Harbour, King, Church, North and Harbour Streets as well as at Parade. Among them were Drs Hugh Croskery, Bowerbank, Gayleard, Lake and Scott. Veterinary surgeons numbered five in all by 1878 and were mainly located at Parade and East Street.

Similar to today's pharmacy, in nineteenth-century Kingston, medicines (drugs) prescribed by doctors were obtained from stores which sold drugs as well as other items. There were two businesses which specialised in obtaining drugs wholesale and then selling them retail to the druggists (pharmacists). These were operated by Charles Grant at 90 Harbour Street and Edward Kinkead at 24 King Street. Interestingly, the Kinkead family continued in this line of work, and today, there is Dick Kinkead's Pharmacy at 72 to 76 Harbour Street in Kingston. There were three druggists (pharmacists) in Kingston in 1878. They included Mrs A. McCrindle at 12 King Street, Charles Richmond at 4 West Queen Street and Mary Scotland at 2 ½ West Queen Street.

Jewellers Goldsmiths Watchmakers, Newspapers, Government Printing Office, Bookbinders and Booksellers, Music Teachers and Piano Tuners

Jewellers and goldsmiths seem to have referred to the same category of craftsmen who had been a part of Kingston's business landscape since the eighteenth century. They sold imported jewellery but they also specialised in crafting fine jewellery. They sometimes undertook the sale and repair of watches as well. Throughout the nineteenth century, their business catered to a select group of clients in Kingston, as well as visitors to the city, who could afford to make these purchases. By 1878, there were twelve jewellers and goldsmiths who were located in places like Water Lane, King Street, Orange Street and Parade. As will be seen in the section on schools, the generosity of John Wolmer, a famous eighteenth-century Kingston goldsmith had made it possible for Wolmers' School to begin its journey right here in Kingston. There were also eight watch makers in Kingston by 1878, and their functions may very well have overlapped with the work of the Jewellers.

Newspapers had always been a part of life in Kingston, but appealed to a small portion of the population that was literate. By the second half of the nineteenth century, there were a greater number of newspapers and a greater variety, which reflected some increase in literacy and the different interests of Kingston's reading public. By 1878, there were nine Kingston-based newspapers. These included *The Jamaica Instructor*, operated by Robert Jordon; and the *Budget*, managed by C.L. Campbell, with offices at 146 Harbour Street. The long-standing *Colonial Standard* was located at the corner of Church and Port Royal Streets and owned by George Levy while the *Church Chronicle* was at 130 Harbour Street. M. DeCordova and Co. operated the *Gleaner* at 148 Harbour Street and being a businessman, he was interested in

shipping arrivals and related news. He was therefore also in charge of the *Mercantile Intelligencer* at the same premises as the *Gleaner*.

The Gleaner Company Ltd at North Street around 1969 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Gleaner Company Ltd Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the Gleaner Company Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The *Jamaica Gazette,* owned by Robert Osborne, had its office at 12 Orange Street, while the *Police Gazette* was operated from offices based at the General Penitentiary. Important official records for Jamaica such as the *Blue Books* were printed by government printing offices in Kingston. In 1870, George Henderson and Co. were the Government Printers, with offices then located at 53 King Street. By 1891, Government Printing Offices were located at 79 Duke Street.

Books, like newspapers, had a smaller appeal to a limited population of persons who were literate. However, the establishment of the Jamaica Institute (Institute of Jamaica) at 14 East Street in 1879 under the governorship of Sir Anthony Musgrave helped to stimulate a greater interest in literature and books. There were six booksellers and stationers in business in Kingston by 1878. They were to be found mainly on Harbour, King and Church Streets. By 1891, one of the most famous of Kingston's booksellers (and other items) was Justin McCarthy, located at 8 to 10 King Street. Justin McCarthy's store on King Street overcame hurdles of the 1907 earthquake and ownership challenges and remained a household name for books, stationery and other supplies well into the twentieth century (1960s). The need for bookbinding services had to be filled as books were being printed and many were in need of repair. George Levy, George Henderson and M. DeCordova were among the seven bookbinders offering their services by 1878. These businesses were located mainly on Harbour, Port Royal and King Streets at that time.

Music teachers catered to a small but exclusive group in Kingston's elite and middle class society, as it was this group that seemed more interested in acquiring the "finer tastes" in life. By 1878, Kingston had three music teachers. Among the upper and middle classes of Kingston,

ownership of a piano was a mark of social distinction and cultural "refinement", particularly for young ladies. Pianos needed to be tuned regularly, and by 1878, there were four piano tuners, who were themselves, highly skilled in their craft. They included Charles Dumetz, at 73 Barry Street, Peter Moore, at 76 Harbour Street, James Sturridge and James Whitehorne, the last being located at 16 King Street.

Lodging Houses, Taverns and Hotels

Lodging houses were part of the Kingston landscape from as far back as the early eighteenth century. These were really homes where persons could get accommodation and meals for an agreed length of time and for a specific price. Travellers passing through Kingston, as well as residents of Kingston, could arrange for boarding at the lodging houses. As the nineteenth century wore on, some of these lodging houses took on the appearance of inns. A few may even have been ranked among the first hotels. A good example of this was Blundell Hall, located at 8 East Street, which was made famous by its onetime owner, Mary Seacole. By 1878, the property had been renamed Blundell House and listed as one of two hotels in Kingston at that time. In that year, it had been elevated in status and was no longer regarded as a lodging house. Instead a house at 7 East Street was named the New Blundell Hall and managed as a lodging house by Louisa Grant.

By 1878, there were nineteen properties listed in Kingston as lodging houses, and they were all owned or managed by women. Some lodging houses included Barkley Hall at 64 Harbour Street, owned by Mrs H. Gardner, Fiddes House at 95 East Street, managed by Mrs E. Lillie and the New Blundell Hall at 7 East Street, operated by Louisa Grant. An interesting feature is that some lodging houses were given names of parishes on the island. For example, there was Manchester House at 70 King Street, operated by Annette McFarlane. St Thomas House at 54 Harbour Street, managed by Susan Burton; and Portland House, at 58 Harbour Street, operated by Mrs Dias.

Taverns, like lodging houses, were long-established features of life in Kingston's history as seen in the case of Shakespeare's Tavern (John Wray's Tavern). Taverns were the sought-after venues for relaxing, socialising, perhaps getting a meal and very importantly, having as many drinks of ale, beer or wine, depending on tastes and depth of pocket. Because taverns were notorious for rough-housing among some of their less sober patrons, owners were usually male rather than female. By 1878, there were ten taverns listed in Kingston, and most owners (seven out of ten) whose names were listed were men. Ownership/management of two was not clear, and only one female, Rosalind Leckhart, was listed as owner/manager of a tavern at 153 Water Lane. The preferred locations for Kingston's taverns were on streets and lanes near the waterfront which allowed tavern owners to take full advantage of sailors arriving in Kingston.

Most of the ten taverns were on Water Lane, Port Royal Street, Tower Street and Harbour Street.

There were only two hotels listed in Kingston by 1878. One was Australia at 53 King Street, with James F. Ward as manager. The other was Blundell House at 8 East Street, as discussed earlier. By 1891 however, there were quite a few more establishments listed as hotels, although it was not clear from the source whether they were hotels or simply glorified taverns. There was the Victoria Hotel at 95 Harbour Street, which boasted of its bar, billiard tables and dining rooms. Astor House at 138 Harbour Street and the Criterion Hotel at 84 Harbour Street, both advertised their dining rooms and bars. By 1886, there were two more listings of hotels in Kingston, and these were the Jamaica Hotel, managed by Miss Susan Burton and the Myrtle Bank Sanatorium kept by Mrs James Gall.

Cigar Makers and Dealers, Cigar Manufacturers and Petroleum Dealers

Cigar makers, manufacturers and dealers operating in Kingston by 1878 catered to a growing clientele as the nineteenth century progressed. Cigar smoking by men was seen as a sign of social distinction in social gatherings. This was especially so if it could be shown that the cigar was of fine Cuban tobacco. By 1878, there were thirty four cigar makers and dealers in Kingston. Not surprisingly, from their surnames, a few of them seem to have had Cuban or other Latin American connections. Examples include *Diego Fajardo* and *Ygnacio Toledo*. Their businesses were found mainly on Tower, King and Barry Streets, as well as at the Parade. The larger cigar manufacturers were fewer in number (nine in 1878), but the Cuban/ Latin connection was clear. *Raphael Tejada* had his business at 31 King Street, while *Lugardo Vila* operated two establishments, one at 96 Harbour Street and the other at 147 Tower Street. Kingston's most successful cigar manufacturers at the time were B. & J. B. Machado (also of Cuban extract), who operated at 9 Port Royal Street in 1878. By 1891, they had their

manufacturing business at 86 Harbour Street.

"Cigarettes" Women packing cigarettes into boxes for the B. and J.B. Machado Cigarette Factory Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

By 1891, there was a thriving business in retailing petroleum. According to the *Jamaica Gazette,* thirty seven dealers were granted licenses for retailing petroleum in that year. However, this reference to petroleum by the *Gazette* was more likely a reference to kerosene oil. Many Kingston residents bought small quantities of kerosene to light their lamps in order to have some light in their homes. From the late 1870s, street lamps throughout Kingston had been lit using gas obtained from the burning of coal. This had been channelled to the street lamps through pipes. Lamp lighters would then go around and light the street lamps, extinguishing the flame each morning. This was not extended to Kingston's poor and lower middle class neighbourhoods. Even when electric lights began to replace gas lighting on the streets and in big buildings of the city in the 1890s, this was not within reach of these classes. Therefore kerosene was the only source of light available to them.

The addresses of the persons who were granted retail licences to sell petroleum (kerosene) suggest that the trade was extensive and reached areas outside of the city centre such as Fletcher's Land, Spanish Town Road, Rae Town and Windward Road. Surnames of the retail traders also indicate that Chinese dealers in the petroleum trade were significant. Names like Ahkim, Ahwee, Chin Noi, Chin Sam, Chin Sue and Kimquee were prevalent. Some received licences for operating in multiple locations. For example, Chin Sue was granted licences for

locations at North Street, Heywood Street, East Street, Charles Street and Fletcher's Land. Licences to deal in petroleum were also granted to well-established companies, Henriques & Co. at 101 Harbour Street and A. L. Malabre at 48 Port Royal Street. [15]

Highlighting some Social Problems in Kingston in the Post-slavery Nineteenth Century

In Kingston after 1838, there were social challenges that affected different groups in the society. These included growing unemployment, falling wages, an increase in petty crimes and a rising poverty rate. Freeing the slaves did not cause these problems, but the constant exodus of freed people into Kingston helped to worsen the conditions within the city. As seen earlier, the freedom of movement which came with Emancipation triggered an almost non-stop migration of freed people into Kingston in search of employment. They were attracted to Kingston because of the possibilities of employment in the commercially busy city. Given the continuous flow of persons into Kingston in the decades after the ending of slavery, it was almost inevitable that many would be unable to find employment, whether as skilled or unskilled workers. Disappointed, they joined the ranks of the unemployed who still remained in Kingston in the hopes that their luck would change.

Fed by this migration, the population of Kingston grew steadily over the course of the later nineteenth century. In 1844, Kingston had a total population of 32,943 persons. By 1891, the census data from that year showed that Kingston's population had grown to 46,542. There were many urban occupations in Kingston in the post-slavery period, but these were never enough to fill the growing demand for jobs. Examples of occupations included carpenters and builders, painters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, higglers and hucksters, stevedores, merchant seamen, seamstresses, tailors, butchers, bakers, cabinet makers, fishermen, dog catchers, domestic servants and coal-whippers. Coal-whippers were persons (men and women) whose job it was to load coal into the hold of the ship. They were to be found working, especially at nights, down by Kingston's docks.

According to the findings of the *Royal Commission on the Condition of the Juvenile Population of Jamaica* (1879), there were serious social problems, especially among the masses of the population in Kingston. Many of those migrating from other parishes into the city had no skills which they could apply there. More often than not, they joined the ranks of the unemployed, hanging around the docks and streets of Kingston hoping for a break. Some became gamblers, vagabonds, pickpockets, beggars and tricksters. The Commission also found that a large number of the poorer families were living in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, with whole families sometimes living in one room. They reported that women were often neglected, being left with children to support and they themselves having no visible source of income.

The younger population were the most likely to move to the city. Kingston therefore had a large juvenile population. Their numbers were usually increased when juveniles were released from the government reformatories such as that at Stony Hill. As soon as they were released, they headed into Kingston rather than to return home. The Royal Commission found that there were a number of young males between the ages of twelve and sixteen years who were simply wandering the streets of Kingston in search of opportunities. They were classified as Kingston's vagrant population. Unable to get steady employment, many of them reportedly went into criminal activities, the most common being theft. There was definitely an increase in offenses of this sort (praedial larceny) in the later part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Many who were convicted of theft by Kingston's courts were second offenders.

This increase in offences seems to have been a major problem for Kingston as early as the 1840s. In May 1842, Stipendiary Magistrate Pryce complained that in the previous seven months, nearly 1,000 cases had been brought before the Kingston magistrates in the Court of Petty Sessions. Pryce was of the view that the majority of the offences resulted from the continuous movement into Kingston of "idle and disorderly persons" from the other parishes. By 1865, Dr L. Bowerbank, the custos of Kingston, painted a dim picture of life in the town. He described Kingston as a "meeting-ground" for criminals and the unemployed.

In reality, there was a decline in wages paid to general unskilled labourers as a result of the decline of some industries, especially in building construction, which followed the Sugar Duties Act of 1846 (discussed earlier). This situation was clearly made worse by the non-stop migration into Kingston of persons who had left their previous agricultural or skilled work in the country parishes in search of better.

The social and economic conditions facing domestic workers in Kingston in the post-slavery period drew the attention of social commentators at the time. In particular, they pointed to the hardships being experienced in the 1860s by the hundreds of seamstresses and needle workers in Kingston at this time. These women had belonged to the "respectable" lower middle class in the town. Like other workers, they suffered from the effects of the general economic depression which affected Jamaica in the 1860s. The depression drove down wages everywhere. In Kingston, the seamstresses and needle workers were severely affected because the spending power of their customers had been drastically reduced by the depression. So they too, were in some cases, facing unemployment.

Their situation was made worse by the increased importation and sale of ready-made clothing in stores like Nathan's. By the 1860s, the introduction of sewing machines also meant that there was not as much demand for needlework or hand-stitching as before. Some of Kingston's women who found themselves without work or support turned to prostitution. According to Patrick Bryan, there seems to have been about 300 prostitutes in the city by the early 1890s.

They operated from houses located mainly in Fleet Street and Peter's Lane, and they were closely monitored under the terms of the *Contagious Diseases Law* (sexually transmitted diseases). In 1891, 133 women from Kingston (including Port Royal) were sent to the Lock Hospital (discussed under Health) for treatment for diseases such as gonorrhoea. If they failed to co-operate with investigating officials, they could be sent to prison.

Strikes, Riots and threats to Social Order in Kingston in the Late Nineteenth Century

In the last few decades of the nineteenth century, unskilled labourers in Kingston continued to face the hardships of very low wages of between two and three shillings a day (2/- 3/-) and an inability to support their families and meet their expenses. This was the plight facing Kingston's dock workers who were asking that they be paid a more reasonable wage of between 5/- to 6/- a day. At the end of May, 1895, between 800 and 1,000 wharf workers employed to Atlas Steamship Company went on strike in protest against the company's refusal to pay them double pay for working on a public holiday. There were no labour unions in the nineteenth century, and the wharf workers took matters into their own hands, demanding what was due to them as well as insisting that they be paid wages of between 5/- to 6/- a day. Employers tried to break the strike by bringing in sailors from the Sailors' Home and offering to pay 6/- a day. The offer was not taken up by the sailors who were fearful of violence, given the angry mood of the striking workers. In this instance, the police had to be brought in to restore order. Incidents such as this raised concerns among the white employers of labour that Kingston was likely to witness another Morant Bay.

Fear of black violence in Kingston in the late nineteenth century led to the issuing of special instructions to the constabulary force in Kingston on 9 August, 1894 on how to deal with riots and disturbances of the peace. They were told that if measures like reading the Riot Act failed to disperse the crowd, then they were to shoot the ringleaders, taking care to aim at the lower body. Sometimes in Kingston, serious conflicts arose between members of the West India Regiment (WIR) and members of the Jamaica Constabulary, especially if they were attempting to arrest the soldiers for disorderly conduct. On 8 June, 1894, soldiers from the WIR attacked two police stations, one in Fletcher's Land and the other at Sutton Street.

According to police reports, the soldiers were accompanied by a crowd of 'loose women' and other 'idlers' from around the town. In the confrontation, the soldiers and the women managed to wreck the police station at Fletcher's Land, while exchanging blows with the police. Thirteen soldiers and thirteen women were arrested and tried for rioting. At the end of the nineteenth century, Fletcher's Land and Allman Town were the scenes of 'battles' between the offending soldiers and the police who tried to arrest them. Choosing not to use their guns, the police as well as the soldiers armed themselves with sticks and stones and proceeded to beat each other.

This source of indiscipline and disorder was a frequent occurrence in the poorer communities of Kingston at this time. [16]

Political and Administrative Developments in Kingston from 1838 to 1900

Effects of Emancipation on Political Life in Kingston

Absence of Political and Civil Rights before 1830

Before the ending of slavery, whites had controlled the political affairs of the island, representing the British colonial rulers by their control of the island's Assembly and Legislative Council. Indeed, by dominating political life in Kingston and the rest of Jamaica, white inhabitants were able to assert their influence over every aspect of life, civil, social and commercial. Before 1830, Jews, free blacks and free coloureds (persons of mixed African and European race) had been denied civil and political rights. During the eighteenth century, laws prevented them from holding public office and from voting despite the fact that many were economically successful and were making a contribution to commercial life in Kingston and the rest of Jamaica. By 1830, free blacks and free coloureds had gained civil rights. They could now hold public office. In 1831, Jews were granted civil and political rights. In 1831, these two groups took part in the election for Kingston's councilmen, this being the first election in which Jews and coloureds participated.

Effects of Emancipation on Political Life in Kingston

After 1838, the freed people gained political rights, including the right to vote and to choose persons whom they thought would best represent them in the Jamaican Assembly. In reality however, the white dominated Assembly made the property qualifications for voting so high that the majority of blacks, coloureds and Jews found it difficult to exercise their political rights. After 1838, only adult males who owned land and paid taxes on the land to the value of £ 6 or paid an annual rent of £ 30 or paid direct taxes to the amount of £ 3 a year could vote. The property qualifications for being voted in as a member of the Assembly were much higher. To qualify as a member of the Assembly, men had to own land of £ 300 value or they had to have other property (like a business) worth £ 3,000 or pay at least £ 10 a year in direct taxes. This meant that most freed people would not qualify to become members of the Assembly because the property qualifications effectively excluded them. If they were able to vote, what they could do was to vote for someone whom they thought would best represent their interests in the Assembly. Also, they could vote in elections for the vestry (like a parish council).

Edward Vickars and Charles Price: Blacks from Kingston who became Members of the House of Assembly

In Kingston, it was more likely that those who qualified to vote or to be elected as members of the Assembly were able to do so because they had a business which allowed them to pay the required direct taxes. Unlike the rural parishes where land for peasant farming was widely available, this was not the case in urban Kingston. So a large group of black voters did not emerge in Kingston before 1865, because **most** Kingston blacks could not satisfy the property requirement for voting. In the rural parishes such as St Catherine, where the freed people were able to acquire land of their own, there was a remarkable rise of the black peasantry who were able to satisfy the property requirements to vote. In several of these parishes, the freedmen were able to influence the outcomes of elections to the House of Assembly or to the Parish Vestries by voting for persons who they thought would represent their interests better than the white candidates would. At times, black freedmen voted for Jewish storekeepers and coloured retail merchants because they supported the interests of the black peasantry rather than the interests of the white elite.

Edward Vickars and George Price

In Kingston in the late 1840s, there were two black men who were able to defy the odds and win elections to the House of Assembly. They were Edward Vickars and George Price. But they were not able to campaign for elections in Kingston because there was not a large enough group of black voters living there to ensure their victory. To guarantee that they would get enough black votes for victory, they both had to campaign in parishes outside of Kingston.

Edward Vickars was a black landlord who owned sufficient business property in Kingston and a shop-keeping business in St Andrew to be able to vote and to qualify for membership of the Assembly. Charles Price, also a black man, was a master carpenter who had done well for himself in Kingston. Both Vickars and Price had been among the numbers of free blacks who lived in Kingston before Emancipation. By the 1840s, both were influential members of the black community in Kingston. Vickars campaigned among the black peasantry in St Catherine. With their votes, he won the 1847 election for the House of Assembly, representing St. Catherine. Two years later in 1849, Charles Price won the support of the black peasantry in St John. With their votes, he won the election for the St John seat (part of St Catherine in later years) in the House of Assembly. These two members of the Kingston black community created history as the only two black men to be elected to the Jamaican House of Assembly before it was abolished in the aftermath of the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion.

Who were the Voters in Kingston after Emancipation? The 1860 Voters' List

From the previous discussion, it becomes clear that those members of Kingston's society who had enough commercial property, those who paid the required amount of direct taxes each year, or those whose businesses were valued at the amounts stated by the Voting Laws, were among those who were qualified to vote. Most of the voters were members of Kingston's white, coloured and Jewish communities, as well as a small number of blacks who satisfied the requirements for the right to vote. There were 386 males listed on the 1860 List. A great number of the surnames are those of persons who appeared in the Kingston Business Directory of 1878 as being owners/managers of the wide variety of businesses which were recorded in that year. Others were persons listed as occupying public offices or members of the professions such as doctors, lawyers and accountants.

Editors of Kingston newspapers, including the coloured editor of *The Morning Journal* and *The Watchman,* Edward Jordon, also appear on the voters' list as do many of Kingston's Jewish residents. Edward Jordon represented Kingston in the House of Assembly during the 1850s and remained Kingston's coloured advocate in the Assembly until it was abolished in 1866. Jordon was also appointed Custos of Kingston and held that post until 1866. Among the well-known names on the list were Charles Price, Edward Vickars, George William Gordon, Robert Osborn, James Gall and George Henderson of the Government Printing Office. Others included A. Abrahams, Jacob Aarons, Albert DaCosta, I.C. Henriques, Edmund Levy, William Malabre, Fred Alexander, David Alberga, Charles Lake, A. DeCordova, Daniel Nethersole, L.Q. Bowerbank, Alexander Barclay and Samuel C. Burke.

Morant Bay, 1865 and After: Effects on Kingston

Kingston's poor suffered from the same problems which had affected the people of St Thomas and surrounding parishes in the years leading up to the events at Morant Bay, which started on Wednesday, October 11, 1865. Severe drought, economic depression, growing unemployment, low and uncertain wages and an increasing distrust of the justice system which failed repeatedly to deliver judgements that were fair and just in the eyes of the people. Although the people of Kingston did not march to Morant Bay, the events of 1865 touched the parish in several ways.

When martial law was declared for the county of Surrey on 13 October, 1865, Kingston was not placed under martial law. The commercial importance of Kingston seems to have influenced this decision as it was felt that trade and commerce would be seriously interrupted. Kingston was used as a base from which the colonial authorities could get assistance. It was from Kingston that British troops stationed at Rock Fort were force-marched through the mountains on Friday 13 October to assist in the suppression in Morant Bay. It was to Kingston that the

wounded troops were brought and placed in hospital. No similar treatment was extended to the wounded men, women and children of Morant Bay. Rather, so many were wantonly killed without ever understanding the reasons for their tragic end. Although George William Gordon lived in the adjoining parish of St Andrew, he had a counting house in Kingston, and for many years he worshipped at the United Presbyterian Church in Kingston. He constantly emphasised the wrongs done to the poor and oppressed, especially through the courts and was a faithful advocate for the rights of the people of all parishes. Because of this, Gordon was well respected and loved by many in Kingston.

On Tuesday, 17 October, it was to General O'Connor's house in Kingston that Governor Eyre and his officials went and arrested George William Gordon, even though Kingston was not under martial law. It was from Kingston that Gordon was forcedly taken by ship to Morant Bay where he was tried and executed. When Eyre made what was deemed to be an unfair and inaccurate report of the events in Kingston to Mr Cardwell of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the events of October, 1865, his report was challenged in a letter written by the Kingston-based attorney, William Andrews, supported by Andrew Lyon, the Common Councilman of the City and Parish of Kingston. It was documents such as this, which highlighted Eyre's illegal actions in arresting Gordon in a parish that was not under martial law that contributed to a later judgement of culpability on the part of Eyre.

The Abolition of the Assembly 1865 and the Introduction of Crown Colony Government 1866

The events of Morant Bay and the reactions of both the British government and the local ruling white elites in the Jamaican Assembly led to the most drastic political change in Jamaica's late nineteenth-century history. The authorities viewed the events of 1865 as a frightening example of what could happen if black Jamaicans controlled the instruments of government such as the Assembly. In 1865, driven by their fear of a black ascendancy in the Jamaican Assembly and the society, the predominantly white Assembly was persuaded to abolish itself and end what was known as the Representative System of Government. As of 1866, this was replaced by the Crown Colony system of Government in which the British government took total control of Jamaica's affairs and ruled the colony directly from Britain. All the progress which had been made since Emancipation in terms of black enfranchisement and participation in their government through elections was ended in one drastic move. [17]

With Crown Colony Government, there were no more elections and the people of Jamaica, black, brown and white, had no further say in how their government operated. The governor represented the crown and the Legislative Council replaced the Assembly. Members of the Legislative Council (all white elites) were nominated by the governor up until 1883. They could not pass laws but could only put into effect, laws passed for Jamaica by the British government. In 1883, the British government allowed for some members of the Legislative Council to be

elected on the basis of a very restricted franchise. The result of this was that the Legislative Council remained dominated by the white elites. This remained the case until after the First World War. Governor Sir John Peter Grant arrived in Jamaica in 1866 to put this new system of governance into place. He remained governor until 1874.These changes, beginning in 1866, impacted all of Jamaica and the thriving commercial centre of Kingston was not unaffected. In particular, the reforms introduced by Governor Grant affected Kingston in several ways.

Reforms Introduced by Governor Sir John Peter Grant (1866-1874) and Effects on Kingston

In 1867, in an attempt to introduce greater efficiency in the administration of Jamaica's political affairs, Law 20 of 1867 was enforced under Governor Grant's administration. This law reduced the number of parishes to fourteen and, as seen earlier, expanded and defined the boundaries of Kingston Parish. (See earlier discussion). The Privy Council was appointed by the British government as Jamaica's final court of Appeal. All parochial boards (like parish councils), including that for Kingston, were appointed by the British government. There were no more elections for members of the parochial boards. Every parish including Kingston saw the establishment of the District Court which was aimed at providing a better system of justice for the people. In 1888, these District Courts were replaced by Resident Magistrates' Courts in every parish.

Law 8 of 1867 allowed for the organization of a police force in Jamaica. **The Jamaica Constabulary Force** was created in 1866 to maintain law and order across the country. This constabulary was to be comprised of Jamaicans, with the rank and file policemen being coloured and black Jamaicans. The officers were for a long while, exclusively white. Kingston was to have a number of constabulary or police stations. Prior to the creation of the Jamaica Constabulary Force under Governor Grant's administration, each parish vestry, including Kingston's, had to hire "able men" to serve as petty constables. The Kingston vestry had also appointed night watchmen. As of 1867 when the Jamaica Constabulary Force was created, Kingston also had Water Police to help the regular constabulary by patrolling the waters around the docks and wharves, to prevent smuggling and theft from warehouses as well as damage to shipping.

By the late 1860s, the main police or constabulary station in Kingston was located at the corner of East Street and Sutton Street. Kingston's other two police stations at that time were located at 169 and 176 Harbour Street. By 1886, Kingston had several other police stations, and these were at Smith's Village, Rae Town, Brown's Town, Fletcher's Town, Allman Town, Rock Fort and Port Royal. By 1891, the office of the **Inspector General of Police** was located at the Parade.

For many years prior to 1867, the St Catherine District Prison had served the needs of Kingston as well as St Catherine. Kingston got its own penal institution when the General Penitentiary

was built on Tower Street. The idea for the General Penitentiary dates back to 1845 when the foundation stone for the building was laid by Governor Elgin of Jamaica on 18 February, 1845. Construction was intermittent for many years and convict labour from the old district prisons was brought in to make all the bricks for the huge building. The General Penitentiary was a massive structure with a red brick exterior. Located on eleven acres of land, all enclosed by the prison wall, the General Penitentiary, along with the St Catherine District Prison, are the two largest prisons in Jamaica. It was designed to accommodate 580 prisoners but by 1897, it was already overcrowded, exceeding its capacity by twenty two percent more prisoners than was intended by the design. In the late nineteenth century, a special area was enclosed for female prisoners. A school for prisoners was established at the Penitentiary in 1885, and in the following year, a library was established. However, a high rate of illiteracy among the prisoners meant that the library was not fully utilised. By 1886, the General Penitentiary was listed as one of Kingston's "principal buildings".

Kingston: The Capital of Jamaica, 1872

From its establishment in the late seventeenth century, Kingston had been steadily growing in importance as the commercial centre of the island's export and import trade. By the late nineteenth century, Kingston was to take centre stage in the political and administrative affairs of Jamaica as it became the island's permanent capital in 1872. An earlier attempt during the eighteenth-century administration of Governor Knowles to remove the capital from Spanish Town to Kingston had been short lived. By 1872, Kingston seemed the obvious choice to assume its position as the capital and political and administrative centre of Jamaica. Kingston was the natural choice by 1872, given its location and command over the Kingston Harbour, Jamaica's busiest and most commercially significant port.

Kingston's commercial prominence, through its large-scale shipping and trading activities, had secured international connections and recognition for the island, as evidenced by the presence in Kingston by 1878 of twenty consulates and diplomatic links with the international community. By 1878, there were consulates in Kingston for the United States of America, Colombia, Venezuela, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, France and the German Empire. Other consulates in Kingston included Hayti (Haiti), Italy, Peru, Salvador (El), Spain, Sweden and Norway.

By 1872, the city's business and commercial sector had seen impressive and unprecedented expansion, making Kingston the economic heartbeat of the island. For many years, the economic life of Kingston had made it the commercial centre of the island. The time had come to establish Kingston as the undisputed capital, the political and administrative centre of

Jamaica. This recognition of Kingston as the official and permanent capital of Jamaica was implemented under the governorship of Sir John Peter Grant.

Even before the official declaration of Kingston as the capital, the process of transfer of government and judicial institutions from Spanish Town to Kingston had begun. On 1 January, 1871, the Superior Courts of Law and Equity were transferred to Kingston from Spanish Town. In April 1872, the Legislative Council, the Colonial Secretariat and the Governor's Residence were all removed to Kingston. This marked the final stage in the transfer of the seat of government to Kingston.

As seen earlier, the British government allowed for some members of the Legislative Council to be elected in 1883. Because the requirements for voting in this case were still very high, those who could vote were the wealthy and influential planter and merchant elite. In 1885, this element of elections was added to local government bodies known as parochial boards at the parish level. By the 1885 Parochial Board Law, the Kingston Parochial Board was established. The Kingston Parochial Board was to be made up of eighteen persons, all of whom would be elected on the same restricted franchise that allowed white and wealthy coloureds to vote for some members of the Legislative Council. Of the eighteen members, one would be elected as Mayor and the other seventeen were to be designated Councillors. Therefore, from 1885, Kingston's affairs were administered by a mayor and city council that was elected every three years.

Tighter measures were taken by the government of Governor Grant to increase sources of revenue in order to make improvements in Kingston. By Law 5 of 1866 and Law 3 of 1867, taxes were to be collected on houses. This was to be used to pay for the reconstruction of the streets of Kingston. In October 1885, in keeping with Kingston's position as the capital of Jamaica, the decision was taken to build a set of public offices in the city. By 1891, the main public buildings were located at the Parade. They included the Office of Inspector General of Police, the Office of the Inspector General of Prisons and Offices of the Director of Public Works, Inspector of Schools and the Immigration Department. Also at the Parade were the Police and Resident Magistrates' Courts and the Board of Supervision. The Kingston District Court and the Court of Petty Sessions were housed in the former military barracks on the western side of the Parade.

Other Public offices related to government functions were located mainly on Harbour Street, Church, Duke and Port Royal Streets. So for example, the Tax Collector's Office and the Internal Revenue Department were situated in the Customs House Buildings near to the Railway Wharf on Port Royal Street. The Circuit and Supreme Court Houses were at 89 ½ Harbour Street and the Treasury, Audit and Stamp Office were at 80 Harbour Street. Also on Harbour Street were the General Post Office (91) and the Registrar's Office for Births and Deaths (72 Harbour Street). The Collector's Office for Gas and Water Rates could be found at 24 Church Street. The

Government Printing Establishment was at 79 Duke Street while the Jamaica Institute (Institute of Jamaica) was at 14 East Street. [18]

Public Buildings at Barry, King and Tower Streets early twentieth Century Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Institute of Jamaica on East Street Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Date Tree Hall: The First Home of the Institute of Jamaica Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Another View of the Institute of Jamaica Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Utilities, Transport and Communication in Nineteenth-Century Kingston

In keeping with the increasing commercial and political importance of the parish over the course of the nineteenth century, there were several important measures taken which provided Kingston with the utilities, transport and communications systems that would facilitate its continued growth and development into the next century.

Utilities: Water Supply

Before 1848, the people of Kingston had used water which had been collected in wells and cisterns (containers in which rain water was stored). This source of water had been easily contaminated, and this had contributed to the spread of water-borne diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever. Beginning in 1848, a private company, the Kingston and Liguanea Water Works, was able to channel water from the Hope River through pipes into Kingston. Not everyone could benefit from this however, mainly because of the cost and also because there was insufficient infrastructure (piping). Perhaps the most worrying concern for residents of Kingston was the fact that the water supply was available very intermittently, for a short while, once or twice for the day. Moreover, the water was dirty and unfiltered. Only about 1,600 houses benefitted. In 1869, a Commission of Inquiry was held to examine the state of Kingston's water supply. The Commission found that the supply of water from its source was abundant, but that the Kingston and Liguanea Water Works could not meet all the needs of Kingston.

Therefore, in 1871, the government bought the rights of the Kingston and Liguanea Water Company for £ 51,200. The government's intention was to build new water works as the old works were defective and worn out. By 1876, new water works were built at Cavaliers, located between the northern end of the Race Course and Up Park Camp. Water for the city of Kingston came largely from Cavaliers as of 1876, whereas water for the pens in the eastern end of the parish came from the Hope River. By the 1880s, a constant supply of filtered, pure water was being piped to 4,200 houses in Kingston. They were all supplied with half-inch galvanized wrought iron service pipes, each fitted with brass stop cocks. Additionally, 300 water hydrants were installed across the city streets to fight the fires that seem to have become a regular occurrence in parts of Kingston. The hydrants were to be used also for street washing.

