THE RISE AND FALL OF MARKETS ALONG BLUEFIELDS BAY, JAMAICA

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In Partial Fulfillment
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Master of Science, Applied Anthropology

By
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THE RISE AND FALL OF MARKETS ALONG BLUEFIELDS BAY, JAMAICA

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ABSTRACT

This research uses ethnographic and historical data to explore the rise and fall of rural markets along Bluefields Bay, Jamaica, particularly the community of Belmont. The objective of this study is to answer the following questions: (1) When, why, and how did market activity in Belmont begin? (2) Why did market activity decline? (3) How will a new market affect the local Belmont economy? And last, (4) how can the new market be successful? After claiming Jamaica in 1494, the Spanish eliminated the indigenous Taino and used Bluefields Bay to supply ships with food and water. After the English invaded Jamaica in 1655, the bay served as a supply port for naval convoys and rivaled Port Royal as a haven for pirates. Markets in Belmont began by the early 1900s on beaches where fishermen and middlemen or higglers exchanged fish for crops. Market activity reached a height during the 1950s when the government built a market shed. However, depleting fish stocks, largely due to overfishing, caused the market to decline. The shed closed in the mid-1980s. In 2009, a local fishermen’s society obtained the lease and on December 21, 2011 held the first market in Belmont in over 25 years. While many people in Belmont are seeking formal wage labor and operating various businesses, fishing and small-scale farming continue to be the primary means of subsistence. If the people are not involved in fishing and farming, if community and kinship relationships are not maintained through reciprocity and leadership, and if governments and organizations are not willing to assist with funding, then the people may lose their coral reefs to snorkelers, beaches to hotels, farm lands to parking lots, and markets to gift shops.

KEYWORDS: Jamaica, ethnography, ethnohistory, economic anthropology, markets, fishing, farming, tourism

This abstract is approved as to form and content

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The following research describes and evaluates the history of marketing activity along Bluefields Bay, Jamaica, particularly the community of Belmont, to assess the viability of holding fisher’s and farmer’s markets.¹ The purpose of this research is to answer the following questions: (1) When, why, and how did market activity in Belmont begin? (2) Why did marketing activity in Belmont decline? (3) How will a new market affect the local Belmont economy? And last, (4) how can the new market in Bluefields be successful? This research also aims to identify links between the rise and fall of rural markets and broader influences such as geography, modes of production, technology, and government policies.

Geographical Location

Belmont is a rural fishing village on the southwest corner of Jamaica (Figure 1).² Located along the coast of Bluefields Bay (Figure 2), Belmont (Figure 3) is surrounded by a group of hills which includes Bluefields Peak (2,605 feet or 794 meters), Mount

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¹ Anthropologist M.G. Smith defines a community as “a field of social relations based on regular face-to-face association between persons” and influenced by distance, topography, and access to water resources and roadways (Smith 1956:295, 299).

² Jamaica lies 90 miles (145 kilometers) south of Cuba and 119 miles (191 kilometers) west of Hispaniola (which includes the nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic), at 18.15 degrees north of the Equator (18°N) and 77.30 degrees west of the Prime Meridian (77°W) on the southwest coast of the Caribbean Sea in the western Atlantic Ocean, an area known also as the West Indies. Jamaica is 144 miles (231 kilometers) long and 49 miles (79 kilometers), a land area of 4,411 square miles (10,831 square kilometers), making it the third largest island of the Greater Antilles, which includes Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico.
Figure 1. Jamaica, West Indies.
Figure 2. Bluefields Bay, Jamaica.
Figure 3. Belmont along Bluefields Bay.
Pleasant (1,536 feet or 468 meters), Shafston (938 feet or 286 meters), Mount Edgecombe (594 feet or 181 meters) (United States Navy 1878), and Mount Airy. Flowing down these hills into the Caribbean Sea are several rivers and springs including Bluefields River or Goat Gully (Stewart 1984; Figure 4), Blue Hole Spring that flows into Blue Hole River known locally as “Creek” (Figure 5), Cave River, Sawmill River, Waterwheel, Sweet River, and Beeston Spring that flows into Robin’s River.

Several sandy beaches exist along the coast of Bluefields Bay including Bluefields Beach Park or Sabito Bottom, Belmont Fishing Beach at the mouth of Creek, Belmont Beach near Black’s Bay, Cave Fishing Beach, Kasha Tree Beach, Farm, and Paradise. The land gradually declines into the Caribbean, reaching the seabed on a coastal shelf at 100 fathoms (600 feet) before rapidly dropping to depths of over 1,000 fathoms (6000 feet). Bluefields Bay features a ring-shaped coral reef barrier that serves as a natural fish nursery and mangrove (Rhizophora mangle and Avicennia germinans) forests and wetlands along the shore that filter groundwater, prevent soil erosion, protect from hurricanes, and serve as breeding grounds for several marine species (Figure 6). In the sea beyond Bluefields Bay are shallow reefs including Moor’s Reef, New Bank or Leeward Bank known also as Demayne’s Bank (Purdy 1880), Blossom or Windward Bank, Walton Bank, and Pedro Bank known to Spaniards as La Vipro (the Viper). Pedro Bank, one of the largest queen conch (Strombus gigas) breeding grounds in the world features four small coral islands covered with sand and sea grass, the Northeast Cay, Middle Cay, Southwest or Bird Cay, and South or Sandy Cay, known as the Pedro Cays.3

3 Leeward refers to an area downwind or in the direction that the wind usually blows.
Figure 4. Bluefields River (Wedenoja 2004a).

Figure 5. Blue Hole Spring (2011).
The Bluefields Economy Overview

The first inhabitants, the native Taino, were hunter-gatherers, fishermen, and farmers who settled in coastal areas of “Xaymaca,” the aboriginal name for the “land covered with wood, and watered by shaded rivulets” (Fawcett 1897:345). After discovering Jamaica in 1494, the Spanish began to use the island as a supply station for ships sailing through the Caribbean and sending food to Mexico, but never produced commercially exportable quantities of goods. The Spanish absorbed Taino settlements and replaced the native way of life through displacement, forced labor, and disease. The Spanish, however, largely abandoned Jamaica in pursuit of gold and silver in Peru and Mexico, after which Dutch and Jewish pirates made Bluefields Bay a center for piracy.
After the English invaded Jamaica in 1655, Bluefields Bay served as a haven for pirates stealing from the Spanish. By the 1700s, Bluefields Bay served as a provisioning station or supply port for naval convoys crossing the Atlantic. Several ports of trade existed along Bluefields Bay including the Old Wharf where Bluefields Tavern was located (Figure 7). The English also developed plantation agriculture throughout the island and allowed enslaved people to cultivate their own subsistence crops, fish, and sell surplus produce at markets. After Emancipation in 1838, many freedmen continued to cultivate, fish, and work as wage laborers for their former masters on properties surrounding Bluefields Bay. Markets developed on fishing beaches along Bluefields Bay where large quantities of fish attracted people who brought crops to sell and exchange for fish to take home. By the early 1900s, a market existed at Kasha Tree Beach, a fishing beach near Belmont Point on the southern tip of Bluefields Bay. By the 1920s, the market moved to Belmont Fishing Beach south of Creek, referred to as the Sand Beach Market. Large market gatherings led the Westmoreland Parish Council to build a market shed north of Creek at Belmont Fishing Beach in the 1950s.

Harmful fishing methods and overfishing in Bluefields Bay, however, depleted fish stocks and reduced quantities below market demand, forcing people to buy fish and sell goods in other markets with larger crowds and quantities of fish. Declining market revenue and government spending cuts led the Westmoreland Parish Council to lease the market shed in the mid-1980s. In 2009, the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society leased the shed with plans to open a fisher’s and farmer’s store and hold fisher, farmer, and art and craft markets. The Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group put on the first Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expo on Wednesday, December 21, 2011.
Figure 7. Bluefields along Bluefields Bay.
Methodology

This research project was supervised by William Wedenoja, Professor of Anthropology at Missouri State University and received approval from the Institutional Review Board at Missouri State University (#: 13-0470). Wedenoja has conducted field research in Jamaica since 1972 and in Bluefields since 2000, though he briefly visited the area in 1986. Wedenoja’s knowledge of Jamaica and the Bluefields area served as a foundation for this research and played a vital role throughout the writing of this thesis.

I took four trips to Jamaica: June 11–24, 2008; May 26 – June 23, 2009; December 28, 2009 – January 11, 2010; and June 8 – August 9, 2010, before setting out to conduct my final fieldwork from December 30, 2010 to April 8, 2011. I spent most of my time in Belmont, staying at various houses in the community. I also stayed at the University of the West Indies, Mona in Kingston for two weeks on two occasions. During my third trip I resided at the household of Veda Tate, a Belmont resident and employee of the local tour company Reliable Adventures Jamaica. During my fourth and fifth trips, I stayed in Belmont at the residences of Jamaicans I had met during previous visits.

During the early stages of this research, I had general discussions on Jamaican markets with Northern Caribbean University professors Lucinda Peart, Auma Folkes, and Fitzroy Williams (June 4, 2009) and University of the West Indies Professor of Economics Michael Witter (June 19, 2009). I also sat in on meetings at the African Caribbean Institute and Jamaica National Heritage Trust (June 18, 2009). Wolde Kristos, tour operator for Reliable Adventures Jamaica and president of Bluefields Bay

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4 Households are groups that share dwelling places, eat and sleep together, and cooperate to produce and share resources, particularly land (Smith 1956:299).
Fishermen’s Friendly Society, also provided much needed information and guidance throughout this research project.

Research methods for ethnographic fieldwork included participant-observation over seven months, recording over 20 oral history interviews with community elders living in Belmont, and conducting several informal interviews with others who were involved in market activities in Belmont, their descendents who heard of such activities, and those currently involved in efforts to start a new market, including members of Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group now known as Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society. All interviews were conducted by the author unless otherwise noted. Single quotation marks around the first mention of an interviewee or for personal communications (e.g., ‘Oscar’) indicate a pseudonym.

I fished from land and at sea with Belmont fishermen, including a member of the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, and toured farms with chicken coops, goats, pigs, and a sugarcane mill turned by a one-eared donkey. I spent much of my time walking around Belmont, hanging out in shops and “rum bars,” conducting interviews, and going to local street dances. Buses and taxis were my primary mode of transportation for visiting markets in Savanna-la-Mar, Whitehouse, New Market, Mandeville, and Kingston, though Kristos and Wedenoja provided transportation when possible. I also visited markets in Montego Bay, Falmouth, and Kingston at Halfway Tree, Parade Street, and Coronation Market near the rural bus park or terminal on Pechon Street and the new urban transport center on Port Royal Street. I walked through the Kingston Craft Market and visited shopping centers at Constant Spring, Premier Plaza, Twin Gates Plaza, Sovereign Center, and other places along Hope Road in Kingston. I also observed where
Grange Hill holds markets, though one was not in action, and drove by markets occurring in Negril, Black River, Santa Cruz, Christiana, Brown’s Town, Porus, and Spanish Town.

I visited the Westmoreland Parish Council office in Savanna-la-Mar (January 3, 2011) and the Savanna-la-Mar Public Library on a few occasions. I also traveled to the Jamaica Archives and Records Department in Spanish Town, to view the Westmoreland Parish Council minutes, where I met Geoffrey Whitelocke, nephew of Roland Whitelocke, the former owner of the Bluefields Property. Mr. Whitelocke showed me several texts mentioning Bluefields and told me about the history of Bluefields Bay (February 17-18, 2011). While in Kingston, I gathered information from historical documents at the University of the West Indies and the National Library of Jamaica. I also accessed the Jamaica Gleaner online newspaper archive and an online library of academic journals known as Journal Storage (JSTOR). Sources include historical accounts from planters, historians, explorers, and researchers who lived in Jamaica during the 1700-1800s and the works of anthropologists and economic historians who studied Jamaican markets, fishing and fishing villages, and the origins of Jamaica’s internal marketing system.

I attended Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Bluefields People’s Community Association meetings, toured the Belmont Academy with former Vice Principal Taina Williams (March 21, 2011), and visited a classroom at the Bluefields Early Childhood Learning Center taught by Principal Joy Baker (June 2, 2009). I also had the opportunity to meet William Feilding, an English aristocrat and owner of Oristano Great House in Bluefields (March 20, 2011).