Drainage

In a related issue, the streets of Kingston city had always been subject to flooding during heavy rains. The land on which the town had been built sloped gently downwards till it met with the sea. Because there was no system of drainage in place, the water tended to accumulate more along the roadways of Kingston's streets. Shop and other business owners, especially along the lower parts of King Street, East Street, Duke Street and Hanover Street, had no choice but to

endure the flooding which spilled over into their stores as the water made its way towards the harbour. In the 1890s, an underground system of drainage was undertaken which remedied some of these problems of flooded streets after heavy rains.

Lighting Kingston: Gas Lamps

During the administration of Governor Grant, the streets of the city and some buildings were lit for the first time, but not with electricity. The Kingston Gas Works Company was authorized by the governor to install gas works which would facilitate this process. Work was started by the company in 1875 and completed in 1877. Street lamps were installed across the city and on the exterior of some bigger buildings. They were to be lit using gas obtained from the burning of coal. This gas was then channelled to the street lamps and building sites through pipes. Lamp lighters then lit the lamps each evening and extinguished the flame each morning. Kingston's first lighting of street lamps was done on 10 May, 1877.

Lighting Kingston: Electric Lighting

Kingston has the distinction of being the first place in Jamaica to generate electricity. This achievement came one year before the famous Leyden brothers were able to generate electricity in 1893 in Black River by using a logwood-powered steam generating plant. Gold Street in Kingston was the location where electricity was first generated in late 1892. This achievement was carried out by the *Jamaica Electric Light Company* at their premises on Gold Street, and they did so by using a small coal-burning steam generator to provide this electricity.

The process of introducing electric lights to Kingston homes and businesses was a slow one, occurring during the later 1890s. It was Black River's Waterloo House, owned by John Leyden, which took the honour of being the first home on the island to be lit by electricity in 1893. Some momentum was provided to the Kingston effort when in 1897, the *Jamaica Electric light and Power Company* bought the business from the *Jamaica Electric Light Company*. Their operations were much larger, and this allowed them to generate far more electricity. Relocating their operations to much larger premises at 151 Orange Street meant that from 1897, more of Kingston's larger buildings and the homes of the wealthy were being lit by electric lights.

While the *Jamaica Electric Light and Power Company* continued to gradually light Kingston, a second electric company, the *West India Electric Company,* was formed in 1897. They established a hydro-electric plant on the Rio Cobre in Bog Walk, St Catherine which allowed that company to extend electricity to more areas on the island. Lighting Kingston with electricity was of no real benefit to Kingston's poor and lower class communities. They continued for a long while to rely on kerosene lamps. As seen in the earlier section on Businesses in Kingston, thirty seven licenses were granted to Kingston's shop keepers to deal in petroleum (most likely kerosene). The prospect of electric lighting evaded these communities

well into the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the 1907 earthquake virtually destroyed the *Jamaica Electric Light and Power Company,* and they were unable to recover. A new company with Canadian connections was formed, the *Jamaica Light and Power Company Ltd (Canada*). They eventually leased their licences and business to the *West India Electric Company* which then took over the task of providing electricity into the early twentieth century.

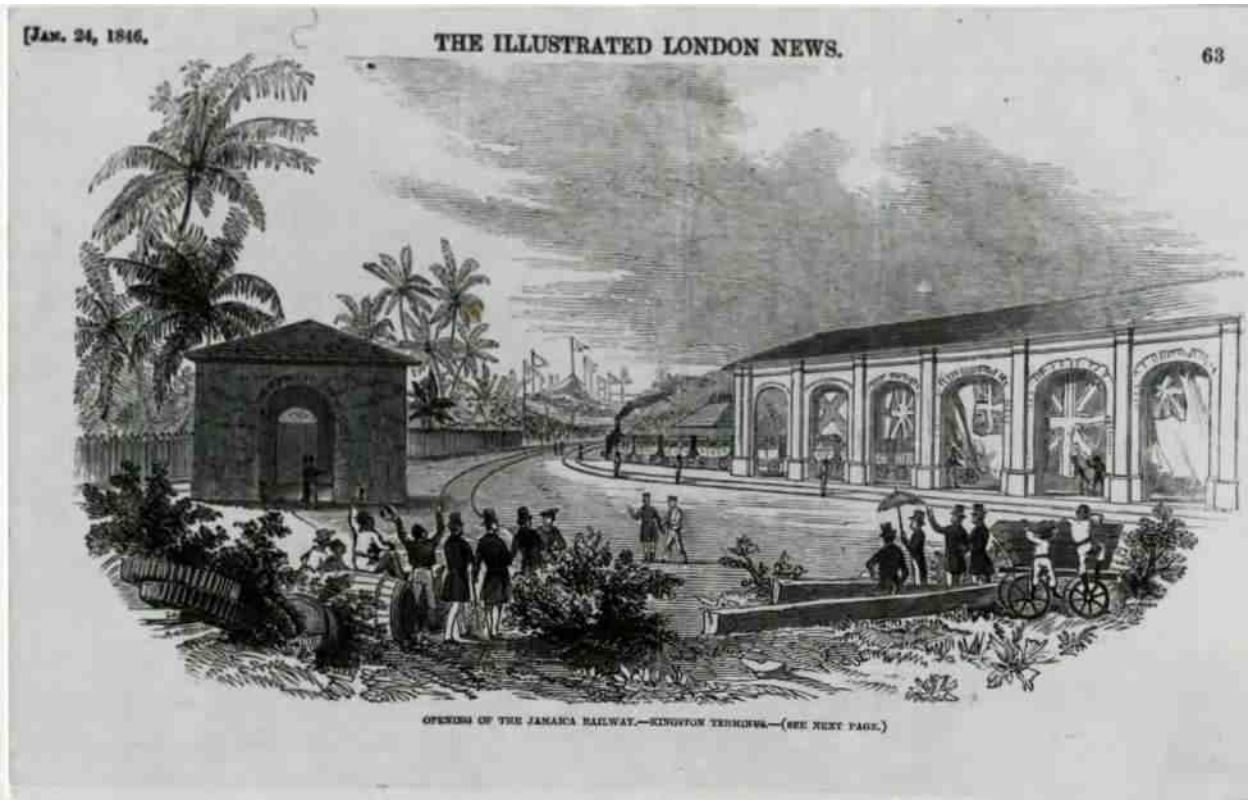
Transportation in and Around Kingston

The Kingston to Spanish Town Railway

The Kingston to Spanish Town Railway line was the first line of the railway laid down in Jamaica. It was of historic significance for Jamaica as this railway line was the first to be established in the British colonies. Only the U.K. the U.S.A and Canada had introduced railway systems before Jamaica. This single-line railway was launched by English brothers, William and David Smith, the promoters and owners of a private company, the Jamaica Railway Company, which had been incorporated in 1843. Connecting Kingston to Spanish Town, this pioneer railway line was thirteen miles long and cost the company £ 222,250 to construct. It was declared open to the public in November 1845. The Kingston to Spanish Town Railway was the most successful of all the line extensions that would come later. It did well because of the heavy traffic of people moving between the two places and because the poor state of the carriage road linking both towns made the carriage ride between Kingston and Spanish Town an extremely uncomfortable journey. The historic Kingston Railway Station was built in the downtown area of Pechon Street in the same year, 1845.

Connecting Kingston to other Parishes by Rail

In 1867, the Jamaica Railway Company extended a branch of the railway line a further three miles from Spanish Town to Angels, just outside of Spanish Town, a distance of fifteen miles from Kingston to Angels. In the same year, there was a further extension to Old Harbour, a distance of twenty three miles from Kingston. In 1879, the government bought the Railway Company and extended the railway line to Porus, Manchester, which was a distance of forty seven miles from Kingston. With the extension of the line to Ewarton, St Catherine, this was twenty nine miles from Kingston. In 1890, the government sold the company to the West India Improvement Company, which extended the line to Montego Bay, a distance of 113 miles from Kingston. This last extension was opened in 1894.



Opening of the Jamaica Railway Kingston Terminus (from the *Illustrated London News*, January 31, 1846) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Kingston Railway Station

In 1845, the Kingston Railway Station was built with the passenger entrance on Pechon Street in downtown Kingston. It was an impressive two-storey building, and the grand style of the design was meant to symbolize the importance of the city of Kingston as the commercial centre of Jamaica. The Railway Station had all the features of the Jamaican Georgian architectural style. These were sashed windows on both floors with prominent arcades on both stories at the eastern entrance. The station was predominantly of red brick structure and had the typical Georgian feature of corner quoins, which were masonry blocks fitted at the outside corner of each wall.

The Jamaica Railway Station Building in Kingston Today Photo courtesy of the JN Foundation

A View of the Jamaica Railway Station with Rail lines Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

To Kingston and Beyond: The Introduction of Tramlines and Tramcars into Nineteenth-century Kingston

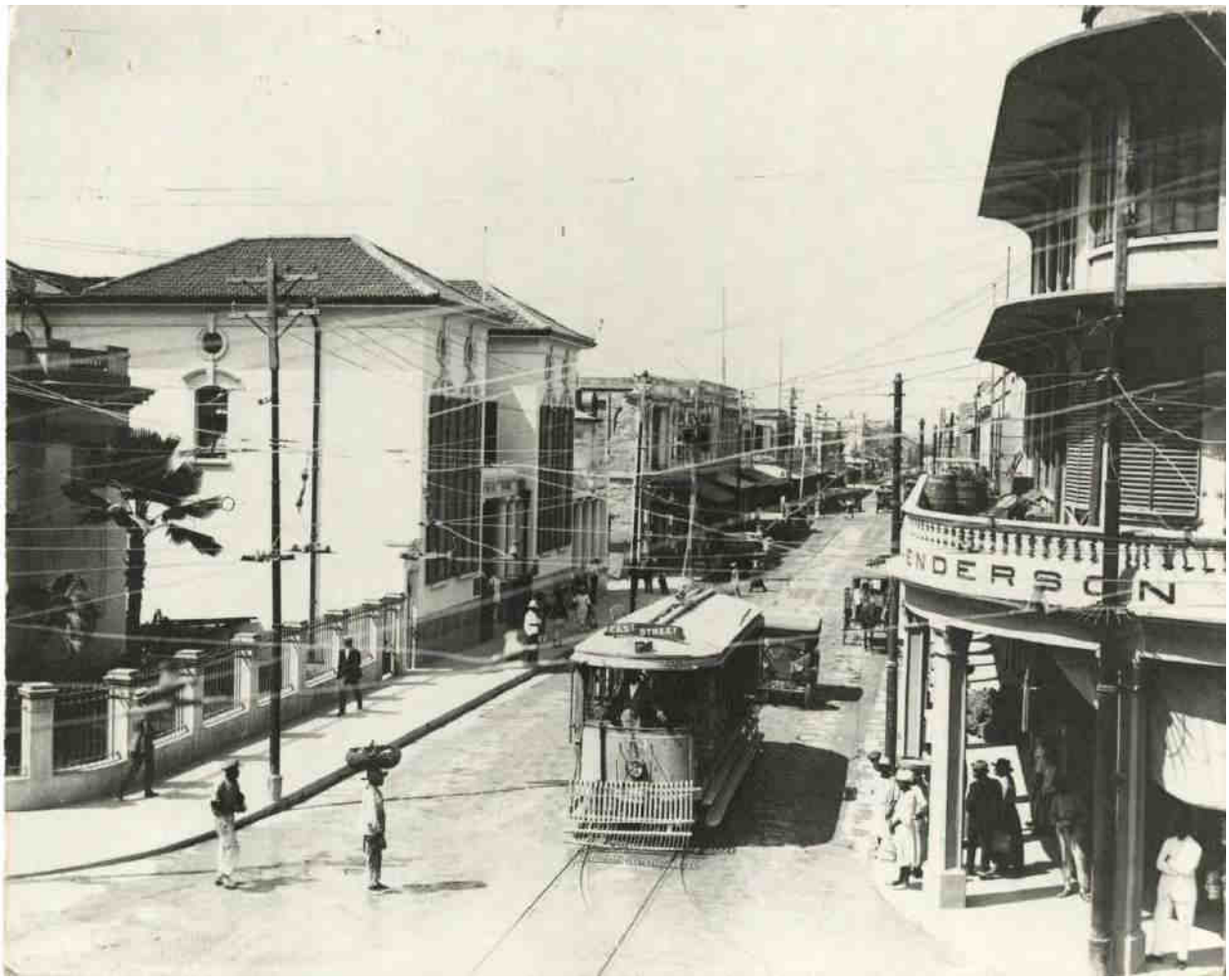
In keeping with the increasingly hectic pace of life in Kingston by the late nineteenth century, there was clearly a need for additional forms of transport for getting from one part of Kingston to the next. This new system of transportation was realized with the introduction of tramlines and tramways/ tramcars into Kingston, beginning in November, 1876. The tramlines/tramcar system was introduced into Kingston by the Jamaica Street Car Company which operated from its business location at 81 to 83 King Street. Their car stables were at the same location. The Jamaica Street Car Company controlled the operations of the tramways systems from 1876 until 1897. Laying down the tramlines on selected streets of Kingston was the first step in the process. The early tramcars/streetcars were to be drawn by mules and this lasted until 1897. In that year, the process of transforming the trams into electric tramcars was started.

Tramlines were laid out in the city itself and also on the outskirts of the parish, seeking to link Kingston's routes to the adjoining parish of St Andrew. The principal set of lines was intended to go northward through the city and eventually to connect with Half-Way-Tree in St Andrew and terminate at Constant Spring, also in St Andrew. This set of tramlines ran from the bottom end of King Street at the Victoria Market, up Orange Street, along the Slipe Pen Road and Cross Roads, and by 1878, the principal line was extended to Half-Way-Tree.

By the following year, 1879, a second tramline was laid from the Parade, along East Queen Street and across to Paradise Street on the Windward Road. Other lines were laid from Harbour Street and East Street to the Kingston Race Course and from the Jamaica Railway, through Harbour Street to the General Penitentiary at Rae Town. In 1881, another tramline, approximately one mile in length, was laid from the Jamaica Railway westwards to May Pen Cemetery, which was regarded as Kingston's principal place for burials by that time. In the early part of 1885, the Jamaica Street Car Company began an extension of the Half-Way-Tree to Constant Spring line, which would be a distance of six miles from Kingston. Other line extensions included that from Half-Way-Tree to Papine in St Andrew.

Kingston's first four miles of tramlines were intended to take passengers around the streets of the city. These were completed and opened for movement of the tramcars on 13 November, 1876. Although tramlines were being laid, there was no electrification as yet. Therefore, between 1876 and 1897, all tramcars or streetcars were pulled by teams of mules. They were really "horsecars" or "mule cars" as they were called by Kingston residents at the time, and bells were hung around the necks of the animals to warn people of approaching traffic.

In December, 1897, the West India Electric Company bought the horse/mule tramway operations from the Jamaica Street Car Company and began the process of electrification of the tramcars.



Corner of King and Harbour Streets looking west (shows Tramcar, tram lines, horse and buggy)
Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

They established a new tram depot on Orange Street, and Kingston's first electric tramcar ran from the Orange Street Tram Depot to the end of King Street by the Victoria Market. This electrified tramcar service was officially launched on 31 March, 1899. When the service became fully operational, tramcars ran on the lines at intervals of twenty minutes. In 1923, the tramcar operation was taken over by the newly established Jamaica Public Service Company. (See section on Kingston in the Twentieth Century). Kingston's tramway service came to an end in 1948.

Travelling around Kingston by Omnibuses or Cabs/Streetcars

Residents of Kingston, as well as visitors, had another option for travelling shorter distances around the streets and shopping districts of the town. Streetcars, which were the omnibuses or cabs, were drawn by mules or horses. The fare for travelling in Kingston was six pence per trip. There were omnibus or cab stands at convenient spots in the city, and they tended to be at different locations depending on whether it was daytime or night. During the day, stands were located at: King Street near to Harbour Street; Harbour Street near East Street; Duke Street near Harbour and Port Royal Streets; and Duke Street near Beeston Street. At nights, cabs could be found at: King Street near Tower Street; Harbour Street near East Street; and Church Street near Tower Street.

Other Improvements to Kingston's Infrastructure in the Later Nineteenth Century

Markets in Nineteenth-century Kingston

Two of Kingston's most famous markets from the nineteenth century, **Jubilee Market** and **Victoria Market**, were actually built on the sites of markets which went much further back in time. These markets and their predecessors were very much linked to the history and culture of the people of Kingston, and indeed, of the wider Jamaica.

Solas Market and Jubilee Market

Jubilee Market was built between 1886 and 1887. Located on West Street, west of the Parade (St William Grant Park), Jubilee Market was built on the site of a much older and perhaps more famous market which Jamaicans know as ***Solas*** or ***Sollas*** **Market**. Solas Market has been committed to our cultural memory through the words of the folk song:

> "Come we go down a Solas Market, come we go buy banana"

The open-air Solas Market at West Parade was one of Kingston's oldest markets and seems to have been in existence from the later 1700s while slavery was very much in force. It remains uncertain how Solas Market got its name. There is evidence that there was a Jewish family with the surname Sollas, living in Kingston during the late eighteenth century. It is quite possible that the land on which the market was held belonged to a member of this family and that the market was named after the owner of the land. More research needs to be done on this however. What we do know is that the busiest day for Solas/Sollas Market was a Sunday as this was the only day when the enslaved, especially from adjoining parishes, were free to come into Kingston to sell the provisions that they grew on their provision grounds. Large crowds of free coloureds, free blacks and Jews as well as other whites, would gather around West Parade to

buy and sell. Only a few rough structures were in place on which the vendors would display their goods.

The Jubilee Market at West Parade Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

It was the bustling activity of Solas/ Sollas Market that partly influenced John Wray (of J. Wray and Nephew fame) into building his Shakespeare Tavern at North Parade because he anticipated that people attending the market, as well as the nearby Kingston Theatre, would patronize his tavern. It is important to realise that as long as slavery lasted, Sunday markets like the Solas Market influenced some Kingston businesses to open on a Sunday in the hopes that the crowds would also support their shops. In 1886, a hurricane blew down the few wooden structures at the market place, and this served as the trigger for the re-building of a new market on the same site that would become **Jubilee Market.** Building the new market started in 1886. About thirty stalls were erected in very well constructed and spacious buildings which reportedly could hold about 1,000 persons. The market buildings were fitted with ten gas lamps. All was in place by early 1887, and the new market was named Jubilee Market to mark the golden jubilee or fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign, having become Queen of

England on 20 June, 1837. In late nineteenth-century photographs of tramcars in West Parade, the Jubilee Market, with its gabled roofs, stands out clearly.

Victoria Market, Christmas Morning, 1898 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Victoria Market and the Victoria Craft Market

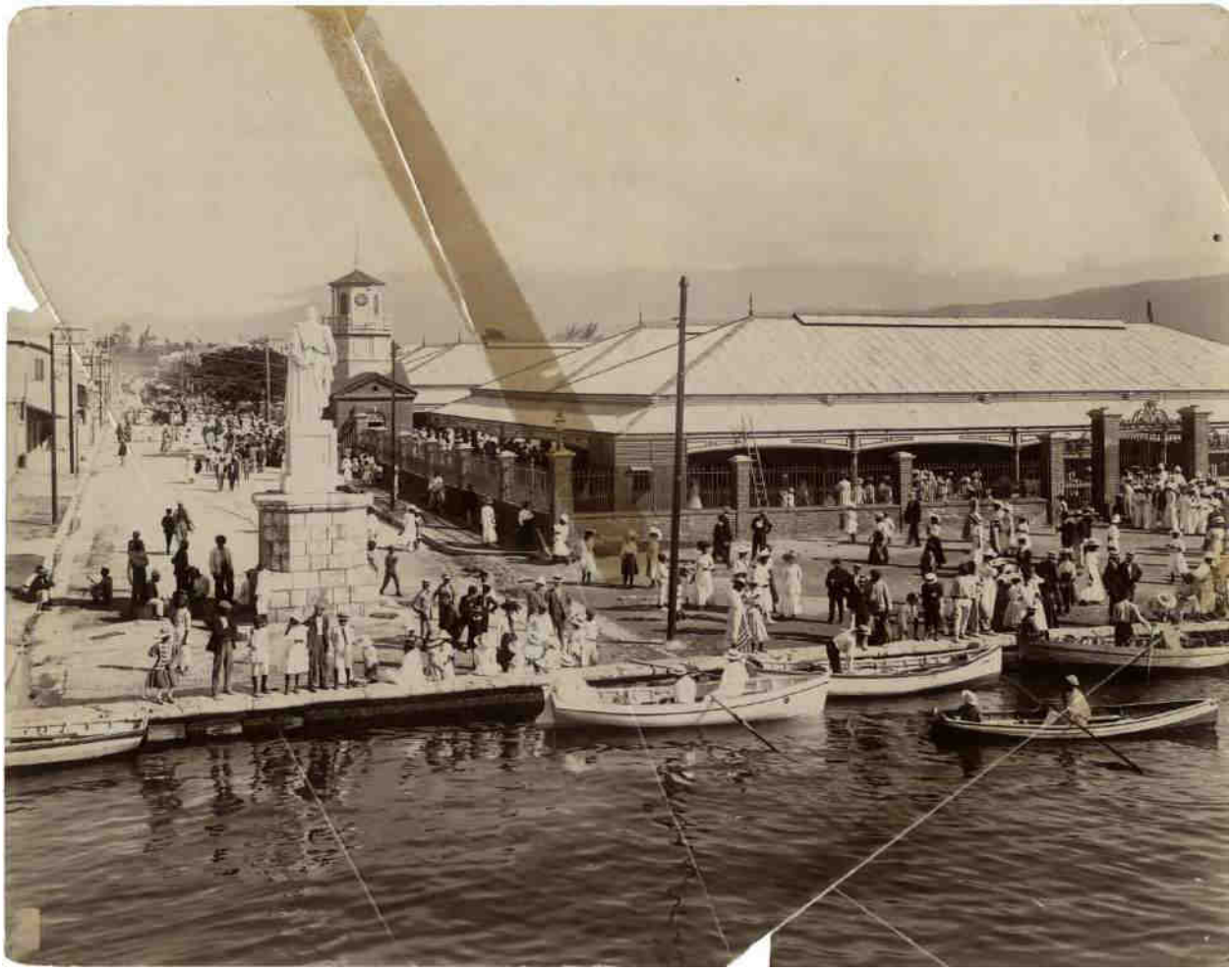
Victoria Market at the bottom of King Street was built in 1872 on the site of a much older market in Kingston's history. This older market dated back to the eighteenth century, long before Emancipation. It was known as the "Negro Market" or simply the "Sunday Market". As explained earlier, Sundays provided the enslaved from all parishes with the only free time that they had. Many slaves from Kingston, as well as adjoining parishes, used this opportunity to come into the town to sell their produce at the market down by the water's edge. Among the crowds who were also there to buy and sell were many free coloureds and blacks, Jews and other white residents. Olive Senior tells us that during slavery, many stores in Kingston remained open in the hope of benefitting from the crowds that were attracted to Sunday market.

Built during the administration of Governor John Peter Grant, Victoria Market stood out for the predominantly iron structure. The new market was named **Victoria Market** in honour of the reigning monarch at that time, Queen Victoria. The market later evolved into the Victoria Craft Market and remained so until the 1960s when development projects along the Kingston Waterfront led to the relocation of the craft market.

The Victoria Craft Market in the Twentieth Century Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Victoria Pier

Right next to Victoria Market was Kingston's famous **Victoria Pier** (also named for the then Queen). This was a historic and very busy part of downtown Kingston's landscape in the days before air travel. Victoria Pier was the luxurious dock where visitors arriving by boat landed as they were introduced to Kingston. Royalty, Heads of State and a collection of famous visitors all set foot on Jamaican soil right there at Kingston's famed Victoria Pier.



Victoria Pier, King Street Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Kingston Slaughter House

For most of Kingston's history right up to about the late 1860s, there were considerable numbers of butchers spread throughout the town, who supplied a variety of meats at the meat markets and retail shops. However, by the late 1860s, concerns about health and sanitation surrounding the private slaughtering of animals for meat consumption began to influence legislation. During Governor Grant's administration, Law 37 of 1872 was introduced for the purpose of supplying Kingston with a safe meat supply. By this law, a single, designated slaughter house was to be built, and all butchering activities were to be restricted to the Slaughter House. The Public Works Department (PWD) constructed the building and the Slaughter House was opened in 1876. All private butchering was abolished by Law 37.

The May Pen Cemetery

As seen in an earlier section on eighteenth-century social life in Kingston, the land on which May Pen Cemetery stands today was once a part of Kingston's Littleworth Race Course. Concerns about identifying safe burial spaces for Kingston's dead were renewed with the Cholera epidemic of 1851. Moreover, Kingston's population was increasing. In 1851, about two hundred acres of land adjacent to the Spanish Town Road, on the former Littleworth Race Course, were acquired by the government. It was during Sir John Peter Grant's administration that burials were first allowed by Law 21 of 1874. The cemetery was later partitioned into separate sections for each Christian denomination, with the largest area being set aside for the members of the official Church of England. Persons of different religious faiths could be buried there. There was a separate section, the Pauper Ground, which was reserved for persons with no means of support. There was also a separate area for burial of the victims of the Cholera epidemic.

Improvements in the Postal System

Royal Mail Delivery Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Telegraphic communication, which was the use of telegraphs to send messages known as telegrams over long distances, was established at the Post Office Department on 20 October, 1879. Because persons required special training in this operation, a School of Telegraphy had been opened in Kingston as early as 1872. By 1891, the Main Office of the Post Office and Telegraphs was located at 8 East Street. During the late nineteenth century, the Circulation Branch of the General Post Office in Kingston operated from the first floor of the Old Court House, located at 91 Harbour Street. In the 1890s, E.N. Marshall was the Postmaster for Kingston. There was also an office of the Jamaica Post at 48 Church Street.

On 1 January, 1877, a very helpful delivery service was introduced by the Postal Department. As of that date, delivery of letters by means of horse-drawn carriages was introduced within certain limits of the city of Kingston. After the fire of 1882, Money Orders and bookings for the Mail Coach were done at Blundell Hall in Kingston. In keeping with a long-established tradition, mail from overseas was delivered to the General Post Office in Kingston by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Similarly, mail from Kingston, destined for overseas, was delivered by the company's ships. Offices of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company were located at 8 Port Royal Street in Kingston.

Kingston Parade Gardens and Palisadoes Plantation

From the days when the town of Kingston was first laid out, the open, central area known as the Parade was so named because the area was originally used as a drilling ground or parade ground for the British regiments and militia stationed in Kingston. Troops were regularly reviewed by the governor at these parades. The areas immediately surrounding the Parade were home to pieces of Kingston's history, with North Parade being the location for the Kingston Theatre (later, the Theatre Royal and then the Ward Theatre), Shakespeare's Tavern, and barracks for soldiers. In the north-western side of the Parade, there was the Solas Market and to the south of the Parade, at the top of King Street was the Kingston Parish Church. When Up Park Camp was established in St Andrew as the base for the troops in 1784, the Parade was no longer used as a drilling ground for the soldiers.

During the 1870s, the Parade Ground was enclosed and transformed into a beautiful public garden which then became known as the Kingston Parade Gardens. Shade and ornamental trees, as well as flowering plants and fountains, helped to beautify the gardens. By 1914, the park was named Victoria Park, and this remained the case until 1977 when it was renamed the St William Grant Park in honour of noted labour leader, Garveyite and black nationalist, St William Grant OD (see section on the twentieth century). During the 1880s, the long narrow strip of land enclosing Kingston Harbour and known as the Palisadoes was planted out with 23,000 coconut plants and the area referred to as "Palisadoes Plantation". [19]

CHURCH AND SCHOOL IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY KINGSTON

Churches in Kingston in the Nineteenth Century

Background to Church and Missionary Groups in Jamaica before Emancipation

Being an English colony, Jamaica adopted the Church of England as the official church of the island. One of the first measures undertaken after a parish was created was to build a parish church to symbolize the dominance of the Anglican faith in that part of the colony. In England, religious groups which were not part of the Anglican faith were not tolerated. This applied to Catholics, Jews, Quakers and the non-conformist missionaries, who were so termed because they did not conform to the teachings and doctrine of the Church of England. The non-conformist missionaries included the Baptists, the Wesleyans (Methodists), Presbyterians and Moravians. The Moravians were not active in Kingston.

In the early days of English settlement of Jamaica, it was sometimes challenging to get enough persons to settle the island. Therefore, the English government allowed persons from different religious groups to come into the island as settlers. As time went on and the colony was more successfully settled, representatives from the other churches and from the non-conformist missionaries had to get permission or a license from the government to carry out religious activities in the island. During the period of slavery, many planters and other slave owners (who were mainly Anglican) were suspicious of efforts by the missionaries to preach Christianity to their slaves as they believed that some Christian teachings might promote ideas of equality as God's children and might therefore encourage the slaves to resist and rebel against the system of slavery. This view on the part of the slave-owning class at times led to much antagonism towards the missionaries in particular, and they tended to blame the religious groups whenever slave revolts occurred.

This animosity towards the missionaries was at its worst in the aftermath of the Sam Sharpe Rebellion between 1831 and 1832. Various missionary groups, especially the Baptists, were accused of encouraging the slaves to revolt in demand of their freedom, and many planters along with other residents, most of whom were Anglican, formed the Colonial Church Union with a view to suppressing the activities of the missionaries in the colony. The Colonial Church Union was anti-missionary, but because it was made up of slave owners, it was also against abolition of slavery. In the aftermath of the Sam Sharpe Rebellion, the members of the Colonial Church Union targeted the missionaries, attacking them and waging a war of destruction of missionary chapels and churches around the island. The early 1830s proved a challenging period for the missionaries as many had to flee for self-preservation while those who remained were forced to operate in a secretive or clandestine manner until the hostilities subsided.

Church and Missionary Activity in Kingston before and after Emancipation

The circumstances surrounding the birth of Kingston helped to shape the religious landscape of the town. As a place of refuge for so many who were fleeing Port Royal, early Kingston received a variety of religious groups. Unlike other English towns, the people of Port Royal before the earthquake had been remarkably tolerant in their religious outlook. Refugees to Kingston included a large number of Jews, some Catholics, Anglicans and Quakers. Anxious to encourage the growth of early Kingston, the government did not impose religious restrictions on who could reside there.

Without a doubt though, Kingston was to be clearly identified with the official Church of England. This was made evident in the *Plan of Kingston* laid out in 1702. On the Plan, the first lot on Lower King Street, East side was reserved as the site of the parish church for Kingston, that is, the Kingston Parish Church. The second lot on Lower King Street, East side was reserved for the Parsonage or the residence of the Anglican minister.

The Anglican Church in Kingston: The Kingston Parish Church

Historic Print of the Kingston Parish Church with tombs in the front yard by Joseph Bartholomew Kidd Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Kingston Parish Church was built sometime between 1699 and 1701. The earliest dated tomb at the Kingston Parish Church was that of William Hall, a merchant of Kingston, who was buried there in 1699. This certainly suggests that the church may have been in existence from then. Cundall points out though that if the Kingston Parish Church had been in existence in 1701, there should have been some reference to it on the deed by which the church lands were transferred to the church wardens by Sir William and Lady Beeston. It is quite probable that a temporary structure was there from 1699 and that the Parish Church was built on that site after the land deed had been passed over to the church wardens in 1701.

Two Views of the Kingston Parish Church Today Photos Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Built at the south east corner of the Parade and occupying the first lot on the east side of Lower King Street, the Kingston Parish Church was a simple brick structure, approximately 120 feet in length and was designed in the shape of a cross. Up to 1740, the church had no tower (steeple) and no bell. The church tower must have been erected sometime between 1740 and 1774 because when Long wrote in 1774, he made reference to the tower of the church.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the congregation consisted mainly of free blacks and free coloureds, but by 1808, there were reports that the church simply could not hold all the people who wished to attend. Persons reportedly slept in the church overnight so they could be assured of a seat for the Sunday service. In 1816, Monk Lewis spoke of the "negroes" flocking to the Kingston Parish Church to benefit from the religious instruction on Sundays. The crowds at the church on a Sunday morning usually spilled over into the churchyard. An examination of the *Kingston Parish Registers for Baptisms and Marriages* between 1722 and 1825 shows that there was a great demand to be married at the Parish Church and to have their children baptised there.

The original Church building was destroyed by the 1907 earthquake. By 1911, work on the rebuilding of the present church on the foundations of the earlier Church, located at the corner of Upper King Street, near Parade, was completed at a cost of £ 6,000. The newer Kingston Parish Church was similar in design to the earlier Church, except that the bell tower was differently designed. The Church was consecrated in 1911. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the Kingston Parish Church today is its clock tower. This was built after the First World War to commemorate those who fought and died in that war. With the exception of the Spanish Town Cathedral, the Kingston Parish Church has the honour of having a greater number of memorials to famous residents on the inside of the Church than any other church. Among those memorialised is John Wolmer (1789), the Kingston goldsmith, whose generosity led to the establishment of the Wolmer's School.

By 1890, Reverend G.W. Downer was the minister in charge of the Kingston Parish Church. In that year, there were 1,357 registered members, 218 baptisms and twenty nine marriages at the Church. There were other Anglican Churches in Kingston by 1890. These included St George's Anglican Church at 83 East Street, with Reverend H.H. Kilburn as the minister in charge. St George's had 1,700 registered members by 1890, and by December of that year, there were 118 baptisms and forty three marriages. St George's Church was originally built in 1824 (date on corner stone) and consecrated in 1830. It was intended to be a Chapel-of-Ease to accommodate the overflow crowds from the Kingston Parish Church. By 1890, there was also St Michael's Church on Victoria Avenue where the Reverend R.G. Ambrose was the officiating minister by 1890. There were 580 registered members at St Michael's in that year and seventy

six baptisms and eleven marriages took place there in 1890. By 1891, there was also an Anglican Chapel in Allman's Town, with Reverend H. Scotland in charge. It had a small membership of sixty one persons in that year. There were also Anglican mission stations at West Branch and St Alban's.

As of 1867, the town of Port Royal was a part of the parish of Kingston. St Peter's Anglican in Port Royal was the only surviving church from the earthquake.

St Peter's Anglican Church, Port Royal Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Interior of St Peter's Anglican Church Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

It was built between 1725 and 1726, and this made it one of the oldest churches on the island. Within the churchyard, there is the grave of Lewis Galdy, the famous survivor of the 1692

The Tomb of Lewis Galdy Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Earthquake. He went on to support efforts to strengthen St Peter's Church. The Church's communion plate was a gift from Henry Morgan. By 1890, Reverend E.J. Wortley was the minister and from a membership of 163, there were nineteen baptisms and eight marriages in that year.