In June 2008, I participated in a field survey at the Bluefields Gardens
archaeological site (WES05MC) conducted by archaeologists Heidi Savery and Ron Dalton from Binghamton University and Jamaican archaeologist Roderick Ebanks, former Director of Archaeology at the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, under the supervision of Wedenoja and with permission from the property owner William Ricketts (Savery et al. 2009:5). I also participated in archaeological surveys and shovel test pit excavations at Bluefields Gardens in June 2009, December-January 2009-2010, June 2010, and December-January 2010-2011.5

Maps of the research area were produced by the author using the Environmental Statistical Research Institute’s (ESRI) Arc Geographic Information Systems (ArcGIS) software. I collected Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates using a Garmin Summit GPS unit, and examined historic and topographic maps, many of which came from Wedenoja’s personal collection. Some locations were derived by overlaying historic maps on IKONOS satellite imagery, using a method known as “georeferencing.”

This research also uses quantitative and qualitative data from census demographics (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 1982, 1991, 2004); a fishing survey conducted by the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, Wedenoja, and Missouri State University students in 2005; a fishing survey conducted by the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society in 2008; and a group store and market survey and needs assessment also by the author and the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society during the author’s internship sponsored by the Society in June 8 – August 9, 2010 (Appendix A). The group store and market survey collected information to develop a

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business plan for a fisher’s and farmer’s store and to gauge support for holding markets in Belmont. Quantitative data was organized using Microsoft Excel and analyzed for statistical significance using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Analysis of Contingency Tables Using Simulation (ACTUS2) (C. Estabrook and G. Estabrook 1989).

**Contributions**

This research will contribute to the ethnography of Jamaica and to economic anthropology as a case study on the rise and fall of rural markets and ports of trade. Information in this research preserves knowledge of local history and cultural heritage for future generations. Education about local and national history and culture may lead to a greater respect among the youth for fishermen, farmers, and market traders. The findings of this research may also be useful for researchers, Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society, Peace Corps volunteers, non-governmental organizations such as Food for the Poor, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and others involved in starting the new market and other community development projects in Bluefields. Information provided may contribute towards efforts to develop and prevent the decline of rural markets in other areas of Jamaica and coastal regions throughout the world. This research may also provide valuable information for fishing and farming groups seeking to create a more sustainable way of life.
CHAPTER 2
THE FIRST JAMAICANS

Archaeologists Philip Allsworth-Jones (2008:35, 98, 101) and Leslie-Gail Atkinson (2006:3, 18-19) said that a radiocarbon date from charcoal excavated by archaeologist Ronald Vanderwal (1968) at Alligator Pond (M4), known also as Bottom Bay, and cross-dated with excavations by archaeologist Marion DeWolf (1953) in Little River near Saint Ann’s Bay (A15) suggest the earliest inhabitants of Jamaica, known as the Taino, had settled in the island by A.D. 650. The first Taino settlers are generally referred to as the Ostionan or Redware culture (Atkinson 2006:146). Calibrated radiocarbon dates calculated from shell excavated by archaeologist William F. Keegan et. al (2002, 2003) suggest an Ostionan settlement existed from about A.D. 710 to 990 at Paradise (WES15A) on the northern point of Bluefields Bay (Allsworth-Jones 2008:98, 101). A second wave of Taino, known as the Meillacan or White Marl culture, arrived in Jamaica around A.D. 1000 (Atkinson 2006:26). Calibrated radiocarbon dates calculated from charcoal excavated by Keegan et al. (2002, 2003) suggest a Meillacan site existed 240 meters west of Paradise at Sweetwater (WES15B) from about A.D. 1320 to 1490 (Allsworth-Jones 2008:26, 53, 98). Jamaican geographer Parris Lyew-Ayee and archaeologist Ivor Conolley (2008:138) proposed that the Taino settled in the hills near coastal areas and rivers that provided freshwater for domestic purposes. Elevations provided cooler temperatures and protection from natural disasters such as hurricanes and flooding, as well as raiding.

Charles Bernard (C. B.) Lewis, curator of the Science Museum of the Institute of
Jamaica, originally reported a Taino midden in the Bluefields area near Bluefields Great House during the writing of archaeologist Robert Howard’s Ph.D. dissertation (1950:56-57). In 1991, archaeological surveys led by Jamaican archaeologist Roderick Ebanks along the southwest coast identified two Taino sites along Bluefields Bay, including the site at Paradise Park and another near Bluefields River (Ebanks 1991; Wedenoja 2010b). In January 2007, Ebanks and anthropologist William Wedenoja located a section of the site at Bluefields Gardens near Bluefields River across from Bluefields Tavern (WES05MC) (Savery et al. 2010:2). Research conducted by Wedenoja, Ebanks and archaeologists Heidi Savery and Ronald Dalton at Bluefields Gardens from 2008-2012 has revealed deposits of Taino, Spanish, English, African, and Creole materials in the floodplains of Bluefields River. Ceramics salvaged from the Bluefields Gardens site similar to White Marl style pottery suggest the site was occupied after A.D. 950 (Savery et al. 2009:9). Calibrated median carbon-14 ($^{14}C$) dates calculated from fish vertebrae found in a midden on the Bluefields Gardens site excavated by archaeologist David Byers (in press; n.d.) suggest the site was occupied from about A.D. 1169-1432.

The Taino lived in round huts or “caneys” made of timbered walls (Lyew-Ayee and Conolley 2008:138). Timber available to the natives included West Indian cedar ($Cedrela$ $odorata$) and the Jamaican National Flower lignum vitae ($Guiacum$ $officinale$) (Allsworth-Jones 2008:244). The Taino also had access to the Jamaican National Tree blue mahoe ($Hibiscus$ $elatus$), red mahoe ($Rhizophora$ $mangle$), and brazilwood or brasiletto wood ($Caesalpinia$ $brasiliensis$) (Atkinson 2006:101, 104). Jamaican researcher Marguerite Curtin (2010:1) also included the West Indian mahogany ($Swietenia$ $mahagoni$), broadleaf ($Terminalia$ $latifolia$), breadnut ($Brosimum$ $aliastrum$), bitterwood
(Picrasma excelsa), dogwood (Piscidia erythrina or piscipula), and trumpet (Tabebuia sp.). The Jamaica Rain Tree (Brya ebenus) known also as the ebony or grandilla tree was likely available. Taino houses were plastered with mud and clay, broad thatch (Thrinax excelsa), long thatch (Calyptronoma occidentalis), and silver thatch (Coccothrinax jamaicensis) (Atkinson 2006:101).

The Fishing Industry

Middens or refuse heaps excavated at Paradise Park revealed a diet that consisted largely of fish, conch, and turtle (Curtin 2010:3). Archaeologists found large quantities of shell in middens near Bluefields River (Howard 1950:56-57; Savery et al. 2008:2). The Taino also gathered conch (Strombus gigas), oysters, spiny lobster (Panulirus argus), other shellfish, and turtle and bird eggs particularly from two endemic and now extinct or extirpated ground-nesting birds: the Jamaican petrel (Pterodroma caribbaea) and uniform crake (Amaurolimnas concolor), which they may have also hunted (Simberloff and Rejmanek 2011:633). Other animal bones and teeth found at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) suggest the Taino hunted wild animals (Savery et al. 2008:4). Native animals included the extinct Jamaican rice rat (Oryzomys antillarum) last seen in 1877, the now extant Jamaican hutia or coney (Geocapromys brownii), Jamaican iguanas (Cyclura collie), the American crocodile (Crocodylus acutus), ring-tailed pigeons (Columba caribea), and possibly “an endemic Jamaican macaw that became extinct soon after the arrival of Columbus” (Atkinson 2006:65, 95-95, 119).  

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6 Crocodiles in Jamaica are often referred to as alligators, hence the name Alligator Pond, a small fishing village on the southern coast.
The Taino hunted and captured loggerhead (*Caretta caretta*), leatherback
(*Dermochelys coriacea*), hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*), and green sea turtles
(*Chelonia mydas*) at sea or overturned females when they came ashore to lay eggs. Historical accounts recorded by cartographer John Ogilby (1671:338) and Reverend George Wilson Bridges (1828, 2:143) of turtles being common on the shores of Jamaica and former Belmont fisherman Eugene “Judge” Stephenson’s (interview, January 25, 2011) description of a massive turtle population along the beaches of Bluefields Bay during the 1930-50s suggest a large turtle population during the Taino occupation period.

The Taino fished in Bluefields Bay from dugout *canoas* (canoes) carved from cedar and giant ceiba trees (*Ceiba pentandra*) known also as silk cotton or cottonwood trees (Atkinson 2006:102). Some may have fished along the shore with lines made from local plant fibers and hooks made from turtle carapace or shell, fish bones, or pieces of knicked and notched wood. The Taino also likely captured pond turtles (*Trachemys terrapen*) (Atkinson 2006:94), land-crab or bromeliad crab (*Metopaulias depressus*), mudfish, freshwater mountain-mullet (*Mugil curema*), and crustaceans such as crayfish (*P. Jamaicensis*), now referred to by Jamaicans as “janga” or shrimp, in Bluefields River, Blue Hole Spring, and Creek using cotton (*Gossypium hirsutum* and *barbadense*) nets and wooden traps. Fishing net sinkers, coral pendants, and fish bones and teeth found in middens at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) (Savery et al. 2008:4) suggest the Taino may have caught large fish, the West Indian manatee or sea-cow (*Trichechus manatus*), stingrays (*Myliobatoidei* sp.), and the Caribbean monk seal or sea-wolf (*Monachaus tropicalis*) using nets or spears.
Farming

The Taino practiced slash and burn agriculture in which fields of trees and shrubs were set on fire to restore nutrients to the land (Atkinson 2006:106). They planted crops in mounds of soil in a native form of horticulture referred to as “conuco” farming (Allsworth-Jones 2008:58). The Taino at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) likely planted crops in the floodplains of Bluefields River and used fish as a fertilizer. Lithics and shell tools and waste found at Bluefields Gardens suggest the site was used for food procurement and processing (Savery et. al 2009:8).

Anthropologist Sidney Mintz, who reconstructed the historical origins of the “Jamaican internal marketing system,” and Jamaican historian Douglas Hall said that the Taino planted drought resistant cassava (*Manihot esculenta* sp.) known also as bitter manioc or yucca (Mintz and Hall 1960:5). Other crops planted by the Taino included ground provisions (staples): yam (*Dioscorea trifida*) known also as yampee or cush-cush (Mintz and Hall 1960:6), sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), yautia or New World cocoyam (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*), arrowroot (*Maranta arundinacea* and *Calathea allouia*), nontoxic sweet manioc or yucca (*Manihot esculenta* sp.), and vegetables: common peas known also as red peas or kidney beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), lima beans (*Phaseolus lunatus*), canna (*Canna sp.*), peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita moschata*), maize or corn (*Zea mays*), and chili peppers (*Capsicum frutescens* and *annuum*) (Allsworth-Jones 2008:58).

Fruit trees such as star apple (*Chrysophyllum cainito*) (Curtin 2010:3), sweetsop

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7 Cassava was grated and pressed or squeezed (Allsworth-Jones 2008:58) to remove natural liquid hydrogen cyanide from the pulp, a starch or flour known as tapioca.
(Annona squamosa), soursop (Annona muricata), mammee or mammy apple (Mammea americana), cashew (Anacardium occidentale), hog plum (Spondias mombin), guava (Psidium guajava), and possibly pawpaws or papayas (Carica papaya) were grown in household gardens, often on hillsides and valley slopes (Lyew-Ayee and Conolley 2008:138). The Taino also grew pineapple (Ananas comosus) (Atkinson 2006:94). Other fruits included naseberry (Manilkara zapota), custard apple (Annona reticulata), golden apple (Passiflora laurifolia), “stinking toe” (Hymenaea courbaril), “macca fat” (Acrocomia spinosa), wild cucumber (Cucumis anguria), coco plum (Chrysobalanus icaco), sea grape (Coccoloba uvifera), and guinep (Melicoccus bijugatus) (Allsworth-Jones 2008:59). Atkinson (2010:4) said the Taino also gathered cocoa leaves and pods (Theobroma cacao), cottonwood tree bark, roots, and flowers, soursop leaves, and herbs for teas and medicine.

Manufactures

In addition to fishing nets, the Taino knitted and wove cotton hammocks, clothing, and other items (Allsworth-Jones 2008:59). Another biodegradable material used by the Taino was the calabash gourd (Crescentia cajute) or (Lagenaria siceraria), made into jugs for carrying water (Allsworth-Jones 2008:59-60). The Taino used wild plantain (Heliconia caribaea or bihai) leaves as thatch and wove the stems to make baskets (Allsworth-Jones 2008:60). The Taino at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) likely produced stone tools or lithics such as blades and scrapers to scale fish, choppers and hammers to breach conch and other shellfish, grinders for grinding maize and cassava, and polished stone axes to chop down cottonwood trees and branches from pimento trees.
(Pimenta dioica). They also used shell tools as blades and scrapers. The Taino used tools to produce fishing and farming gear such as hooks, lines, paddles, spears, and canoes.