The Jewish Religious Presence in Kingston

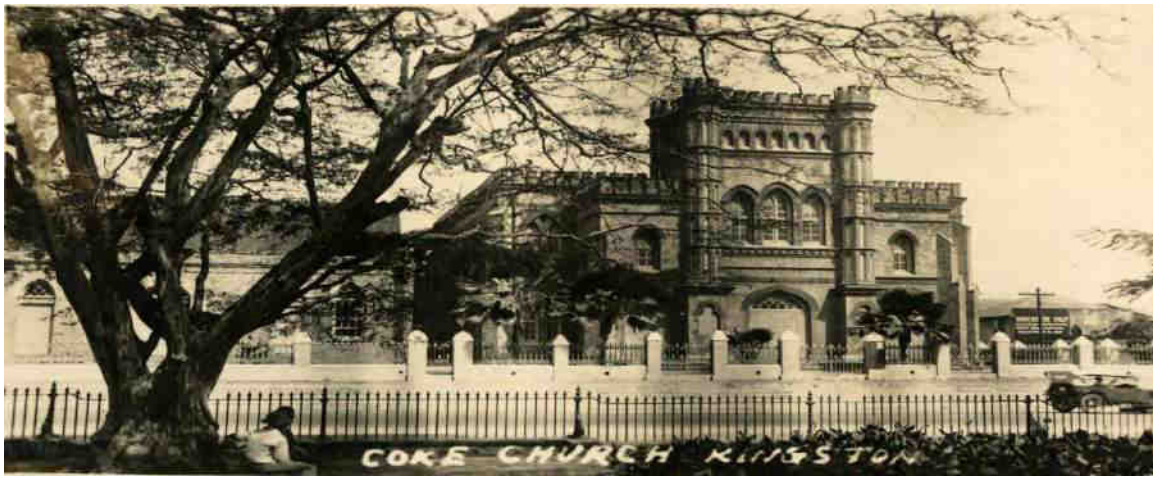
The Jewish religious presence in Kingston was made clear by the number of synagogues that they established in the eighteenth century. A synagogue was built in the western part of Kingston as early as 1707. By 1744, Kingston had the Shaar ha Shamain Synagogue, and by 1750, there was a Spanish Portuguese Synagogue on East Street. The Shangare Yosher Synagogue was built in 1787. By 1881, the Shangare Shalom Synagogue was built at the corner of Duke and Charles Streets. Today, it is the only Jewish Synagogue on the island.

The Shangare Shalom Synagogue at the corner of Duke and Charles Streets Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the Synagogue Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Wesleyans (Methodists) in Kingston

Dr Thomas Coke began the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica on 19 January, 1789. He preached in Kingston at private residences and then in a large concert room. In attendance at the concert room were some white residents of Kingston, along with two hundred of their slaves. Coke's early experiences in the town convinced him to make Kingston the headquarters for the Wesleyan mission in Jamaica. The Wesleyan missionaries at first used houses as the base for their activities, and chapels/churches were later built on the sites of these houses. This was the case in 1789 when Dr Coke rented a house in Hannah's Town to use as a temporary location for a chapel. By the end of 1790, the Wesleyans bought a large house on the east side of the Parade. This had belonged to a wealthy Kingston merchant. Renovations were made and the house was significantly enlarged, and at the end of 1790, the Coke Methodist Chapel in East Parade was opened for services. This was the first and the oldest of the Wesleyan Chapels in



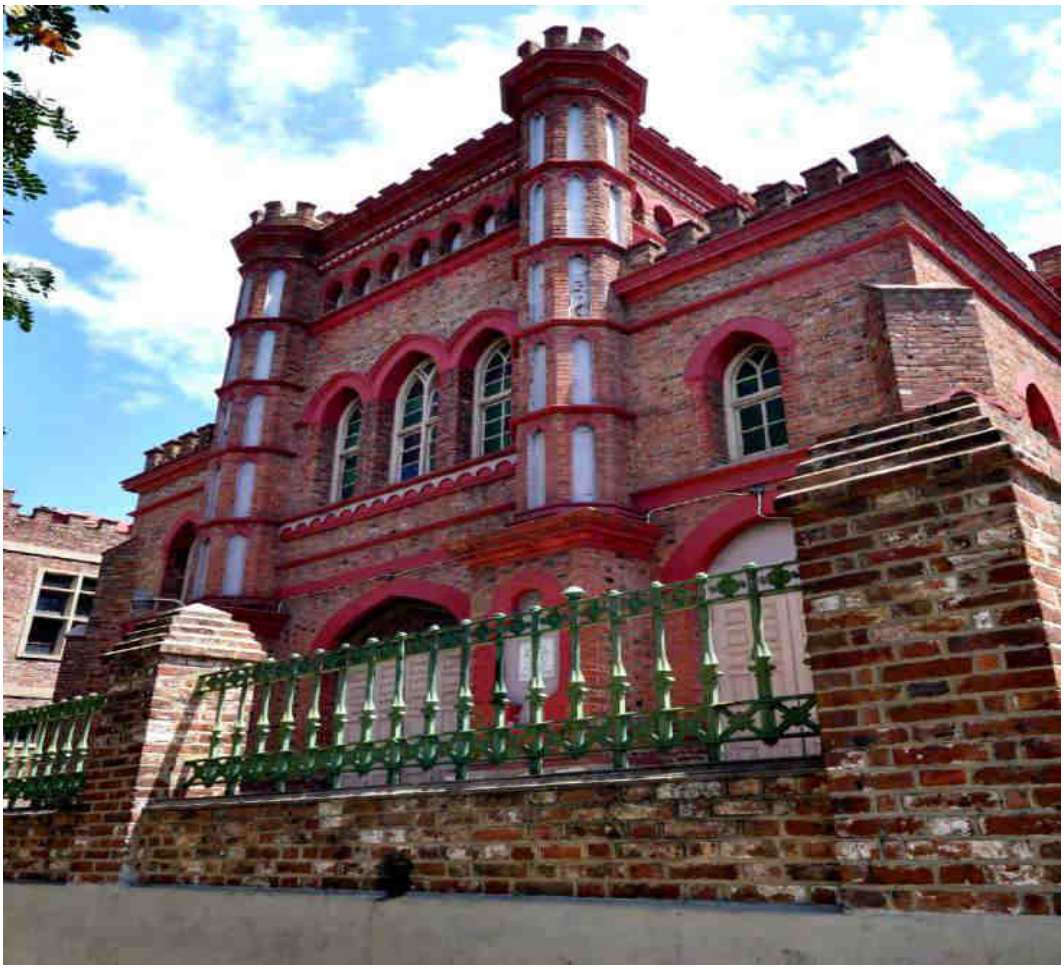
The Coke Methodist Chapel in East Parade Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Kingston. The Wesleyan mission in Kingston encountered some opposition from supporters of the Church of England who viewed the activities of the missionaries with suspicion. Laws were passed by the Assembly limiting the hours of worship and prohibiting preaching without a license from the government. Not too long after the opening of the first chapel, a Grand Jury in Kingston found that the operations of the Chapel were a disturbance to the public peace of the town and ordered the closure of the Chapel. Although the Coke Chapel remained closed for seven years, the Wesleyans did not lose the support of their congregation. When the Chapel was reopened in 1814, the membership was three times what it had been before. The much larger Coke Methodist Church was built on the same site as the original chapel in 1840 and named to honour the founder of the Wesleyan Mission in Jamaica, Dr Thomas Coke. In 1907, the church was destroyed by the earthquake and the existing Coke Methodist Church was rebuilt on the same site at East Parade. Coke Methodist Church stands today as one of

Kingston's few remaining brick buildings.

The Interior of the Coke Methodist Church before the 1907 Earthquake Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

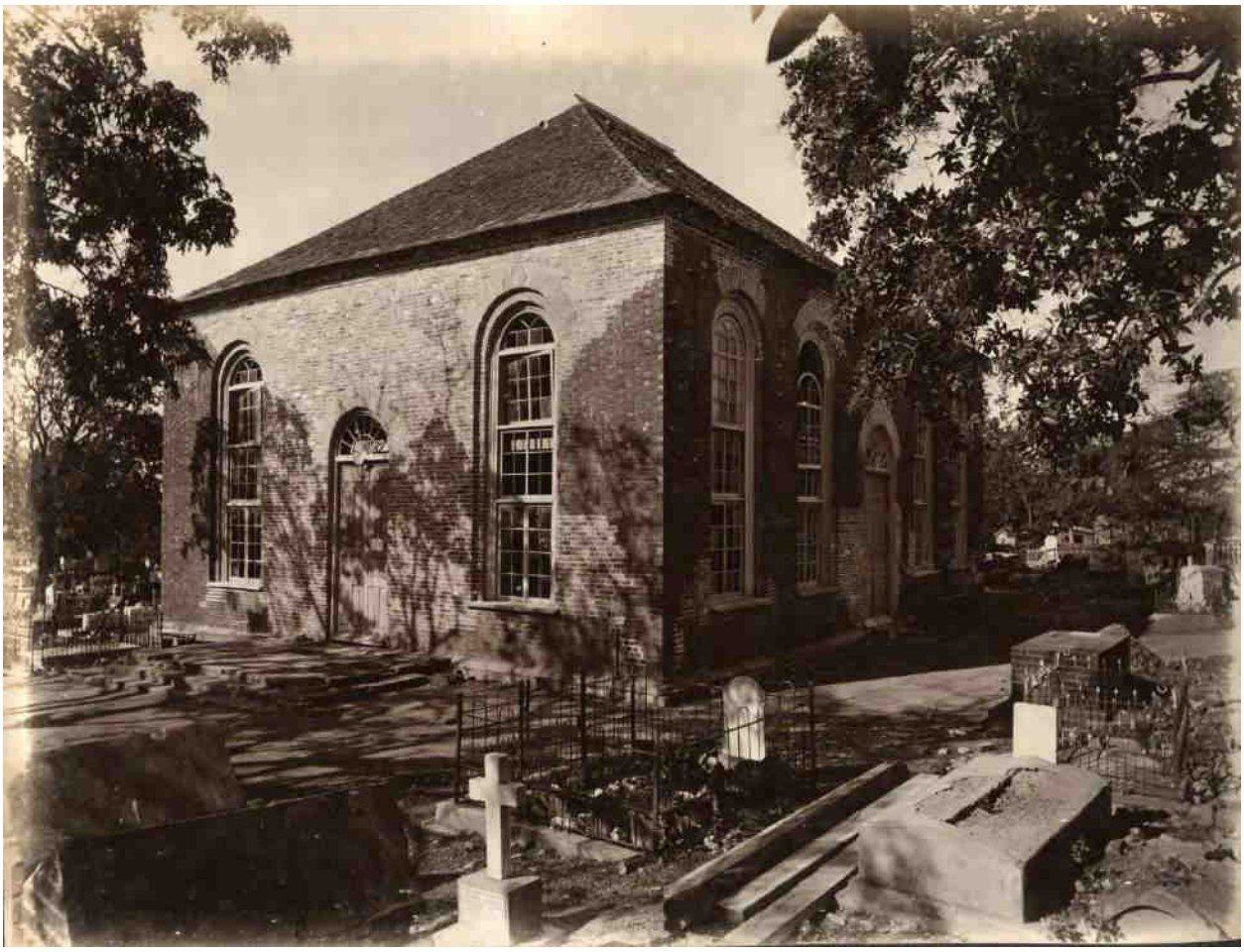
The Coke Methodist Church in East Parade Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation



Another View of Coke Methodist Church Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Wesleyans had a considerable following in Kingston, consisting mainly of a few whites, free coloureds, free blacks and some slaves. A second Wesleyan Chapel was needed to absorb the overflow from the Coke Chapel. Members of the Kingston community made donations towards the building of the second Chapel. Merchants, businessmen and "gentlemen" in Kingston contributed as did Jews and Roman Catholics who resided in St Andrew but probably had businesses in Kingston. Some white residents of Kingston contributed £ 100 to the building fund. The foundation stone of the Wesley Chapel, so named for John Wesley, another pioneer in the Wesleyan Mission, was laid in July 1822 and by 21 December, 1823 the new Wesley chapel on Tower Street in Kingston was opened for worship. Built mainly of brick construction, the Wesley Chapel was reportedly large enough to hold 1,800 to 2,000 persons.

The Wesley Church and School before the Earthquake of 1907 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica



The Ebenezer Wesleyan Church (Restored) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Wesleyan's third Chapel in Kingston, the Ebenezer Methodist Chapel, was built in the western part of the city (today's West Kingston) on lands bought from well-known Jewish resident of Kingston, Abraham Rietti, in 1825. As a testament to the growing support for the Wesleyans in the city, a crowd of approximately 8,000 persons was reportedly present at the laying of the foundation stone in 1827. By 1828, Ebenezer Chapel was open for worship.

Despite the ever-present efforts by the authorities to restrict the activities of non-conformist missionary groups like the Wesleyans, it appears that the most radical group of their opponents, the Colonial Church Union, were not able to gain a strong enough foothold in Kingston to do serious damage to the missionary efforts, as happened in other parishes. According to Bleby, the Colonial Church Union was found in every parish except Kingston. The explanation for this was that a large group of supporters of the Wesleyans in particular had formed themselves into a powerful group in Kingston known as the Friends of Religion and Civil Liberty. They were mainly successful members of the free coloured and free black communities in Kingston, who were determined to prevent the Colonial Church Union from gaining a

stronghold in Kingston. They openly criticised Bruce, the editor of *The Courant*, for his newspaper articles in support of anti-missionary sentiments. Members of the Friends of Religion successfully protected the recently opened Ebenezer Chapel in West Kingston from being attacked by would-be supporters of the Colonial Church Union in other parishes.

Not surprisingly, it was to Kingston that some missionaries from other parts of the island fled in 1832 to save their lives from the militia organised by the Colonial Church Union. According to Bleby, the free black and coloured population of Kingston presented such a formidable opposition that anyone who contemplated forming a Kingston branch of the Colonial Church Union was forced to reconsider.

In the post-slavery nineteenth century, the support for the Wesleyan Churches in Kingston persisted, especially among the freed population. Anxious to have their children educated (though at a basic and elementary level), the former slaves supported churches such as those of the Wesleyans, because there were usually elementary schoolrooms attached to or located near to the church buildings. (See section on schools). By 1870, the Coke Methodist Chapel in East Parade was still well supported. Capable of holding 1,500 persons, the average number that attended was usually around 2,000, exceeding capacity. In that year, G. Sargeant and William Holdsworth were the attending ministers. By 1870, the enlarged Wesleyan Chapel on Tower Street had room for 2,500 and had an average attendance of 2,000. Ebenezer Chapel in West Kingston had a capacity of 800 persons, but by 1870, the average attendance was 600. Port Royal's Wesleyan Chapel, built to accommodate 400, saw a steady attendance of 400 persons.

Baptists in Kingston in the Nineteenth Century

The first Baptist missionaries came to Kingston, Jamaica, not from England, but from North America just after the Americans had won their War of Independence against the British in 1783. Like many white American Loyalists who chose to live in Jamaica after 1783, some black Americans, former slaves also came here. Among them was the Reverend George Liele (his spelling of his name) who was baptized as a slave and later became a preacher. In 1783, he brought his family to Jamaica and began his ministry at the Kingston Race Course. As a Baptist minister he drew large crowds among who were many slaves who used their free time on Sundays to attend his services. He established a Baptist Chapel on Windward Road and gained contributions and support from some influential merchants in Kingston. Liele gained many converts among the enslaved. By 1800, support for Baptists had grown considerably among the enslaved in particular, and Liele wrote to the English Baptists for support. By 1814, English Baptist missionaries were arriving in Kingston.

Baptist missionaries gathered much support among the enslaved of Kingston, especially because they were such strong opponents of slavery. But their support for the slaves led them into harm's way as in most parts of the island, they were seen as instigators of slave rebellions, especially so in the Sam Sharpe Rebellion. Baptist chapels such as those in Falmouth were burnt to the ground. Again, the endangered missionaries sought refuge in Kingston because of the influence exercised there by the Friends of Religion.

East Queen Street Baptist Church Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the East Queen Street Baptist Church Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

In the post-slavery nineteenth century, Baptist ministers were able to maintain the support that they had gained from blacks while they had been enslaved. Their efforts to educate and Christianize the freed people, as well as inform them on matters such as gaining titles for any property which they managed to acquire, kept them relevant in the minds of the people. When the English Baptists first arrived in Kingston in the early years of the nineteenth century, the first church that they built in the city was the Baptist Chapel on East Queen Street. The East Queen Street Baptist Church was established in 1822, and although it had a capacity to hold 2,000 persons, the membership always exceeded that, at approximately 3,000 persons. The East Queen Street Baptist Church continued to draw capacity crowds in the post-slavery period. Although it was destroyed in the 1907 earthquake, the historic Baptist Church was rebuilt on the same site at East Queen Street. Other Baptist Chapels were located at Hanover Street and Port Royal by 1870.

The Presbyterians in Nineteenth-century Kingston

Scottish migrants had been among some of the eighteenth-century settlers in Kingston. In 1788, a group of Scottish residents in the city sent a petition to the House of Assembly, requesting the establishment of a church in Kingston which could be linked to the official Church of Scotland. The petitioners argued that there was only one place of worship for them in Kingston, even though there were large numbers of whites in Kingston who were Presbyterians. As a result, they neglected worship and religious life. Nothing appears to have been done about this request until the early part of the nineteenth century.

Between 1813 and 1819, the Scot's Kirk was built at 43 Duke Street at a cost of £ 12,000. It was a stone and brick building which James Hakewill described as "the handsomest building". This Presbyterian Church was known as the Church of Scotland or the Kingston Kirk. By 1870, the church had a capacity for 500 persons, and the average attendance was between 400 and 450. Destroyed by the 1907 earthquake, a larger and more durable Kirk was rebuilt on the same site. In the early twentieth century, there was another Presbyterian church, St Andrew's Kirk, at the corner of East Queen Street and John's Lane. By 1939, this church had collapsed, and the congregation of this Kirk was merged with that of the Kingston Scot's Kirk. From that year forward, the church was officially known as St Andrew's Scots Kirk.

The Roman Catholics in Kingston in the Nineteenth Century

Although the Church of England was the official church of Jamaica, other denominations were allowed to be active, provided that they received approval from the government. With this in mind, it may be said that the Roman Catholic Church was tolerated in Jamaica during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1791, as seen earlier, the first group of French emigres from St Domingue (Haiti) started to arrive in Jamaica, with many coming to Kingston. These French emigres were Catholic, and their arrival added to a growing number of Catholic residents in Kingston. There were also Catholics who had arrived from the Spanish Main (merchants who traded with Kingston) and from Cuba. Other immigrants into Kingston from Spain, Ireland, Scotland and England also added to the numbers of Catholics in the city.

Their arrival marked the beginning of the Roman Catholic faith in Kingston. In 1792, the Catholics petitioned the Assembly to allow them the services of a priest. Permission was granted and in 1792, Father Quigley arrived and served in Kingston until his death in 1799. In 1792, a Roman Catholic Chapel was opened at West Street in Kingston, the first in a hundred years. The first chapel seems to have been located in a private home, and this would continue to be the case for quite some time.

When a second Catholic Chapel was started in Kingston in 1799, it was temporarily located at Jasper Hall at 37 High Holborn Street. This Chapel was relocated to Harmony Hall on Hanover Street in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1799, a Dominican Friar, Father William Le Can, took over the Catholic Ministry in Kingston and was in charge of the chapel at Jasper Hall and then at Harmony Hall. Harmony Hall became the site not only for the second Catholic Chapel, but it was also the residence for Father Le Can. He died there in October of 1807.

By 1810, Kingston got its first Roman Catholic Church (independent of earlier chapels in private homes). This was Holy Trinity Church (not to be confused with the later Cathedral), built in 1810 on the north western corner of Sutton and Duke Streets. It was built largely with contributions made by a Spanish merchant. Trinity Church was a fairly spacious brick structure, capable of seating a congregation of about 2,000. After its construction, the practice of locating Catholic chapels in private residences was discontinued. Holy Trinity Church on Duke Street remained the centre of the Catholic mission in Kingston for almost one hundred years, until its destruction by the earthquake of 1907. During the first half of the nineteenth century, two important events occurred in the Church's history in Kingston. The first was the ordination of Jamaica's first native priest, the descendant of French emigres to Kingston, Father DuQuesnay. The second was the arrival of Father Joseph Dupont in 1847 to carry on the ministry in Kingston.

Father Dupont was easily the most admired and respected of all the Kingston priests, and this was because of his commitment to the poor of the city. He undertook a great deal of the missionary work in Kingston, working to strengthen Holy Trinity Church, but also worked among the poor especially during the outbreak of Cholera in 1850 to 1851. In 1870, Holy Trinity Church on Duke Street had a capacity of 2,000 and an average attendance of 1,600. Other priests also contributed to the work of the church by 1870. These included the Right Reverend J. E. Dupeyron, Father J. M. Bertolio and Father F. Hathaway.

By 1870, Father Dupont was also in charge of two other Catholic Churches, St Martin's and St Patrick's, which together had a capacity to hold five hundred persons. St Patrick's Chapel on High Holborn Street had been built in 1833. By 1842, there were registers of Baptisms done at the Chapel. Father Joseph Dupont died suddenly in the early 1890s. His funeral was reportedly attended by a gathering of nearly 7,000 persons of all religious backgrounds and social classes.

Unveiling Father Dupont's Statue in 1892 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

By 1891, there were other clergy who were also very active in the Catholic Church. At the Holy Trinity Church on Duke Street, the Right Reverend C. Gordon, along with Fathers Hassan, Hathaway, Hogan, McCormick and Spildman, carried on the work of the church. By that year, the membership of the Trinity Church (7,000) had clearly outgrown the capacity of the church (1,800), and this indicated the growing support for the Catholic Church in Kingston. By 1891, Father Hathaway carried on the ministry at Convent Chapel, located at Duke Street, and he was also in charge of a mission at the General Penitentiary on Tower Street.

After it was destroyed in the 1907 earthquake, Holy Trinity Church was replaced.

The Holy Trinity Church on the corner of Sutton and Duke Streets, Destroyed by the 1907 Earthquake Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Unlike other denominations where the new church was usually rebuilt on the site of the old structure, this was not the case with the Catholic Church. It was replaced by the Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity, located at North Street, next door to Winchester Park. Construction of the Cathedral was completed in 1911, and in that year, it was consecrated and opened for worship. The Cathedral was Kingston's largest church, comprising 12,000 square feet of building space. A distinctive feature was its roof which was circular and a ceiling that towered eighty-five feet high. [20]

The Cathedral of the Most Holy Trinity (Holy Trinity Cathedral) on North Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of Holy Trinity Cathedral on North Street Photo Courtesy of JN Foundation

Schooling in Kingston during the Nineteenth Century

Schooling in Kingston before Emancipation

In the years before Emancipation, schools in Kingston, for the most part, were small, privately organized and operated and lacked any input or guidance from the government. These private schools were places where tutoring in reading, writing and arithmetic was done. The private schools were operated usually by white women, single as well as married, who had no training to teach beyond their own basic education. Pupils who attended these private schools were usually from Kingston's white, Jewish, free coloured or free black communities. Private schools were costly affairs, and this limited who could gain access to these private institutions.

The children of Kingston's enslaved population were excluded from access to these privately run schools by virtue of being slaves. Missionary groups which were active in Kingston such as the Baptists and the Wesleyans provided religious instruction to adult slaves and their children who made use of their free day to attend Sunday services. This could hardly be viewed as schooling.

An Endowed School in Kingston before and after Emancipation: Wolmer's Free School

Across Jamaica, before and after Emancipation, there were a few opportunities by which education (of a secondary level) could be accessed by children, regardless of colour, social class or religious beliefs. These opportunities were provided when a wealthy or otherwise successful planter, merchant or business owner bequeathed funds which were to be used for the establishment of a school in a designated parish. Usually, the person's will laid down strict conditions under which the funds left in trust would be used for the purpose of starting a school and guidelines regarding which children could attend the school. Schools established through these bequeathed funds were referred to as Endowed Schools (because a grant or endowment made them possible) or Free Schools. In the history of Kingston before Emancipation, there was only one endowed school, which was Wolmer's Free School.

John Wolmer, the successful goldsmith who lived and worked in Kingston for over twenty years until his death on 29 June, 1729 made it possible for Wolmer's Free School to begin its journey in the eighteenth century. Wolmer bequeathed £ 2,360, the bulk of his estate, to be placed in a trust fund for the purpose of starting a free school in the parish of his death. We do not have a great deal of information on this generous goldsmith. However, having spent over twenty years living in the parish of Kingston, it is unlikely that John Wolmer expected to die elsewhere. Wolmer died in Kingston on 29 June, 1729.

In order for Wolmer's wishes to be realized, the terms of his will, and the principles by which the Trust should be established had to be discussed at the government level by the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council and endorsed by the governor. These deliberations were drawn out, and it was not until 1736 that the Wolmer's Trust was officially established. Trustees were legally appointed to ensure that the funds bequeathed by Wolmer were carefully managed and used. The main trustees of the fund at that time were to include the Governor, the Speaker of the House, the Chief Justice, the Custos of Kingston, the Anglican Rector, all members of the Assembly for Kingston, the Church Wardens and Vestry men for Kingston, four senior magistrates for the parish and six free citizens who were to be appointed each year. The terms of the Wolmer's Trust stipulated that there should be no distinction applied to potential students based on colour, class or belief.

"The Wolmer's Yard" on Church Street, next to the Parish Church Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

By 1782, there was an enrolment of sixty four boys and fifteen girls. The curriculum was basically modelled after that of an English public school, with principles of good writing (English grammar) mathematics, accounting, Spanish and French being among the subjects offered. At first, a Classical education in Greek and Latin was also offered. However, by 1850, these latter two subjects were abandoned because it was concluded that they were of no relevance to Jamaica. Some emphasis on domestic skills was given for the girls and technical skills for the boys. Perhaps the most famous site in Kingston which was associated with the early location of the school was on Church Street on land known as "the Wolmer's Yard" beside the Kingston Parish Church. It is now the site of a parking lot and vendor's arcade. By 1870, Wolmer's Free School was still located on Church Street and had 210 boys and 200 girls enrolled. In the same year, the average attendance among boys was 162, while the average number of girls attending was 166. In 1896, the school was officially separated into a boys' and a girls' school, and this remained the case until the destructive earthquake of 1907. After this, the schools were relocated to areas north of the Race Course (National Heroes' Park).

Education in Kingston after Emancipation

Before Emancipation, the enslaved everywhere had been controlled by the system of slavery, by slave laws and by the slave owners themselves. Periodic protests in the form of slave rebellions had been swiftly and brutally put down. Emancipation not only freed the slaves, it ended the systems of forced control by which the black population of the colony had been subjected to European domination. From the viewpoint of the colonial government, full freedom in 1838 emphasised the need to establish methods of socialising and acculturating the newly freed population in European values and culture. From the perspective of the European colonial authorities, this could best be accomplished through extending European systems of formal education to the freed population. At the same time, efforts by the church to Christianize the freed people were to be encouraged as the colonial government saw this as a means to transmit European values and norms of "appropriate behaviour" such as Christian marriage to the ex-slaves.

The colonial government entrusted the task of socialising and acculturating the freed people to the churches. As of 1838, not only would the Churches be given a free hand in spreading Christian teachings to the people, they would be placed in charge of systems of education for the children of the free. Church-dominated education would remain in place in Jamaica until the later nineteenth century when the government assumed greater control over schooling. In many cases, in Kingston in particular, church systems of education remained firmly in place into the twentieth century.

Church-controlled education in the post slavery nineteenth century was essentially schooling in the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, combined with a heavy dose of religious instruction. Schooling of this sort was extended to the children of the masses through what was termed elementary education, delivered in church-controlled elementary (or primary) schools. The government's role was usually restricted to providing inspection of the schools and grants of funds to schools. In Kingston, elementary education was extended through the various denominations which established schools throughout the parish. The most active denominations in the provision of elementary schooling in Kingston were the Anglicans, the Baptists, the Catholics and the Wesleyans. In the early post-slavery nineteenth century, schools were really schoolrooms which were either attached to churches or established nearby. As the century progressed, elementary schools were enlarged and located on different premises from the church. The Jewish community provided its own school and teachers.

Elementary Schools in Kingston in the Post-Slavery Nineteenth Century

In Kingston in the post-slavery nineteenth century, the Anglicans had the largest number of elementary schools. These included Mico Juvenile on Hanover Street, with 180 students on the

books and an average attendance of 145 by 1870. There was also Mico Infant School on the same premises, with 236 students on record and an average attendance of 158 by 1870. Anglicans also operated Central Branch Elementary School for Boys, with an enrolment of 90 boys and an average attendance of 54 by 1870. Central Branch Elementary for Girls had 84 students on the books, with an average attendance of 58 by 1870. Additionally, there was West Branch Elementary, with 73 students on record and 49 in attendance on average by 1870. East Branch Elementary had 79 students enrolled, with an average attendance of 63 students by 1870. Allman Town Elementary had a total enrolment of 67, but an average attendance of 35 by 1870. Kingston's Jewish community had one school, the Hebrew National School by 1870. At that time, there were 24 students enrolled and an average attendance of 22 students.

The Roman Catholics had become active in missionary outreach from 1792, and this effort was extended to the provision of elementary schooling. One of the Catholic elementary schools was at 17 High Holborn Street. This was under the supervision of Father Joseph Dupont. By 1870, there were 115 students enrolled there, with an average of 60 attending. A second Catholic elementary school had been started in 1868 and was first called the Kingston Catholic School (later, St Aloysius Primary). This school was managed by Reverend Fathers Hathaway, Dupont and Bartolio. (See later history of St Aloysius.) This school seems to have been well supported by parents, as in 1870, only two years after it was started, the school had 320 students on roll and an average attendance of 260 children.

Two Outstanding Catholic Elementary (Primary) Schools in Kingston's History: St Aloysius Boys' School and St Joseph's Girls' School on Duke Street

Both St Aloysius Boys' and St Joseph's Girls' schools started as separate elementary schools. Today both have been merged as one school known as St Aloysius Primary on Duke Street in Kingston. They were both established from the nineteenth century, but by the 1950s, they were the most sought after elementary schools in Kingston. Girls from St Joseph's Primary invariably won scholarships in the Common Entrance Examinations to attend prestigious high schools like Alpha Academy and Immaculate Conception High School. Boys from St Aloysius almost always passed the Common Entrance Exam to St George's College. Both primary schools developed as models of excellent elementary education, much improved over the quality which had existed among earlier elementary schools in Kingston.

St Aloysius was started by the Jesuit priest, Father Frederick Hathaway in 1868, in a building on Love Lane. It was intended to provide an elementary education for boys of Kingston's lower socio-economic class. The school was a boys' only school and was relocated to Heywood Street near Charles Street and from there to John's Lane. In 1868, the school was known as the Kingston Catholic School. The Franciscan Sisters of Allegany took over from the Jesuits and remained in charge of the school, taking it to the highest standards of discipline and academic

performance by the late 1950s. By 1940, St Aloysius was relocated to new buildings at its present location on Duke Street. At this time, it was regarded as one of the finest boys' primary schools in all of Jamaica. In 1974, its sister school, St Joseph's Girls', which was located next door on Duke Street, at the corner of Duke Street and St George's Avenue, was amalgamated with St Aloysius. Both schools were known as St Aloysius.

St Aloysius Primary School, Duke Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

St Joseph's Girls' Primary and St Joseph's Infant School were both opened in 1894 under the control of the Franciscan Sisters of Allegany. Their first home was at a spacious building on Sutton Street. In 1937, a terrible fire destroyed the building, and new buildings were constructed at 76 Duke Street at the corner of Duke Street and St George's Avenue. This location remains home to the Infant School today. St Josephs' Primary was an all-girls' school which had a stellar reputation for good discipline and outstanding results each year at the Common Entrance Examinations. An outstanding feature of both St Josephs' Girls' and St Aloysius Boys' by the 1950s was that they were a mirror-image of Jamaica's National Motto: "Out of Many One People". Girls and boys of every race, colour and class description were in attendance at these schools in the 1950s. Yet they all got along well together. There were no conflicts beyond friendly disagreements. The level of Catholic-instilled discipline may have contributed to this. But these schools were like a time capsule, capturing the face and temperament of Kingston as it was back in the late 1950s, a kinder, gentler city of Kingston than it has become.

Baptists in Kingston had two schools under the supervision of Reverend D. J. East. One of these catered to elementary school children, but it was a Model school which meant that the students were taught some skills such as carpentry (boys) and needlework (girls) in addition to the religious instruction, reading, writing and arithmetic. By 1870, this school had 193 students on record, with an average of 107 attending. The second Baptist school was an infant school where the average attendance by 1870 was 45 out of 144 enrolled students. Therefore, by 1870, there were eleven elementary schools spread across Kingston, with a total number of enrolled students standing at 1,066 and a total average attendance of 719 children.

Secondary Education in Kingston in the Nineteenth Century

In the second half of the nineteenth century, schooling for many children stopped after they finished elementary school. This was mainly because access to secondary education was extremely limited by the very few schools which existed in Kingston at this time. In the second half of the century, besides Wolmer's Free School, there were only two schools which offered secondary education and this was offered only to boys. These schools were St George's College (1850) and the Collegiate School (1853). Despite the principles laid down by John Wolmer that no student was to be denied access because of social class, colour or beliefs, the fact remains that Wolmer's, St George's and the Collegiate School were elitist institutions which catered mainly to the children of Kingston's successful white and coloured residents (and sometimes from outside of the parish as well). Fees charged by these institutions added to their exclusivity. In 1899, the last year of the nineteenth century, the Deaconess Home School for girls was formed in the heart of downtown Kingston. In the early twentieth century this would evolve into St Hugh's High School.

St George's College for Boys

A Roman Catholic Order of Spanish-speaking Jesuit priests were responsible for the establishment of St George's College for boys in 1850. The school was started in a rented house at 26 North Street (on the southeast corner of North and Orange Streets). St George's began with an enrolment of sixty eight boys, thirty of whom were boarders and thirty-eight day students. It was intended to offer the boys a combination of traditional grammar school curriculum, as well as a classical education. Among the subjects taught were English, Latin, Greek, French, History, Mathematics, Ethics, Drawing and Calligraphy (handwriting art). After two years of language difficulties, the Spanish Jesuits turned the school over to the English Jesuits who took St George's College forward.

In the early 1850s, the school was relocated to 5 Upper King Street, where it remained until 1866. These foundation years were challenging ones for St George's and for its students. The school faced periodic closures (1866, 1871 and 1877) and internal difficulties, but always

managed to bounce back and forge ahead. By 1871, the school had created enough of a good impression on Kingston's influential citizens to prompt ninety two of them to petition the Jesuits to reopen the school. This was successful, and the school reopened in 1873. During this period of instability, the school was removed once more to its original site at 26 North Street. Leadership provided by Father Thomas Porter S.J. and Father James Jones, S.J. helped St George's to overcome these difficult years.