The Ostionan manufactured a bright red colored pottery referred to as Redware while the Meillacan produced a style of pottery known as White Marl (Savery et al. 2009:6). The Taino produced decorative and utilitarian ceramics, such as cups for drinking water and pipes for smoking tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum or rustica), probably using clays gathered from soils found in the floodplains of Bluefields River. They fired clays in natural or manmade stone kilns, open-ground pits, and bonfires with wood and charcoal, possibly coated in turtle fat or other plant and animal oils to produce higher temperatures. Some pottery may have been left to dry in the sun. Pottery found during surface collections and excavations of middens at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) revealed large deposits of decorated and undecorated black, brown, gray, white, and red pottery sherds, rims, griddles, handles and lugs, triangles, and other fragments (Savery et al. 2008:4). The abundance of broken pottery suggests the midden was both a trash heap for shelled fish and where the Taino manufactured pottery. Ceramics, as well as clothing, were dyed using various indigenous plants such as annatto (Bixa orellana), brasiletto wood, and red mangrove to produce red dyes and guava to produce black dyes (Atkinson 2006:104).

The Taino likely used ceramic pottery as cooking vessels. Many credit the Taino for inventing “barbacoa,” an early form of barbecue in which meats and other foodstuffs

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8 Pimento is also called pimente, Jamaica pepper, and allspice, so named by the Spanish because it tasted of several spices including cinnamon (Cinnamomum sp.), nutmeg (Myristica sp.), and cloves (Syzygium aromaticum) (Cassidy and Le Page 2002:351).
cook on wooden spits made of sticks over hot fires (Parkinson 2006). Small round stones found on the Bluefields Garden site (WES05MC) may have been cooking stones used by the Taino to make stews and soups (Ivor Conolley, personal communication, June 20, 2008). The Taino also baked cornbread (Ogilby 1671:339) and dry grated bitter cassava into loaves similar to what is known in Jamaica today as “bammy” (Atkinson 2006:110).

The Taino had a religion based on spirits which involved the use of carved stone and wooden figures called “zemis” (Atkinson 2006:15). Limestone zemis or sacred idols found at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) suggest the Taino produced zemis and other religious materials at the site.

**Distribution**

A “cacique” or chief who was responsible for storing surplus provisions and commodities and redistributing goods among villagers as needed governed Taino villages in Hispaniola (which includes the nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico (Rouse 1992:9, 16, 175). The Taino processed goods and distributed them immediately or stored them for later redistribution, special events, and in case of emergencies such as droughts, hurricanes, and blighting. Redistribution under the Taino

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9 The cacique lived in a rectangular hut known as a “bohio” (Lyew-Ayee and Conolley 2008:138).

10 Natural disasters to have affected western Jamaica include a storm on August 28, 1722, a storm and hurricane on October 20, 1744 (Beckford 1790:lviii-lix; Gardner 1873:125); a hurricane on October 3, 1780 that particularly affected Savanna-la-Mar and Westmoreland, a storm on August 1, 1781, a hurricane on July 30, 1784; a hurricane on August 27, 1785; a storm on October 20, 1786 that particularly affected Westmoreland (Beckford 1790:lviii-lix; Edwards 1801:178), a hurricane and tidal wave that hit Savanna-la-Mar in 1912 (Curtin 2010:209), Hurricane Charlie in August 1951, Hurricane Allen from July to August 1980, Hurricane Gilbert in September 1988, Hurricane Ivan in
likely resembled a mode of economic organization or exchange system referred to by anthropologist Marshall Sahlins as “pooling” or “chiefly redistribution,” “a centralized, formal organization of kinship-rank reciprocities… with dues and obligations” (Sahlins 1972:188, 195, 209, 301).  

There was likely some exchange of goods and information through an extensive network of dirt and stone trails marked by cottonwood trees (Binney et al. 1991:83). Trails extended from the site at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) to Paradise, Savanna-la-Mar, and Negril, Falmouth, Montego Bay, Martha Brae, and other areas of the island (Curtin 2010:2). The Taino also transported goods around the island by canoe to other coastal villages (Curtin 2010:3). Such trade may have been conducted through what economic historian Karl Polanyi (1957:68) refers to as barter, the direct exchange of goods and services without a medium of exchange such as money, though often aided by credit and never the sole means of transaction. Villages may have hosted other villages for feasts and perhaps a match at the batey court. There was a considerable exchange of goods and ideas between the Meillacan and Ostionan cultures. There is also the possibility of intertribal warfare through which there would have been an exchange of

French sociologist Marcel Mauss (1990[1950:13, 35, 82) said societies, subgroups, and individuals have created relationships through obligations to give and receive gifts with the expectation that they will be reciprocated. Gift exchanges include acts of politeness such as throwing banquets, performing rituals, and holding dances, festivals, and fairs (Mauss 1990[1950]:5). Sahlins (1972:193-195, 219) said gift giving, which he also referred to as generalized reciprocity, creates and sustains rank, personal social relationships, and a flow of goods or services often returned, though not always. Sahlins (1972:192, 194-195) also describes balanced reciprocity, a less personal and more direct form of exchange, which includes some regular gift-exchange, loaning and repayment, sharing, hospitality, peace agreements, and haggling, that creates and sustains social relations through the flow of goods and services.
people and material culture.

The cacique was in charge of political relations with other Taino villages including hosting other communities for feasts dance, and games at the “batey” ball court (Rouse 1992:9, 16, 175). Batey is a widespread Native American ballgame with courts discovered by archaeologists in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico (Rouse 1992:16). Players struck a ball back and forth across a rectangular court similar to volleyball or tennis but without using their hands or feet (Rouse 1992:15). The Taino made balls from latex extracted from the balsam fig tree (*Clusia rosea*) (Allsworth-Jones 2008:60). Although no courts have been identified in Jamaica (Lyew-Ayee and Conolley 2008:150), archaeologists Savery, Ebanks, and Dalton (personal communication, June 20, 2008) believe a relatively flat area in the hills near Oristano Great House may have been the location of a batey court where matches were played.
CHAPTER 3
THE ECONOMY DURING SLAVERY

Old pirates, yes, they rob I, sold I to the merchant ships.

Bob Marley, Redemption Song (1980)

Oristan Under the Spanish

During his second voyage to the New World, in 1494, explorer Christopher Columbus sailed upon Jamaica, which he called Santiago, and claimed the island for Spain.\(^{12}\) Columbus returned on his fourth voyage, in 1503, during which he found himself marooned on the north coast near Saint Ann’s Bay (Padron 2003:25). Spanish settlers began colonizing the island in 1509, establishing Melilla (Ogilby 1671:340), which English map publisher Richard Blome said was in an unknown location likely on the north coast (Blome 1672:43), and Sevilla Nueva or New Seville near Saint Ann’s Bay, which may have been originally called Santa Gloria (Curtin 2010:7). Other important settlements included Santiago Jago de la Vega or Spanish Town established in 1520, Puerto de Esquivella or Old Harbor, Parattee, Savanna-la-Mar (the Plain by the Sea), Chireras or Ocho Rios, Rio Nuevo, Hibanal near Buff Bay, and Oristan (Cundall 1915:6, 8).\(^{13}\) One early account said that in 1509 the Spanish founded Oristan, a settlement that likely existed in the area now referred to as Bluefields (Oldmixon 1741:304).\(^{14}\) However,

\(^{12}\) In 1540, the Spanish gave Jamaica to the Columbus family (Delle et al. 2011:5).

\(^{13}\) Savanna-la-Mar was a shipping station for sugar and bananas in the 1600s (Jamaica Information Service 2013).

\(^{14}\) Oristan was named after the town Oristano in Sardinia, an island west of Italy in
other sources suggest the date was 1519 (Curtin 1991:18) or 1521 (Martin 1834, 2:142).

**Gold and Silver.** While the Taino had produced crops for subsistence, the Spanish were initially concerned with finding gold and silver and producing cash crops and other commodities for exchange.¹⁵ The planter and historian Edward Long, writing in 1774, said that “the mountains contain both [silver] and gold is very certain,” because the Taino taught the Spanish how to pan for gold in rivers (1774, 2:240). Frank Cundall (1915:11, 306), Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica from 1891 to 1937, the Mediterranean Sea, in honor of King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I of Spain, known also as the Duke and Duchess of Oristano (Curtin 2010:15). Juan López de Velasco (1894[1574]:120) believes Oristan was on the south coast 12 or 14 leagues (44-48 miles or 67-78 kilometers) from Seville and 20 leagues (69 miles or 111 kilometers) from Melilla. Two sixteenth century maps show the location of Oristan on the south and southwest coast (Porcacchi 1572; Ortelius 1579). Two seventeenth century maps also show Oristan at a similar location (Mercatoris 1610:659; Mallet 1683). Edwards wrote that along the southern coast was mostly savannas, “but there does not appear to have been any settlement in all that great extent of country, except a small hamlet called Oristan of which however the exact situation cannot now be ascertained” (Edwards 1801:195). Sir Hans Sloane (1707, 1:lxv), who visited the island in 1687-1688, however, suggested that either Spanish Town or Old Harbour may have originally been called Oristan. Settlers may have first “established Oristan at Parattee” before relocating to Bluefields (Senior 2003:64). Nineteenth century writers Southery (1827:156) and Gardner (1873:10) believe Juan de Esquivel founded Oristan. Padron (2003:28), however, considers Francisco de Garay to be the founder of Oristan. Charles Leslie, a writer from Barbados, wrote in his *New and Exact History of Jamaica* (1739:28-29) that the ruins of Oristan were still in existence. Historical writers (Southery 1827:156; Gardner 1873:10), archaeologists (Savery, Ebanks, and Dalton, personal communication, January 20, 2008), and other scholars (Padron 2003:28-29) generally agree that Oristan was in present day Bluefields. The current owner of Oristano Great House, William Feilding, claims that the building is on the site of Fort Oristano and dates to 1530 when Diego Columbus landed at Bluefields Bay (Ross 1991a:36). Diego’s arrival at Bluefields Bay, however, is unconfirmed.

¹⁵ Market exchange, which includes buying, selling, haggling, barter, gambling, and theft, is a form of negative reciprocity with the goal to maximize monetary gains at others’ expense (Sahlins 1972:195). In market exchange, production, distribution, supply, and demand are controlled, regulated, and directed by markets in which sellers compete by lowering prices and buyers compete by offering more money (Sahlins 1972:297). Polanyi (1957:68-69) said the market economy includes the exchange of goods, land, labor, and capital and involves commodity prices, rent, wages, and interest.
said the Spanish apparently mined for gold near Martha Brae, possibly at Rio Mateberion (Matibereon) near what is now Falmouth. Jamaican historian Verene Shepherd (1991:629) suggested, however, that the natives might have brought the small amount of gold and silver present in Jamaica to the island. While on the Bellvue Estate in 1982, geologist James W. Lee found a small gold disk, 21 by 16 millimeters (0.8 by 0.6 inches) and weighing 0.596 grams (0.021 ounces), cold-hammered from a natural nugget that likely originated in the Dominican Republic (Allsworth-Jones 2008:145). Although the Taino may have acquired gold through external trade or panning alluvial deposits, there is no evidence of any gold or silver at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC).

**Farming.** Without gold to mine, Spanish settlers established farms in coastal areas near rivers and springs, particularly on the savannas, often in areas formerly employed by the Taino for the cultivation of maize (Ogilby 1671:338). Spanish farms existed “behind Bluefields and near Savanna-la-Mar” (Black 1983:38). Historical writers Bridges (1828, 1:178) and Gardner (1873:16) also mention a “hato Cabonico” near Oristan, now Bluefields (Curtin 2010:13). Cundall said there was a “hato” or farm called El Eado behind Bluefields and Cabonico near Savanna-la-Mar (Cundall 1915:6). Sylvia Wynter’s unpublished *Report on Research Mission to Spain (Madrid, Seville, Granada) for the Government of Jamaica* (1981) suggests that documents at the Spanish

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16 The gold disc is currently on display at the Bank of Jamaica in Kingston (Allsworth-Jones 2008:145).
17 An Australian mining company under the name Ausjam opened a gold mine in Clarendon, Jamaica in 2001, but financial loses led the mine to close by December 2003 (Jamaica Observer 2003). Attempts to reopen the mine due to higher prices of gold have been met by environmental concerns (Serju 2011).
18 The Spanish may have built Chebuctoo Great House near Cave on a Taino site (Curtin 2010:13).
National Archives in Seville, Spain contain information that Oristan was a large settlement that included a “royal sheep estancia” or farm known to the Taino as Guaycex, where maize was grown (Curtin 2010:15). This research uncovered a 1536 audit for King Charles I of Spain noting the “loss of sheep at the King’s farm and the theft of maize from Guaycex” (Curtin 2010:15). The Spanish continued to cultivate native crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, peppers, and pimento.