Two Views of St George's College, Winchester Park, North Street Photos Courtesy of the JN Foundation

In 1905, one of Kingston's remaining pens, Pawsey Pen, which was owned by Mr Alfred Pawsey, (now Winchester Park) was bought by the Jesuits as the permanent home for St George's College at 1 North Street.

Inside St George's College, North Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Entrance to St George's College, North Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Interrupted by the destruction of the 1907 earthquake, classes at St George's were put on hold while repairs were done and the Winchester Park used as a temporary hospital for victims of

the earthquake. Nevertheless, the school recovered as it always did, and the spacious property allowed for the expansion of the school over the years. Notable landmarks included the building of the first science laboratory on the island in 1939, thereby allowing for the teaching of Chemistry by 1945. Two years later, the Biology Lab was completed, and this was followed by the Physics Lab in 1953. This emphasis on the sciences would enable St George's College to provide some of the early students for the newly emerged Medical Faculty of The University College of the West Indies.

The Collegiate School for Boys

The Collegiate School for boys was opened in Kingston in 1853 by Presbyterian Minister, Reverend John Radcliffe. It was located on Church Street, just below the Parade. Kidd's *Map of Kingston in the 1850s* shows a clear illustration of the Collegiate School on Church Street just below the Parade. Even though the school seems to have had a relatively short lifespan, from 1853 to 1902, when the last Headmaster, William Morrison died, it seems to have succeeded in its goal of providing the young men of Kingston with a sound Classical and secondary education. Among the subjects taught were History, Geography, English, Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Composition and Mathematics. When the school opened in 1853, there were sixty students in all, with fifteen being boarders and forty five day students. When the school was closed in 1902, an article in the *Daily Gleaner* of 20 June, 1902 commented that the school had done a fine job of educating "a majority of the men of all colours who became prominent in Jamaican life" in the first part of the twentieth century.

The Deaconess Home High School for Girls (later St Hugh's High)

An Anglican institution, the Deaconess Home School was established in 1899 in the heart of downtown Kingston at 91 ½ Hanover Street, next door to the Deaconess Home which was a training institution for young ladies. When it first started, the Deaconess Home School for Girls had twenty four students, some of whom were boarders at the Deaconess Home. In 1913, a school dedicated to secondary education for girls, the Deaconess Home High School for Girls was established at 106 East Street. By 1925, these two schools merged into one secondary institution and became known as The Deaconess High School. In that year, the school had ninety students, twenty two of whom were boarders. By 1928, the school's name was changed to St Hugh's, and between 1939 and 1940, St Hugh's removed to its permanent home at 1 Leinster Road. This location of St Hugh's High School for Girls places it outside Kingston's parish boundary but the origins of this institution were in the heart of Kingston.

Kingston Technical High School (KTHS): Jamaica's First Technical High School

As mentioned in the earlier discussion on secondary education, for most children in Kingston, their schooling did not continue beyond the elementary school level. The classical and grammar

school curriculum offered by the few secondary schools in Kingston were more suited to students who intended to pursue higher studies beyond the secondary level. Schools like St George's College and Wolmer's were for the select few rather than for the majority of children when they ended elementary schooling. As noted previously, some of Kingston's most pressing problems of unemployment and social disorder in the second half of the nineteenth century stemmed from the almost non-stop exodus of unskilled labour into the city from other parishes. Many were unable to gain employment in the skilled occupations that existed at the time, and this was because they did not have any training in the skills required.

As the nineteenth century wore on, there was a great need for an institution which could provide the training and expertise in traditional skills such as carpentry and woodwork, tailoring, needlework and craftwork. Even more importantly, given the ever-expanding nature of Kingston's commercial sector in the late nineteenth century, there was a great need for manual training in areas suited to the commercial economy and businesses of Kingston. For example, formal training in business and commercial subjects, such as shorthand and typing, was needed. With the introduction of electricity into Kingston in the last decade of the nineteenth century, this would stimulate the need for training in areas like electrical installation. Before 1896, there was no technical training institution anywhere in Jamaica which could provide students with the skills training that was required for this level of commercial and technical development taking place in Kingston and potentially other parts of Jamaica.

The establishment in 1896 of what eventually became known as the Kingston Technical High School (KTHS) began the process of filling this need. Through its success, the Kingston Technical High School also set the pace for other technical training institutions to be established in other parishes. The institution found its home on Hanover Street, in the buildings previously occupied by the Mico Normal School. Over the years, the institution went through several name changes and even some temporary changes of address. One thing however remained constant. What became known as Kingston Technical High School provided a wide range of well-needed skills training to both boys and girls who were leaving the elementary schools. As the years passed, the curriculum was adapted to meet the increasingly sophisticated needs of the business world. Early twentieth-century additions included structural engineering, welding, electrical installation, accounts, shorthand, typing and other commercial subjects. Importantly, the KTHS always ensured that its range of subjects satisfied the requirements for students to be certified by the external examining bodies of the **City and Guilds of London Institute** in technical and domestic science fields, as well as by the **Royal Society of Arts** in commercial subjects.

A very notable achievement of this institution was its recognition that it was necessary to offer this kind of technical training to teachers in elementary schools, and this was achieved through its outreach classes done on weekends and in the evenings. Part of the institution's outreach

also involved offering classes in skills training on a part-time basis to students from elementary schools. Kingston's pioneering institution in skills training, basic and advanced would indeed open many doors of opportunity for self-empowerment and economic advancement.

Kingston Technical High School Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another Section of Kingston Technical High School Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Kingston Technical High School Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Normal Schools in Kingston: Training of Teachers

The Mico Normal School

In nineteenth-century Jamaica, institutions for the training of teachers were known as Normal Schools. Kingston had two teacher training institutions in the nineteenth century, and one of these was the Mico Normal School for the Training of Teachers. Established in 1836 with funding from the Lady Mico Charity, the Mico Institution was intended to train Jamaican teachers (at first only males) to teach at the elementary schools across the island. Attached to this teacher-training institution were two schools (later merged as Mico Practicing School) where the Mico teachers could practice their teaching skills and where the poorer children of the community could receive an elementary education. Mico Normal School began its early existence in Kingston at Harmony Hall located at 78 to 80 Hanover Street. By 1870, there were thirty students enrolled in the teacher-training programme, and they were all males. In 1896, Mico Normal School was relocated to Marescaux Road, which took it outside of the parish boundary of Kingston.

Calabar Institution or Jamaica Baptist College

The Calabar Institute or Jamaica Baptist College was not started in Kingston. Rather, the institution was started in 1843 at Calabar, which was near to Rio Bueno in St Ann. However, it was removed to Kingston in 1869 where it occupied premises on East Queen Street. Calabar Institute or Jamaica Baptist College served a dual role. It was intended to educate Christian Ministers, and in this sense it was more like a theological college. However, Calabar Institute was also intended to train the Baptist students to become teachers at the Island's schools. In this sense, Calabar was a Normal School. Calabar Institution accepted males only and by 1870, it had sixty four students enrolled.

Divinity School: Training to become Ministers

There was also a Divinity School in Kingston which was located at 93 Hanover Street on premises adjoining the Church of England's offices. The Divinity School was an Anglican institution which was started in 1883. It was intended for the sole purpose of training Anglican young men for ordination as ministers of the Church of England. In this way it was hoped to provide a group of locally trained Jamaicans to serve in the Anglican ministry. By 1886, the Divinity School had ten students who were either partly or fully prepared for ordination. [21]

Kingston's Health: Main Developments in Health Care in Kingston during the Nineteenth Century

Background

Matters concerning health had always been of some concern to the authorities in charge of the island. Literature written about Jamaica before and during the nineteenth century contains many observations made by visitors and residents alike about conditions such as garbage-filled streets and lanes and the presence of many swamps which were presumed to contribute to "fevers and pestilence" among the population. Usually, public concern was voiced more when there were outbreaks of diseases like malaria, dysentery and "debilitating fevers". Before Emancipation, health care for the enslaved was the responsibility of the slave owners, whether on the plantations or in urban spaces like Kingston. On the plantations, the gaol also doubled as the "hot house" where slaves were sent when sick. For the free people in the society before 1838, their health was their own responsibility. Those who could afford the fees of the few "medical men" did so, and those who could not, turned to home remedies or other solutions.

The participation of the colonial government in health care before Emancipation was usually limited to passing laws and supporting charitable groups who helped provide care for the persons like the indigent and the many transient sailors who wandered the streets of towns like Kingston. Before Emancipation, the need for a public institution to provide health care led to

the establishment of the public hospital in Kingston (The Kingston Public Hospital) in the eighteenth century. As long as slavery lasted, however, care at the public hospital was extended to whites and free coloureds who could afford the fees.

Emancipation freed the former slave owners from the responsibility of providing health care for the majority of the population who had been slaves. Their health was now their own responsibility and those who could afford to pay for private medical attention after Emancipation did so. Most who could not, turned either to home remedies or to "herbalists and healers" among their own people. In Kingston as the nineteenth century wore on, some persons increasingly tried to get medical attention at the public hospital. In the post-slavery nineteenth century, the colonial government took greater charge of health care and centralised its control over matters of health, developing policies, passing laws and providing funding for hospital expansion.

Availability of Doctors in the Post-slavery Nineteenth Century: Government takes Greater Control over Matters of Health

By 1861, there were only fifty qualified doctors in Jamaica, their numbers declining from two hundred in 1833. Kingston had more access to medical doctors, most likely because the city attracted groups of professionals who supplied the needs of successful business people. In 1890, Kingston had twenty three doctors, which really meant one doctor to every 2,109 persons in the parish. Kingston may have had more doctors than the other parishes, but this does not mean that the people of Kingston were any healthier than the people of the countryside. They were affected by the same diseases and epidemics, such as the outbreak of Cholera from 1850 to 1851. In fact, overcrowding, poor housing and sanitation in Kingston would have contributed to a greater incidence of diseases like typhoid, dysentery, tuberculosis and smallpox. The government increased its efforts to recruit more doctors from Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century and when new recruits arrived, they were placed at the Kingston Public Hospital where they were expected to get a reasonable introduction to the state of health and health care in Jamaica. Very importantly, the government introduced legislation (Law 47 of 1842) which established a Medical Council to administer and oversee medical practice in Jamaica.

Under Crown Colony government and during the administration of Governor Sir John Peter Grant, laws were passed (Law 6 of 1867) which placed Kingston's health services under the management of Commissioners of Health who operated as the Local Board of Health under the Municipal Board of Kingston. There were several dispensaries in Kingston in the later nineteenth century (see earlier discussion on businesses in late nineteenth-century Kingston) including the City Dispensary on John's Lane. Kingston's hospitals in the later nineteenth century included the Kingston Public Hospital, located at the corner of North and West Streets

in 1878 (discussed shortly) the Lock Hospital and the Asylum (discussed shortly). The Lock Hospital in Kingston was where persons suffering from sexually transmitted diseases were sent for treatment (see earlier discussion on prostitutes in Kingston).

Brief Historical Background on the KPH and the Asylum

The Public Hospital in Kingston: (Later the Kingston Public Hospital): Origin, Location and Early Growth

The Public Hospital in Kingston was established in 1776 on lands which occupied an entire city block. At that time, the hospital's early boundaries were North Street to the north, Charles Street to the south, Rose Street to the west and Princess Street to the east. Sometime later in the hospital's history, while it was being expanded to the west, the building plans incorporated Rose Street into the hospital property. This is why present-day residents may not be familiar with Rose Street as it really no longer exists as the street to the west of the hospital. From then on, West Street became the western boundary of the hospital. The Public Hospital was built on lands which had originally included a brick building which had housed a small hospital and prison for slaves. These brick structures were turned into the male section of the hospital. The female section of the hospital was located on that part of the land which had been the site of the old slave yard.

In 1819, a Committee of the House of Assembly recommended that twelve cells for lunatic (word in official use then) patients should be added to the hospital. This marked the beginning of the Lunatic Asylum (official name then) at the same site as the Public Hospital. By 1859, an Obstetric Ward was established at the Kingston Public Hospital to provide "lying-in facilities" for expectant mothers. This was later expanded into the Victoria Jubilee Hospital. In 1862, after the findings of a Commission of Inquiry into the Public Hospital and Lunatic Asylum were made public, the Asylum was relocated to Rae Town on 123 acres of lands which presently house the Bellevue Hospital.

The Treatment of the Mentally Ill in Kingston during the Nineteenth Century

For many years, there were complaints about the mismanagement of the Public Hospital as well as the Asylum. In 1858, when the issue was raised at the meeting of the House of Assembly by Dr Lewis Bowerbank, one of Kingston's leading medical professionals, the local commissioners who had been appointed by the House to oversee the affairs of the hospital and Asylum, ignored Bowerbank's complaints. Bowerbank was subsequently able to get the support of the English Commissioners on Lunacy and in 1861, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the alleged abuses in the institutions.

The 1861 Report highlighted among other problems, the inhumane treatment which characterized the treatment of the mentally ill at the Asylum. Among the many problems highlighted were, corrupt staff, poor supervision, the locking of female inmates in male quarters at nights as punishment, sexual abuse of female patients by male workers, abysmal sanitation and endemic diseases, resulting in high death rates among the inmates. The most damning feature of the Report was the extreme physical abuse of mental patients. Perhaps the worst example was the cruel practice of "tanking" which was forcedly and repeatedly holding the patient under water until the person collapsed. This was a form of punishment and was not the same as bathing the patient. The Commissioners found that tanking had contributed to the deaths of several inmates.

Important Reforms Resulting from the Findings of the 1861 Commission of Inquiry

Tanking was immediately abolished. The Lunatic Asylum was separated from the Kingston Public Hospital and relocated to more spacious and suitable buildings in Rae Town, a process that was started in 1861 but completed by the following year. Everyone who was implicated in the evidence of abuses, including the Chief Medical Officer, the Matron and staff then in charge at the Asylum, were immediately dismissed. Employment of doctors trained in "modern" methods of treating the mentally ill was immediately started. Provisions were made for family visits to relatives in the Asylum, and by the 1870s, inmates were allowed periodic home visits.

Long-term changes in how the mentally ill were treated and viewed also came about. For example, as of 1938, the term "lunatic" was no longer acceptable in referencing the mentally ill. In keeping with this, in that year, the name of the hospital was changed from the Jamaica Lunatic Asylum to the Jamaica Mental Hospital. Earlier in 1873, legislation had also been enacted to ensure that the indiscriminate placing of persons in the mental hospital, which had been standard practice before 1861, no longer occurred. By the 1873 Mental Hospital Act, persons who were to be committed to the mental hospital had to be legally certified as mentally insane.

The Impact of the 1850 Cholera Epidemic on Kingston

Between October and November of 1850, early cases of Cholera were detected at Oxford Street at the north-west end of the town, Spanish Town Road, West Street and Duke Street. According to Dr Milroy, most of these cases ended in deaths. To the east of the town centre, in November 1850, there was a severe outbreak at the General Penitentiary where 128 out of a total of 532 inmates died from the disease. According to the Report, the remaining inmates were spared only because steps were immediately taken to quarantine the sick. Between October and November of 1850, Cholera spread to the Kingston Public Hospital. Out of a total of 365

patients, forty became victims of the disease. At the Lunatic Asylum, which was adjacent to the Public Hospital in 1850, 123 persons became ill with Cholera and eighty two died.

The disease lingered in Kingston until around the middle of January, 1851. By that time, the total mortality in the parish was estimated to be around 5,000 out of a population of slightly less than 40,000 persons. Interestingly, at a time when local society was not too familiar with the practice of quarantine, Dr Milroy concluded that the quick action taken to separate the sick from seemingly healthy persons contributed to fewer deaths than might have occurred if this had not been done. Another interesting finding of the Report was that the "well-conditioned" white and brown "classes" escaped most of the ravages of Cholera. Dr Milroy attributed this to better nutrition on their part and more spacious living conditions compared to the overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions associated with Kingston's lower class communities. [22]

A View of the Kingston Public Hospital in the Twentieth Century Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Views of the Kingston Public Hospital Today Photos Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Entrance to the Kingston Public Hospital Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Kingston in the Twentieth Century

Kingston 1900-1938: Overview

As the twentieth century began, there were hopes and expectations for the continued growth and expansion of Kingston. The foundations for development in the twentieth century had been gradually laid in the preceding half a century. Infrastructural improvements in transport and utilities such as light and water, as well as an inter-parish railway communication had signalled the path to development that had been set for Kingston. All hopes of continued progress were temporarily set aside by the destruction caused by the 1907 earthquake and the devastating fire that followed closely behind. Before too long however, the resilient spirit of the people of Kingston would be seen in the remarkable efforts to rebuild lives as well as the physical structures of the city.

There were also indications of other challenges on the road ahead. In the late nineteenth century, social discontent among the lower classes had spilled over into riots and disorder in the city. There was every indication that their demands for an improved quality of life would continue into the new century. Although Kingston's boundaries remained clearly defined over the course of the late nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries, there had always been the tendency for residential communities to spill over into the adjoining parish of St Andrew. By

1923, the government decided to merge the local government bodies of Kingston and St Andrew for administrative purposes, while retaining the integrity of each as a separate parish. Therefore, as of 1 May, 1923, the civic affairs of Kingston and St Andrew would be administered by the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation (KSAC).

The Offices of the KSAC on Church Street Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

For political and administrative purposes, the merged unit of Kingston and St Andrew was then divided into fifteen constituencies.

Disaster in Kingston: The 1907 Earthquake and Fire

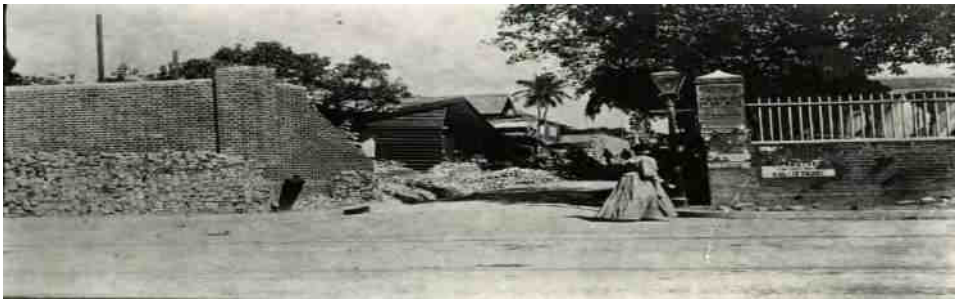
Kingston was no stranger to disasters. Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in 1780, 1843 and in 1862, devastating fires had swept through sections of the city, each time leaving a trail of destruction and loss behind. With each successive fire, the residents had picked up the pieces, and rebuilt the structures and their lives as best as possible. In December 1882, another destructive fire occurred, this time levelling a large part of the business district in the centre of town. Many homes, five hundred and seventy-seven in all, were burnt to cinders and over sixty thousand residents were left in very challenging circumstances. Still, the people of Kingston slowly but surely rebuilt and overcame their losses. As seen in an earlier discussion on water supply in Kingston, as a result of these frequent fires, three hundred fire hydrants were installed on Kingston's streets in the later 1880s in an attempt to adequately deal with fire emergencies of this sort.

Before the first decade of the twentieth century was complete, Kingston would experience its worst disaster on record in the form of an earthquake.

On 14 January, 1907, the island of Jamaica experienced a severe earthquake which was felt in several parishes and resulted in quite some damage to buildings. However, the earthquake proved most devastating to Kingston and almost entirely destroyed the island's capital city. Port Royal, also a part of the parish, received damage to structures as well. It happened at about 3:30 in the afternoon. Every building in the city was damaged. The commercial centre of downtown Kingston, especially the areas below South Parade as far south as Kingston Harbour, and across to West and Orange Streets in the west and as far east as Mark Lane, were all in shambles. Eyewitnesses spoke of crumbled buildings, clouds of dust as far as the eyes could see, twisted tram lines, telegraph poles, broken electric poles and water pipes. An emotionally shocking event, persons also spoke of the screams of the trapped and injured and of survivors stumbling around in the streets dazed, frightened and in shock.

Within half an hour of the earthquake, a devastating fire swept through what was left of the city centre and according to reports in the *Gleaner*, continued to burn for several days. The Fire Brigade was unable to control the flames because of the water shortage which had resulted from the many broken water pipes. Many trapped victims were burnt to death as the fire appeared to finish what the earthquake had started.

Great Earthquake Disaster, Corner King and Harbour Streets Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica



1907 Earthquake Destruction at the Old Wolmer's School Yard next to the Kingston Parish Church Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

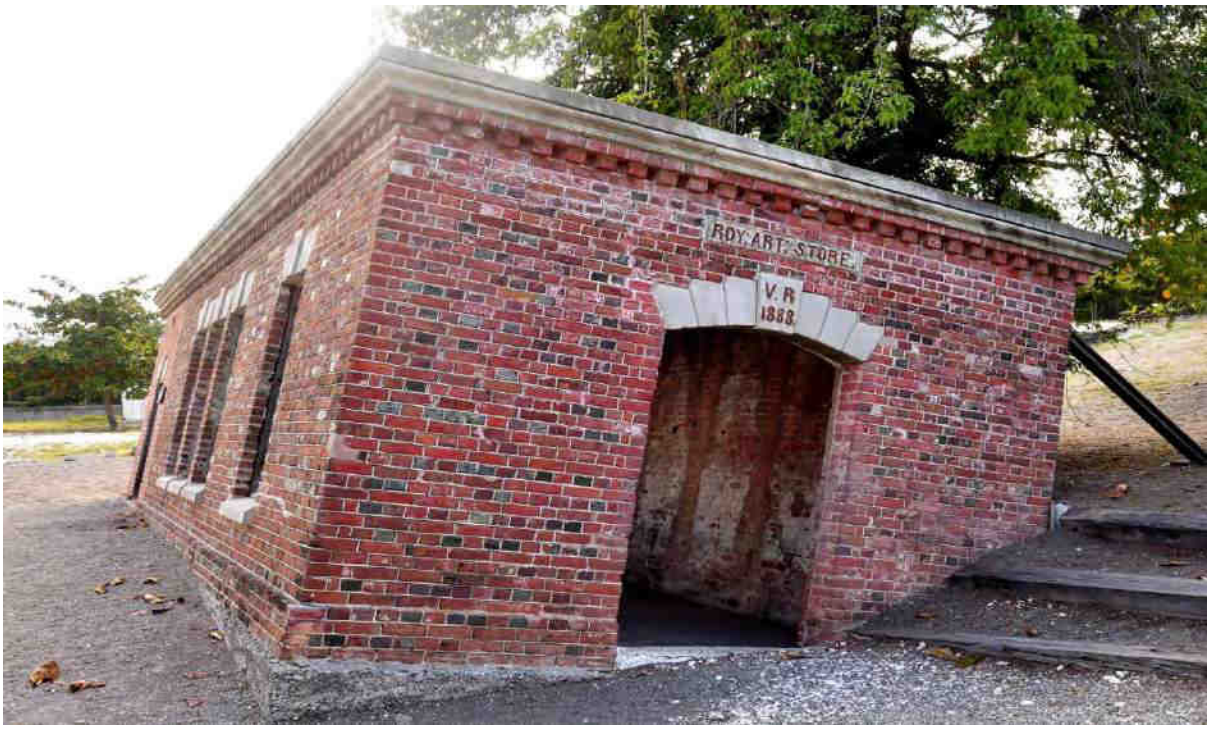
Within half an hour after the earthquake, the Kingston Public Hospital was filled with two hundred quake-related victims. Two hours after the earthquake, the hospital was overflowing with eight hundred victims of earthquake and fire combined. There was no way for the hospital to cope with the number of injured. Some persons died before they could receive medical attention.

Despite the trauma and damage, widespread looting broke out and armed guards and police had to be posted throughout the city. Frightened survivors were forced to sleep in the open, and the lack of sanitary facilities and clean water sparked fears of possible disease outbreaks. Conservative estimates placed the number of dead at over one thousand but many more must have been burnt to cinders. Excluding the damage to public buildings, losses to the Kingston business sector were estimated at between £2 and £5 million.

In Port Royal, the old Artillery store which was built on sand was left tilted at a sharp angle. This lop-sidedness meant that afterwards, persons who entered the building experienced a loss of a sense of balance and for some, a dizzy sensation. From then until today, the Artillery store has become famously known as "the Giddy House".

The Old Artillery Store in Port Royal (the Giddy House) tilted by the 1907 Earthquake Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Interior of the Giddy House Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation



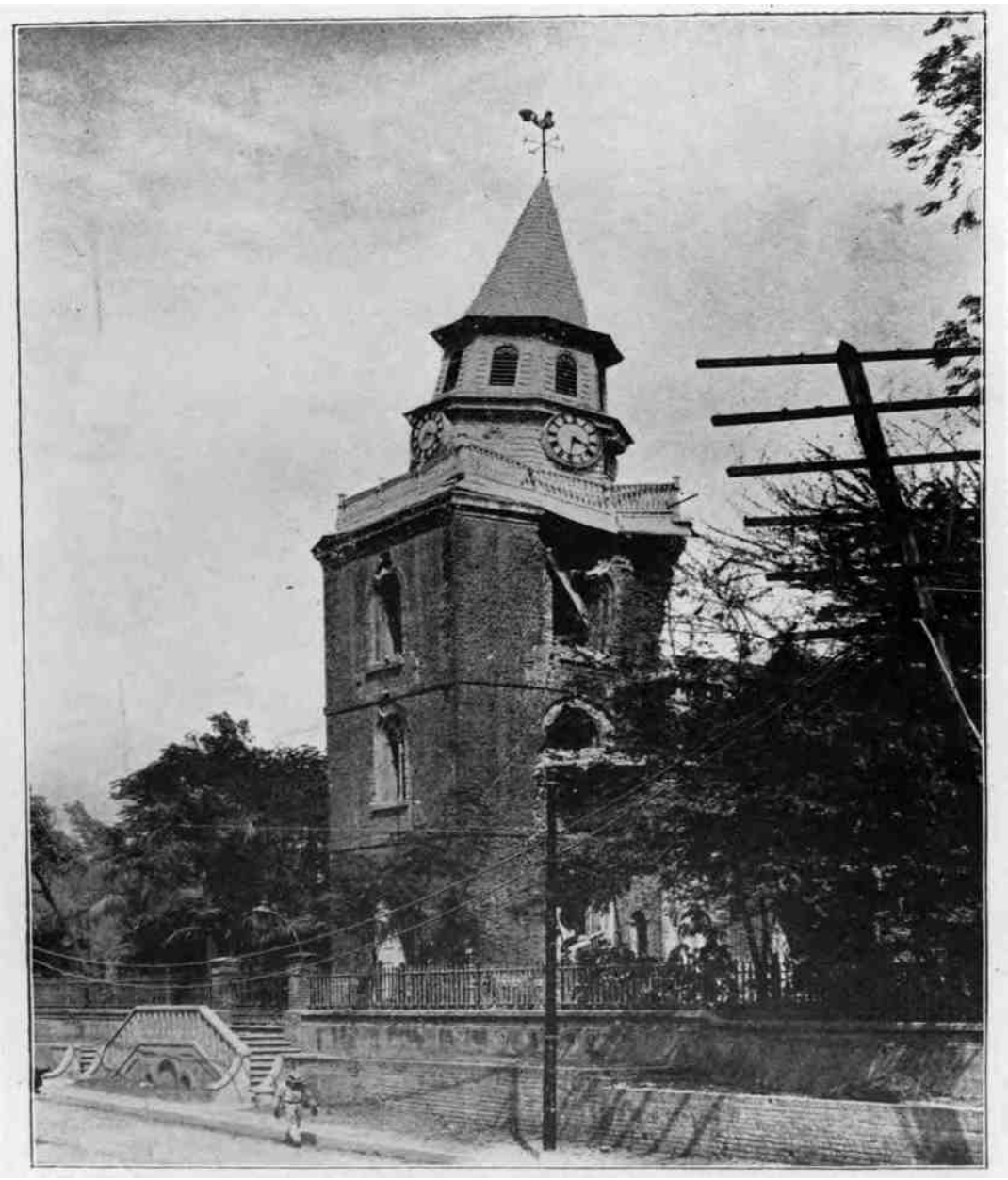
Another View of the Old Artillery Store (the Giddy House) Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

On the Palisadoes Peninsula, the Plumb Point Lighthouse which guided ships away from dangerous shoals was damaged beyond use and a large vessel ran aground just off Plumb Point. This sunken ship was never recovered and as late as 1960, a smaller freighter ran aground and was entangled in the underwater wreckage of the sunken ship. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to dislodge the freighter from the sunken wreck, and for many years, the rusting freighter remained both an eyesore as well as a hunting ground for scavengers. It was finally removed much later in Kingston's history.

Post-earthquake recovery efforts were almost immediate, and this was a testament to the resilience of the survivors as well as help that was forthcoming. A grant of £ 150,000 and a loan of £ 800,000 were secured from the British government, and this was shared among property owners, who were responsible for their own redevelopment. Assistance came from America, England and Cuba, in the form of ships laden with food and relief supplies, as well as additional numbers of surgeons and soldiers. International insurance companies, though slow to honour claims, eventually had to pay up and a steady process of rebuilding the city began. Both the earthquake and fire resulted in the adoption of new building codes which discouraged the use of bricks in construction. In the years that followed, regulations governing the construction of new buildings were based on the California earthquake building code.

No building escaped damage. A sample of those destroyed included the Supreme Court, the Colonial Bank, Bank of Nova Scotia, the Parish Church, the Merchants' Exchange, the City

Council Office, the Masonic Temple, the Theatre Royal, the Railway Terminus and the Cable Company's office, among many more.



Damaged Tower of the Kingston Parish Church after the 1907 Earthquake Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Among those who helped in the efforts to rebuild Kingston were the Henriques brothers (discussed at length in a later section). They set up Henriques Brothers Construction Company and Patent Cement Block Company and set about rebuilding. They replaced the Theatre Royal which was destroyed by the earthquake with the magnificent Ward Theatre, built at a cost of

£12,000 and presented as a gift to the city of Kingston by Colonel Ward, Custos of Kingston and partner in the company, J. Wray and Nephew Ltd. They also rebuilt the Masonic Lodge and many of the buildings in the heart of Kingston's business district of Harbour, King and Port Royal Streets. Originally made of bricks and utterly demolished by the earthquake, the Kingston Parish Church rose to its present state of architectural splendour by 1911 at a cost of £ 6,000.

Legacy of the Earthquake: The Monument

Sadly, there were 501 victims of the earthquake and fire who were never identified. As their charred and decomposing bodies were discovered, they were transported by carts to the May Pen Cemetery where they were hurriedly buried in two open trenches. The 1907 Earthquake Monument with its tall column, pointing to the heavens, stands on the site where the unidentified were buried. According to the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, the idea for a monument was inspired by John McKenzie, the then Superintendent of the May Pen Cemetery. He was concerned about the neglected state of the burial trenches. In 1908, the Gleaner Company launched a fund for the building of a suitable monument. There was a gratifying public response, and about £ 378 was raised. By 1909, the monument was completed and on Wednesday 2 June, 1909, approximately six thousand persons gathered to honour the dead and to witness the unveiling.

In 2016, restoration and improvement work was done on the Earthquake Monument. Marble tiles were added to the base of the Monument and landscaping was done to the surrounding grounds. Inscribed on the Monument is the reminder that although the dead were never identified, they are forever memorialised by their fellow citizens. The 1907 Earthquake Monument is also a timely reminder that disasters such as that which overtook Kingston in 1907 have the awesome power to level "the rich, the poor, the great (and) the small". [23]

Political Life in Kingston to 1962

In the late nineteenth century, foundations were laid which would help to shape the modern nation, including the city and parish of Kingston. At that time, the island had witnessed the emergence of an educated black middle class that had begun to express ideas of race consciousness and political participation in Jamaica's future. From their point of view, political participation meant influencing governmental policy through exercising the right to vote. Importantly, political participation also meant advocating for change through public discussions, through newspapers and other channels.

Some of these men, including **Robert Love**, were linked to Kingston. Although he was born in Nassau, Robert Love spent his later years living and working in Kingston. He was the editor of

the *Jamaica Advocate* (1895) which debated issues of race, and these discussions helped to shape the ideas of black advocates like Marcus Garvey. Love was elected to the Kingston Municipality in 1898. He was a firm believer in the importance of secondary education to the fulfilment of children's potential and criticised the fact that for most, education did not progress beyond the elementary schools. Love joined the Jamaica Union of Teachers in 1894 because education was important, and he maintained the value and significance of teachers to the country's development.

In the early 1900s, this trend continued and intensified by the 1930s. Members of the black middle class in Kingston and other parts of the island expressed political ideas related to nationhood and self-government. Robert Love continued his political activism in Kingston into the early twentieth century and was elected to the Legislative Council in 1906. He joined the National Club, which was like an early political party which had been formed in 1909 to "express national aspirations". Love then went on to form the People's Convention which was a means by which persons could meet to discuss issues of education for everyone, taxation, land distribution, voter registration and citizenship. This adopted son of Kingston became ill in 1906 and retired from active political life in 1910. Robert Love died on 21 November, 1914.

Marcus Garvey was not born in Kingston, but his activism was based in Kingston. Garvey was to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to Robert Love in the 1920s. Garvey's ideas and philosophy were apparently influenced by his readings of Love's *Jamaica Advocate*. Garvey was an officer of the Union of Printers which was formed in Kingston in 1907. He became a publisher and seems to have started his printing career at P. A. Benjamin. Garvey's participation in the strike by printers in Kingston in 1908 seems to have cost him his job at P.A. Benjamin. While in Kingston Garvey was also active in the National Club, becoming assistant secretary of that body in 1910. Garvey also established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). While he was in Kingston, Garvey also established Liberty Hall at 76 King Street. This was intended to be the office of the Kingston branch of the UNIA. Persons could go there to find out about job opportunities. Liberty Hall was also a venue for cultural activities and a place where political meetings could be held.

After he was deported from the USA in the late 1920s, Garvey became a newspaper publisher. His activism on political issues allowed him to be elected to the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation's Council in the late 1920s. By 1929, Garvey had formed Jamaica's first political party, the People's Political Party with an agenda that included self- government, free secondary education and a minimum wage for workers. Garvey's party contested the general election in January 1930, but most of the candidates were defeated, a loss which Garvey blamed on the insufficient number of black voters in the society. Nevertheless, by the mid-1930s, black and coloured representatives were able to secure a majority in the Legislature.

Liberty Hall on King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Entrance to Liberty Hall Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Working Class Agitation, 1930s

The decade of the 1930s was a period of activism among the working classes. It was a decade of labour unrest culminating in the formation of trade unions and the emergence of political parties. As it was the commercial centre of the island, Kingston was the scene of a great deal of this labour agitation in the 1930s, especially among dock workers and workers at the many wharves centred on the harbour. However, the labour unrest was not limited to these categories of workers. Grossly underpaid and exploited workers in Kingston's stores and shops agitated for better pay and working conditions while the unemployed gathered at building sites demanding work.