The Spanish introduced ginger (*Zingiber officinale*) (Ogilby 1671:338), sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), bananas (Mintz and Hall 1960:5) and plantains (*Musa acuuminata or balbisiana* and hybrids) (Parry 1951:31), oranges (*Citrus sinensis*), lemons (*Citrus limon*), limes (*Citrus sp.*), other citrus from Africa, Mediterranean plants such as pomegranates (*Punica granatum*), grapes (*Vitis vinifera*), dates (*Phoenix dactylifera*) (Cundall 1915:26), and tamarinds (*Tamarindus indica*), and herbal medicines such as *Aloe vera* (Blome 1672:13-14). Coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*) were also introduced during the Spanish occupation period in Jamaica from Portuguese colonies in the Pacific, possibly Malaya, via the Iberian Peninsula (Parry 1951:31; Pariser 1990:7; Atkinson 2006:94). Although Atkinson (2010:4) said the Taino used cocoa, other sources suggest that cocoa was introduced to Jamaica from Central or South America by the

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19 Plantains were likely introduced from Guinea, Africa via the Canary Islands and Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) in 1516 before reaching Jamaica (Sloane 1707, 2:143). Common or English Plantain (*Plantago major*), an edible leafy green distinguished from the “stately” *Musa* fruit, may have been “accidentally introduced, and its seeds dispersed by birds” (Gosse 1851:150), “introduced here originally, or a native” (Browne 1756:145). Further mentions of plantains are in reference to the *Musa* fruit.

20 According to fisherman and farmer Eugene “Judge” Stephenson (interview, January 19, 2011), Jamaicans refer to the dry season from January to March as tamarind season or the “hungry times” when nothing is going on, things are sour, and “hard to drop,” meaning fruit is not ripe. “People must store food or hungry kill you” (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).
Spanish around 1640 (Delbourgo 2011:78; Dand 1999:5). The Spanish are also credited with having introduced avocado pears (*Persea americana* or *gratissima*) from Central or South America about 1650 (Paull and Duarte 2011:154-155).

Hogs or pigs (*Sus* sp.); goats (*Capra aegagrus hircus*); poultry such as chickens (*Gallus gallus domesticus*) and guinea fowl (*Numidia meleagris*); sheep (*Ovis aries*); cattle (*Bos primigenius*); horses (*Equus ferus caballus*); “asinegos,” “burros,” donkeys or asses (*Equus africanus asinus*); and honeybees (*Apis* sp.) were imported to Jamaica from the Old World. Merchants re-exported some animals to areas of Spanish America (Curtin 2010:17). The Spanish also introduced rats (*Rattus* sp.), cats (*Felis catus*), and dogs (*Canis lupus familiaris*).

**The Encomienda System.** The Taino became serfs under Spanish lords in a form of New World feudalism known as the Encomienda system. Spanish missionaries attempted to convert the Taino to Christianity and offered spiritual and physical protection in exchange for labor. In some cases Spanish governors and other leaders placed former chiefs as figureheads in charge of farms to ease tensions and prevent large numbers of natives from fleeing into the mountains (Curtin 2010:9). Juan de Esquivel, the first Governor of Jamaica (ca. 1509-1513), became known to the Taino as the “*despoblador*” (depopulator) (Curtin 2010:9) and is said to have forced the natives to extinction (Ogilby 1671:340-341) through ill treatment and overwork (Ferguson 2008:22). The Spanish unintentionally caused a massive depopulation of Jamaica and the New World through epidemic diseases from Europe, particularly measles (Curtin 2010:10) and smallpox (Long 1774, 2:434). Declines in indigenous labor forced Esquivel

21 All that remains of the Jamaican Taino are artifacts and colonial accounts.
to ask King Ferdinand II to allow the importation of enslaved Africans into Jamaica (Cundall and Pietersz 1919:1).  

**Slavery.** By 1540, enslaved Africans had replaced the indigenous Taino labor force (Rouse 1990:158; Hauser 2001:12). Slave traders sold enslaved people at auction, wholesale, and retail, or through prearranged agreements depending on quantity and demand. However, buyers had to take what was available (Burnard and Morgan 2001:219). Enslaved people who survived the “seasoning” or acculturation period and were immune to more diseases were more valuable than more recently imported enslaved Africans (Burnard and Morgan 2001:221). Sellers often lied about the origin and condition of enslaved people, shaved, and glossed them with oil to hide their age (Burnard and Morgan 2001:218). In 1589, French merchants left 155 enslaved people in Oristan for sale at auction as property of the Admiral of the Indies who ordered the sellers to send the silver earned via the Spanish galleons to the Casa de Contratación (Chamber of Commerce) at Seville (Cundall and Pietersz 1919:17).  

Chambers of Commerce were also established in Spanish colonies to function as warehouses and customs offices for storing and taxing goods being exported to Europe (Ferguson 2008:46-47).

**Spanish Ports of Trade.** Economic and social historian Nuala Zahedieh (1986b:583) said because Jamaica had no commercial supplies of gold or silver, the Spanish used Jamaica primarily for the outfitting of merchant and naval ships travelling between ports in Spanish America, particularly at Vera Cruz, Mexico and Portobello,

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22 The situation was similar in most areas of the New World.
23 The **galeones** and **flota** were Spanish convoys that transported gold and silver bullion to Europe and the Old World (Ferguson 2008:46, 49).
Panama. William Wemyss Anderson (1851:43), a member of the Assembly for the Parish of Portland and a writer who reprinted some works of John Ogilby (1671), said ports existed in the Caribbean at Port Royal and Havana, a common rendezvous point for Spanish convoys transporting gold and silver across the Atlantic Ocean to Seville.

Foreign merchants were needed to supply Jamaica and Spanish America with European manufactured goods, often consigning goods to merchants in Spain, loading cargoes on board Spanish ships using a Spanish name, or smuggling goods onto ships after the last recorded inspection (Zahedieh 1986b:572). European merchants shipped manufactured goods such as guns, clothing, and pottery to Africa in exchange for enslaved people, ivory, gold, and other African products, which other merchants shipped along with European goods to the Caribbean. Merchants exported gold, silver, and the debarked heartwood of a tree known as logwood (*Haematozylon campechianum*) from Spanish America in exchange for enslaved Africans. Jamaican ports often served as stopping points for vessels crossing the Atlantic and Caribbean to trade in Spanish America.

**Oristan.** Spanish convoys traveling across the Atlantic and the Caribbean to Spanish America “used Oristan as a port-of-call” (Curtin 1991:18). Ships received provisions including fresh water, salted beef, mutton, pork, tallow (beef and mutton fat), lard, butter, cheese, bacon, cassava, cornbread, and locally caught and salted fish (Curtin 2010:17). Spanish pottery from the 1500s found at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC)

24 Economic historian Karl Polanyi (1963:35-36) said ports were places of transshipment or portage where wares were stored and guarded and which offered the traders a chance of settlement, usually located on waterways attached to towns. Mortality rates were especially high at ports where sailors, soldiers, and merchants congregated (Burnard 1996:776).
shows the importation of European goods at Oristan (Savery et al. 2009:8). Settlers produced timber for shipbuilding and repairs, some of which was likely exported (Curtin 2010:16-17). The Spanish may have also captured turtles for export to Europe. Some “cottage industries” in Oristan may have produced hammocks, cotton and wool clothing, and cowhides for leather horse saddles for local distribution or export for processing in European textile industries (Curtin 2010:10).25 Tobacco, pimento, cocoa, and sugarcane also gained popularity and fetched a good price in Europe (Curtin 2010:10).26 Only a “few small sugarcane mills turned by animals are known to have been constructed” on the island (Curtin 2010:10). In 1655, there were only seven sugar works producing negligible quantities (Zahedieh 1986a:207), including works at New Seville and Oristan (Hauser 2001:12). Oristan may have produced indigo (Indigofera anil) for export (Hauser 2001:12).27

In 1582, Francisco Marques de Villalobos, an Abbot of Jamaica, wrote a letter to King Charles the Fifth of Spain, mentioning “very good and commodious ports, deep and spacious enough to hold more than two hundred sail,” including Oristan (Cundall and Pietersz 1919:15). In 1603, Don Fernando Melgarejo de Cordova, Governor of Jamaica, received news of a French vessel anchored “in the port of Sabana-de-la-Mar (Savanna-la-Mar), which is in Oristan twenty leagues to Leeward of the port of this town” (Cundall and Pietersz 1919:28). People reported a fleet of French and English ships visiting ports

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25 Textile industries in Italy and France were particularly in need of raw materials due to inadequate local supplies (Shepherd 1991:628-629).
26 The Spanish introduced sugarcane from North Africa. Merchants packaged goods in burlap sacks (Eltis 1995:637), also referred to as crocus-bags or Osnaburg bags (Cassidy and Le Page 2002:131).
along the north coast and at Oristan. However, there is little evidence that Oristan or Jamaica under the Spanish produced commercially exportable quantities of goods for European consumption (Cundall and Pietersz 1919:28).

Although ports of trade dominated, domestic exchange occurred along Taino trails connecting Oristan to Savanna-la-Mar, Negril, Martha Brae, Spanish Town, and elsewhere across the island (Curtin 2010:2). However, there is no evidence to suggest a developed marketing system operated by enslaved people during the Spanish occupation. Soldiers, settlers, farmers, pirates, and merchants would have likely exchanged goods at ports of trade, including the wharves at Oristan. People bringing goods for export may also have exchanged goods with other locals and reduced the need for imported goods, particularly foodstuffs, as they saw very few ships.

Blauvelt’s Bay

Despite its potential for economic success, the Spanish largely abandoned Oristan, due to its “incommodious and unhealthy situation” (Ogilby 1671:340). Most settlers emigrated to Santiago Jago de la Vega, now known as Spanish Town (Ogilby 1671:340), or left to find gold and silver in Spanish America. A lack of security allowed pirates to take over the settlement and adopt the harbor as a haven. In 1608, Oristan provided shelter for the “notorious” pirate Mota (Padron 2003:79). Some settlers came from Europe to escape epidemic plagues, such as measles and small pox, food shortages or famine, poverty, or political turmoil. Oristan may have been a refuge for crypto-Jews, Jews who publicly professed Christianity, and had been expelled from Spain and persecuted during the Inquisition (Wedenoja 2008a).
In 1644, Abraham Blauvelt, a Dutch explorer, mapmaker, and privateer raided Spanish shipping from Bluefields Bay and sold much of his loot and booty in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (New York).\textsuperscript{28} Seventeenth century maps of Jamaica show “Blewfields Bay” on the southwest coast (Ogilby 1671:336-337; Visscher 1680). One early eighteenth century map reads “Blauwfield River” (Moll 1710) and another “Blewfeilds” (Senex 1715). Mid-eighteenth century French maps read “Baye Blewfields” and “Pointe Blewfields” or “Pointe Bleufields” (Bellin 1753, 1758). The coastal town of Bluefields, Nicaragua also takes its name from Blauvelt (Squier 1858:632).

Bluefields Bay Under the English

In 1654, Oliver Cromwell, the first Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, sent the Royal Navy under the command of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables to establish a suitable base for trade in the Caribbean (Ogilby 1671:341), break up the Spanish monopoly, and eventually conquer Spanish America (Sheridan 1965:294).\textsuperscript{29} After failing to capture Hispaniola, Penn and Venables invaded Jamaica in 1655 (Ogilby 1671:341). Although England gained control of the island by 1660, Spain did not officially recognize Jamaica as an English colony until the Treaty of Madrid or Godolphin Treaty was signed in 1670 (Zahedieh 1986b:574). The Treaty declared peace between Spain and England in the New World and allowed Spanish

\textsuperscript{28} Privateers were employed by governments, often during times of war, and given letters of marque or special commissions authorizing attacks on enemy vessels (Ferguson 2008:58-59). Privateers operated privately, often independent from naval and military authority, with a perceived legality and were usually limited to a certain region.

\textsuperscript{29} Admiral Penn was the father of William Penn, who received a charter in 1681 from King Charles II to become the proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania (Adams 1993:520).
further access to English ports, permitting ships of either nation to enter ports in the event of bad weather or shipwreck, to request wood for cooking and water for cooking and drinking, or to repair and refit, creating opportunities for illicit trade (Zahedieh 1986b:574, 589-590).