The 1938 Disturbances and Kingston

It may be argued that the disturbances in Kingston were ignited by the strike action taken by workers at Frome. However, the events that transpired in Kingston were triggered by circumstances that existed within the city even though the workers of Kingston held the same general grievances as workers across the island. They were all grossly underpaid and were all seeking improved terms and conditions of work. After the outbreak at Frome, Westmoreland, there was a very noticeable increase in worker agitation around the island and in Kingston in particular.

In early May, 1838, the Mayor of the Corporate Area indicated that he was aware of the growing discontent after the disturbance at Frome. According to reports, he had ridden around at nights for a week, and he had seen mass meetings attended by large crowds. He had also noticed that there was an unusual atmosphere of discontent around the streets and lanes of Kingston. It was his considered opinion that this discontent should not be dealt with by "bullets and bayonets."

On 9 May, there was an orderly march of unemployed job seekers through the streets of Kingston, and by 11 May, about one hundred unemployed persons demonstrated at Headquarters House and the offices of the KSAC. They asked that they be allowed to participate in the work that was being done in Trench Pen. On the following day, 12 May, an even larger but still orderly crowd, determined to have their requests met, demonstrated outside the meeting venue of the Legislative Council. They made it clear that they needed more than temporary jobs as these were just stop gap measures. On 13 May, thousands of unemployed persons walked around the streets of Kingston seeking work. They were accompanied along the way by policemen. During the course of their journey, they were addressed by Bustamante, who laid the blame at the doorstep of the government, which he argued, had failed to take action to help the unemployed.

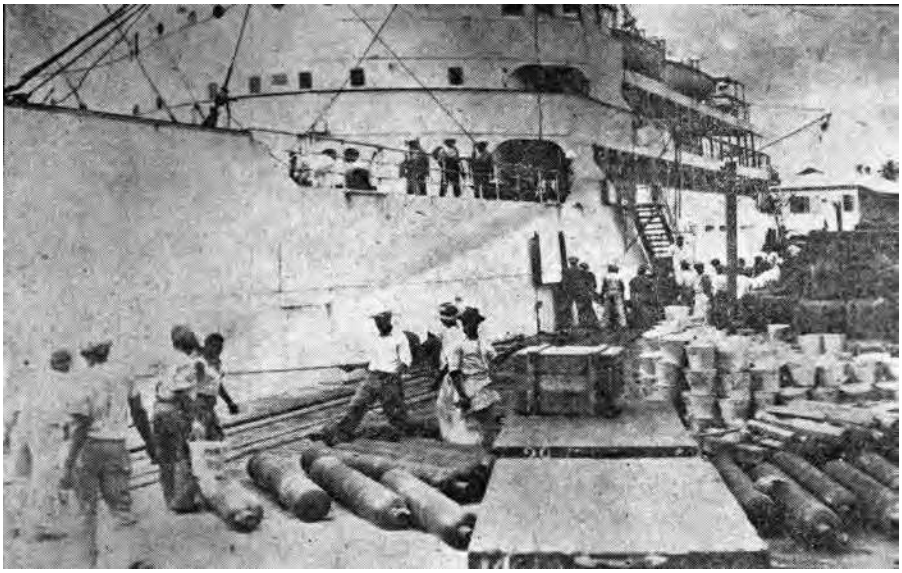
From the late nineteenth into the early twentieth centuries, Kingston had been one of the main centres of export in the highly profitable banana export trade. By the early decades of the twentieth century, this source of "green gold" had been largely controlled around the country by United Fruit Company and its agents. Transported by rail from various supply depots into Kingston, the easily bruised and damaged fruit was loaded by dockworkers employed to the United Fruit Company onto the ships from the docks of Kingston Harbour. Without the assistance of these dockworkers, the banana trade would be in jeopardy. Yet, the multi-national giant, United Fruit Company expected that these workers should make do with a paltry wage of nine pence per day. On 19 May, workers of the United Fruit Company walked off the job at the Kingston wharves. They demanded better working conditions and higher wages of at least one shilling a day. After a short discussion, they chose St William Grant, the "militant Garveyite" and street corner orator, to represent them.

Inspired by the stand taken by the United Fruit Company's dock workers and by their own predicament, workers from all around the parish participated in a general strike. Among those who heeded the call to "lay down their arms" were the city cleaners and wharf labourers. Garbage remained uncollected for days, factories were closed down, business places across Kingston were forced to close, and all tram, train and bus services came to a halt. The Kingston Fire Brigade, so crucial in a potentially volatile situation, demanded higher wages and threatened to join the striking workers across the city. The days of orderly marches and demonstrations were over. More than 2,000 unemployed persons forced 250 workers to stop working on a public project at Trench Pen on the outskirts of Kingston.

Addressing the striking workers on 22 May at a meeting on the water front, Bustamante and St William Grant urged striking dock labourers and banana loaders to persevere and to hold out for higher wages. According to Richard Hart, on 23 May, "an explosion of strikes and demonstrations erupted in the capital." As violence spilled over into the streets of Kingston, buildings were set on fire, Chinese shops were looted and one tram which was still running was derailed. A group of local troops, the Sherwood Foresters, had to force the not so orderly strikers to vacate premises such as the Kingston Railway Station, the Power House, the headquarters of the Telephone Company, the Sewage Pumping Station and the Electric Service Stations.

On 24 May, on orders from the governor, Alexander Bustamante and St William Grant were arrested for allegedly inciting public disorder. Cargo ships waiting in Kingston Harbour were diverted to Port Antonio. Striking workers in Kingston were not intimidated by threats of forceful action. In fact, the dock workers in the city resumed work only after an agreement was reached with United Fruit Company to give them an increase in wages. At the same time, public

pressure from the crowds of workers forced the authorities to release Bustamante and St William Grant by 28 May.



Kingston Waterfront Returns to Normal after 1938 (taken from the Gleaner, 1939) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Some Trade Unions before and After 1938

Trade unions were not legal in Jamaica before 1919 when the Trade Union Act was passed recognising trade unions. Early trade union organisations formed in the 1890s, such as the Artisans' Union, the Jamaica Union of Teachers and the Printers' Union, with which Garvey was associated while in Kingston, were not legal and could not be registered. In 1936, the first broad-based trade union, the Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union (JWTU) was formed by Allan George St Claver Coombs and Hugh Buchanan in a Kingston setting. Coombs met with labourers in the Kingston Race Course in 1936, and they agreed to be part of the JWTU, with Coombs as its president. In their effort to support workers, Coombs and the JWTU took part in a labour conference held at Liberty Hall, along with members of the UNIA in 1936.

After the 1938 labour disturbances, Alexander Bustamante formed the Kingston-based Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) in 1939. This umbrella trade union quickly absorbed other Kingston-based trade unions as it widened its membership. Among those absorbed was the Union of Transport Workers in Kingston, organised by Ken Hill, who became a Vice-

president of the BITU. Also absorbed was the Jamaica United Clerks Association, led by E.E. Campbell and F. A. Glasspole. They had helped to organise shopkeepers in some Kingston stores.

Other Political Organisations Based in Kingston from the 1930s Onwards

The period of the 1930s to the 1940s saw the emergence of a number of political organisations and associations concerned with the transfer of political power to local leaders. In most cases, these organisations were located and based in Kingston. Among these was the *Public Opinion,* a newspaper medium formed in 1936 by O.T. Fairclough, an accountant, Frank Hill, a newspaper reporter and H.P. Jacobs, a teacher and writer. The purpose of this medium was to discuss progressive ideas, including the need to establish a political party. Ken Hill, the brother of Frank Hill, also formed the National Reform Association (NRA). When the Peoples' National Party was formed, the NRA was discontinued. On 18 September, 1938, the Peoples' National Party was launched by Norman Manley at the Ward Theatre. Its agenda was in support of constitutional reform. In July 1943, the Jamaica Labour Party was formed by Alexander Bustamante. Its agenda identified strongly with the interests of the workers and in this sense, it was the political arm of the BITU. Business interests in Kingston, led by Abe Issa, formed the Jamaica Democratic Party.

The New Constitution of 1944, General Elections and Kingston

The 1944 Constitution

The new Constitution of 1944 provided for a House of Representatives whose members were to be elected. Universal Adult Suffrage was granted for the first time in Jamaica's history. All adult citizens of Jamaica (twenty one years and over) were given the right to vote. There would be a nominated legislative Council as an upper house with limited powers. The 1944 Constitution also provided for an Executive Council comprising the governor and ten members, five of whom would be chosen by the elected House of Representatives.

It may be said that the 1944 Constitution, in granting universal adult suffrage, brought full representative government to the people of Jamaica for the first time in its history. The representative government which had existed up until 1865 had not been truly representative in that only a small number of people could vote. 1944 was the first time that all adult Jamaicans received the right to vote, regardless of race, beliefs or economic status. This was

that all-important first step on the road to self-government and eventual independence in 1962.

First General Election under Universal Adult Suffrage 1944: Results for Kingston

Governor Sir John Huggins announced that the first general elections under the 1944 Constitution, to vote for the House of Representatives, were to be held on 14 December, 1944. In preparation for this important election, each parish was divided into political/geographical constituencies. Political parties which were to contest the election for seats in the House of Representatives were to nominate their candidates for each constituency. On Election Day, 14 December, 1944, the people of Jamaica would vote for the candidates from each constituency whom they wished to represent them in the House of Representatives.

The General Elections of 1944 and Kingston

Three political parties contested the General Elections of 1944. One of them was the Kingston-based Jamaica Democratic Party, led by businessman, Abe Issa. This party contested nine seats in all. The other two political parties, the Peoples' National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) were the two main contenders island-wide and in Kingston in particular. In 1944, there were only three constituencies in Kingston. These were Kingston Eastern and Port Royal, Kingston Central and Kingston Western. When the results of the historic election were known, Florizel Glasspole of the PNP won the right to represent Kingston Eastern and Port Royal. Frank Pixley of the JLP won Kingston Central and Alexander Bustamante won Kingston Western. Given Bustamante's campaigns from 1938 on behalf of the labouring poor of Kingston, this result was hardly surprising.

General Elections between 1949 and 1962 and Results for Kingston

The PNP made a clean sweep of Kingston in the General Elections of 1949. Florizel Glasspole again won Kingston Eastern for the PNP, while Wills O. Isaacs of the PNP took control of Kingston Central. Kenneth George Hill won the right to represent the people of Kingston Western for the PNP. In the 1955 General Elections, Florizel Glasspole, a well-liked and respected political representative, again won Kingston Eastern and Port Royal for the PNP. Similarly, Wills O. Isaacs of the PNP retained the seat of Kingston Central. Running for the JLP, Hugh Lawson Shearer won in Kingston Western.

In the 1959 General Election, Kingston had more constituencies (four in all) which allowed for more effective representation for the increasing population of the parish. Florizel Glasspole of the PNP won the Kingston Eastern constituency. Hubert Wallace, also of the PNP, won the Kingston Western constituency. The former constituency of Kingston Central was now divided

into Kingston West Central and Kingston East Central. It was a clean sweep for the PNP. Iris King won in Kingston West Central, while Wills O. Isaacs won Kingston East Central.

Kingston again favoured the PNP in the 1962 General Elections, with one important exception of Kingston Western. Florizel Glasspole once more won the seat in Kingston Eastern and Port Royal for the PNP. However, Kingston Western voted for the JLP's candidate, Edward Seaga, to represent them. Iris King of the PNP retained her seat in Kingston West Central, while Wills O. Isaacs won for the PNP in Kingston East Central.

Independent Jamaica

The year 1962 was a momentous year for Jamaica, and by extension, Kingston, the capital city and parish and the seat of government from which national decisions were made and communicated. In April, 1962, General Elections were held, resulting in Alexander Bustamante being entrusted with the leadership of the country on the eve of Independence. At the end of May, 1962, the West Indies Federation was dissolved, Jamaicans having voted to leave the Federation. At midnight on 5 August, 1962, Britain's Union Jack was lowered, and as the first few minutes of 6 August began, the flag of Jamaica was raised at the ceremony of Independence held at the National Stadium. The very first meeting of independent Jamaica's Parliament was held the next day at Gordon House in Kingston. Named in honour of National hero, George William Gordon, this new location of the House of Parliament had first been used on 26 October, 1960 when the meetings of parliament had been transferred from Headquarters' House.

George William Gordon House Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of Gordon House Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Independence did not result in changes to all the offices of administration of the island. Some aspects of governance at the parish level remained intact as seen in the continuation of the office of the Custos Rotulorum. At the start of 1962, the Hon. Dr Ludlow Moodie was the Custos of Kingston. One of the most notable changes that occurred was the replacement of the office of Governor by the office of the Governor General. On 1 December, 1962, Jamaica's first native Governor General, Sir Clifford Campbell, took office. [24]

Changing Economic Fortunes of Kingston in the Twentieth Century

Employment and Occupations in Kingston before Independence

During the First and Second World Wars, Jamaica, like other British colonies, contributed to the war effort. Many Jamaicans participated in this war, with many making the ultimate sacrifice of surrendering their lives. Their deaths did not go unnoticed and in 1922, a monument, known as the Cenotaph, was erected in memory of those who died in the first war. This monument was built in the area adjacent to Church Street.

The Cenotaph in Kingston Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

By 1953, the Cenotaph was dismantled and re-erected at today's National Heroes' Park, where it stands to honour the sacrifice made by Jamaicans in both World Wars. At the end of the First World War, surviving Jamaican soldiers returned home, many of them to Kingston, only to find that employment was hard to come by.

Labour unrest and the riots of 1938 had shown the extent of the challenges faced by the working class in various parts of the country, and in particular, in Kingston during the decade of the 1930s. With the start of the Great Depression after 1929, the United States' economy and those of European countries were severely affected. For countries like Jamaica, this meant a reduction in exports and the prices obtained for exports to the American and European countries. This triggered a sharp decline in local wages, as well as a rise in unemployment as employers were forced to cut their work force in response to the worldwide economic crisis.

Between 1920 and 1929, there had been opportunities for employment outside of Jamaica in countries like Cuba, the USA, Panama, Costa Rica and Honduras. During the downturn of the Great Depression, Jamaican workers, especially in Central America, were forced to return home, with many joining the ranks of the unemployed. The problem of unemployment was made worse by the rapid increase of Kingston's population resulting from natural increase, migration from the countryside and the return of large numbers of workers displaced from Central America. By 1921, the population of Kingston had increased to 62,700, compared to approximately 48,000 before the earthquake of 1907. According to Clarke, between 1921 and

1943, more than 2,000 were arriving in Kingston each year from the rural parishes in search of jobs. During the depression of the 1930s, unemployment became the biggest problem facing the labour force in Kingston. This was played out in the many “marches of the unemployed” which occurred during the disturbances of 1938.

By the 1940s, there appears to have been some recovery and greater hope for employment in certain sectors of Kingston’s economy. Using the 1943 Census, Colin Clarke showed that by that year, the manufacturing and mechanical industries were the largest employers of male labour in the parish of Kingston. These areas of occupation were followed closely by construction, public service, trade, transport and communications. However, the pattern of female employment in the parish was quite different, with domestic service being the largest employer, followed by the public service, trade and manufacturing. Very importantly throughout this period in Kingston’s history, race, colour of skin, social class and educational background were all deciding factors on who gained employment and where.

While Kingston’s commercial and business life continued to recover and even to prosper, the benefits of this were hardly seen by everyone. Owners of businesses and companies, merchants, traders and professionals continued to gain positive results from Kingston’s economy, while the unemployed and the poorly paid working class found life increasingly difficult. For some of them, their lives were mostly lived out in the overcrowded and sub-standard conditions that existed in Kingston’s slums.

The Business and Commercial Life of Kingston before Independence

From the later nineteenth century, Kingston had established itself as the business and commercial centre of Jamaica. Despite the early setback of the destructive 1907 earthquake and fire, the resilient business sector of the city was able to rise once more. In the first half of the twentieth century leading right up to Independence, there was every indication that business and commerce in Kingston continued to thrive, expand and to diversify in keeping with the changes in the society. Importantly, from listings in the Commercial Directories of the early twentieth century, it was clear that Kingston led the other parishes in the numbers and types of businesses that existed there.

Among the listed businesses were those that offered professional services. Most of these were located within the original city grid. Included in this group were accountants, commission agents, auctioneers and engineers. The legal fraternity seemed to have been a significant area of service. There was an abundance of solicitors in several parishes, but the majority were located in Kingston. Of the five barristers listed in the island by 1910, all were in Kingston, located mainly on Duke Street as well as East Street. No doubt because of its status as capital and also because of its growing population, Kingston by 1910, had the majority of professionals

in the medical services. Most of the island's physicians and surgeons were based in Kingston while of the thirty four dentists listed in the country, twenty were in Kingston. All three veterinary surgeons were based in Kingston at that time while four out of six listed opticians were also in Kingston.

In the first sixty years of the twentieth century, there were a number of indices of economic change. Among these were changes in the financial sector. As seen earlier, the later nineteenth century had witnessed the establishment of the Colonial Bank on Harbour Street and then the Bank of Nova Scotia on King Street. However, the establishment of the **Bank of Jamaica** marked a new phase in the country's financial affairs.

The Bank of Jamaica at Nethersole Place today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The fully government owned and controlled bank was founded in October 1960 by the Bank of Jamaica Act. As Jamaica was preparing for the journey to political independence, it was necessary to have a government owned bank which would encourage financial development. In the setting of political independence as of 1962, the Bank of Jamaica would give the country the

right to operate its own banking system and issue its own currency. The Bank of Jamaica was opened on King Street for business on 1 May, 1961 and was relocated at a later date to its present location at Nethersole Place on the waterfront. Importantly, even after Independence, currency notes issued by the Bank of Jamaica still bore the image of Queen Elizabeth. This changed as of 1968 when Jamaica substituted the images of our National Heroes.

While other towns/parishes offered other categories of services, most were concentrated in Kingston, and it was not unheard of for Kingston to be the only place where certain services such as clothes cleaners could be accessed. There were four clothes cleaners in Kingston in 1910 and of these, two were provided by companies, Kingston Steam Laundry on Harbour Street and Nathan and Company. Interestingly, there were also three laundries listed in the country, and these were all in Kingston but were different entities from the clothes cleaners. There were seven book binders in Kingston by 1910, and they were to be found mainly on Church, Harbour and King Streets. All thirteen book sellers listed for Jamaica by 1910 were in Kingston in places like Duke, King, Harbour and Barry Streets.

As was the case in the later nineteenth century, wholesale and retail businesses dominated the commercial scene of twentieth century Kingston. A wide range of goods, including personal consumption items like food and drink, groceries, household items and footwear was available. For example, of the eighteen retail boot and shoes suppliers listed for the island by 1910, thirteen were based in Kingston. In addition to the traditional carriage dealers from earlier, newer modes of transportation, such as bicycles, were also important in the retail trade of Kingston. Of the seven bicycle dealers in the country by 1910, five were in Kingston. Well-established businesses like Nathan and Company were diversifying their offerings by moving into the bicycle retail trade.

There were a number of skilled trades which offered services to the community. These included bakers, laundry services, tailors, dressmakers, blacksmiths and automobile repairers. Of note is the fact that dressmaking and tailoring services were gradually being taken over by stores which carried these as part of their general offerings. Plumbing services were offered by 1910, and all five of the listed plumbers were based in Kingston. Photography was increasingly in demand by the early twentieth century, and five of the seven listed photographers had their businesses in Kingston. Along with the long-standing services offered by Duperly and Son at 85 King Street, there was also the photography studio of E. Morais, located at 51 Hanover Street. Morais' photography would long remain a household name in Kingston.

Artisans offered more than repair services. For example, in the twentieth century, blacksmiths were in some instances manufacturers on an industrial scale. There were six blacksmithing services in Jamaica by 1910, and all six were in Kingston. Of the six, three were companies which were engaged in manufacturing, using the skills of the blacksmith on that level. The three

companies were Adams and Abrahams at 48 West Street, Ward, Pinto and Company at 4 1/2 East Queen Street and Kingston Industrial Works located at 13 West Street. Especially after the 1907 earthquake and fire, the need to rebuild, especially in the business sector, increased the demand for builders and contractors, as well as for businesses offering builders' supplies. Of the twenty builders and contractors listed for the island, by 1910, nineteen were located in Kingston. Four out of five businesses dealing in builders' supplies were located in Kingston. These companies were Leonard De Cordova at 133 Harbour Street, D. Henderson and Company at King and Harbour Streets, C.T. Isaacs at 117 and 119 Harbour Street and Adolph Levy Brothers on Lower Orange Street. Engineers and boiler makers were increasingly in demand by the twentieth century, and all seven listed as in operation by 1910 were in Kingston.

Lascelles de Mercado Company Ltd. Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Manufacturing was an important part of the economic vibrancy of Kingston in the first six decades of the twentieth century. By 1910, most of the sixty two listed factories in the island were located in Kingston. Among the goods processed in these factories were tobacco, leather, mineral water (aerated water or sodas) beer and ale, dyewood, banana and cassava starch. Of

the eleven companies in 1910 which made mineral waters on the island, seven were in Kingston. These included Edwin Charley at 64 King Street, Eugene Desnoes at 182 Harbour Street and West Indies Aerated Water Company on Orange Street. There were five cigar manufacturers in Kingston, separate and apart from cigar dealers and tobacconists. The cigar manufacturing businesses included G.A. Abrahams at the corner of Port Royal and Duke Streets, G. Hunt and Company at 22a West Parade, Jamaica Tobacco Company at 4 Princess Street, B. and J. B. Machado Ltd. at 12 ½ King Street and M. Morais at 76a Harbour Street. In 1911, a biscuit-making plant began production. It was around this time that sugar machinery and spare parts were finally being made locally. One Kingston-based business had also started the manufacturing of tiles locally, and this was the Jamaica Tile Company which was located at 13 Duke Street.

Harbour Street looking east showing A. J. Samuels' Store, tramcar lines and other shops and stores Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Between 1918 and 1940, there was an expansion of the manufacturing sector in Kingston. Most of the factories were processing local raw material (agricultural and otherwise) for the local market. Products included confectionary (sweets), neon signs, tiles, blocks, leather, footwear, washing soda, matches, ice cream and frozen products, cooking pastes and powders,

condensed milk, cigars and cigarettes. Of the five dairies listed in the island by 1910, three were in Kingston. These included Bushy Park Dairy, at 9 to 11 West Street, Emerald Park Dairy, located at 35 ¾ South Camp Road and Mapp's Dairy, on Laws Street. By the 1950s, there were signs of a further shift towards industrialisation.

This was reflected in the establishment of agencies concerned with the development of the sector. In 1952, both the Agricultural Development Corporation and the Industrial Development Corporation were started. In that year as well, the Caribbean Cement Company began manufacturing cement in Jamaica. The cement plant was located at Rock Fort, four miles from the city of Kingston, but still within the parish boundaries. By 1960, there was further expansion in the manufacturing sector. New businesses emerged while some were amalgamated and factories were remodelled.

A View of the Caribbean Cement Company at Rock Fort Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Not surprisingly, as the business needs of Kingston expanded so did the range of goods and services offered by several companies. Some long-established companies like Nathan and Company had branches in other parishes. Nathan's had branches in Port Maria, Savanna-la-Mar and Montego Bay by 1910. Additionally, Nathan and Company at the corner of King and Barry Streets diversified its offerings in keeping with the changing needs of twentieth-century Kingston. Along with curio items (souvenirs and antiques), they offered dress-making and clothes-cleaning services. They were also one of Kingston's largest wholesalers and retailers of dry goods as well as wholesalers and retailers of boots and shoes. Nathan's was also a long-standing supplier of ladies' and gents' clothing. They had also ventured into book selling. As bicycles became a popular means of transport around town, Nathan's became a trusted dealer

in bicycles. C.T. Isaacs at 117 to 119 Harbour Street were also bicycle dealers, carriage dealers, providers of building supplies, sellers of china, glass and earthenware, as well as providers of cooperage (items like barrels, buckets, rakes and shovels).

Twentieth-Century Businesses in Kingston Linked to Transport

Transportation by Car

Kingston Industrial Garage (KIG) Leads the Way

In the opening years of the twentieth century, a new dimension was added to transportation in Kingston. This was the motor car, which was gas-powered and quite different from the late nineteenth-century horse cars which had been dependent on horses or mules for movement. Black River, St Elizabeth has the distinction of being the first place in Jamaica where the motor car was introduced in 1903. Kingston, however, was not far behind, with the Ford Model –T being the first car to be driven through Kingston. The importation of the Ford Model-T into Kingston was the achievement of a Kingston-based business family, the Henriques Brothers. There were six brothers who formed Henriques Brothers. They were Vernon Cohen, Owen Karl (OK), Emanuel, Rudolph Daniel, Horace and Fabian.

Kingston Industrial Garage was established by the Henriques Brothers, spearheaded by Owen Karl (OK). Kingston Industrial Garage (KIG) was intended to serve as a dealership for the importation of the Ford Model-T. The plan was also to operate a garage at KIG where repairs to these early motor cars could be done. Kingston Industrial Garage was opened on Pechon Street in downtown Kingston on 15 January, 1908. The very first car which was sold was the Ford Model-T. Kingston Industrial Garage, which operates today on Spanish Town Road, is of great historic importance to Kingston's business history and to Jamaica as a whole. Founded in Kingston, KIG is Jamaica's oldest car dealership. It also has the distinction of being the oldest dealership specializing in Ford vehicles outside of the USA.

In 1916, as business expanded, KIG relocated to more spacious premises on Darling Street. During the Second World War, the company again relocated, this time to Church Street. It was destroyed by fire in 1947 and subsequently rebuilt as a modern garage. Continued expansion of the business made it necessary to relocate to Spanish Town Road in the 1970s. In 1948, on the fortieth anniversary of KIG, Henriques was congratulated by Henry Ford 11.

By 1910, Kingston also had another automobile dealer, the **Jamaica Motor Company,** which was located on 16 King Street. They also had a facility for carrying out automobile repairs. Also providing automobile repair service at that time were **Adams and Abrahams**, located at 48

West Street in Kingston. Although he started out by operating a clothing store in Kingston in 1908, Edgar Motta switched to motor cars by 1926. He established **E.C. Motta, Motor Cars, Services and Supplies** in 1926, with locations on Tower Street, Water Lane and Gold Street.

By 1938 with a lot more cars on Kingston's roads, there was a need for more repair services, catering to different types of cars. In 1938, Lionel Arthur Stewart established **Stewart's Auto Supplies and Repairs** on Hanover Street. In its early years, the business was primarily a service garage. Stewart's focused on repairing cars that were much in use at that time, such as the Hillman, Austin, Chevrolet and Ford. Since then, the business has evolved into dealerships as well as service providers, and younger generations of the Stewart family have taken charge of the company today.

A Multi-Purpose Company in Kingston: Grace, Kennedy and Company Limited: The Early Years

Grace, Kennedy and Company Ltd. was established on 14 February, 1922 by Dr John J. Grace and Mr Fred William Kennedy. Both founders used to work for Grace Ltd. which was a subsidiary of W.R. Grace and Company of New York. Fred W. Kennedy (of Jamaican roots) invited James Moss-Solomon (also of Jamaican roots) to be the accountant in the new company. The first meeting of Grace, Kennedy and Company Ltd. was held on 15 February, 1922 at the Duke Street offices of solicitors, Cargill, Cargill and Dunn. Office accommodation for the new company was at 64 Harbour Street, Kingston. By 1924, they had built their own wharf (Grace Wharf), which was later expanded when the company bought the adjoining premises which housed Lindo's Lumber Yard.

By the 1930s, Grace, Kennedy and Company Ltd. were representatives of thirty two overseas manufacturers and were importing a wide variety of goods, including steel safes, liquors, rice, salted and pickled fish and counter flour. Besides being general importers, they were also commission merchants, steamship and insurance agents. Throughout the period 1922 to 1950, the company focussed on the importation of counter flour and salted fish, items which they termed as staples of the working class. In the years to come, Grace, Kennedy and Company Ltd. would considerably diversify its offerings. [25]

Families in Business in Twentieth-Century Kingston

Kingston's business landscape was marked by the contributions of families who persevered for several generations, while ensuring the continuation or even the expansion of the business. Some of these family-owned businesses started out in the nineteenth century and survived into the twentieth. Several of these Kingston families were members of the Jewish community. A few examples of these families are given below.

The **Lindo family** name is etched into the commercial life of the city of Kingston from the early eighteenth century. Dealing mainly with wines and liquors, S.C. Lindo continued the long family business tradition by establishing his branch at West Parade in 1900. Lindo then moved to Port Royal Street, and like so many other Kingston businesses, suffered destruction in the 1907 earthquake. There had been sufficient recovery by 1912, and during this period, it was relocated to Orange Street. In particular, S. C. Lindo was noted for its White Label Rum, Planter's Punch Rum and Edward the V11 Whiskey, Brandy and Gin. A specialist in the blending and bottling of Jamaican rum, Lindo took part in the 1924 Wembly Exhibition.

The **Motta family** business began with Edgar Motta who opened a clothing store, the Louvre in downtown Kingston in 1908. As seen in the previous section, E.C. Motta had switched to dealing in motor cars, establishing E.C. Motta, Motor Cars, Services and Supplies in 1926. Business had become prosperous enough to allow the setting up of three locations in all, which were on Tower Street, Water Lane and Gold Street. When Edgar died in 1941, his son continued the business until the 1990s. Edgar was the uncle of Stanley Motta, another well- known family name in the business circle of Kingston. Stanley Motta started his business, Stanley Motta Limited, on Church Street in 1932, selling a variety of products, including radios, audio equipment and photographic supplies and equipment. Stanley Motta Ltd remained the place to go for photographic needs of all types until the 1970s when he migrated. Musson Jamaica Ltd purchased the company and kept it in operation into the twenty first century.

The **Matalon family** name is etched into the landscape of Jamaican business history. Mayer Matalon was one of eleven children of Joseph Matalon, an immigrant to Jamaica from Syria in the late nineteenth century. At the end of the Second World War, he and other members of the family pooled their resources and formed the Commodity Service Company Limited on Orange Street in Kingston. In the early period, Commodity Service Company Ltd was focused on the distribution of pharmaceuticals.

By the 1980s, this family-based company had evolved into the ICD Group, with interests in the distribution of pharmaceuticals and dry goods, pharmacy and restaurant operations, biscuit manufacturing and distribution, dairy and milk production, concrete-making, construction and housing development, grain and feed import, supermarket businesses, car dealerships, appliance and furniture retailing, as well as other enterprises. Another member of the family, Eli Joseph Matalon, was the manager of two subsidiaries of the ICD Group, Tropicair Jalousies and West Indies Paints. Today, ICD Group operates at 7 to 9 Harbour Street, Kingston.

The **de Cordova family** made a wide range of contributions to the development of business and commerce in Kingston. At the start of the twentieth century, Cecil de Cordova and Company were commissioned merchants with offices at 146 Harbour Street and 49 Port Royal Street. By 1919 Gabriel Joshua, Cecil's son, joined the company, becoming a partner in 1926 and then

chairman by 1944. The company dealt with sales of foodstuffs, wines and spirits, exports of Jamaican products, and were agents for pharmaceuticals and distributors of Horlicks Malted Milk, a popular item with Jamaican consumers during the 1960s and 1970s.

Another de Cordova family business was de Cordova Agencies, established on Harbour Street in the 1860s by Joshua de Cordova, one of the founders of the Gleaner Company. At its factory on West Street, the company built horse drawn carriages and were suppliers of harnesses and saddlery. Later into the twentieth century, from 1931 onwards, de Cordova Agencies were associated with road and building machinery, sugar factory equipment, sporting guns and rifles, Rothman's cigarettes and tobacco. The company was managed by Colonel Michael de Cordova until 1970.

Leonard de Cordova Ltd started business after the 1907 earthquake. They started operations on Little Port Royal Street as lumber and hardware merchants. Leonard's nephew, Lionel de Cordova, joined the company in 1919. He became manager of what was then the hardware and lumber division. This aspect of the company is today known as Hardware and Lumber Ltd.

The Issa Family

Abe Issa was born in 1905 in Rae Town, Kingston to Palestinian parents who were originally from Bethlehem. Abe and his brother Joseph followed in the footsteps of their parents, who were wholesale merchants. Their father, Elias, had established a very successful wholesale dry goods business in Kingston. In later years, Abe and his brother, Joe, helped to run their father's wholesale business. Soon, the wholesale business evolved into a retail store on King Street, which they named after the family, Issa's. Issa's on King Street was opened in 1930. Before long, Issa's became one of the most sought after stores on King Street as they developed a reputation for offering the best in clothes, shoes, household goods and toys. Abe Issa brought a personal touch to his business which was clearly a recipe for success. From reports, he got to know his regular customers very well and he always stood at the entrance to welcome them by name and to thank them for shopping as they departed. The Issa family went on to establish three other stores on King Street. In later years they bought the equally popular Nathan's which was next door to Issa's. By the 1960s, Issa's on King Street had become Kingston's leading retail group. Abe Issa's outstanding contributions to the growth of tourism in the capital are discussed under the section on Tourism.

The **Henriques family** was well established in Kingston's business history. Samuel Phillipe Cohen Henriques had six sons who together formed the Henriques Brothers (Vernon Cohen, Owen Karl (OK), Emanuel, Rudolph Daniel, Horace and Fabian. After the 1907 earthquake, the brothers formed Henriques Brothers Construction and Patent Cement Block Company. They obtained contracts to rebuild several places in Kingston up to 1912. Some of their building efforts

included the synagogue on Duke Street, the Masonic Temple on Harbour Street and the Ward Theatre. Henriques Brothers constructed many of the post-earthquake structures in the business district of Port Royal, King and Harbour Streets.

As seen earlier, they were the founders of Kingston Industrial Garage (KIG), but they also established Kingston Industrial Works (KIW) in 1908. Located then on Darling Street, KIW was at first concerned with foundry and machinery works. KIW established Belmont Dry-Dock in Kingston in the 1930s where ships were repaired. This company made a useful contribution to ship repairs during the Second World War. Importantly, KIW also trained young engineers and provided employment for approximately two hundred skilled workers. Five of the Henriques brothers died by the mid-1950s, and the business passed to the next generation. Ainsley Henriques, the grandson of one of the brothers, Emanuel Henriques, continues his family's tradition of public service. [26]

Transport, Communications and Utilities in Kingston in the Twentieth Century

Tramways

As seen earlier, the foundations of an efficient transportation system in and around Kingston were laid in the late nineteenth century. It was then that the tramway system became established. As seen earlier, motor cars and bicycles were also established as methods of transportation for those who could afford them. In the 1907 earthquake, large sections of the tramlines were damaged and five cars were totally destroyed. Nevertheless, serious efforts were made to recover, and within a relatively short space of time, the tramway system was partially back up and running. The second decade of the twentieth century brought new operators of the tramway in Kingston. In May 1923, the West India Electric Company was taken over by the Canadian based Jamaica Public Service Company, which would eventually control all electric utilities throughout the island. By 1924, it was reported that the company operated thirty nine passenger cars (tram), one service car, one freight car, six trailer freight cars and two locomotives. By 1924, there were 26.62 miles of tramlines in Kingston.

The tramway was an important part of the movement of produce from outlying areas to the markets and port of the city of Kingston. There were two terminus points which helped to make this possible. These were the terminus of the Constant Spring line and the Papine terminus of the Hope Gardens line. United Fruit Company used the Constant Spring line to take the cargo of bananas from its terminus to downtown Kingston where the bananas were then loaded on to the vessels at the docks. Trains operated by the Jamaica Railway Corporation also transported cargoes of bananas and other fruit into Kingston for shipment. Despite its importance, by 10 May, 1948, the Kingston tramway was closed. Due to public protest and demand, the Rock Fort

line continued until August of that year. It appears that the Public Service Company could not maintain the system and was unable to build the extensions that were needed.

Tramcar and Buggy on King Street in 1922 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Jamaica Omnibus Services Ltd

The Jamaica Omnibus Services Ltd. started operations in Jamaica in December 1953. In its early history, the company was financed by overseas investors, British Electric Traction Company Ltd. and United Transport Company Ltd. According to the terms of the contract agreement, the company was required to provide public passenger transport services within and throughout the Corporate Area (Kingston and St Andrew). By 1954, the population of Kingston and St Andrew combined stood at about 330,000 and the areas served within the two parishes were necessarily limited. This twentieth-century “bus” as the travelling public termed it, was definitely not to be confused with the nineteenth-century bus or buss, which was a heavy four wheeler, drawn by a pair of horses and capable of holding four persons and a driver.

Services of the Jamaica Omnibus Service Ltd. were based in Kingston. The head office and the bus depot where the buses were parked when not in service were all located in downtown Kingston. In the 1950s and the early 1960s, most of the bus routes had one central terminus, and this was located inside Victoria Park. Each bus route (identified by a number and the final destination of the bus route shown on a screen at the front of the bus) had its own designated parking area within Victoria Park, which at that time had roads running from the Ward Theatre entrance to the park down to the Parish Church exit by South Parade.

Victoria Park in the 1950s and early 1960s showing buses parked awaiting schoolchildren and other passengers Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

As the service expanded, so did the Kingston Terminus. Both South Parade and later North Parade and eventually King Street became part of the Kingston Bus Terminus.

Although all the bus routes originated and then terminated in downtown Kingston, the reach of the Jamaica Omnibus Service extended beyond the confines of the small parish of Kingston into

St Andrew, where suburban residences had been established and where there were schools and places of work. So for example, one bus route ran from downtown Kingston through Cross Roads, Half-Way-Tree and up Constant Spring Road (in the 1960s a two-way road) dropping off school children at Holy Childhood High, St Andrew High and Immaculate Conception High School before ending its route in lower Stony Hill. For the return journey, the routes were the same, and in the 1960s there was less traffic and congestion on the roads. Another route took passengers from downtown Kingston along the entire stretch of Waltham Park Road to its "Four Roads" intersection with Molynes Road, then departing on the return journey. Fares were charged according to the number of stages through which the passenger wished to go and the buses ran according to a time schedule which was usually maintained.

The Palisadoes International Airport, now the Norman Manley International Airport

Before the twentieth century, Kingston's links to the outside world were all by sea, with cargo and passengers entering and leaving by way of a variety of shipping choices. During the 1930s, Pan American Airways began a passenger service to Kingston, using sea planes which landed in Kingston Harbour. Passengers then disembarked at a small terminal located at Harbour Head. In 1948, when the Palisadoes International Airport first started operations, this strengthened Kingston's gateway to the rest of the world by way of air travel.

When the Second World War broke out, the British Fleet Air Arm built an airfield on the Palisadoes Peninsula. In order to assist with the war effort, the British government took command of the Palisadoes airfield and used it as a Royal Navy Air Station. By 1944, as the European phase of the war drew to a close, the Royal Navy Air Station was no longer needed and on 31 December, 1944, the Palisadoes airfield was turned over to civilian use. The Palisadoes Peninsula was seen as a suitable location for Kingston's international airport because it was only ten miles away from the city centre, and the road connecting the strip to the rest of Kingston was in fairly good condition.

In 1948, the Palisadoes International Airport was first opened to a limited number of flights. Improvements were made to upgrade the airport and a brand new Terminal building, complete with the Air Traffic Control Tower and administrative offices, were all completed by 1961. This was an ambitious but highly successful project on the part of the government. A Jamaican firm, led by the contractor, A. D. Scott, was responsible for the construction which cost approximately £ 750,000. On 27 July, 1961 Jamaica's Chief Minister, Norman Manley, officially opened the new Palisadoes International Airport. Quite appropriately, the name of Kingston's international airport was subsequently changed to the Norman Manley International Airport.

The Palisadoes Airport Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Ferry Service between Kingston City and Port Royal

Throughout most of the twentieth century, the ferry service has operated between Port Royal (which became a part of the parish of Kingston in 1867) and the city of Kingston itself. For a fee which varied with the passing of time, ferry-boat operators took passengers (including tourists) from Kingston city across the harbour to the Port Royal Jetty, which was the docking place where passengers disembarked for Port Royal. Some of these passengers were also residents of Port Royal who had taken the ferry across to the city of Kingston, most likely to do some shopping. In Kingston city itself, the departure point for the ferry to Port Royal was the pier at the bottom of Princess Street. The ferry service was more or less regular. During the week, departures from Kingston started at 7:00 a.m. and ended promptly at 7:00 p.m. The service continued on weekends, but with a different schedule. Departures from Port Royal started from 7:30 a.m. and ended at 7:30 p.m. on weekdays. Passengers from Port Royal also enjoyed the

use of the service on weekends. For visitors and locals alike, this was an exciting opportunity to sail across the water and provided passengers with an interesting view of the harbour.

As time passed, the jetty in Port Royal was left in a dilapidated state as it began to rot away. Port Royal's fisher folk in particular, were concerned about this as it meant reduced numbers of persons coming across from the city to purchase fresh fish. Quite recently, the Port Authority of Jamaica rebuilt the Port Royal Jetty as part of its plans to prepare Port Royal to receive its first cruise ship. The improved jetty allowed the fisher folk to make use of the ferry service once more. This also meant that more visitors could arrive by ferry from Kingston city to Port Royal.

The Port Royal Jetty from which the Ferry Service to Kingston Departed Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the Port Royal Jetty Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Other Developments in Cable, Telephone, Radio and Water Supply

International Cable Telegraphic Communication

From the later nineteenth century, the laying of submarine or underwater cables had provided the foundation by which Jamaica was put in telegraphic communication with the rest of the Caribbean and then with the rest of the world. The two telegraphic cable companies which spearheaded this effort had offices which were located in Kingston on Port Royal Street. These cable companies were the West India and Panama Telegraph Company and the Direct West India Telegraph Company. By 1898, telegraphic communication links had been established between Cuba, Jamaica, Turks and Caicos, Bermuda, Puerto Rico, St Thomas, St Kitts, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Trinidad, British Guiana, St Vincent, Barbados, St Croix, St Lucia and Grenada.

The successful laying of the underwater cable between Cuba and Jamaica had also established telegraphic communication between Jamaica and Europe. A similar connection between Halifax and Jamaica paved the way for telegraphic communication between Jamaica and North America. International cable communications (cablegrams) between Jamaica and the rest of the world were sent from the offices of the two cable companies on Port Royal Street. In 1938, the West India and Panama Telegraph Company changed its name to Cable and Wireless (West Indies) Ltd.

Telephone Service in Kingston: Late Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth Century

A very limited telephone service was established in Kingston from 1878 onwards. Perhaps the first reference to the beginnings of a telephone service was the laying of a telephone line between Headquarters House and the residence of then governor of Jamaica, Sir Anthony Musgrave. The *Daily Gleaner* of 27 May, 1878 reported that the apparatus and workmanship cost £ 200. From 1878 to 1892, the company which was in charge of this limited telephone service was the West India Telegraph and Telephone Company, with offices at the corner of King and Port Royal Streets. Between 1878 and 1880, the public offices of the Post Office, Fire Brigade and Constabulary in Kingston were provided with telephone connection. Some of the early telephone service in Kingston was battery operated, as was the case with the service between the Chamber of Commerce's office and the Myrtle Bank Hotel.

During this earlier period, apart from the groups mentioned above, telephone service was limited to about thirty merchants in Kingston who subscribed to the service by paying a rental to the company. For example, in 1881, telephone wires were run from Mr G. De Cordova's Coach Factory to the office of the *Gleaner Company* (both at that time on Harbour Street). By 1890, the West India Telegraph and Telephone Company had expanded its list of paid subscribers in Kingston. Merchants and businessmen continued to be the main subscribers in the city. By 1890, the office of the Kingston Telephone Exchange was relocated to 2 East Street. Telephone poles, some of which were about sixty feet tall, were erected along Port Royal Street between East Street and Mark Lane and telephone wires run on those poles. In 1892, the Jamaica Telephone Company was incorporated and acquired the telephone operations of the West Indies Telegraph and Telephone Company Ltd.

Twentieth-century improvements saw the further extension of telephone service within the parish and outside. On 3 April, 1936, an international radio-telephone service was established, which connected Kingston with the United States, England, Canada, Mexico and Cuba. On 1 April, 1939, internal communication by telephone was considerably increased with the opening of an All-Island Trunk Telephone Service. With the Jamaica Telephone Company still in charge of operations, by August 1966, there were 50,875 telephones in use on the island, and of these over 37,000 were in the Kingston area. A Telex system had also been introduced in June 1964.

The Start of Radio Broadcasting

When radio broadcasting was started in Jamaica, the physical location of operations was just outside of Kingston in the neighbouring parish of St Andrew. Nevertheless, this is looked at here as radio broadcasting was a momentous development in the island's history, changing lives for all who could access it both in Kingston and around the island. Non-commercial radio broadcasting really started in 1939. This took the form of amateur radio or "ham" operators, as

they were termed in those days. This service was provided by John Grinan, who operated NJ2PZ (later changed to VP5PZ) at his base at 2 Seaview Avenue in St Andrew. When World War Two broke out in 1939, Governor Sir Arthur Richards commandeered the service and used NJ2PZ to gather and spread information about the war.

In the same year, 1939, Grinan gave the service to the government as a gift. The government subsequently changed the name of the radio service to ZQI. Pretty soon however, the expense of operating an amateur radio service proved too much and the government decided to start commercial radio broadcasting. In 1949, the franchise to operate commercial radio broadcasting was given to the Jamaica Broadcasting Company (not to be confused with later Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation). In July 1950, the Jamaica Broadcasting Company began operating ZQI as a commercial radio service at its headquarters, 2 Seaview Avenue (later removed to Lyndhurst Road, also in St Andrew). By August, 1951, ZQI's name was changed to Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion (RJR). Rediffusion really allowed access to radio broadcasts by a wider section of the population. With this system, radio broadcasts were distributed by wire to a speaker box for which the householder paid a small rental. The box had one control button which turned on the service and adjusted the volume. In 1959, around the same time that the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) was formed, in order to avoid confusion, the Jamaica Broadcasting Company changed its name to Radio Jamaica Ltd.

Water Supply

In the first half of the twentieth century, as the population in both Kingston and St Andrew continued to expand, there was a need to increase the storage capacity of water supplies to these parishes. In the early 1920s (1924), construction began on the Hermitage Dam near Stony Hill in St Andrew. It was built over the Wag Water River and by 4 May, 1927, the Hermitage Dam, with a storage capacity of 430 million gallons, was officially opened.

By 1946, the Mona Reservoir was built at the foot of Long Mountain, also in St Andrew. The reservoir was built with a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Mona Reservoir, at the time of completion, had a storage capacity of 825 million gallons, and this more than doubled the stored water capacity for the parishes of Kingston and St Andrew. [27]

Newport West: Expansion of Kingston's Port Facilities 1960s

By the early twentieth century, the finger-piers which had served Kingston's ever-expanding import-export commerce from earlier days had become clearly inadequate. A major disadvantage of the finger-piers was that this had led to a relatively large number of ships being concentrated along a rather small area of the Kingston coastline. Loading and unloading activities at the small number of finger-piers located at the end of Harbour and Port Royal

Streets were therefore restricted and so were potential profits from imports and exports. Furthermore, these finger-piers were accessible only through Kingston's narrow streets.

Transporting goods to or away from the finger-piers of downtown Kingston was a slow-moving affair, handicapped by narrow roads which were congested with numbers of donkey carts, hand carts, motor trucks and vans, all competing for space to move ahead. This situation often resulted in damage to goods, with spillage and spoilage from the chaos and slowness of traffic. By the early twentieth century, the challenges of Kingston's finger-piers were intensified with the increasing exports of bananas, citrus and other products, as well as the increased use of shipping to bring tourists and other visitors through Kingston's port. Kingston's commerce needed a new and larger port area, with expanded facilities for accommodating, loading and unloading of container vessels.

It was Moses Matalon, a young Jamaican engineer, who suggested that the port could be removed to the Hunts Bay area of the western harbour. This area to the west of the town had long been an eyesore because the land was swampy and was also the location of the city's garbage dump. This area proved attractive as a location for the new port facilities because it could provide about 8,000 feet of deep-water frontage and accommodate seven deep-water berths. Additionally, there would be about four hundred acres of unused land which could house the offices, warehouses and factories needed for the successful operation of a new port for Kingston. Owners of the existing finger-piers formed two groups to oversee the work of building what was to become Newport West. The first of the two groups was Kingston Wharves, led by Grace Kennedy, along with Jamaica Fruits and Royal Mail and Steamship Company. The second group was Western Terminals, with Lascelles de Mercado, the Henriques and Matalon Group of Companies.

Kingston Wharves and Western Terminals undertook the responsibility of operating Newport West. Work on building the new port facilities went ahead during 1965, and on 14 February, 1966, the SS United States became the first ship to dock at Newport West. Between 1966 and 1971, the old finger-piers on the Kingston waterfront were gradually abandoned as Newport West fulfilled all expectations of handling a lot more cargo as well as shipping. There were also plans put in place to add wharves closer to the old port area (Newport East). Newport West was later renamed Port Bustamante.

Aerial View of Newport West, circa 1968 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Loading Facilities at Newport West Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Other Companies at Newport West Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Commercial Activity at Newport West Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Container Ship Unloading at Kingston Wharves, Newport West Photo Courtesy of JN Foundation

Ship Unloading Corn at Kingston Wharves Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Industrial Expansion on Marcus Garvey Drive 1960 to 1990

The Famous Foreshore Road, Now Marcus Garvey Drive

In the three decades between 1960 and 1990, a significant expansion in Kingston's industrial/commercial activity occurred and a great deal of the business activity was centred in the area of **Marcus Garvey Drive** and its immediate environs. This stretch of road, which is now named in honour of one of Jamaica's National Heroes, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, runs from Three Miles to downtown Kingston and ends at the Jamaica Railway Station. Having a history of its own, Marcus Garvey Drive was not always known by that name. According to B.W. Higman and B. J. Hudson, the road was officially named for Garvey in 1956 (before his declaration as National Hero in 1964).

However, before that, this length of road had been known as the **Foreshore Road.** The road had been called the Foreshore Road because of its location which ran parallel to or right beside the shore or coast. Before the development of expanded port facilities at Newport West and Newport East in the early 1960s, persons travelling along this stretch of road had an unobstructed view of the shoreline. Therefore, because the road was to the front or fore of the shore/coast, it had been appropriately named the Foreshore Road. Located to the west of the town centre, the Foreshore Road was the closest road to that part of Kingston's shoreline. With the construction of additional port facilities at Newport West and Newport East as of the 1960s, persons travelling that road eventually lost the completely unobstructed view of this section of Kingston's shoreline.

An important feature of the history of the Foreshore Road was that this name remained firmly fixed in the minds of Kingston travellers and others for generations, who continued to call the road the Foreshore Road long after its name had been officially changed to Marcus Garvey Drive. There may have been two possible explanations for the length of time that it took for most people to associate the road with the name, Marcus Garvey Drive. At that time (mid 1950s) the change of name was largely the doing of the governing authorities, and there may not have been much public engagement or even much public understanding of the importance of the name change. For generations of Kingston dwellers, old and young, the name, Foreshore Road, had become a part of their lived experience and was not so easily removed from their conscious minds and usage.

Secondly, the name, Marcus Garvey Drive, was gradually brought into more conscious usage because expansion of industrial activity in the area **led to a widespread use of the new street name to identify the locations of the many businesses** that were being established on both sides of the road. Moreover, there was heightened cultural appreciation of the importance of

the man, Marcus Mosiah Garvey. With the passing of time, not only did the view of Kingston's shoreline become obscured by factories and commercial buildings, but the name, the Foreshore Road, gradually slipped into the background of peoples' minds until it was no more.

Marcus Garvey Drive: Heart of Kingston's Expanded Industrial Activity: Highlighting some Companies 1960-1990

Driving Along Marcus Garvey Drive Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Manufacturing Companies

Some of the most important businesses on Marcus Garvey Drive during this period were the manufacturing companies. One of the earliest of these was the Serv-Wel Group of Companies, located at 8 Ashenheim Road, off the Marcus Garvey Drive. Serv-Wel, from then until now, has been etched into Kingston's business landscape as manufacturers of stoves, fridges, patio furniture and other household furniture. They are also one of the longest-standing companies in the area of Marcus Garvey Drive. Caribbean Metal Products Ltd. (CMP Ltd.), located on Marcus Garvey Drive, were manufacturers of office, as well as household furniture. They are no longer in operation.

Also on Ashenheim Road, Johnson and Johnson Ltd. were manufacturers and importers of household and hygiene products. They ceased operations after Hurricane Gilbert in 1988, having suffered insurmountable losses from both the hurricane and the serious looting that followed. An interesting company that operated on Marcus Garvey Drive was Jamaica Re-Liners Ltd. Their specialty was the re-building of motor vehicle parts such as the clutch, brake pads and disc pads. Customers took their worn motor vehicle parts to this company which then re-built the parts like new. They are no longer in operation.

On Lower Marcus Garvey Drive, the Seprod Group of Companies remain strong as major manufacturers of a variety of consumer items. Nutramix manufactures a variety of animal feeds.

Nutramix on Marcus Garvey Drive Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another long-standing business, Tropical Battery Company, started out life on Ashenheim Road (now re-located) and continues to make its mark as Kingston's premier manufacturer and distributor of motor vehicle batteries. Salada Foods Jamaica, at 20 Bell Road off Marcus Garvey Drive, started out in 1958 and remains a proud giant in the manufacturing and distribution of Jamaica's home grown coffee. Located on Marcus Garvey Drive, Colgate Palmolive Jamaica Ltd. was, for a very long time, a landmark on the Kingston business scene. They were manufacturers and suppliers of personal and hygiene items as well as household cleaning products. Although they are no longer in existence, the company, which Jamaicans fondly referred to as the "Zinc Factory of Jamaica" was based on Marcus Garvey Drive. They were manufacturers of zinc sheets for roofing and were the "go to" place for zinc material of all types.

Companies Offering Storage Services

A smaller but nonetheless important group of companies in the Marcus Garvey area provided large storage as well as cooling facilities. The Sugar Warehouse on Marcus Garvey Drive facilitated sugar factories around Jamaica by providing bulk storage for the sugar produced by these factories. This company also assisted in the sale and distribution of the sugar to various

wholesale and retail outlets within Kingston as well as outside of the parish. Orders were placed, payments made, and the supplies of sugar were then collected from the safe storage facility at the Sugar Warehouse. The Sugar Warehouse is no longer operational.

Two other warehouses on Lower Marcus Garvey Drive were the Coffee and Cocoa Beans Warehouse and the Pimento and Annatto Warehouse. Both provided storage facilities as an interim measure, either before further processing or prior to export. When Salada Foods Jamaica began operations in 1958, this may very well have contributed to the phasing out of the Coffee and Cocoa Beans Warehouse. In any event, serious flooding on Marcus Garvey Drive, from time to time, undermined the products stored in those warehouses and eventually led to their closure. Jamaica Cooling Store, which was located at the extreme end of Marcus Garvey Drive, offered freezing and cooling services to importers who required this service.

Companies Linked to Importation and Distribution of Goods

Although its location has since changed, Hand Arnold Ltd. was situated on Marcus Garvey Drive at the start of its operation. The company was a distributor of groceries and household items during this period. T. Geddes Grant, located at 109 Marcus Garvey Drive, was from the very start, a major importer and distributor of household and consumer goods. Over the years, the company has expanded its offerings and continues to serve the needs of Jamaicans. Another significant company in the importation and distribution of household goods is Musson Jamaica Ltd., situated presently at 227 Marcus Garvey Drive. Although it is no longer in operation, Atlantic Manufacturing Ltd. was famous on Marcus Garvey Drive as a distributor of pickled fish, salted pork, Atlantic Mackerel and other pickled products. For a very long time, the Jamaica Livestock Association Ltd. (JLA) was located on Lower Marcus Garvey Drive and controlled the importation and distribution of farm products such as poultry and other animal feeds. They also imported and distributed farm and gardening equipment and hardware.

Other Landmark Companies on Marcus Garvey Drive, 1960s to the Present

The Hunt's Bay Power Station, located on Lower Marcus Garvey Drive, has a long-standing presence on this part of Kingston's commercial landscape. It remains the all-important generating plant which supplies electricity needs to a wide geographical area.

The Hunt's Bay Power Station on Lower Marcus Garvey Drive Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

View from the Sea: The Hunt's Bay JPS Plant Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

In earlier years, the Esso Refinery and Esso L.P.G. Filling Plant on Marcus Garvey Drive was Jamaica's premier supplier of cooking gas, petroleum and lubricants. This is now the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica. From the mid-1960s, the small airstrip located in the area of Marcus Garvey Drive and known as the Tinson Pen Aerodrome, has provided domestic airline services to all who need it.

The Esso Refinery now the Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica on Marcus Garvey Drive Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Ship at the Petrojam Pier Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

From its foundation in the mid-nineteenth century, the Jamaica Railway Corporation has been the provider of rail transportation, both passenger and commercial services. In recent years, although the rail transportation has been suspended for long periods at a time, the building which houses the Jamaica Railway Corporation still stands and functions at the corner of Barry Street and Marcus Garvey Drive. Dynamic Sounds Recording Studio, presently located at 15 Bell Road (very near to Marcus Garvey Drive) has a long and significant history. In the late 1950s, Edward Seaga started a music recording business which did well for a time. When Byron Lee (of Byron Lee and the Dragonaires fame) bought the recording studio in the late 1960s, it was renamed Dynamic Sounds Recording Studio. [28]

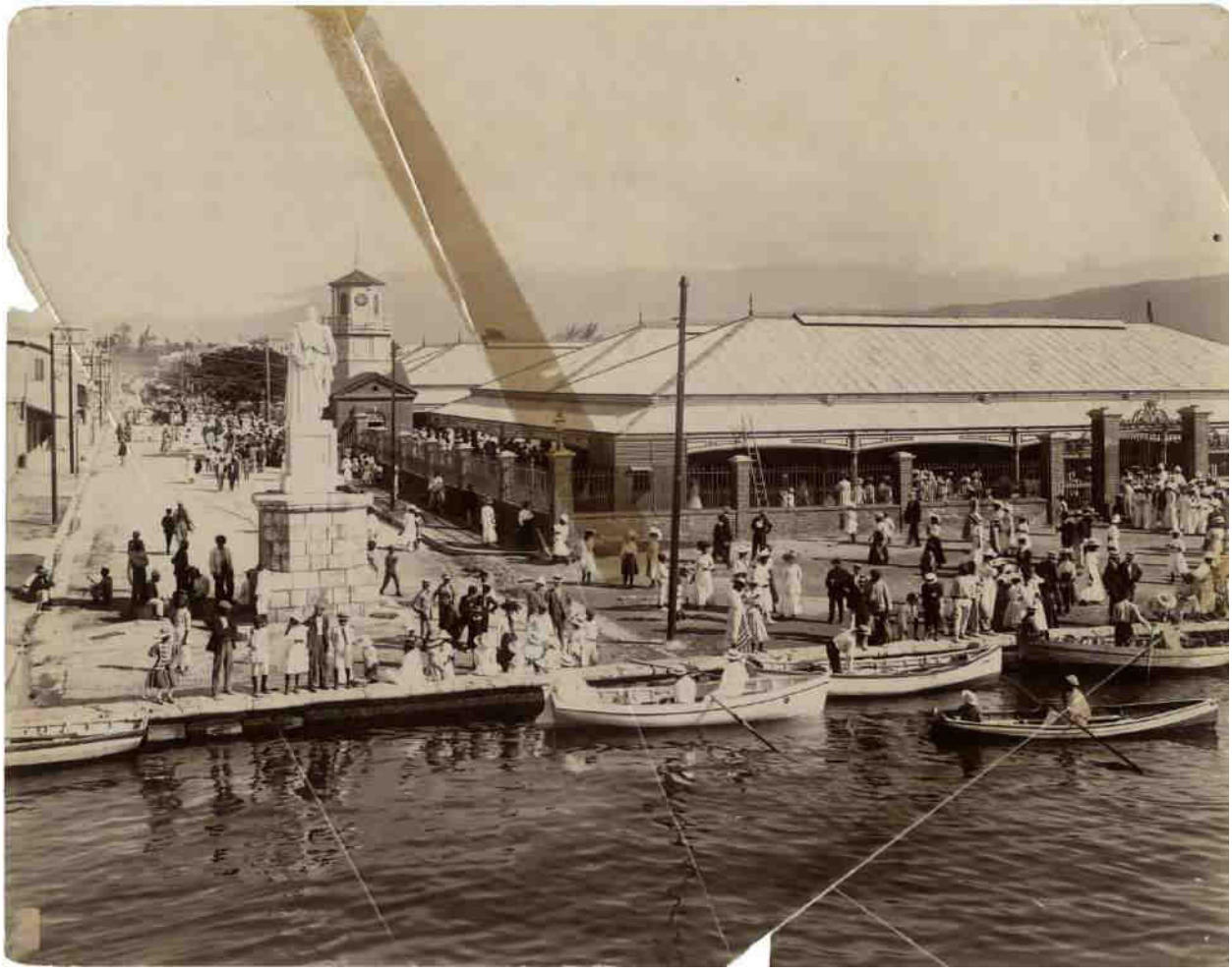
Tourism in Kingston: The Early Years

Why Visitors Came to Kingston

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even before the days of air travel, visitors had been coming to Kingston in varying numbers and for a variety of reasons. Leading in from the harbour, the docks around Kingston's port had always been a busy scene, with merchants,

sailors, and a number of visitors who would have come to Kingston, perhaps on their way to other parts of the island. Some were travel writers/ adventurers who stopped off in Kingston on their journey around the Caribbean. These travel writers were long-stay visitors who took the time to record their observations of Kingston and other places in the island. Travelogues and journals of their experiences were then written at the end of their stay. Kingston was an important transit port for persons coming from the United States, Canada and the mainland of Central America to conduct business. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, ships of the Royal Mail Steamship Company brought passengers hoping to escape the cold wintery conditions and benefit from the warmer climate of places like Kingston.

Kingston was the diplomatic gateway through which many links were established with a variety of overseas countries. By 1870, there were consulates in Kingston representing at least twenty countries in North America, Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America. From the late nineteenth into the twentieth century, many foreign dignitaries and other visitors from these countries, ranging from Kings to Queens to other heads of state, visited the capital city.



Victoria Pier in its Glory Days Image Courtesy of the National library of Jamaica

Victoria Pier

In the days before air travel, Victoria Pier, located right next to Victoria Market, was the luxurious landing dock where visitors to Kingston, Jamaica first set foot on dry land. In operation from the nineteenth century, this famous pier was named in honour of Queen Victoria, the reigning monarch at the time. Located at the bottom of King Street, Victoria Pier was always a busy scene. It was Kingston's gateway which welcomed visitors and dignitaries, kings and queens, presidents and other heads of state, Hollywood stars and increasing numbers of visitors to the capital city. Visitors enjoyed the musical welcome usually provided by the band of the West India Regiment.

In the late twentieth into the twenty-first century, the famous pier fell into disrepair as it was neglected and abandoned.

Remaining Structures of the Landing Dock of Victoria Pier Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

However by 2017, Kingston businessman, Andrew Azar, one of the partners responsible for the breath-taking restoration of the Victoria Pier, had transformed it into one of Kingston's best locations for enjoying fine dining and entertainment on the waterfront.

Perhaps the biggest drawing card for visitors to Kingston in the late nineteenth century was the Great Exhibition of 1891. According to Merrick Needham, the Jamaican Great Exhibition encouraged the growth of the hotel industry and early tourism in Kingston. The idea to host a Jamaican version of the earlier Great Exhibition in Britain was conceived by A. C. Sinclair, who was in charge of the Government Printing Office in Kingston. He believed that the Exhibition would stimulate the growth of hotels and increase visitor arrivals into Kingston. Sinclair's dream won the full support of Governor Sir Henry Blake, and preparations went full steam ahead. The plan was for many countries in North America, Europe and the Caribbean, including Jamaica, to display their products on a grand scale. Although the venue for the Exhibition was just outside of Kingston at Quebec Lodge (site of Wolmer's School), it was expected that the Exhibition would bring a great many visitors to Kingston, which was the closest point to the Exhibition venue.

Exhibition Building, Kingston, 1891 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Hotels in Kingston in the Late Nineteenth Century into the First Half of the Twentieth Century

It was anticipated that finding sufficient accommodation in Kingston would prove a big challenge unless measures were speedily taken to address the issue. Although Kingston had a number of lodging houses and inns, these were not sufficient to accommodate large numbers of visitors. With Governor Blake's assistance, the Jamaica Hotel Law was introduced in 1890. This provided favourable incentives for hotel builders who would be allowed to import all materials duty-free. An important requirement was that hotels built in Kingston had to be completed within one year, in time for the Exhibition. Two hotels were built in Kingston for the event. These were the Myrtle Bank Hotel (rebuilt and expanded from its earlier version) and the Queen's Hotel. Although the Constant Spring Hotel in St Andrew was also built for this purpose, its distance from the venue meant that the Kingston hotels would benefit from most of the visitors.

The Myrtle Bank Hotel

More than any other hotel, the world famous Myrtle Bank Hotel did more for the advancement of visitor arrivals and tourism in Kingston than any other hotel.

The Myrtle Bank Hotel Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

The Renovated Myrtle Bank Hotel Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Myrtle Bank's history pre-dated its days of glory and splendour. James Gall, a leading resident of Kingston and editor of the *News Letter*, built the Myrtle Bank at 76 Harbour Street around 1870 and operated it then as an exclusive lodging house, offering advice on matters of health. Gall also lived at Myrtle Bank. By the mid-1870s, he expanded the Myrtle Bank and built a music platform in the middle of the garden. Soon, Myrtle Bank became famous for its twice-weekly entertainment sessions, with the band of the West India Regiment playing to large crowds. When Gall died, the property was purchased by the government.

In preparation for the Great Exhibition, the old structure was demolished and a large, exquisite, modern hotel, the Myrtle Bank Hotel, was built on the site. In keeping with the Jamaica Hotel Law, the new Myrtle Bank was completed within the year, ready to accommodate the many visitors to the Exhibition. It had several stories and long French windows that opened on all sides of the hotel onto verandahs. Ahead of the opening of the Exhibition on 27 January, 1891, Governor Sir Henry Blake and other officials gathered at Kingston's famous landing dock, the Victoria Pier, to welcome the future King George V, and English, Russian and Spanish warships gave a combined gun salute in Kingston Harbour. When visitors from fourteen Caribbean countries, Britain, Canada, the USA, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, Russia, India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) arrived in Kingston Harbour for the Exhibition, they landed at the Victoria Pier, and many were escorted to the Myrtle Bank Hotel, nestled in the lush tropical gardens which surrounded the building. In all, 8,000 persons visited the Exhibition on opening day, and the total attendance throughout its duration was estimated at 300,000.

The Queen's Hotel in Kingston

In addition to the Myrtle Bank, the second hotel which was built in Kingston in 1890 under the Jamaica Hotel Law was the Queen's Hotel. This was located at the corner of Heywood and Princess Streets. It was built through the generosity of Colonel Ward who believed that it would provide accommodation for rural peasantry and members of the working class at prices which they could afford. The expectation was that large numbers of people from the rural parishes would come into Kingston to attend the Great Exhibition, and it was felt that the Queen's Hotel would fill the need for reasonably priced accommodation. It was finished in time for the opening of the Exhibition on 27 January, 1891. From all reports, the Queen's Hotel was filled to capacity with rural policemen and tradesmen who were brought in to Kingston to assist in the physical set-up of the Exhibition and in the provision of additional security. It does not appear that the Queen's Hotel was utilised by overseas visitors after the Great Exhibition was ended. Rather, in the years that followed, the Queen's Hotel was supported largely by rural market vendors who needed overnight accommodation when they came into Kingston for the weekend markets. Not much is known about this hotel in the twentieth century, but by 1961, it was no longer in existence.

Myrtle Bank Hotel and Tourism in Kingston in the Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, Myrtle Bank, like so many of Kingston's landmarks, was severely damaged by the 1907 earthquake. By 1918, it had been rebuilt and sold to the United Fruit Company (UFC). Further expansion and improvements were done during this period, and Myrtle Bank Hotel became the largest hotel in Jamaica, with 205 rooms and a filtered salt water pool. Guests enjoyed the use of a private pier, as well as telephone and telegraph service. The United Fruit Company brought thousands of visitors on its steamships to Kingston and to the Myrtle Bank Hotel. Up until the 1920s, the Myrtle Bank Hotel had the distinction of being the only hotel in Jamaica which had running hot water.

By 1943, the United Fruit Company decided to sell the Myrtle Bank Hotel, and it was bought by Kingston businessman and owner of the Issa Stores on King Street, Abe Issa. World War II was still ongoing, and this meant that visitor arrivals from Europe were limited until the war ended in 1945. However, this did not stop Issa from promoting and advertising the Myrtle Bank as a venue for local visitors. To his credit, he removed the colour bar at the hotel and staged musical concerts, which sometimes featured some of his employees at his King Street store. Two of his employees, Charles Hyatt and Reggie Carter, were just starting their careers in theatre, and the concerts at the Myrtle Bank helped to promote their talents.

Especially after the war ended in 1945, extravagant balls and beauty contests were held at the hotel, and these attracted capacity crowds. Famous visitors who stayed at the Myrtle Bank during this period included Hollywood stars such as Errol Flynn, British royalty, Winston Churchill, and author, Ian Fleming. The star power of these visitors made the Myrtle Bank Hotel the centre of Kingston's social life and the "go to place" for the well-heeled tourists who kept coming to Kingston in the 1940s and the 1950s. Unfortunately, the great Myrtle Bank hotel was destroyed by a massive blaze that tore through the hotel in 1966. The world-famous hotel was gutted despite the best efforts of the Kingston Fire Brigade and the assistance given by a large number of sailors from the United States Destroyer, the Johnston and another transport vessel, both of which had been docked nearby in the Kingston Harbour. Any structural remnants of this once famous hotel were completely removed with the later modernisation of the Kingston Waterfront.