**Early Settlements at Bluefields Bay.** Despite Ogilby’s belief that Oristan was abandoned (Ogilby 1671:340), documents written by G. A. Aarons, archaeologist for the Institute of Jamaica and the Jamaica National Trust Commission (Armstrong and Reitz 1990:xvi), state that Bluefields was described as a town by English Catholic clergyman Thomas Gage when the Cromwellian attack came in 1655 (Aarons 1983:4). Oristan may have been one of the last Spanish strongholds after the English attack. In March 1657, English hunters tracking wild boar discovered around 200 Spanish soldiers and settlers including women and children near “Oristan” (Gardner 1873:42-44). Some English settlers became “wild hog hunters” and slaughtered much of the cattle released by the Spanish for hides and beef (Bennett 1964:54, 63). English soldier-settlers assembled the remaining Spanish colonists and their enslaved people and adopted Bluefields as a temporary settlement for Spanish settlers before they were deported (Curtin 2010:274).³⁰

In 1657, Don Francisco de Leyba, the Spanish Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, wrote a letter to Don Pero de Bayona Villaneuva, Governor of Cuba mentioning that Cristobal Arnaldo Ysassi, the last Spanish Governor of Jamaica, had notified him “from Oristan” of events related to the English invasion of Jamaica (Cundall and Pietersz 1919:28, 67). In 1659, Captain Don Juan de Figueredo y Fuentes, captured earlier at Oristan, made a

³⁰ Many enslaved people escaped to the Cockpit Country and formed the first Maroon towns.
Among the early settlers in Jamaica were soldiers in the fleet under Penn and Venables which included men from England, Saint Christopher (now Saint Kitts), and Barbados (Sheridan 1965:295). In 1656, 1,500 settlers came from Nevis (Sheridan 1965:295). Around 1,500 also came from Bermuda by 1666 (Sheridan 1965:295).

Historic maps (Wilson 1800, National Library of Jamaica n.d.a) suggest that after the Treaty of Madrid in 1670 England persuaded settlers to come to the island and granted land titles to land speculating military officers. William Ricketts, who served under Admiral William Penn and Robert Venables during the conquest of Jamaica (Ricketts 2001:3), was stationed in Nevis before becoming commander of “Bluefields Fort” by 1675 (Curtin 2010:28).

Survivors from the earthquake that destroyed Port Royal in 1692 resettled in the area (Curtin 1991:18).

**Pirates of Bluefields Bay.** In the late 1600s, the English encouraged pirates, buccaneers, and privateers to defend Jamaica. Blome said Jamaica was an important strategic location “in the heart of the Spaniards American Territories” where ships could intercept Spanish ships (1672:54-55). Jamaica was situated along trade routes between

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31 Historian Barry Higman said that many colonial maps were created to record changes in landownership (Higman 1986:108).

32 A cannon from the late 1600s to early 1700s remains at the site (Siegel 2011:86). Archaeological surveys at Fort Oristano (WH4/H117) in 2010-2011 revealed a cannon surrounded by ruined walls and natural outcrops in the bedrock (Savery et al. 2011:6), likely from the late 1500s-1660s (Siegel 2011:97). A map of Bluefields Bay shows several 500 acre lots owned by William Ricketts (115 acres in 1681, 560 in 1685, 800 in 1691, and plots of 500 and 1000 acres in 1698) (Wilson 1800). The same map shows an area of 540 acres surveyed on July 17, 1671, containing Blue Hole Spring and Creek, that was the property of Captain George Brimaeam (Wilson 1800), Brimican (Curtin 2010:28), or Brimacon, who owned Bluefields Pen in the late 1600s (Curtin 1991:18). Brimaeam owned 418 acres (Curtin 2010:28) or 540 acres in 1671 (Wilson 1800).
Europe, North America, and Spanish America, many of which were used especially by Dutch merchants, and an ideal location for gathering commercial information, stealing gold, silver, and other cargo from Spanish vessels (Zahedieh 1986b:574). The harbor at Bluefields Bay, being closer to the Spanish mainland than Port Royal, was an attractive location for launching ships to intercept vessels trying to avoid Port Royal and became a haven for pirates and privateers. Historic maps of Jamaica show an area near Bluefields Bay known as Privateer Quarters (Senex 1715; Gibson 1762), Pirateer Quarters (Moll 1710; Homann ca. 1730; Bowen 1747), Quarter de l’Armateur (Bellin 1753), and Quartier de Pirati (Zatta et al. 1778). Oral traditions suggest that Belmont was an “old pirate playground with cannons buried all about” (Jah Calo, personal communication, December 30, 2009).

In 1664, privateer John Morris and the *Virgin Queen* captured the *Blue Dove* sailing towards Cuba. Morris brought the ship into Port Royal under suspicion that it was a Dutch ship intending to trade ammunition and other goods with the Spanish. The captain Robert Cooke was English, however, and although the ship was loaded in Holland and many of the goods were typical of the contraband trade with Spain, the ship owned by Englishman Sir William Davidson had “cleared customs” in England with goods intended for Jewish merchants Isaac Cordosa and Benjamin Muskett at Port Royal (Zahedieh 1996:34). The *Blue Dove* was freed by Charles Lyttelton, acting Governor of Jamaica (1662-1663), in the Court of Admiralty (Zahedieh 1986b:580) and, after selling the cargo through Jewish retailers (Lydon 1965:55-56), was restocked by Jewish merchants with “sugar, cocoa, quicksilver, gold, jewels and other riches” (Zahedieh 1996:37).
John or Jean Duglas, a French privateer sailing under a Portuguese commission (Marley 2010:122), was “seeking a ship for the high seas” and, having learned of the cargo being loaded onto the Blue Dove, sought to claim the prize (Zahedieh 1996:37). Duglas sailed from Port Royal in the Saint John II (Lydon 1965:60) to Bluefields Bay, “where most ships sailing westwards out of Port Royal paused to wood and water” (Zahedieh 1996:37). A few days after Duglas’ arrival, the Blue Dove sailed into Bluefields Bay under the command of Captain Robert Cooke with the Lucretia under the command of Captain Hadsall (Zahedieh 1996:37-38). Duglas sent a small canoe to the Lucretia, likely to distract and solicit the crew in his plot to take the Blue Dove (Lydon 1965:57). After the canoe left, Hadsall’s men told him of the men’s inquiries (Lydon 1965:57). However, before Hadsall could alert Captain Cooke, the canoe returned and “engaged him in conversation” while Duglas pulled anchor and set the Saint John II on a collision course with the Blue Dove (Lydon 1965:57-58). Duglas’ men boarded the ship, shot Cooke in the arm, and forced the outnumbered crew into the hold (Zahedieh 1996:38). After his men returned from the Lucretia, Duglas sailed away with the Saint John II and the Blue Dove (Zahedieh 1996:38).33

In November 1665, Dutch buccaneer Captain or Admiral Edward Mansfield or Mansvelt assembled a crew of buccaneers at Bluefields Bay before launching a raid on

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33 Duglas transferred Cooke and most of his men to Captain Maynard (Lydon 1965:58) who was sailing from the Cayman Islands around Negril Point towards Port Royal (Zahedieh 1996:38). Maynard returned Cooke and his crew to Bluefields Bay (Lydon 1965:58). After stripping the St. John II of its cargo, Duglas left the ship to float away and sailed the Blue Dove as his flagship to Portsmouth, New England where he attempted to sell the ship and its cargo (Lydon 1965:61-62). Alerted upon the arrival of Captain Hadsall and the Lucretia in Boston, authorities captured Duglas and declared his seizure illegal (Zahedieh 1996:39). However, Duglas and his men were granted bail and walked away free, forfeiting their bonds (Zahedieh 1996:39).
Cuba in January 1666 (Lane 1999:112). In 1668, Welshman Henry Morgan, once a Vice Admiral of Mansfield’s pirates, set sail from Bluefields Bay with 10 ships and 450 men (National Geographic Traveler 2007), possibly including privateer John Duglas, to raid the Spanish fortress at Portobello (Laprise 2011). The plunder acquired was worth over seven times Jamaica’s annual sugar exports; Morgan’s men who survived the expedition received two or three times the annual salary of a free plantation worker (Zahedieh 1986a:216). In 1670, Morgan again set sail from Bluefields Bay with a fleet of 36 ships to attack Panama (Black 1983:66). Morgan was accused of having broken the Treaty of Madrid (Zahedieh 1986a:215-216), though Morgan claimed that he had left for Panama before news of the treaty from England reached Sir Thomas Modyford, Governor of Jamaica (1664-1671) (Gardner 1873:84).34

Modyford saw buccaneers and privateers as essential for the financing of Jamaica’s economy and to the defense of the island (Bennett 1964:58-59). Plunder, loot, or booty acquired from privateering and profits made from trading, particularly in Port Royal, were used to finance plantation agriculture in Jamaica, including capital to import enslaved people, and purchase land and materials needed to operate sugar estates (Zahedieh 1986a:220-221). Many privateers turned pirates and planters (Sheridan 1965:295). Capital may have funded agricultural development and construction projects along Bluefields Bay.

During the Colonial Era, Bluefields Bay was the main “victualing” or fueling place in Jamaica (Zahedieh 1996:37-38). Cartographer Richard Blome described

34 Morgan later served as Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica from 1674-1680 (Zahedieh 1986b:575).
Bluefields Bay as a “very good and commodious” bay for ships (1672:34). On July 9, 1679, the fleet of the French Count d’Estrées took on wood and water in Bluefields Bay (Curtin 2010:31). In 1694, 60 men from two French vessels raided Bluefields for wood, water, and beef, but were repulsed by an English militia under the command of Major (Curtin 2010:32) or Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Andriess, Custos (Guardian) of Saint Elizabeth (Cundall 1912:275-276).  

**The Slave Trade.** Sociologist Orlando Patterson (1973:225) said merchant ships left England with guns, ammunition, textiles, clothing, horses, food, rope, and iron bar. Ships also carried ironware, household goods (Zahedieh 1986b:580), brass bowls, knives, alcohol, and other European manufactured goods to sell and exchange for enslaved people, gold, and ivory in Africa (Ferguson 2008:97). Most of the gold and ivory was sent to Europe, while enslaved people and European manufactured goods were shipped to North America and the Caribbean. The passage across the Atlantic from Africa to the Caribbean, known as the Middle Passage, lasted about 60 days (Ferguson 2008:98). 

The Royal African Company, originally known as the Royal Adventurers Trading Company, controlled the trade of enslaved people in the Caribbean, particularly after English King Charles II granted the Spanish access to buy enslaved people on English islands in 1663 and again after the Treaty of Madrid in 1670 (Zahedieh 1986b:583, 589-590). English and Dutch merchants obtained enslaved people in Jamaica and Curaçao and bought enslaved people, often on credit, from the Royal African Company for resale to Spanish clients (Zahedieh 1986a:213, 218). England’s Royal Family and other aristocrats

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35 Black River is the capital of Saint Elizabeth Parish (Ogilby 1671:336-337). Saint Elizabeth was divided and Westmoreland became a parish in 1703 (Cundall 1915:346).
invested in the Royal African Company (Zahedieh 1986b:589). Governor Modyford was an agent of the Royal African Company until 1669 and arranged for importing cattle and other livestock (Bennett 1964:57-59).

At Savanna-la-Mar in 1755, rather than pay the costs of feeding and maintaining enslaved people, a merchant offered 12 months credit on enslaved people when four Guinea vessels flooded nearby ports with enslaved Africans (Burnard and Morgan 2001:215). However, prior to the establishment of customs houses at Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Port Antonio in 1758, enslaved people were required to enter Jamaica though Port Royal or, after 1700, Kingston (Burnard and Morgan 2001:209). Buyers came from all over the island to buy enslaved people at auctions in Port Royal and Kingston (Burnard and Morgan 2001:220). Merchants bought diseased enslaved people for lower rates with the hope of curing them for resale (Burnard and Morgan 2001:220). Enslaved people were also sold through contracts negotiated between buyers and sellers (Burnard and Morgan 2001:224). Buyers were often short on cash and bought enslaved people on credit (Klein 1978:34). Merchants also imported enslaved Africans to Jamaica and, after meeting local demand, re-exported them to ports in Spanish America (Klein 1978:32-33). Enslaved people were also exchanged for sugar and rum (Ferguson 2008:98).

The bulk of the illicit trade went largely unrecorded in naval officer reports (Eltis

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36 A 1710 map shows New Savana River (Moll 1710). Manning’s School in Savanna-la-Mar was established in 1711 and formalized in 1738 (Jamaica National Heritage Trust 2011a). Savanna-la-Mar “rose to fame” in 1730 (Cundall 1909:7) when it became the capital of Westmoreland (Parkinson 2003). A later map reads “Lamar Savana” (Bowen 1747).

37 Rum is a spirit distilled from sugarcane juice (Bennett 1964:72-73).
1995:646). Merchants often carried out contraband trade “underhand” in bays and creeks of smaller settlements (Zahedieh 1986:218). Merchants trying to avoid paying customs duties, or giving up goods in payment, may have sold their wares “off the books” at Bluefields Bay.