Fortnightly Cruises from Florida to Kingston, 1947

After the war ended, there was a definite revival of the tourist trade coming into Kingston. An important development was the start of a fortnightly cruise service between Jacksonville, Florida and Kingston. The *Daily Gleaner* of 9 June, 1947 reported on the historic arrival of the first of these cruises to Kingston Harbour. According to the report, an enthusiastic reception was given to the passengers and crew of the SS New Northland of the Seaway Steamship Line

as it docked at the Grace Wharf. As the passengers and crew came ashore at Victoria Pier, they were greeted with lively musical renditions from the Jamaica Military Band. Among those on hand to welcome the tourists was Mr F. H. Robertson who was Chairman of the Jamaica Tourist Board (head office on Harbour Street) at the time. The visitors were then escorted to the Myrtle Bank Hotel where they were treated to a lunch of pepper pot soup, ackee and salt fish and roast suckling pig.

The Morgan's Harbour Hotel on the Palisadoes Road

Commanding a spectacular view across the Kingston Harbour, the Morgan's Harbour Marina and Hotel was opened to visitors in 1955.

The Entrance to the Former Morgan's Harbour Hotel, now the Grand Hotel Excelsior Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Named for the famous buccaneer, turned governor of Jamaica, Morgan's Harbour Hotel was built on a ten-acre property which was formerly the site of the King's Yard, where Sir Henry Morgan lived when he was governor of Jamaica. The hotel was initially an exclusive members-only luxury accommodation. With the opening of the then Palisadoes International Airport a short distance away, the location of this hotel was ideal for welcoming visitors to Kingston. Morgan's Harbour was strategically located on the road to Port Royal for visitors who wished to experience the history and sights of the former pirate haven.

The hotel was also an ideal place to stay for those visitors who wished to travel into the city of Kingston. Visitors were offered a "fast water taxi service" which took them three miles across the harbour to Victoria Pier in downtown Kingston. In an article of 23 December, 1958, published in the *Gleaner*, the manager of the hotel spoke of the interest shown by travel agents

in Canada and the USA in the attractions of the hotel and pointed to visitor reservations, which were encouraging. By the 1960s, Morgan's Harbour Hotel also offered their visitors an exciting day trip to nearby Lime Cay. The hotel had features such as a large salt-water pool and offered water ski facilities and snorkelling. In 2014, the name Morgan's Harbour was changed to the Grand Port Royal Marina and Spa. It is now the Grand Hotel Excelsior Port Royal.

The Grand Hotel Excelsior (formerly Morgan's Harbour Hotel) Photo Courtesy of JN Foundation

The Grounds of the Grand Excelsior Hotel Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

A Breath-taking View of the Grand Hotel Excelsior Port Royal from the Sea Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Jamaica Tourist Board and Air Jamaica: Encouraging the Growth of Tourism in Kingston and around Jamaica

In 1922, the government had established the Tourist Trade Development Board to oversee matters related to visitors and tourism in general. However, it was Abe Issa who persuaded the government that a more determined and focussed effort needed to be made to promote the island as an attraction for visitors. Issa firmly believed that air travel would help to develop tourism as a profitable industry for Jamaica. He managed to convince the government of this, and in 1954, the Tourist Trade Development Board was abolished and by 1955, the Jamaica Tourist Board was created to spearhead the development of the industry. Its offices were located at the intersection of Duke, Harbour and Port Royal Streets. Abe Issa led the Jamaica Tourist Board as its first Chairman, from 1955 to 1963 and did a lot to influence the growth of tourism, not only in Kingston, but in other parts of the island as well.

The Magnificent Air Jamaica Building Overlooking Kingston's Waterfront Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

With Kingston having its own international airport, this had increased visitors' access to the capital, as well as to other parishes such as St Andrew. Independent Jamaica soon got its own airline, which was appropriately named Air Jamaica, the national airline. Air Jamaica was inaugurated in May 1966, and its first flight was to Miami. An imposing structure, the famous **Air Jamaica Building** at 72 Harbour Street stood a stone's throw away from the Jamaica Tourist Board's office. The foundation had been successfully laid for tourism to develop in Kingston and indeed in the rest of Jamaica.

Kingston's "Main Street": King Street Then and Now

As seen at the outset of this Parish History, the original Kingston Town was shaped and defined from its birth in 1692, by its network of main streets. Chief among these was King Street which became one of the most important streets in the town. As seen earlier, King Street literally divided the original town into two halves and traversed the entire length of the town from North Street in the north to the harbour and waterfront in the south. Over the years and indeed, the centuries of Kingston's history, King Street became the hub of commercial activity,

being home to a variety of stores and businesses. As the town and parish of Kingston spread outwards to the west, east and north, King Street maintained its prominence and became increasingly important as a centre for administrative and judicial as well as commercial activity. Despite the redevelopment of the waterfront, King Street retained its importance to the city of Kingston. Change did come to King Street, as it did to everywhere else in Kingston, with familiar names and places such as Nathan's, Issa's, Times Store and many others, giving way to new places, new names and new enterprises. This section takes a photographic look at King Street as it was then (1920s to the 1950s) and as it is now.

King Street Then

King Street, Kingston in 1922 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

King Street above Barry Street looking North (around 1950) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

King Street Now

King Street by the Kingston Parish Church Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Stores on Both Sides of King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Driving Down King Street towards the Waterfront Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Stores Line King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the Commercial Face of King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Part of the Supreme Court Buildings Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

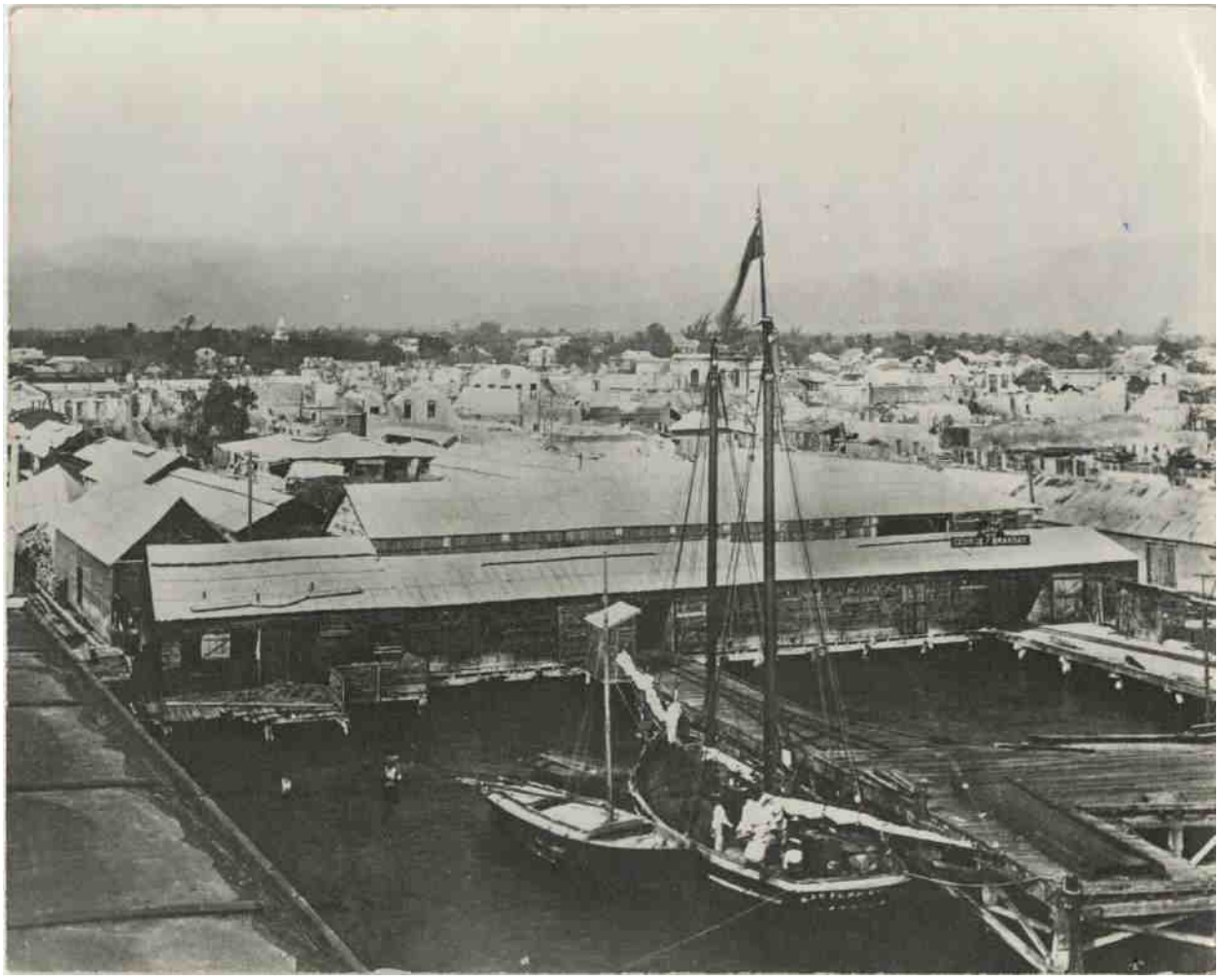
The Supreme Court Buildings on King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Scotiabank Building on King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of King Street Showing the Bank of Nova Scotia Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Court Buildings on King Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Development of the Kingston Waterfront: 1968 Onwards



The Kingston Waterfront before UDC Development (around 1960) Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Although Newport West went into operation as Kingston's new port facilities in 1966, Kingston's waterfront still retained the old finger-piers which had been a part of the city's landscape for so long. The features of the Kingston Waterfront were about to change. Since the facilities at Newport West seemed to have been serving Kingston's commercial needs well, by the late 1960s, the government decided that Kingston's old waterfront with its finger-piers and other features should be dismantled. Taking its place would be a bold new vision for a redeveloped waterfront. With this in mind, Parliament passed an Act on 21 March, 1968, known as the Urban Development Corporation Act. This established the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), charged with the redevelopment of downtown Kingston among other urban spaces. Initially, the offices of the UDC were located on Harbour Street.

According to the plan, the old waterfront would be demolished, and some areas of downtown Kingston were to be cleared to make way and provide land space for commercial development on the waterfront. Between 1968 and 1970, all but two of the old piers, along with the warehouses that were connected to them, were demolished. Another historic structure which was done away with in the process was Victoria Market with its famous clock tower. The areas on the waterfront which were cleared allowed for the building of a new road, known as Ocean Boulevard. Before the redevelopment of the waterfront, the most southerly road which ran parallel to the water and the finger-piers was Port Royal Road. Ocean Boulevard was constructed on reclaimed land and took the shape of a crescent. To the east, Ocean Boulevard intersected with Port Royal Street and ran south until it curved (like a crescent) and then ran right along the water's edge, parallel to the coast. To the west, Ocean Boulevard then curved northwards until it again intersected with Port Royal Street to complete the crescent shape. As of 1968, Ocean Boulevard would become the last road separating the waterfront from the sea.

Ocean Boulevard today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Views of Ocean Boulevard Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Between 1968 and 1978, Ocean Boulevard and the cleared lands beside it was the scene of early redevelopment of the waterfront. In this period, the Kingston Mall and Office Complex were constructed, and the face of the waterfront began to change. At this time (1974), the National Gallery was established in the newly built Kingston Mall.

The National Gallery of Jamaica Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

This is Jamaica's premier Art Gallery. The permanent collection which is displayed there includes works of Edna Manley, John Dunkley, Albert Huie, Kapo, Anna Henriques and other

outstanding Jamaican artists. Located in the foyer, is a statue of Bob Marley done by Jamaican Sculptor, Christopher Gonzales. There is also an annual National Exhibition mounted at the Gallery, and this runs from December until about April of the following year.

A Closer View of the National Gallery Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Kingston Mall, Home to the National Gallery Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

On the redeveloped Kingston waterfront, on the corner of Ocean Boulevard and King Street, there is a monument to the workers of Jamaica and to the labour movement which came to the forefront in 1938. At this location, there is a large replica of Edna Manley's famed sculpture, *Negro Aroused* which symbolizes and honours the struggles of workers of Jamaica.

Maintenance Work being done on Negro Aroused Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

As part of the redevelopment of the waterfront, the new Bank of Jamaica building was erected on Ocean Boulevard at Nethersole Place. The Bank of Jamaica was then removed to its new home from its previous location on King Street (where the Supreme Court presently stands). In March 1976, the new Bank of Jamaica at Nethersole Place was declared open. In front of the Bank is the statue of N. N. Nethersole, who had a lot to do with the development of the Central Bank. Nethersole Place was so named to honour the man who is regarded as the founding

father of the Central Bank. Inside the Bank of Jamaica building there is a Coin Museum. This is home to an interesting display of money from different periods of time. There is also a Taino zemi made of gold in the museum. To date, this is the only gold artefact recovered from the Taino period. It was donated to the museum by noted archaeologist, Dr James William Lee.

The Bank of Jamaica Building on the Redeveloped Waterfront Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Statue of N. N. Nethersole in front of the Bank of Jamaica Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Between 1978 and 1983, the Jamaica Conference Centre was built as part of the waterfront redevelopment plan.

The Jamaica Conference Centre Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the Jamaica Conference Centre Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Its initial purpose was to serve as the headquarters of the International Seabed Authority. The Conference Centre was declared open by Queen Elizabeth 11 on 15 February, 1983.

Entrance to the Jamaica Conference Centre Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Over the period of the redevelopment, new buildings including hotels, banks, the Conference Centre and apartment buildings were planned. The vision was that business people would want to live and work in the newly developed waterfront area. In the waterfront redevelopment plan, some provision was made to accommodate cruise ships. The hope was that tourists would arrive in droves, be accommodated in the splendid high-rise hotel and visit places of cultural attraction such as the National Gallery, the National Library, and the relocated Crafts Market, among other places. [29]

A View from across the Harbour showing Kingston's Waterfront after the Redevelopment Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Significant Social Developments in Kingston in the Twentieth Century

Poverty, Overcrowding and Slum Conditions in Kingston: A Tale of the "Have-nots"

Kingston's Population in 1943

According to the *Census of Jamaica,* in 1943, there were 66,212 blacks living in Kingston at that time, most of whom were concentrated in West Kingston. Apart from a small minority who made up Kingston's black middle class (dealt with earlier) the majority of blacks in Kingston were not well off. Clarke went on to point out that the majority of blacks who lived in West Kingston lived in slums or shanty towns as they were termed. This number, according to Clarke, represented sixty percent of Kingston's population. In 1943, there were 1,690 whites living in Kingston, and their numbers accounted for two and a half percent of the total population of Kingston at that time. For the most part, whites lived in parts of Central and Eastern Kingston. There were 35,751 coloureds in the parish in 1943, 4,154 Chinese, 1,903 East Indians and 366 Jews. Business people and other well-off residents who chose to live within the parish of Kingston lived in very comfortable and even impressive-looking homes with beautifully kept gardens. On the other hand, the majority, who were the poor, lived in very depressed conditions.

Kingston's Poor and their Living Conditions

However, as Moore and Johnson pointed out, Kingston's poor were not confined to blacks. Although most of the poor were indeed blacks, there were some coloureds, East Indians, Chinese and very rarely, even a few whites who were ranked among the poor of Kingston. Most of the poor found themselves in these circumstances because they were unemployed and had been so for a long enough time. Some, "the respectable poor" were able to get by on poor relief. Others were beggars on the streets of Kingston, some turned to prostitution, while others sought to get by on the proceeds of criminal activity. Many of Kingston's poor lived in distressingly deplorable conditions, especially in Western Kingston. They lived in small wooden shacks with one or two rooms which were small and overcrowded. Squatters sometimes lived in cardboard shacks or lean-tos. There were no sanitation facilities, no running water, and if they were lucky, they could get water by walking great distances to a community stand-pipe. In these circumstances, there was the ever-present threat of an outbreak of disease. As seen earlier, an almost non-stop migration of rural residents into the parish of Kingston during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in search of jobs had significantly worsened conditions of poverty, and there were many poor, overcrowded living spaces, as the majority remained unemployed.

Squatter Settlements: The Foreshore Road Shanty Town

Unemployment and poverty meant an inability to pay rental for many. This explains the growth of squatter settlements, mainly in some parts of western Kingston, from the early twentieth century. Some of these squatter settlements grew up on the site of Kingston's garbage dump. Perhaps the most frequently-reported of these squatter settlements was the shanty town on the Foreshore Road (later Marcus Garvey Drive). Up to 1966, this consisted of about half a mile of squatter shacks which stretched along the waterfront from the Fire Float Station to the Hunt's Bay Power Station. Up to 1966, there were about two hundred persons, including young children, who were living there.

Kingston Pen and Smith's Village

Most of the poor communities in West Kingston were not squatter settlements. Rather, they were originally nineteenth-century communities established to the west of the town centre to provide housing for the working class. Originally Lindo's Town (1815), to the west of Kingston town, was a working class community early in the nineteenth century before slavery was abolished. Lindo's Pen became known as Kingston Pen. However, during the twentieth century, living conditions in Kingston Pen deteriorated as more and more people kept flocking to Kingston in search of employment. Unable to gain steady employment, many joined friends or

relatives who were good enough to give them shelter. This contributed to the overcrowding and conditions of squalor. Many others simply occupied a piece of property in the area, erected cardboard or wooden shacks and lean-tos and existed without sanitation or running water. Between the 1930s and the 1950s, Kingston Pen had deteriorated so badly that it was characterized as "Back-O-Wall" or "dungle," one of Kingston's worst slums.

Smith's Village to the north-west of the original town of Kingston was settled between 1838 and 1843. Generally, the community was in western Kingston. Between 1890 and the early 1920s, living conditions in Smith Village became so poor that letters were sent almost on a daily basis to the editor of the *Gleaner* asking that pressure be applied to the Kingston City Council to make some improvements. Overcrowded rooms, poor sanitation, lack of running water and garbage-filled streets were among the problems of Smith's Village. Elgin, Prince Albert and Prince of Wales Streets were among the worst offenders for garbage accumulation. Streets of Smith Village were dark at nights because the only two lights of the community were on Spanish Town Road and criminal activities increased at nights. Police were reluctant to enter the darkened streets.

Some of the newspaper articles pointed out that conditions in **Hannah Town** were just as bad and **Allman Town** was described as "a second edition of Smith's Village". The common thread which ran throughout the newspaper articles was not so much a humanitarian concern for the people who lived in these West Kingston areas. Indeed, the major view expressed was that these slums and squatter settlements were an awful blight on the image of the city of Kingston and sent the wrong message to tourists and others who might be visiting the city. It was on these grounds more than any other that appeals were made to the authorities, particularly the Kingston City Council, to do something to improve the situation.

Responses of the Government and Municipal Authorities to the Problems of Kingston's Slums

Denham Town

Largely as a result of the rising complaints about Kingston's overcrowded slums/shanty towns, especially so the complaints voiced in the Gleaner about Smith's Village, action was taken in the 1930s by the authorities. At that time, Smith's Village was demolished, and a new community was constructed. The rebuilt settlement was named **Denham Town** after Governor Edward Denham.

Legislation to Clear Slums and Build Housing

In 1939, the government passed the Slum Clearance and Housing Law. This provided for the establishment of a Central Housing Authority (C.H.A.), which was given the authority to undertake slum clearance and provide housing projects for the "working class". It was partly

financed with money from the British Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. As Michele Gadpaille pointed out, this project was supposed to operate throughout Jamaica and not only in Kingston. The hurricane of 1944 provided a setback to these plans because a lot of places in Kingston were affected. Funds had to be spent on rebuilding after the hurricane.

The Building of Trench Town 1940-1949

One of the first housing projects which were undertaken by the Central Housing Authority in Kingston was the building of houses in an area that became known as Trench Town. The houses were built on two hundred acres of land in an area known as Trench Pen located north-west of the city centre. Construction was carried out between 1940 and 1949, and the community was named Trench Town. These were government houses, and persons had to pay twelve shillings per month to live there. For this reason, the houses were referred to as "government yards". The Trench Town houses were built from First to Seventh Streets between Central and West Roads. Features of the community included running water, electricity and sanitation. There were four different models of houses, the H, S, T and U types, all based on some communal sharing of facilities. The house associated with Bob Marley was of the U model and this had one or two rooms with communal (shared) kitchens and sanitary facilities.

Majesty Pen

By 1950, squatting and slum conditions in Kingston had grown to crisis proportions, especially in parts of West Kingston such as Kingston Pen. Plans were underway to relocate some of the squatters and shanty-town dwellers in small concrete apartments which would have several floors. By 1950, one such project, known as **Majesty Pen** was completed and accommodation was provided for 1,720 persons. The fact of the matter was that Kingston's growing population was far outpacing the ability of the city to provide either employment or proper housing, and Majesty Pen was just a start. Between 1943 and 1955, Kingston's population moved from 109,079 to 151,812 persons.

Demolition of Squatter Settlements: The Razing of the Foreshore Road Shanty Town, 1966

The Slum Clearance and Housing Law had given the authorities the power to remove squatter shacks by whatever means necessary. In some instances, squatter communities were deemed as a hindrance to economic progress, and steps were taken to physically remove the structures without any thought of relocation or rebuilding of suitable replacement shelters. This was the fate that befell the Foreshore Road Shanty Town (discussed earlier). The waterfront area along the Foreshore Road had been marked for industrial development, with the building of factories and warehouses (discussed earlier). However, by 1966, there were some remaining squatter shacks in the vicinity of Industrial Terrace and Foreshore Road, especially between the Fire Float Station and the Hunt's Bay Power Station.

In July 1966, the Public Works Department had been given the task of carrying out a two-day operation to remove the remaining shacks. They were instructed to use bulldozers to crush, pile and remove shacks which remained at the Foreshore Road squatter settlement. During the operation, however, the bulldozer sank in the swampy soil and removal by bulldozer had to be abandoned. On Wednesday 13 July, 1966, it was decided that the remaining shacks should be set on fire. On that day, according to the press report, flames and smoke, high above the ground, were visible for miles around. Young children could be seen sitting or standing looking dazed and confused. At the end of the operation, over two hundred persons, including small children, were left without shelter.

From Back-O-Wall to Tivoli Gardens

Acting PM Donald Sangster and Minister of Development and Welfare, Hon. Edward Seaga visit slum area in West Kingston Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

As seen earlier, the long-standing settlement in Western Kingston, known as Kingston Pen, had become increasingly overcrowded and unsightly, filled with squatter shacks and generally regarded as one of Kingston's worst slums. Located adjacent to the May Pen Cemetery, Kingston Pen had deteriorated so badly by the 1950s that it had become known as "Back-O-Wall" and "Dungle".

In keeping with previous policies of demolition of shanty towns and replacing them with improved housing, fortunes changed for the residents of Kingston Pen in the mid-1960s. At that time, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) was in power and Edward Seaga was the Minister in charge of Housing. Orders were given by the government for the shanty town dwellings to be bulldozed and burnt to the ground and the entire area levelled in preparation for new construction. Under Seaga's watch, by 1966, "Back-O-Wall" had been replaced by a fairly large community of concrete, multi-storeyed apartments, which were named Tivoli Gardens. This new community gave its residents a sense of optimism and hope that, like others, they could live in a community with dignity and pride.[30]

Rastafarianism as a Social and Religious Force: Leonard Howell's Ministry in Kingston

Rastafarianism is today embedded in the religious and cultural life of the island. It is felt that the foundation for the emergence of this indigenous faith began with Marcus Garvey. A follower of Garvey, Leonard Howell is widely regarded as the first Rastafarian philosopher and preacher who carried out his mission at Pinnacle in St Catherine and on the streets of Kingston, particularly in western Kingston during the 1930s. Leonard Howell took Garvey's message further, and by the 1930s, Rastafarianism had evolved into a new religion which placed Africa at the centre of Jamaica's cultural history.

Howell had served in the Ashanti war of 1896, and he knew several African languages. He promoted the idea of Emperor Haile Selassie as the Messiah and the only legitimate ruler of black people. Howell's ministry was carried out on the streets of West Kingston, where he was joined by Joseph Hibbert, Robert Hinds and Archibald Dunkley, other preachers in the early Rastafarian movement. In 1938, the group had their Universal Convention at the headquarters of the Coptic Theocratic Temple in Kingston Pen.

Along with Howell, Joseph Hibbert was one of the first to declare the divinity of Haile Selassie 1 after his coronation. He was also a key figure in the development of the Rastafari movement. In

Kingston, Hibbert walked throughout the streets of West Kingston in the 1930s, carrying the Ethiopian Flag and announcing the times and venues of scheduled gatherings of Rastafari in Kingston.

On 24 March, 1938, some three hundred Rastafari men, women and children gathered for a mass meeting at Victoria Park. However, the government and authorities in Kingston saw Rastafarians as a disruptive and potentially seditious force because of their belief in Haile Selassie as the only ruler appointed to reign over the black race. Therefore, meetings such as this one at Victoria Park were hastily dissolved by the police. From the 1930s to the 1970s, Rastafarians were viewed with great suspicion by the government and most members of the Kingston society, except for those who identified with the philosophy of Howell and Hibbert. On at least two occasions, Howell was confined to the Mental Hospital in Kingston. Both Howell's teachings and the Rastafari movement survived these attempts by the state to control Howell as well as his followers.

The movement may even have been given a boost in 1966 by the visit of Emperor Haile Selassie. On 21 April, 1966, such a crowd of Rastafarians turned out at Kingston's International Airport that official plans had to be cancelled. Rastafari had an immense influence on Jamaica's music, shaping performers like Count Ossie, Toots Hibbert and Bob Marley. [31]

Significant Developments in Education in the Twentieth Century

Introduction of the Common Entrance Examination 1958

Perhaps the most important development in education in Jamaica in the twentieth century was the introduction of the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) in 1958. This innovation occurred under the PNP's administration, led by Norman Manley. Florizel Glasspole was the Minister of Education at that time.

Before 1958 and the introduction of the Common Entrance Examination, students who attended the existing high schools in Jamaica were the children of the wealthy and upper middle class. Only they could afford the fees charged. A very few of the poor but bright students could still get access to high school education by winning one of the few parish scholarships that were available then.

When the Common Entrance Exam was introduced in 1958, all students in grade six of the primary and preparatory schools were eligible to take the exam. Those who did well enough **could win one of the 2,000 scholarships** that would award them a free place in the high school. As of 1958 therefore, students of every social class and racial background who did well enough

on the exam could gain access to free secondary education for the first time in Jamaica's history. In 1958, 60,000 students from across the island took the exam, competing for one of the 2,000 scholarships that were available. The Common Entrance Exam was a revolutionary development in secondary education in Jamaica, as it democratised access by all children to high school education, based purely on merit and not on social class.

Problems arose however, because up to and beyond 1958, there were only forty five traditional high schools in Jamaica, and these were not enough to guarantee access of all children to secondary education at these schools. As time passed, it became clear that on the whole, children who attended the fee-paying preparatory schools were doing better on the exam than students who attended government primary schools. Students who got the best results therefore dominated the free places in the high schools, leaving many from the primary schools at a disadvantage.

Soon after Independence, the government, with Edwin Allen as Minister of Education applied a 70:30 ratio to the Examination results, ensuring that 70% of the scholarship winners came from the primary schools, while 30% came from the prep schools. The government also built fifty junior secondary schools in the 1960s, but because education at these schools ended at the grade nine level, this was not helpful in solving the challenge of inadequate numbers of spaces for children who needed access to proper secondary education. The upgrading of the junior secondary schools to new secondary high schools, while providing a lot more spaces, did not remove the problem of preference for the traditional grammar high schools which were seen as offering a higher standard of secondary education. In 1999, the Common Entrance Examination was replaced by the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT).

Some Secondary Schools in Kingston in the Twentieth Century

As seen earlier, there were several educational institutions that were established at various levels in Kingston in the nineteenth century. This section looks at some secondary schools which started out in the twentieth century. These included Kingston College, Camperdown High School, Holy Trinity High, Vauxhall High, St Andrew Technical High and Tivoli Gardens High Schools.

Kingston College

Kingston College opened its doors on 16 April, 1925, with a student body of forty-nine boys. Initially located at 114 ¾ East Street, Kingston College's first Headmaster was Percival Gibson (later ordained Bishop). By 1922, KC (as it is popularly known) had become a government grant-aided secondary school and in 1933, the Church of England declared it a Diocesan school. Funding became more accessible for school expansion as a result. As the enrolment of boys increased, it became necessary to relocate to larger premises at Clovelly Park on North Street in

1934. By 1948, Kingston College had an enrolment of five hundred boys which placed the school among the largest in terms of student numbers at that time.

Kingston College on North Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Another View of the Entrance to Kingston College Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Today, KC remains one of the leading traditional high schools in Jamaica, with a student enrolment of approximately two thousand boys. Over the almost one hundred years of its existence, Kingston College has achieved an enviable record of success in academics as well as

in sports. The KC spirit of teachers and students alike over the years bears testimony to the school's motto, which is "The Brave May Fall but Never Yield".

Camperdown High School

In February 1930, Mrs Ivy Grant and five students began the journey on the road to becoming Camperdown. At that time, the school was known as the Home School and was located initially at 16 ½ Portland Road in Eastern Kingston. Before the year was out, the student body had grown to forty two boys. Expansion continued, and in 1934, a high school section for girls was added to the institution. By 1958, both student enrolment and classroom facilities had expanded considerably, with a playing field at 4 Camperdown Road. The school relocated to its present site at 6 Camperdown Road and was operated as a government grant-aided co-educational high school under the patronage of the then Presbyterian Church of Jamaica (now the United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands). In 1968, after thirty eight years of service to Camperdown High School and to education, its founder, Mrs Ivy Grant, retired from the Camperdown family. Each day, the school lives out its motto which is, "Only the best is good enough".

Holy Trinity High School

The history of today's Holy Trinity High School serves as an excellent example of how some schools in Kingston evolved through different levels until they became fully-fledged secondary schools. In the late 1940s, the Franciscan nuns in Jamaica established what later became known as Holy Trinity School. At the start, the school was known as St Anthony's Senior School and was located at West Street in Kingston. Shortly thereafter, the school was relocated to Orange Street where it came under the management of the Sisters of Mercy. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston owned property at 18 Emerald Road, now known as George Headley Drive, and therefore in 1953, St Anthony's was relocated to 18 Emerald Road. By that year, the student population had grown to 750, and the Catholic Church in collaboration with the government, added new classrooms and transformed the school into a very modern facility.

Having relocated to what would become its permanent home at 18 George Headley Drive (formerly Emerald Road), St Anthony's was renamed Holy Trinity School in 1953 after the Catholic Cathedral of the same name on North Street. Between 1953 and 1974, it seems that Holy Trinity School fitted into the category of a Junior High School as the school's teaching programme ended at the ninth grade. However, as of 1974, three new classroom blocks were added, and the grades ten and eleven programmes were added and these included vocational subjects. The school was upgraded to full secondary status by the mid-1970s and renamed Holy Trinity Secondary School. By the end of the 1970s, there were about two thousand students

enrolled at Holy Trinity. In 1995, the school was upgraded to a comprehensive high school and once more its name was changed, this time to Holy Trinity Comprehensive High School. That year also marked the first time that students from primary schools won free places to Holy Trinity Comprehensive High School in the Common Entrance Examination. Finally, in 2000, when all comprehensive high schools were changed to high schools by the Ministry of Education, Holy Trinity High School had experienced its ultimate change in status.

Vauxhall High School

Like Holy Trinity, Vauxhall High School is another example of how a school gradually evolved from what was really a junior high school to a fully-fledged high school. Vauxhall opened as a very small school with four teachers and Ms Myrtle Banks as Headmistress in May, 1951. It was located on Windward Road on a ten-acre cattle farm which was owned by Dr Delfrosse at that time. The school took its name from Vauxhall Avenue which was located nearby. This first school operated for eight years and then it was closed to make way for the emergence of a new school, which was called Vauxhall Senior Modern School in January 1959. It appears that the school was really a junior high school between 1959 and 1973 as students spent only three years in school and there were no grade ten or eleven programmes at that time. Emphasis in the curriculum seems to have been placed on Home Economics, Industrial Arts and Science.

By 1974, however, Vauxhall was upgraded to full secondary status when grades ten and eleven were added, this time with the focus being on regular CXC subjects, in addition to vocational courses in areas such as Cosmetology, Catering, Metal Work, Carpentry, Electrical Installation, Plumbing, Auto Mechanics and Business Education. Like Kingston Technical High School, which dated from the late nineteenth century, Vauxhall during the 1970s and the 1980s, seems to have been more along the model of a technical high school. Vauxhall became Vauxhall Comprehensive High in 1994 and graduated to Vauxhall High School in 2000. Students were placed at Vauxhall through the Common Entrance Exam which was changed to GSAT in 1999, which eventually became the Primary Exit Profile (PEP) examination.

St Andrew Technical High School and St Andrew Trade Training Centre

On 10 April, 1961, St Andrew Technical High School (STATHS) was started as a co-educational institution at Bumper Hall (now 64 Spanish Town Road). At the start, there were one hundred and twenty students and eight staff members, who were all led by the first principal, John Austin Holmes. At first, the curriculum at STATHS was focused on academic subjects, but by 1962, emphasis was placed on vocational subjects such as Carpentry and Joinery, Plumbing, Electrical Installation, Welding, Auto Mechanics and Machine Shop.

In the same year, 1961, funds were acquired from USAID to build a vocational training centre on adjoining lands. This was known as St Andrew Industrial Trade Training Centre, which then

opened for classes in 1962. The curriculum was virtually identical with the technical subjects offered at STATHS. By 1972, St Andrew Technical High and St Andrew Industrial Trade Trading Centre were merged under the name, St Andrew Technical High School. After the merger, two programmes were offered. These were a four-year educational curriculum for grades eight to eleven and a two-year vocational programme offered in grades ten and eleven. The institution's longest serving principal was the dedicated and famed Mr S. W. Isaac-Henry who led the school from 1969 to 1990.

Tivoli Gardens High School

The institution that eventually became Tivoli Gardens High School was an important part of the vision of then Minister of Housing and Member of Parliament for West Kingston, Edward Seaga, for the advancement of the residents of the new community, Tivoli Gardens, which replaced the earlier depressed slum of Back-O-Wall in 1966. The Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga is honoured as the founder of the school which was built on ten acres of land which had been bought from the Jamaica Railway Corporation and the operators of the May Pen Cemetery lands.

The school opened its doors in September 1969 as Tivoli Gardens Junior High School. On opening day, the school had just over seven hundred students (boys and girls) and a teaching staff of thirty eight. By the following year, 1970, the school was upgraded to the status of a comprehensive high school, and grades ten and eleven were added to the programme. A further upgrade followed when the school was changed to Tivoli Gardens High School in keeping with the Ministry of Education's policies of upgrading all comprehensive high schools to full high schools in 2000. Tivoli Gardens High School has successfully combined a well-rounded academic programme with a renowned and outstanding record of artistic and cultural excellence in the performing arts. They have also excelled in sports but have remained true to their school motto which is "Study enters into one's Living". [32]

Cultural Heritage of Kingston

Kingston: The Creative Centre of Jamaica's Musical Heritage

On 11 December, 2015, Kingston was honoured by being designated a Music City in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. This designation rests on the fact that over the years, the parish of Kingston has been home to many famous musicians, as well as stellar recording and production studios, and this rich heritage has established Kingston as an internationally acknowledged centre for music creation. The hometown of musical legends, Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Dennis Brown, among many others, has gifted Jamaica and the world with the musical genres of Mento, Ska, Rock Steady, Dub, Reggae and Dancehall. Trench Town and Orange Street were the two areas in Kingston which were associated with this musical creativity.

Trench Town Culture Yard

What is appropriately named the Culture Yard is located at 6 to 8 First Street in Trench Town.

Trench Town Culture Yard Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The House in the Culture Yard which is associated with Bob Marley Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Culture Yard was a part of the U block of houses that had been built by the Central Housing Authority between 1940 and 1949 and owned by the government. Vincent 'Tata' Ford, who was the community leader in the U Block, lived in the yard that has become known as the Culture Yard. Bob Marley also lived in the Culture Yard, and it was there that Vincent taught him how to play the guitar.

Bob Marley's Trench Town Base: The U Block and Museum in the Culture Yard Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Bob Marley and Ford co-wrote the famous '*No Woman No Cry',* which was based on their experience while living 'inna government yard' in Trench Town.

It was while Bob lived at 6 to 8 First Street that the group, the Wailers, was formed and the very first album by Bob Marley and the Wailers, which was *Catch a Fire* was recorded there in the Culture Yard. A museum was established at the Culture Yard, and the musical instruments that had been used by Tata Ford, Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer are displayed at the museum. Trench Town's history is also depicted by the museum, and the Culture Yard forms a

very important part of Heritage tours. On 10 May, 2007, Trench Town Culture Yard was declared Protected National Heritage by the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT).

Bob's Vehicle in the Culture Yard Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Statue of Bob Marley at the Culture Yard Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

The Mural at the Trench Town Culture Yard Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Other Culturally Significant Locations in Trench Town

One of the government houses, a two-storey dwelling, located at 19 Second Street in Trench Town, was the historically significant boyhood home of both Bunny Wailer and Bob Marley. Bunny Wailer lived there with his father, and when Bob Marley first came to Kingston, this was where he lived with his mother, Cedella Booker. Unfortunately, on Saturday 18 September, 2021, fire destroyed a significant portion of the house. This has adversely affected heritage tours of this aspect of Trench Town's cultural legacy, but hopefully plans for restoration will be realised in the not too distant future.

Trench Town is linked in a broader way to the creative achievements of Kingston as a Music City. This is so because a considerable number of the creative artistes who have been associated with the different musical genres were either born or grew up in, or recorded and/or produced their music in Trench Town. It has already been noted that Marley, Bunny Wailer and Peter Tosh were fixtures at 6 to 8 First Street. Second Street was not only the location of Bob Marley's and Bunny Wailer's boyhood home, but Delroy Wilson also had important roots there. Joe Higgs and Adina Edwards, among a few others, were associated with Third Street, while Stranger Cole and Ken Boothe lived on an extension of Third Street. Jimmy, Desmond and Junior Tucker, Cynthia Schloss and Ernie Ranglin were all linked with Fourth Street, while Fifth Street was associated with Alton and Hortense Ellis and Dobby Dobson. The Paragons and Techniques were based on Sixth Street while Wilfred "Jackie" Edwards was on Seventh. A number of other famous artistes either recorded or produced or in some other way had musical ties to Trench Town. These included Clement 'Sir Coxone' Dodd, Don Drummond, Bob Andy, Judy Mowatt, Marcia Griffiths, Rita Marley, John Holt, Prince Buster, Dennis Brown, Lee 'Scratch' Perry and King Tubby. Trench Town's musical legacy lives on.

Orange Street in Downtown Kingston: The Beat Street of the 1960s to the 1980s

As Ratiba Hamzaoui reminds us, Orange Street was known as Beat Street or Music Street from the 1960s to the 1980s. Although the sounds of reggae music no longer permeate Orange Street, the fact remains that this part of downtown Kingston is of great cultural significance in terms of the unfolding and development of Jamaica's several musical genres. Orange Street remains important because it was the birthplace of several Jamaican musical entertainers and the Beat Street also became the adopted home of musical artistes who were already becoming established. It was also the unchallenged home of record shops and record distributors, fuelling the rapidly developing music industry in Jamaica.

Hamazaoui terms Orange Street as the "epicentre of Jamaican music and states that this part of Kingston witnessed the evolution of some of the "best producers, singers and musicians from

the rhythm and blues to the reggae." Some were born on Orange Street. Dennis Brown was born at 135 Orange Street in 1957, and spent much of his formative years there. Others like Prince Buster, Clement 'Sir Coxone' Dodd, Winston Riley, Joe Gibbs and Bob Marley, all had close musical links to Orange Street. Kingston's three big producers of Ska, Clement Coxonne Dodd, Prince Buster and Duke Reid, were grounded in Orange Street, even as they spread their musical influence further afield.

Clement Coxonne Dodd, the great record producer and influential creative in the development of Ska, Rock Steady and Reggae operated his Muzik City at 136 d Orange Street at the corner of Charles Street. He developed a reputation of always delivering on the claim advertised on the outside of his Muzik City store which was "First with the latest Foreign and Local Records". Dodd never deserted his roots in Orange Street even as he opened his Studio One recording studio on Brentford Road in Kingston. Very importantly, this was the first black-owned recording studio in Jamaica. Dodd conducted Sunday auditions at Studio One, scouting for the best in musical talent. It was there that he auditioned Bob Marley singing as part of the Wailers and then signed Marley and the Wailers, marking the start of a musically rewarding journey with Bob Marley and the Wailers. By the early 1960s, Dodd ruled Jamaica with hits by Toots and the Maytals, the Gaylads and the Skatalites.

Orange Street was the leading location for record shops and distributors of the music in Jamaica at that time. Among the early record retailers on Beat Street was Leroy Riley's Savoy Record Shop at 118 Orange Street. Clancy Eccles had his record shop which he called "Clancy's", and this was at number 135 Orange Street. Lee 'Scratch' Perry operated at number 135 Orange Street during the 1970s. Travelling northwards up Orange Street during the 1960s to the 1980s, the entire left hand side of the street was lined with record shops, recording studios and music stores. In the heyday of the Beat Street, one of the most famous record stores was Randy's Record Shop, which was started by Vincent 'Randy' Chin in 1959 at the corner of East Street and Barry Street, fairly close to Orange Street. A famous music studio and record shop combined was the Jazz Hut, located at 126 Orange Street. This is now occupied by cabinet makers. Tuff Gong International, established by Bob Marley in 1965, was originally based on Orange Street, before it was relocated to 56 Hope Road in St Andrew.

One record shop, Rockers International, has been open on Orange Street since 1978. The original owner was Augustus Pablo, also known as the "King of the Melodica". His image is memorialised on a mural on the wall in front of the store. Rockers International is still there today, operated by his son, Addis Pablo, who is a musical talent in his own right. He runs the business and makes orders for vinyl records for customers who have a preference for vinyl.

Rockers International Record Shop on Orange Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Orange Street was also the venue for gatherings of musical entertainers. One famous hotel and bar on Beat Street was Rolando's Hotel and Bar at 101 Orange Street. At this venue, many musical figures, including Millie Small and Phillip and Lloyd of the Blues Busters were frequent guests.

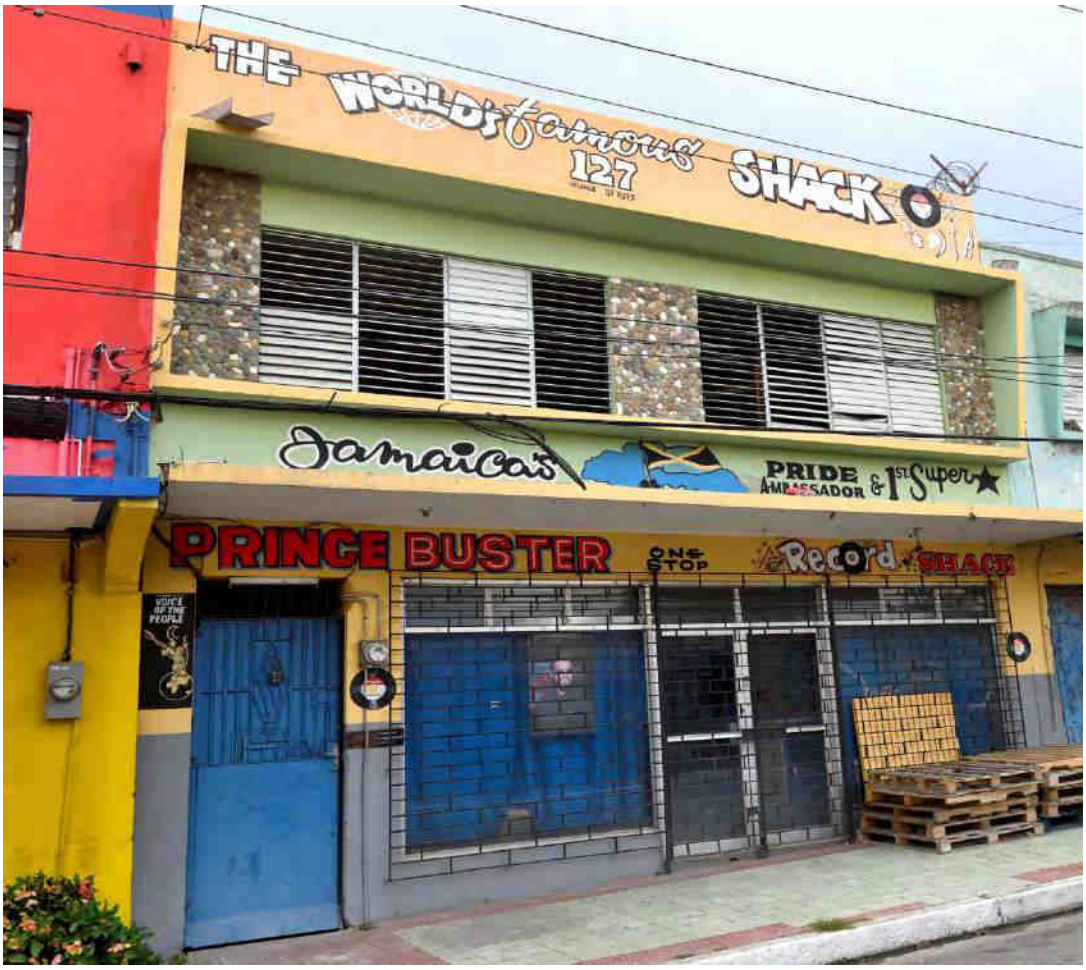
Winston Riley, who has been described as one of the most successful Jamaican record producers ever, presiding over many hit singles and albums before and after the 1980s, was strongly linked to Orange Street and never lost his loyalty to the Music Street even up to the time of his death. In 2009, Winston Riley activated plans to resurrect Orange Street as the hub of the Jamaican music scene. He invested over fifty million dollars intended to restore Orange Street to the way it was. Located at 99 Orange Street, his dream project included a recording studio on the top floor and a record shop and a museum featuring Beat Street's rich history on the ground floor. Sadly, Winston Riley did not live to see his project launched as he was shot and died in January, 2012.

Prince Buster, who was so important to the development of Ska and Rock Steady, was born in 1938 on Orange Street. His store was "Prince Buster's One Stop Record Shack" located first at 121 then at 127 Orange Street. According to Hamazaoui, Prince Buster outlined the importance of Orange Street as the cradle of Jamaican music in the following:

"I was born on Orange Street . . . Orange Street is the street that only can bring a lot of money back in the country through tourism, if they would fix it up in the proper way. People want to

know the history of Orange Street, and we should tell them because what we tell them is not a story but history." [Prince Buster]

Prince Buster's Famous Record Shack on Orange Street Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation



Another View of Prince Buster's Record Shack Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Residents of Orange Street are very proud of Dennis Brown and his contributions to the music. He was honoured with the Order of Distinction, Commander Class in 2011. Each year, the Dennis Brown celebrations still take place near his birthplace. Today, only the signs on some of the buildings stand as a reminder of Orange Street's rich involvement with Jamaica's musical heritage. Indeed, for the most part, the street is dominated by cabinet-makers' shops and bars. But the legacy lives on in the people who were influenced by the Music Street and the creative works which they produced. Local, Orange Street-based artistes from the 1960s onwards paid tribute to the famous Beat Street in songs of their own which remain as timeless reminders of the influence of Orange Street. Some of these include "Beat Street Jump" by Prince Buster's All Stars; "Orange Street Special" by the Carib Beats; "127 Orange Street" by Prince Buster's All Stars, featuring Lynn Taitt and "Orange Street" by Tommy McCook and the Supersonics, among others.

Taken together, **Trench Town and Orange Street were undoubtedly the heartland of Jamaica's rich and diverse musical culture**. The experiences and enrichment gained by musical artistes

from their groundings in both places have allowed the emergence and international acclaim of the several genres of Jamaican music from Mento to Ska to Rock Steady to Dub, Reggae and then to Dancehall. Kingston's creative music centres were therefore just as foundational as New Orleans was to Jazz, Nashville to Country Music and the Bronx, NY, to Hip Hop. [33]

Kingston's Cultural Legacy: The Ward Theatre, Dramatic Performances and the Annual Pantomime

As seen in earlier sections, there were two theatres that previously stood on the North Parade site that was occupied by the Ward Theatre as of 1912. These were the Kingston Theatre built in 1777 and then the Theatre Royal which took its place in 1838. Destroyed by the 1907 earthquake, the Theatre Royal gave way to the architectural magnificence of the Ward Theatre. Perhaps as a sign of things to come, Colonel C. J. Ward of Wray and Nephew fame, awarded the contract to build the Theatre to a company of local, Kingston contractors, the Henriques Brothers. This was particularly telling at a time in Kingston's history when contracts for building and rebuilding were being given to foreign contractors. The completed Ward Theatre was presented by Colonel Ward as a gift to the people of Kingston in 1912 and was officially declared open in that year.

The Ward Theatre in North Parade Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

In the uniqueness and classical grandeur of its architectural style, the rebuilt Ward Theatre is and should be recognised as an integral part of Kingston's cultural legacy, inseparable from the body of dramatic and artistic performances that have been presented there over the years. Increasingly from 1945 onwards, these productions have gradually moved away from the European-inspired models and subject matter to performances that reflect the very best of Jamaican culture. Kingston's Ward Theatre is synonymous with the rise to prominence of local players like Charles Hyatt, Ranny Williams, Louise Bennett, Leonie Forbes and Oliver Samuels, all of whom have given pride of place to our Jamaican culture, to our language, our stories and to our uniquely comedic way of commenting on life in our society. Their names are forever embedded in the cultural legacy that has been performed at the Ward over the years. Home to National Festival Finals, Roots Plays, Dance Troupes, Christmas Morning concerts and above all, to the National Pantomime which opened there each Boxing Day, the Ward Theatre, along with all the productions that have graced its stage, are an integral part of the rich cultural heritage that has become closely identified with Kingston over the years. The Ward Theatre was

declared a National Monument in 2007 and celebrated one hundred years of existence in December of 2012.

The Ward Theatre Today Photo Courtesy of the JN Foundation

Early Cultural Productions at the Ward Theatre

The first performance at the Ward took place in December, 1912, and was a rendition of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance", performed by the Amateur Dramatic Club of Kingston. Most early performances (up to the mid-1940s) were by visiting groups who put on productions of Shakespeare's plays. During the 1920s, the Ward developed quite a reputation as a location of excellence. International theatre groups used to boast of having just returned from performing to packed audiences at the Ward in Kingston. In the colonial, Euro-centric setting of the times, these cultural attitudes and standards, while understandable, could not be said to represent Kingston's indigenous culture. This was about to change.

The Move to Local Players

After the ending of the Second World War and with the growing consciousness of racial and cultural pride, helped in no small way by the teachings of Marcus Garvey and by the strength of local labour and political leaders, local players started to become more prominent in performances and concerts at the Ward. Charles Hyatt, Ranny Williams (Mas Ran) Louise Bennett (Miss Lou) Leonie Forbes, Oliver Samuels (later) and many others, transformed the

ways in which dramatic performances were done, using Jamaican music, speech and stories, mixed in with a healthy dose of comedy to present a cultural legacy that was truly Jamaican.

Scene from Moonshine Anancy with Louise Bennett and Ranny Williams Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Boxing Day in Kingston: The Pantomime at the Ward Theatre

Boxing Day openings of the Annual Pantomime at the Ward Theatre are an inseparable feature of Kingston's cultural legacy. For many years beginning in 1941, persons from all around made the highly anticipated journey to the Ward Theatre in North Parade to witness the opening of the season of the National Pantomime at 6:00 p.m. sharp on Boxing Day. According to Barbara Gloudon, who has been associated with the production for many years, Pantomime has become truly Jamaican, reflecting Jamaican music, speech and storylines that offer a social commentary while appealing to children and adults alike.

Although the first Pantomime performed at the Ward in 1941 enacted a European tale of "Jack and the Beanstalk", the use of European tales as a basis for performances did not last long. Even when the storyline was of European origin, the producers made sure to add that uniquely Jamaican flavour to the enactment. With the passing of colonial rule, Jamaican and Caribbean stories formed the basis for the annual production. The late Louise Bennett-Coverley (Miss Lou) and Ranny Williams (Mas Ran) were at the forefront of this effort to make Pantomime truly Jamaican. Over the years, Pantomime personalities included Miss Lou and Mas Ran, who wrote as well as performed in the Pantomime, Leonie Forbes, Lois Kelley-Miller, Charles Hyatt, Oliver Samuels and Volaire Johnson (Maffie). Barbara Gloudon has been closely involved with productions of the Pantomime for many years.

A sample of some of the productions include "Anancy and the Magic Mirror" (1954) "Queenie's Daughter" (1963) "Moonshine Anancy" (Barbara Gloudon,1969) "River Mumma and the Golden Table" (Gloudon, 1986) and "Schoolers" (1989). Pantomimes were staged annually at the Ward from 1941 to 2002 after which year, the deteriorating condition of facilities at the Ward forced a change of venue to the Little Theatre in St Andrew. Pantomime may be gone from the beautiful powder-blue Ward Theatre and from Kingston for now, but the legacy of what was once Kingston's most anticipated annual event still remains, even as hopes for a resurrection of the Ward Theatre linger.

Scene in "Breda Buck" LTM Pantomime 1965 Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Passa Passa in West Kingston

Passa Passa was the name given to the street dance sessions, a cultural event that became famously embedded with Kingston's dancehall culture from 2001 until about April 2010. "Passa Passa" is the Jamaican way of saying "mix-up" and this name was given to the event because these street dances featured the mixing of uptown with downtown. Persons from all walks of life gathered at the West Kingston Tivoli Gardens venue to experience the best that dancehall had to offer and to enjoy the camaraderie for which it was famous. Passa Passa was a major drawing card, not only for locals but also for visitors. The dancehall street party was held weekly starting at a decently late hour on Wednesday nights and going straight back to 8:00 a.m. on Thursday mornings.

The promoters of Passa Passa were Prodigal Entertainment, Swash International and Dylan Powe. According to Powe, the genesis of Passa Passa lay in the aftermath of the 2001 incursion by the security forces into Tivoli Gardens in West Kingston. Community members were fearful of leaving to attend outside dancehall sessions and so the promoters thought of staging the street dance within the community. Before too long, the musical attraction of Passa Passa ensured that this was transformed into everybody's street dance regardless of their address. For a long enough time, Passa Passa was able to promote the unity and interaction between social groups and persons of different social backgrounds and home addresses, and at that time, this was a rather unique achievement. Guest selectors included Tony Matterhorn, Maestro and Little Richie.

Significantly, several of the dances that became popular throughout Jamaica were created right there at the West Kingston venue. For example, popular dances such as the "Rubba Bounce," "Skip to Ma Lue" and "Hop Scotch" were created at Passa Passa by dancers such as Bogle, Ding Dong, Marvin and Sadiki. Again, this shows the cultural impact that this event in West Kingston had on the wider society, near and far. By April of 2010, the promoters were forced to put Passa Passa on hold because of the civil unrest in Tivoli Gardens and other parts of Kingston pertaining to the planned detention and extradition of the then area leader for Tivoli Gardens, Christopher "Dudus" Coke.

Rae Town Sundays: Rae Town Old Hits

Rae Town in Eastern Kingston became famous not only for its fishing community but also for its long history of staging musical sessions which brought out the rich heritage of the several genres of Jamaican music. Nowhere was this better demonstrated than at the venue outside the Capricorn Inn, where one of the longest standing and most famous of these sessions, known as "Rae Town Old Hits" or "Rae Town Sundays" was held for many years. As the name of the event suggests, musical hits from the 1950s to the 1980s were the theme of the Rae Town

community dances. Older genres of Jamaican music, such as Ska, Rock Steady, Dub and Reggae, ruled the sounds provided by Klassique Disco and selector, Senor Daley. This was never the scene for dancehall. International “oldies but goodies” also featured at Rae Town Sundays.

Rae Town Sundays or Rae Town Old Hits was started in 1982 by Norma Wright and her husband at the area outside the Capricorn Inn.

Two Views of the Capricorn Inn in Rae Town Photos Courtesy of the JN Foundation

These sessions were mainly appealing to an older age group that identified with the musical hits of yesteryear. The weekly event drew crowds from all around, and persons from all backgrounds, visitors as well as locals, made this a regular stop in their weekly calendar. Both sides of the road in front of the Capricorn Inn were usually well occupied, as persons enjoyed the music, the dancing, the food and the camaraderie. Sessions usually began at around 10:30 p.m. on Sundays and went right in to Monday mornings. For most of its history, Rae Town Sundays remained right there in Rae Town, becoming a cultural legacy of the community. However, in 2017, there was an attempt by the KSAMC to relocate the event to the Kingston Cricket Club at Sabina Park. This did not sit well with most residents of Rae Town who saw Rae Town Old Hits as an integral part of their community and of great cultural as well as economic significance to Rae Town. The subsequent COVID-19 pandemic has put all this on hold and for the people of Rae Town, as elsewhere, the future remains to be determined. [34]

Personalities from the Parish of Kingston

Over the centuries of Kingston's development, there have been many people who were instrumental in its evolution as the socio-political, economic and cultural centre of Jamaica. Many of these were featured during the writing of this history and included the visionaries and business leaders who set the parish and the nation's capital on the path to growth, change and redevelopment. Many others struggled over the years to provide the labour (enslaved and free) that propelled the commercial and industrial development of the parish. Not only do they remain unnamed, but in many instances they remained unacknowledged. This parish history acknowledges with gratitude the debt owed to the many that built the parish of Kingston and with a spirit of resilience, rebuilt and overcame after each setback and each disaster. The following section highlights a few of the many personalities from the parish who made a significant contribution to the twentieth-century development of Kingston and by extension, of the nation.

The Rt. Hon. Dr Louise Bennett-Coverley OM, OJ, MBE

Louise Simone Bennett-Coverley (Miss Lou), famed poet, writer, promoter of Jamaican dialect, actress, comedienne, folklorist and social commentator, was born in Kingston at 40 North Street on 7 September, 1919. Her father, Augustus Bennett, was a baker, and her mother, Kerene Robinson, worked as a dressmaker in Kingston. Her childhood years were spent at Ebenezer and Calabar Elementary schools, and she later attended St Simon's College and Excelsior High School. In 1945, an important avenue was opened to her as she was awarded a British Council scholarship to the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, England. While there, she also worked with the BBC. Both experiences in England equipped her for one of her life's loves which was acting and also for her participation in local radio shows such as "Miss Lou's Views" at a later period.

The Hon. Louise Bennett Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Upon returning to Jamaica, she taught Speech and Drama at her alma mater, Excelsior High, for a while. Importantly, this gave her some time to develop her craft as she wrote poems, folksongs and short stories, delving into the rich pool of Jamaican folklore for her material. It was also at this stage that she started to perform in plays and pantomimes. Over the years, Miss Lou was a regular performer, along with Ranny Williams, in the pantomimes put on at the Ward Theatre in Kingston.

After getting married to Eric Coverley in 1954, Louise went to work at the Jamaica Welfare Commission as a drama officer. This marked an important breakthrough in the development of her cultural framework. The job entailed travelling to the towns and villages of Jamaica where she gained some significant insights into the real Jamaican culture of the people. It was on these occasions that she made jottings about words that the people used, their meanings and ways that these words could be used. This helped immensely in her understanding the usage of the Jamaican dialect. Miss Lou never backed down from her views on the Jamaican dialect, even as those around her chastised her for "not speaking the Queen's English." She remained our strongest advocate for the creativity and cultural appropriateness of patois and brought a new level of social understanding and some degree of acceptance of the dialect through her own usage on radio shows, concerts and stage performances, all of which was infused with a healthy dose of comedy. Miss Lou helped us to laugh at ourselves, even as some of us became more culturally aware.

Perhaps the most effective media through which Miss Lou successfully transferred her views on cultural independence and the integrity of "Jamaica Talk" were the radio and television programmes which reached wide audiences. She was also part of a comedy duo with Ranny Williams on the "Lou and Ranny Show". The Jamaican audiences thoroughly enjoyed "Miss Lou's Views" and looked forward to the snippets of wisdom which "Aunty Roachy "had to offer. She wrote several books on Jamaican dialect, folklore and poetry. Two of her most famous were *Aunty Roachy Sey* (1993) and *Jamaica Labrish (*1996). Miss Lou thought it important to communicate these views to children, and this she did in "Ring Ding", a very engaging and long-running programme on JBC TV from 1970 to 1982. A sample of the colourful and effective way in which she expressed her views on a variety of topics while using the Jamaican dialect as her standard means of expression is seen in this extract from "Colonization in Reverse."

"What a joyful news Miss Mattie

I feel like me heart gwine burs

Jamaica people colonizin

England in reverse"

Among the many honours bestowed on her were the MBE by the British government, the Order of Jamaica, (OJ) in 1974 and the Order of Merit, (OM) in 2001. She was buried at the National Heroes' Park in 2006. Louise Bennett-Coverley was our best advocate for the Jamaican dialect, and for our cultural independence. She was Jamaica's most treasured spokesperson on national identity and our true cultural icon.

Miss Lou's Views on RJR Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

Randolph Samuel Williams (Ranny Williams) CD

Although Ranny Williams was born in Colon, Panama in 1912, he came to Jamaica when he was six years old and lived most of his life in Kingston. It could be said that he adopted Kingston as his home and Kingston, indeed, all of Jamaica, adopted him right back. He went to school at Tutorial College, Calabar and Kingston Technical High School.

A very creative dramatist, Ranny Williams formed an exciting comedy duo with Louise Bennett. Miss Lou and 'Mas Ran' ruled the airwaves with their famous comedy "The Lou and Ranny Show" which kept Jamaican listeners in perpetual stitches. On stage, Ranny Williams was a major drawing card, the master of comedy and social commentary, a brilliant entertainer who never failed to deliver. Ranny Williams was a staple feature in the annual pantomimes at the

Ward Theatre. His first pantomime was “Bluebeard and Brer Anancy” in 1942. He also hosted the “Ranny Williams Show” on TV.

Lou and Ranny Show being recorded at JBC Image Courtesy of the National Library of Jamaica

There was an important other side to “Mas Ran”. A trained social worker, he also worked for several years with the adult literacy programme, JAMAL. He also established the Ranny Williams Youth Club and participated regularly in the charity fund-raising show, “Nuggets for the Needy.” Among the several awards that he received was the Jamaica Certificate and Badge of Honour in the Queen’s New Year List in 1968. The Institute of Jamaica’s Silver Musgrave Medal was also given to him in 1968. For outstanding service to entertainment, Ranny Williams was recognised by the award of the Commander of the Order of Distinction, (C.D.) in 1976 and the Institute of Jamaica’s Centenary Medal in 1979. Ranny Williams passed away the following year, 1980.

Charles Hyatt

Born in Kingston in February 1931, Charles Hyatt was one of Kingston's most famous actors, commentators, dramatists and comedians. He was also a broadcaster in his own right. St Aloysius Boys' School on Duke Street, as well as St Simon's College, provided an early but sound education. He then went on to study at the Theatre Royal in the United Kingdom. In the 1940s while Charles was working at Issa's store on King Street, his boss, Abe Issa, who owned the Myrtle Bank Hotel in Kingston, invited Charles to perform in the weekly concerts put on at the hotel. At this time, he was just starting his career in theatre. He went on to give many outstanding performances in the National Pantomimes put on at the Ward Theatre.

Although Charles Hyatt worked as a radio producer and presenter, his most famous work consisted of two serials that he wrote for radio. These were "Here Comes Charley" and "When Me was a Boy". This second one in particular, offered amazing insights into social life and changing social values at the time. His excellent acting skills won him the award for Best Actor for the year 1958 to 1959 and again for 1966 to 1967. Charles Hyatt was awarded the Institute of Jamaica's Centenary Medal and the Silver Musgrave Medal for his acting and radio presentations. He died in January 2007.

Dennis Emmanuel Brown OD: The Crown Prince of Reggae

Dennis Brown was born in Kingston on 1 February, 1957 and attended Central Branch Primary School. He came from a family of performers, so it was hardly surprising that Dennis would follow this path. His father, Arthur Brown was a well-known Jamaican actor. They lived a very short distance from Orange Street, which was known as the "Beat Street" and the "Music Street" from the 1950s to the 1980s. Orange Street was the centre of the music and recording industry then. Young Dennis Brown had a passion for music and literally grew up in Orange Street, and the residents regarded him as one of their own.

Dennis was a gifted singer, whose voice could turn any tune. When he was thirteen, Dennis was auditioned by Clement 'Sir' Coxonne Dodd who immediately recognised his talent. Brown signed his first recording contract in the late 1960s, and his first hit album was "No Man is an Island". Dennis Brown may be seen as one of the most influential vocalists and recording artistes in Jamaica's history. He spread reggae music throughout Jamaica and internationally. His songs carried important messages for his listeners as well. An example is the very popular hit, "Stop Fighting" (So Early in the Morning) in 1987.

Dennis Brown influenced and guided many upcoming singers, including Richie Stephens, Luciano and Barrington Levy. His work was nominated for the Grammy Award twice, in 1995, for the Reggae Album "Light my Fire" and again in 2001 for the Reggae Album "Let me be the One". Dennis Emmanuel Brown died in July 1999. He was posthumously recognised with the

Order of Distinction, (OD), Commander Class in 2011. He was laid to rest at National Heroes' Park.

Sir Florizel Augustus Glasspole ON GCMG CCVO

Born in Kingston on 25 September, 1909, Florizel Glasspole went on to bring honour to the nation by being Jamaica's second native Governor General and also the longest serving Governor General (1973-1990) to date. His father was a Methodist minister, Rev. Theophilus A. Glasspole and his mother was Florence Baxter-Glasspole. Like many other youngsters growing up in Kingston, Glasspole attended Central Branch Primary School. He then went on to Wolmers' School from 1922 to 1926. Perhaps as an indication of things to come, he chose to pursue Trade Union Studies at Ruskin College at Oxford.

Glasspole made a great deal of contributions to the trade union movement in Kingston, and not surprisingly, he is regarded as one of the founding fathers of the movement. A few of the many unions which he helped to establish or in which he served include the Jamaica Trade Union Congress, the Mental Hospital Union and the National Workers' Union. He was very interested in the welfare of the working class and was particularly active in Eastern Kingston. When he was chosen as the People's National Party candidate to contest the General Elections in Eastern Kingston and Port Royal, starting in 1944, it was no surprise that Glasspole won this seat in 1944 and in every General Election down to and including 1962.

When Glasspole served in the PNP administration as Minister of Education, he presided over several important innovations. The Ministry of Education buildings were constructed under his watch at the present location. He introduced the Common Entrance Examination which allowed students of all social backgrounds to win free places at the existing high schools by sitting an exam whose results were based purely on merit. It was Glasspole who also introduced the proliferation of technical high schools across Jamaica. Sir Florizel Glasspole became Jamaica's second native Governor General in June 1973 and gave distinguished and long service until his retirement in 1990. For a lifetime of service, Sir Florizel was awarded the Order of the Nation (ON), Jamaica's second highest National Honour. Sir Florizel passed away in November, 2000.[35]

Concluding Thoughts

The smallest parish of Kingston started out with perhaps a bigger natural advantage than most of the other parishes of Jamaica. This was its proximity to the Kingston Harbour which allowed Kingston to become the import and export point for other parishes around the island. Its development path was quite different from the plantation economies of the other parishes from the very beginning. It was clear that the people of this parish were destined to develop their lives around trade and commerce and in later centuries, also around manufacturing industries and the business sector.

But Kingston's developmental success was always for the few, never the many, and after Emancipation, social and economic discontent were apparent even as the freed people tried to gain access to some of their expectations of what freedom should have brought. The dawn of the twentieth century brought new hope for many, hope for greater prosperity and simply hope for more employment. For most persons in the working class, this continued to elude them, even as Kingston's commercial prosperity increased. For everyone, the 1907 twin disasters of earthquake and fire brought a great levelling of hopes, opportunities and lives. But, as they had in the past, the inhabitants of the parish overcame and were able to build back their city and their lives.

The watershed decade of the 1930s laid bare all the inequities in the labour relationships between employers and workers. Out of the disturbances of 1938, there arose the potential of strong leadership for the future and some protection for workers' rights by way of trade unions. As Kingston and the rest of the country moved towards self-governance and eventual independence, the appalling social and living conditions facing Kingston's poor became even more apparent. Despite some efforts to replace the slums and shanty towns by improved housing, the underlying inequities remained. Poverty and unemployment in the parish would find expression in rising crime rates.

Still, from the 1960s onwards, the face of Kingston became radically transformed. New port facilities, massive industrial expansion to the west of the city centre, a completely modernised Kingston Waterfront with high-rise buildings, a booming business sector and a brand new international airport, brought renewed hope for the future of the nation's capital. Amidst all of this, the emergence of a cultural renaissance, this time, very pronounced in the musical achievements of the beleaguered working class, particularly in the areas of Trench Town and Orange Street, Kingston's Music Street, brought new signs that the potential for progress lay in self-activation and use of creative talent. The city and parish that led the way in business, trade and commerce, had at last become Kingston, the cultural centre of the nation.

Guide to Places of Historical Interest in Kingston

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