Sugar Estates. By the 1640s, sugar, the “white gold,” had become England’s leading import from the Caribbean (Zahedieh 1986a:206). After the Treaty of Breda in 1667, in which England exchanged Surinam with Holland for New Amsterdam (New York), migrants from Surinam formed sugar estates, with enslaved people they brought, in an area south of Belmont along the southwest coast of Jamaica that came to be known as Surinam Quarters (Wright and White 1969:173-174) or Quartier de Surinam (Bellin 1758). A 1671 map (Ogilby 1671:336-337) shows Parson Barrow’s Farmer, a sugar estate, along Bluefields River.38 A 1670 government survey listed 57 sugar works, 47 cocoa walks, and 49 indigo works in Jamaica (Sheridan 1965:295). Blome (1672:8-10) said Jamaica had 70 sugar works, 60 cocoa walks, and 60 indigo works.

After abandoning the colony of New Caledonia on the Panama Isthmus, Scottish refugees from the Darien expedition came to Bluefields Bay in 1699 and 1700 (Aarons 1983:13) and settled in areas that came to be known as Auchindown and Culloden (Wright and White 1969:173-174; Curtin 2010:35).39 Bluefields Great House, an example

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38 One historic map produced after 1698 shows John Barrow was granted 106 acres along Bluefields Bay on November 16, 1672 (National Library of Jamaica n.d.a). Another shows Barrow was granted ten acres in 1672 and 86 acres on July 20, 1683 (Wilson 1800). Barrow Barow, shown along Bluefields Bay, may have been a cotton work, indigo work, and cocoa walk (Lea 1685).

39 Colonel John Guthrie and James Campbell, or possibly John and Jannet Hynes, established Auchindown before 1730 in response to French attacks in 1694 (Aarons 1983:1). Archibald Campbell, who lived from 1781 to 1833 and was the son of John
of Georgian architecture (ca. 1720-1840), is said to have been the residence of William Paterson, leader of the Darien immigrants who received Cromwellian and Stuart land grants after arriving in 1699 (Aarons 1983:1, 4).40

Historic maps show a sugar work near Bluefields River called Bremingham (Lea 1685; Sloane 1707, 1) and two sugar works along Bluefields Bay (Le Rouge 1746), which likely represent the estates of Retirement and Shrewsbury (Curtin 2010:210-211).41 A later map shows Bluefields and Shaftsbury estates had waterwheels or watermills on Bluefields River for processing sugarcane (Craskell 1763). Calder-Shafston (Stewart 1984) had a waterwheel and aqueduct on Bluefields River for powering a sugarcane mill (Siegel 2011:123).42 Auchindown and Paradise estates had watermills powered by Robin’s River and Sweet River, respectively (Craskell 1763). Orange Grove, Beeston Spring, Lenox, Grand Vale, Bog (Craskell 1763), Content, Petersville, and Culloden were sugar estates with cattle mills that grinded or squeezed the juice out of the

40 Bluefields Great House first appears on a 1791 map (Leard and Buller 1791).

41 William Shackerly owned Shrewsbury after Commander Lestock moved him from Falmouth to Bluefields Bay in 1741 (National Archives of the United Kingdom 1741).

42 Belmont elder ‘Oscar’ (personal communication, January 18, 2011) believed the first of the Calder family might have been among the Scottish immigrants from the Darien Expedition. Belmont elders also referred to Calder-Shafston (Stewart 1984) as Pinnock-Shafston (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011) and Whitelocke-Shafston (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011). Historic maps suggest that Shafston, likely referred to previously as Shaftsbury (Jefferys 1775), split, with Old Shafston south of New Shafston and north of Robin’s River (Harrison ca. 1890c). New Shafston was owned by Philip Pinnock in 1816 (Maitland 2011) and contains Calder-Shafston House. A. N. Sinclair was the proprietor and manager of New Shafston in 1878, and D. J. Sinclair’s post office address was listed at Shafston Pen in 1891 (Maitland 2011). H. Lester Calder later bought Pinnock-Shafston (Calder-Shafston) (Jamaica Gleaner 1938), which is now operated as a guesthouse by German Frank Lohmann.
sugarcane using a machine powered by cattle (Robertson 1804). The remains of an old sugar mill and foundation for a great house exist in New Works. The limekiln at Oasis Spa, apparently built in the 1600-1700s (Siegel 2011:125-130), was likely part of Mount Edgecombe estate and processed sugarcane for nearby estates. The limekiln complex at Oasis Spa has three boilers and a chimney, and is among the largest kilns in the Caribbean (Siegel 2011:48, 125-130).

Jamaican historian Lorna Simmonds (1987:32) said many enslaved people in Jamaica were fieldworkers, particularly cane cutters on sugar estates. After harvesting and grinding sugarcane, enslaved people on estates, and many rented from pens, carried sugarcane juice to the kiln. Sugar bakers (Burnard 1996:787) processed sugar by boiling the juice with lime, crushed and heated limestone, in vats (Kelly 2004:5), likely over burning sugarcane fibers. The process produced molasses, a sticky brown “wet” byproduct of sugar production, which merchants sent to Europe for further refining (Eltis 1995:637).

Jamaica became England’s leading sugar producing colony during the 1700s and, by the 1770s, had surpassed that of all the other English islands combined (Zahedieh 1986a:206). The expansion of the sugar industry paralleled a rise in sugar estates, imports of enslaved people, commodity exports, population, patented lands, cultivated acres, and property values (Sheridan 1965:296). Colonial policies, however, tended to operate in

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43 The Jamaica Almanack lists Dr. William Anglin as the owner of Orange Grove in 1811 and recorded that Anglin likely received further pieces of property in 1838 as payment for services (Aarons 1983:4).
44 Planters produced lime on Auchindown (Wright and White 1969:174) and Mount Edgecombe (Curtin 2010:211). James Wedderburn (Sangster 1792) and later Chos B. Vickers (Harrison ca. 1890d) owned Mount Edgecombe.
favor of Europe rather than the colonial producers (Ferguson 2008:53).

**Pen Keeping.** Jamaica experienced an increase in the number of pens to meet growing demand for livestock to power cattle mills on sugar estates and to slaughter for hides and beef for export (Shepherd 1991:633). Some accumulated capital through pen keeping before investing in the sugar industry (Shepherd 1991:630). Many pen-keepers slaughtered animals in their own butcheries or sold to others for processing. Pen-keepers also sold young cattle to sugar estates, and then bought them back at the end of their working lives to process in butcheries (Shepherd 1991:640). The mule, however, perhaps a more reliable animal, saw little return at the end of its working life (Shepherd 1991:632). Pens provided estates with mules and cattle for plowing fields, turning sugarcane mills, and spreading manure to fertilize crops (Shepherd 1991:639-640). Sugar planters also raised livestock to lessen reliance on pens and external sources for animals and had their own butcheries.

Specialized livestock producing regions emerged in areas “unsuited for either cane cultivation or coffee and which were turned over to pasture,” particularly in the parishes of Saint Ann, Saint Elizabeth, and coastal areas of Westmoreland (Shepherd 1991:639). Guinea grass (*Panicum maximum* or *jumentorum*), which became abundant throughout Westmoreland after being introduced from Africa in 1744 (Rampini 1873:162-163) or 1745, was used for cattle grazing (Parry 1951:31). An historical map of Bluefields Pen shows sections of the property labelled as para grass (*Panicum muticum*) (Adams 1972:193), guinea grass, “common pasture,” and corn, likely for livestock feed

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45 In an attempt to reduce their competitors’ production, the English had passed the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651, requiring English colonies to buy and sell only English goods to and from only English merchants (Ferguson 2008:73).
A map of Tate-Shafston property also shows guinea grass and common pasture (National Library of Jamaica n.d.c).

**Other Exports.** European demand for chocolate influenced farmers to plant cocoa walks in Jamaica, particularly on the south coast (Bennett 1964:54). Although European demand made cocoa highly profitable, blighting of cocoa trees around 1670 caused most crops to fail and forced planters to convert to indigo or sugar production (Bennett 1964:60). Blome (1672:8-13) wrote that Jamaica produced cotton, tobacco, hides, and tortoise meat and shells, woods, ginger, and pimento. Cazari cakes, known also as cassava cakes and likely similar to the bammy produced today, were an important provision for “ship stores” (Ogilby 1671:339; Anderson 1851:22-23 n. o).46 Jamaica also produced salt from salt ponds for domestic use (Blome 1672:12).

In the mid-1700s, the Industrial Revolution created manufacturing centers in England that needed cheap raw materials (Ferguson 2008:132). By the end of the 1700s, plantation exports included cotton, coffee (*Coffea* sp.), 47 ginger, pimento, sugar, and rum (Mintz and Hall 1960:17). In addition to hides for the leather industry, Jamaican planters produced cotton for export to European industries for the production of textiles and clothing. A 1768 tax roll listed 67,850 enslaved people in Jamaica on cotton, coffee, ginger, and pimento plantations and 99,062 enslaved people on sugar estates (Sheridan 1965:303).

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46 War with Spain deprived the Dutch of salt previously imported from Portugal, which was the essential preservative for ship stores and the fishing industry (Ferguson 2008:70). Dutch merchants turned to the Cape Verde Islands and then to the Caribbean and coasts of Venezuela for salt (Ferguson 2008:70).

47 Sir Nicholas Lawes, Governor of Jamaica (1718-1722), introduced coffee from Martinique in 1728 (Tortello 2002).
The First Jamaican Markets. In 1662, the first market established in Spanish Town, upon request by English settlers, was a two-day quarterly “faire” for selling livestock, domestic produce, and other goods “on the feasts of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin, the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, Snt: Michaell the Archangell, and the Circumcision of our Lord” and “according to the usage and customs of our kingdome of England” (Institute of Jamaica 1895:146). Although enslaved people “came to play a central role in Jamaican internal marketing, it is clear that this first legal market was English, not African, in conception and form” (Mintz and Hall 1960:13).

Imports and Exports. Planters produced hurricane-resistant root crops for subsistence and cash crops to sell to naval and merchant vessels (Mintz and Hall 1960:9). Although Jamaica served as a provisioning station for ships, the island imported much of its foodstuff during the early colonization period (Mintz and Hall 1960:3, 9). Sailing conditions, weather, and crop conditions in Africa, North America, and the Caribbean, affected the importation of enslaved people and goods. Naval vessels and merchant ships avoided the West Coast of Africa during its rainy season (Ferguson 2008:97) and the Caribbean during its autumn hurricane season, referred to by enslaved people as the “hungry time” (Richardson 1992:63). Jamaica sometimes received no European commodities from government commissioned vessels for several years, especially during wartime and hurricane season (Zahedieh 1986b:573). Such conditions also prevented

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48 Economic historian Karl Polanyi said “markets developed naturally out of [external trade] where the carriers had to halt as at fords, seaports, riverheads, or where the routes of two land expeditions met” (Polanyi 1957:60). Ports developed at places of transshipment (Polanyi 1957:60). “A market is a meeting place for the purpose of barter or buying and selling” (Polanyi 1957:56). Markets originate out of desire or need for nonlocal goods (Bromley et al. 1975:533); e.g., farmers traveling from hills to the beach for fish.
Jamaica from exporting its own produce, particularly perishable agricultural crops, creating gluts of such goods in domestic markets (Zahedieh 1986b:573). Warfare also reduced the number of naval convoys. During the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), an embargo was placed on shipping by England, cutting off supplies of flour from North America (Zahedieh 1986b:582) and preventing the export of molasses and rum to America (Ferguson 2008:125). Livestock from Spanish America became more important after imports from North America declined (Shepherd 1991:639).

**Provision Grounds.** In order to reduce the need to import expensive and scarce foodstuffs and avoid the risk of malnutrition and starvation due to war and other reasons such as hurricanes, which disrupted shipping, laws required plantations to keep land for growing food (Mintz and Hall 1960:3-4). In 1678, legislation required one acre of land for planting subsistence crops for every five enslaved people, which by the end of the 1700s was reduced to one acre for every ten enslaved people (Patterson 1973:217). By 1687, enslaved people were allowed half of Saturday and all of Sunday off to encourage them to cultivate small farms known as “provision grounds,” “polincos” (Patterson 1973:219), “polinks,” “palinkas,” or “garden plots” (Simmonds 1987:38). Slave quarters, villages, and provision grounds were usually located on ruined lands and forests on the peripheries of estates, backlands unsuitable for sugarcane cultivation (Mintz and Hall 1960:5, 14; Higman 1986:123). Allowing enslaved people to cultivate provision grounds also reduced the need for landowners to produce crops on pens and estates and import irregular and expensive provisions, particularly flour from North America (Zahedieh 1986b:582). Plantations with plains and savannas imported more foodstuff than those with hillsides (Mintz and Hall 1960:4).
Native Taino crops grown in slave provision grounds included sweet potatoes, arrowroot, cassava (Mintz and Hall 1960:4-6), maize (Leslie 1739:322), and New World cocoyams. Surgeon, naturalist, and collector Sir Hans Sloane (1707, 1:183-184) thought red kidney beans or peas were good provisions for enslaved people, servants, and hogs. Enslaved people grew calabash, peppers, pumpkins (Patterson 1973:219), papaya, and soursop (Mintz 1974:236). Plants native to Central America if not the Caribbean including cocoa (Sauer 1954:21), avocado pears (Mintz 1974:236), and callaloo (Amaranthus viridis and other plants with edible leaves) were also cultivated by enslaved people in their provision grounds (Patterson 1973:219; Delle 2000:66).

Enslaved people grew Old World crops including bananas (Sauer 1954:21), plantains, and oranges (Patterson 1973:219). Enslaved people also grew “guinea yams” (Dioscorea sativa) (Mintz 1974:236) or “yellow Guinea yams” (Dioscorea cayenensis) from Oceania via West Africa (Mintz and Hall 1960:6), “greater yam” (Dioscorea alata) from Africa, and okra from Africa (Sauer 1954:21), likely Ethiopia (Ccovery and Eisnach 2009:85). Other yams came from West Africa and New Guinea (Ccovery and Eisnach 2009:93). Taros (Colocasia esculenta esculenta), including the Old World cocoes or cocoyam (Colocasia esculenta), dasheens (Colocasia esculenta esculenta), and eddoes (Colocasia esculenta antiquorum), came from Oceania in the 1700s (Mintz and Hall 1960:6).

Callaloo refers to several varieties of leafy greens and “cooked vegetables” (Higman 2007:351-352) including “Spanish calaloe” (Browne 1756:232) (Amaranthus dubius) (Adams 1972:254), “mountain calaloe,” known also as “pokeweed” (Browne 1756:232), “Surinam or juckata calaloe” (Long 1774, 3:771-772) or Jocato (Phytolacca rivinoides), and prickly calalu (Amaranthus spinosus) (Adams 1972:264), some of which may be indigenous to Jamaica or have been introduced from Central and South America or Africa (Higman 2007:351-352).
Ackee (*Blighia sapida*), brought to Jamaica in 1778 by merchants who acquired enslaved people from West Africa (Powell 1973:34), was produced on Bluefields Pen next to the coconuts (National Library of Jamaica n.d.b), and by enslaved people on provision grounds (Patterson 1973:219). Cowpea, or black-eyed pea (*Vigna unguiculata* sp.), from West and Central Africa (Higman 2012:65-66), was brought to Jamaica in 1675 on merchant ships for feeding human cargo (Ccovery and Eisman 2009:84). The gungo pea (*Cajanus cajan*), known also as the pigeon pea, Angola pea (Browne 1756:296), Christmas pea, seven-year-pea (Lunan 1814:64), Jerusalem pea (Cassidy and LePage 2002:2, 402), or Congo pea (Higman 2012:65), was cultivated by enslaved people “in their gardens and grounds” as it did not require much care or replanting (Long 1774, 3:787). Geographer Carl Sauer said that pigeon peas or guandules are “African things” (Sauer 1954:21). Enslaved people also grew “abba” or abbay Africa oil-palm trees (*Elaeis guineensis*) known also as the “macaw or macca-fat palm,” and citrus fruit trees known as shaddocks or shaddock trees (*Citrus decumana*) (Patterson 1973:219; Cassidy and Le Page 2002:2, 402).

African rice (*Oryza glaberrima*), an important subsistence crop in regions of West Africa where enslaved people were taken, served as a voyaging food for enslaved Africans transported on ships across the Atlantic Ocean (Higman 2012:67). Enslaved people from West Africa’s Rice Coast, an area south from the Gambia River along the Atlantic Ocean to Cape Mount in Liberia where rice was available for purchase, “were disproportionately represented among those enslaved in Brazil’s early settlement period”

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50 In addition to cowpeas, pigeon peas, yams, and rice, subsistence staples in Africa included seeded grasses and grain cereals known as millets such as sorghum (*Sorghum* sp.) (Carney 2005:333-334).
Enslaved people from “the Guinea-Bissau region alone accounted for at least 25 per cent of those brought to Spanish and Portuguese America over the sixteenth century” (Carney 2005:336).

African rice was introduced by African slaves and Portuguese merchants to Brazil where it was listed as a marketed item by 1550 and a key subsistence staple by 1618, second only to cassava (Carney 2005:336). Experienced Africans likely initiated the growing of rice for food as a dietary preference over cassava (Carney 2005:336). The Dutch conquered Brazil in 1630, but the Portuguese reasserted control in 1654, after which refugee Sephardic Jewish planters of Iberian origin, who presumably came to Brazil during the Spanish Inquisition, relocated to the Guianas (including parts of what are today the nations of Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, Venezuela, and Brazil) (Carney 2005:328, 336-337). Some went up the Suriname River into Suriname, under English control until 1667, “where they were allowed to practice their faith without persecution” and brought the “Brazilian system” of plantation slavery, including rice planting and rights of enslaved people to individual garden plots, earning Suriname the nickname of “second Brazil” (Carney 2005:328, 336-337). From there the Brazilian system of plantation slavery expanded to Jamaica (Carney 2005:337).

Sloane said rice was planted by enslaved people in Jamaica, but requires “much beating, and a particular art to separate the grain from the husk” and was considered too troublesome for its price as other grains were “more easily cultivated” and processed with less labor (Sloane 1707, 1:xix, 103). Edward Long, writing in 1774, advocated that rice should only be cultivated where the fields “can be flooded with water” and “naturally adapted” to rice, as an additional supply of food for enslaved people (1774, 3:768).
Enslaved people likely raised cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens (Mintz and Hall 1960:15-16). Sauer said keeping fowls was an African practice (Sauer 1954:21). Enslaved people also grew “Guiney corn” (Leslie 1739:322) (*Sorghum vulgare*), which was fed to livestock (Holloway 2005:48).51 Farmers also fed “corn,” likely referring to maize, to fowl and other livestock (Patterson 1973:217).

**Internal Markets.** English landowner William Beckford (1790:256), who owned and operated a plantation and owned enslaved people in Jamaica, observed that a quarter acre could supply a family with both enough food for themselves and a small surplus to carry to market. At the outset, however, exchanges were among enslaved people on estates and plantations, not within markets (Norton and Symanski 1975:463). Enslaved people either marketed their own produce or made “voluntary agreements… for marketing each other’s produce” through middlemen known as “higglers” (Mintz and Hall 1960:14). Higglers often carried loads of goods inside “bailins” or gunny and burlap sacks held on top of their heads in woven baskets supported by a “cotta” or headdress or cloth (Mintz 1965:238) made of dried, coiled up plantain leaves (Patterson 1973:238). In rural areas, enslaved men typically tended provision grounds as part-time peasants while women took produce to market (Simmonds 1987:38).

Enslaved people sold salt fish, beef, pork, flour, rice, corn, barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), bread, and other easily liquidated goods (Simmonds 1987:36). Enslaved higglers sold goods from canoes (Simmonds 1987:35). At night, merchants met enslaved

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51 In *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*, naturalist Mark Catesby (1754:xviii) said Guinea corn was introduced to the New World from Africa and used to feed fowls. Naturalist John Lawson (1709:76) said that in the colony of Carolina, Guinea corn used to feed hogs (Lawson 1709:76).
people in small boats carrying goods to sell and cash to buy (Zahedieh 1986b:582). Some higglers bought imported goods through local importers including clothes and household wares (Mintz and Hall 1960:17). Goods produced by enslaved people such as gums, arrowroot, castor oil from castor beans or seeds (*Ricinus communis*), “oil nuts,” turmeric (*Curcuma longa*), goatskins, other animal hides, cows’ horns, and woodworks reached foreign markets through merchants (Mintz and Hall 1960:17). Enslaved higglers also bought and resold iron pots (Patterson 1973:228).

Enslaved people sold goats, eggs, and goats’ milk or cows’ milk “bought by the slaves from the estate owners for retail trading” (Mintz and Hall 1960:15). Some enslaved people may have sold fresh pork and vegetable oil to whites on their own estates (Delle 2000:63).

Enslaved people also sold their pigs, poultry, and fish (Long 1774, 2:410-411). In many areas of the New World, Native American and enslaved African fishermen “borrowed mutually and as social equals” (Price 1966:1364). Some Native American fishermen adopted “metal harpoon points, hemp lines imported from Europe, and metal fishhooks” (Price 1966:1369). In the Caribbean, enslaved Africans employed as fishermen often worked in groups of 10 or 12 in order to effectively use “European technical innovations” such as seine-nets (Price 1966:1370). By the 1650s, seine-nets, which “offered the greatest economic potential of any West Indian fishing technique,” were widely used by enslaved fishermen (Price 1966:1374). Although there is little evidence that enslaved Africans arrived in the Caribbean as skilled fishermen, some from the Gold Coast or Ivory Coast, “where subsistence fishing is still important,” may have known how to fish (Price 1966:1371). However, most enslaved people learned fishing
techniques after arriving in the Caribbean (Price 1966:1371).

Enslaved people developed economic relationships within their household, on the plantation, and between plantations through their ability to travel to and from markets (Higman 1975:262-263). Higglering also provided economic opportunity and social security for enslaved women involved in commercial transactions not directly controlled by their owners in a similar way that enslaved men, as artisans, fishermen, and skilled enslaved laborers who hired out their labor, felt a sense of independence and freedom (Higman 1984:237-238; Simmonds 1987:32-33). Some enslaved people obtained their entire means of subsistence independent of their owners (Simmonds 1987:36). With money earned, enslaved people often bought clothes, shoes, and luxuries, particularly rum and imported foreign or nonlocal goods not provided by their owners (Simmonds 1987:38).

Slave owners also employed enslaved women as higglers to sell goods provided by their masters or acquired independently on credit from cultivators and artisans (Simmonds 1987:32-33). Enslaved men were sometimes employed by their owners on small boats known as “droghers” or “wherries,” which bought and sold goods “in the North American and Spanish American trades” at ports along the coasts (Simmonds 1987:32). Enslaved higglers were usually expected to deliver all or a portion of their daily or periodic profits for their master or his mistress’ benefit (Simmonds 1987:33). Many believed that robberies occurred because enslaved higglers had to acquire their own goods for sale and provide their owners with regular sums of money (Simmonds 1987:35). Enslaved people sold stolen goods including “sugar and coffee from wharves, cloth from the stores, livestock from pens,” produce from provision grounds and markets,
“household goods” from their masters’ houses, and wares from others enslaved people, merchants, and pirates (Simmonds 1987:35). Enslaved people also sold stolen sugar in the “calabash market,” which is not a separate market, but rather refers to the gourd container in which sugar was sold (Patterson 1973:228).

Some slave masters employed enslaved people as artisans (Mintz 1965:237). Many of these employed artisans and other enslaved people produced crafts in their free time and sold or exchanged products for foods and other necessities at weekend markets (Mintz 1965:237). Enslaved people produced various handicrafts such as woodworks, leatherworks such as panniers or luggage (Mintz 1965:237), and strong bark and calabash ropes (Hauser 2001:1, 37). Some enslaved people were skilled in “straw plaiting” or braiding straw to make various textiles such as hats, bed mats, baskets, and wicker chairs (Patterson 1973:223). A few enslaved artisans produced a shoe called “sampatter” made from leather or rawhide (Patterson 1973:223). Some fabricated furniture, which they “bartered for salted meat, pickled fish, utensils,” and clothing, particularly “gaudy dresses” of which, historian Robert Dallas writing in 1803, remarked, enslaved people were “very fond” (1803:cviii-cix).

Enslaved people also produced a poorly fired and coarse pottery in the form of earthen jars and pans known as “yabbas” (Hauser 2001:37). Women who produced yabbas had “knowledge… that they learned from their mothers, in some cases, brought with them from Africa” (Hauser et al. 2008:124). The production of yabbas was distantly

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52 Enslaved women were also domestic servants employed as cooks, maids, washers, nannies, and seamstresses (Simmonds 1987:31-32) spinning cotton yarn for knitting and weaving stockings, shawls, and other clothes (Anderson 1851:24 n. q).

53 Pickling refers to the practice of preserving foods by soaking them in saltwater, also known as brine, and storing them in vinegar.
related to an “African manufacturing tradition with knowledge also derived from Europe” (Hauser 2001:2). Archaeological surveys at Fort Oristano (WH4/H117) revealed fragments of African Jamaican yabba pottery, ceramic pipes, nineteenth century ceramics, and hand-blown glass bottles (Savery et al. 2011:6), suggesting a strong local manufacturing industry produced by enslaved people either independently or for their owners. The production and distribution of yabbas suggests a localized economy within, “but not dependent on,” national and external markets (Hauser 2001:3).

Enslaved people came to dominate supply and demand within Jamaica’s internal marketing system (Norton and Symanski 1975:463). By 1774, enslaved people were the primary “suppliers of foodstuffs and utilitarian” crafts in Jamaica (Mintz and Hall 1960:16). Edward Long, writing in 1774, estimated that “of the £50,000 in currency circulating” in Jamaica, 20 percent was possessed by enslaved people, mostly “in the form of small coins” (Mintz and Hall 1960:15). However, the majority of enslaved people “were penniless” (Burnard 2001:518). Long (1774, 1:571) said that enslaved people were in need of more coinage to carry on marketing activities with greater ease.

Higglers are a legacy of the female dominated West African marketing system (Simmonds 1987:38). Many enslaved Africans shipped to Jamaica came from West Africa, where markets were highly developed and women were predominantly the marketers as they are in Jamaica today (Mintz 1965:237) – and Yorubaland, a “cultural area in tropical Africa where people raised cash-crops and traded in traditional market structures which provide economic opportunity and security to women” (Simmonds 1987:32). In the early 1700s, regions north of the Niger River supplied slaves to English merchants and by the mid-to late 1700s, Congo-Angola areas and the Bight of Biafra had
emerged as important regions (Klein 1978:44). Jamaican poet and journalist Olive Senior (2003:133) said that approximately 83 percent of slaves entering Jamaica from 1792-1807, the end of the slave trade in the British Empire, were from the Bight of Biafra, Central Africa, and Congo regions. A large number of women leaving Biafran ports led to a greater proportion of enslaved women compared to men arriving in Jamaica than in other areas of the New World such as Cuba and Brazil (Klein 1978:44).

Jamaican English Creole or Patois (Patwa), the language which continues to be used in rural markets in Jamaica today, was influenced by English, West African slave-trade pidgins, and languages from Africa’s Gold Coast near Dahomey (the present-day Republic of Benin) and Ghana where the Royal African Company operated (Cassidy and Le Page 2002:xl-xlili). English Creole became the accepted language for communication and trade in Jamaica “among the slaves, between Creole whites and slaves, in the growing community of free people of colour, and – in a less extreme form – among many of the Creole whites themselves” (Cassidy and Le Page 2002:xlii).

Jamaican markets could only exist because enslaved people had access to land to produce and to markets to exchange (Mintz 1965:237). Female dominance in Jamaican marketing resulted from the need for males to cultivate the land, allowing them less time to devote to marketing (Mintz 1981:520, 531). “What may have survived from Africa was what the master ignored, or permitted to survive” (Mintz and Hall 1960:24).

As the population and trade increased, largely due to the sugar industry, economic activity in Kingston and “the ports of the island” also increased (Mintz and Hall 1960:14). By 1662, enslaved people were “hawking and peddling” goods, often stealing wood from “boats docked at the wharves” and sugarcane from estates to sell at markets
around the island (Patterson 1973:224). Enslaved people also sold their surplus produce in “officially designated and other market places” (Mintz and Hall 1960:14). Charles Leslie’s *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica* (1739:170-189) provides an account of seventeenth century laws in Jamaica that may imply that several markets were created during Sir Thomas Lynch’s second term as Governor of Jamaica (1671-1674) (Mintz and Hall 1960:15).

In May 1685, a small disturbance made by enslaved people at a “usual Saturday market at Passage Fort” in Portmore (located between Spanish Town and Kingston) led the Council to suppress the market (Cundall 1936: 99). In the late 1600s, three daily markets at Port Royal had fruit, fish, meats, and various luxuries (Zahedieh 1986a:220). Port Royal also offered forms of entertainment including cock-fighting, billiards, music, horses, shooting, alehouses, and brothels (Zahedieh 1986a:220). Kingston had the largest market, with European and American fruits and vegetables (Patterson 1973:225). By the 1720s, enslaved people were producing enough to meet subsistence and sell surplus provisions, salt beef, salt fish, and pork at the Sunday markets and use “the cash thus procured” to buy what they did not have (Patterson 1973:217). Thistlewood mentions a “slave market” in Savanna-la-Mar on Sunday, June 8, 1755 (Hall 1989:69). Cocoa, veal or young cattle, and capon or castrated roosters were sold at Savanna-la-Mar market in June 1788 (Beckford 1790:lx). In 1795, enslaved people kept a market on Princess Street in Kingston on Sunday (Simmonds 1987:34).

**Ports of Trade Along Bluefields Bay.** Enslaved people living on pens and estates around Bluefields Bay likely sold fish, crafts, provisions, and other goods, often stolen, to landowners, indentured servants, free laborers, merchants, and other slaves at
nearby estates, markets in Savanna-la-Mar and Black River, or within the vicinity of
ports at Cave, Waterwheel, and the Old Wharf (see Figure 2, page 3 and Figure 4, page
9).\(^{54}\)

Geographer Jackie Ebert (2010:56) said Waterwheel is a coastal contact spring
that drains directly into Bluefields Bay. Waterwheel fed an *aguada* (aqueduct) (National
Library of Jamaica 1809) at the Watering Place (Rice 1787; Leard and Buller 1791).\(^{55}\) In
the 1700s, the aqueduct carried water out a few hundred yards into the bay where ships
could “fill water casks without danger of beaching” (Curtin 1991:18). Before the
aqueduct, vessels anchored in the bay and sent small boats (Curtin 2010:57) ashore to
fetch water, said to be “of a purity which allowed it to reach England after weeks or
months at sea, in a perfectly potable condition” (Jamaica Gleaner 1934).

After watering at Waterwheel, ships probably traveled along Bluefields Bay to the
Cove near Dunkley Estate (Jefferys 1775), labeled Cave Shipping Place on a cadastral
map (Harrison ca. 1890a), probably produced between 1876-1891 by Thomas Harrison,
Surveyor General (ca. 1862-1892) (Higman 2001:2). People from nearby pens and estates
sold provisions, sugar, rum, mahogany planks, and other commodities to ships at the
*barcadero* (wharf) at the fishing village of Cave (Curtin 2010:13, 57).\(^{56}\) A late 1600s map

\(^{54}\) An inventory of Bluefields Estate for September 28, 1780 included 256 enslaved
people, 213 livestock, and five whites, likely indentured servants. By December 28, 1780,
Bluefields Estate had 260 enslaved people, 310 livestock, and 8 whites (Westmoreland
Parish Council 1781).

\(^{55}\) A late 1700s map shows Waterwheel near Dunkley estate (Jefferys 1775).
Waterwheel is also shown on later maps (Stewart 1984; United States Navy 1878).

\(^{56}\) Barcadero or barcadere, a term used by Caymanians, derived from the French
débarcadère (a landing place for boats), and is synonymous with the Spanish
*embarcadero* or *embarcado* (a place to embark or disembark on a nautical voyage) (The
Barcadere 2012).
shows a sugar works and six cotton works near a “Sinior” estate in Surinam Quarters (Lea 1685). Cotton, coffee, ginger, and pimento were produced on Bluefields, Auchindown, Douglas, Dunkley (near Waterwheel), Hermitage (near what is now Bluefields Beach Park), McCulloch, Robin’s River, Senior, Shaftsbury (Craskell 1763), and Cave estates (Le Rouge 1746; Craskell 1763). A historic map lists a coffee walk at Tate-Shafston (National Library of Jamaica n.d.c). Planters produced pimento on Orange Grove (Wright and White 1969:174) and Mount Edgecombe, known also as Pimento Hill (Harrison ca. 1890d). There were several pimento houses or factories operating in the area in the 1700s, including at Cave near Sawmill River (Siegel 2011:130), Bluefields where around 2009 an iron balance was stolen for scrap metal (Wedenoja 2010b), Old Shafston and Tate-Shafston, which has a pimento fanner for shelling pimento berries (Wedenoja 2008a). Mrs. Hawthorn, who currently owns Tate-Shafston Great House, the house which has been in her family since the mid-1800s, said that Tate-Shafston

57 Captain Douglas who left Bluefields in the Downes on July 19, 1730 (National Archives of the United Kingdom 1730) may be the former owner of Douglas estate. 58 Dr. and Captain Christopher Senior was a Jewish planter who may have been among the settlers who arrived from Surinam after the Treaty of Breda in 1667. Large properties around Bluefields Bay were owned by Senior who obtained titles to three plots of land (700, 1036, and 200 acres) between August 15, 1683 and November 11, 1690 (Andrade 1941:141). A map shows Dr. Senior obtained land titles of 700 acres on August 3, 1683, 335 acres in July 1685, and another piece of land around the same time (Wilson 1800). Gilbert, Christopher Jr., Jane, Bernard, Deborah, and Keith Yules Thomas Senior obtained land titles of mostly 300 acres in 1755 and one of 200 acres in 1759 to Christopher Jr. (Andrade 1941:141; Wilson 1800; Hall 1989:13, 23-24 n. 6). “Seniors” is also shown on a map from 1765 (Kitchen 1765). An 1804 map (Robertson 1804) shows locations for the houses of Senior, P. Pinnock, Jeffries, the Hon. W. Leslie, McGill, Davis, Ricketts, Scott, Brown, James, Wedderburn, and John Wedderburn. 59 The pimento factory at Cave may be one of the last three operating in Westmoreland (Siegel 2011:48). This factory used eighteenth century technology to process pimento into allspice and pimento oil (Siegel 2011:131). The cast iron boiler heats pimento leaves, which secrete oil that is transferred into a barrel of cool water (Siegel 2011:131). As the water separates from the more dense oil, workers skim it off.
produced logwood and orange oil for export (interviewed by Wedenoja, June 13, 2009; Wedenoja 2008a).60

There was also a wharf or “barcadier” at Paradise, where Thomas Thistlewood attended a funeral on June 17, 1778 (Hall 1989:256-257; United States Navy 1878).61 The deceased, Mr. Vassall, left in a coffin onboard the *Fort William* under the command of Captain Ayton (Hall 1989:257).

An advertisement on July 12, 1779 demonstrates the continued importance of Bluefields Bay as a provisioning station for outfitting ships:

> This is to inform all Captains and Commanders of Ships, who intend anchoring at Bluefields at the next periodical fueling, that they may be supplied with BEEF at the Creek in Bluefields Bay, by John Barton and Co. who have rented Bluehole-Penn, not only with the dergo of Fattening Cattle for that purpose, but hope, after the August Fleet, to be able to supply them with any other Stock they may have occasion for: - At which time, they may likewise be supplied with WOOD by the Cord, upon making an early application by letter or otherwise. [John Barton and Company 1779]62

Ships fueling at Blue Hole Pen likely received water from Blue Hole Spring. Blue Hole Pen also produced cotton, coffee, ginger, and pimento (Craskell 1763).63 A later map labels Blue Hole Pen by its current name, Belmont (Harrison ca. 1890b).

Bluefields Tavern and the Old Wharf: Geoffrey Whitelocke, son of Leslie

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60 By the 1780s, logwood, introduced to Jamaica from Honduras in 1715 (Lewis 1999:292), grew as a weed often forming hedges or fences, particularly in Saint Elizabeth and Westmoreland (Higman 1989:76).

61 Thistlewood, an English landowner, overseer, and pen keeper, lived in Jamaica from 1750 to 1786 and kept a daily record of his activities (Burnard 1996:792).

62 During the time of this advertisement, the long “s” sound was often written as a “ſ” where “s” occurred at the beginning or in the middle of a word.

63 Blue Hole or Belmont contained 245 acres including Salt River or Creek and the homes of James Williams, Marie Forest, Robert Moore, and Richard Jeffery around 1799 (Harrison ca. 1890b). An early 1800s map labels the stream “Salt Creek” (Robertson 1804).
Whitelocke the owner of Bulstrode Estate (north of Frome and Grange Hill) until 1955 and brother of Roland Whitelocke, the owner of Bluefields Property from around 1927 to 1975, said Bluefields Tavern was built in the 1750s at or around the same time as Bluefields Great House and Oristano Great House (Whitelocke, personal communication, February 17, 2011). Bluefields Tavern, shown in a 1766 painting (National Library of Jamaica 1766, Figure 8) and on late eighteenth-century maps (Rice 1787; Leard and Buller 1791), may have been built as a post office. Jamaican education professor Rebecca Tortello, who writes a series for the *Jamaica Gleaner* called “Pieces of the Past,” said the Jamaica postal service first began in 1663 (Tortello 2004). Edmund Dismore, appointed Postmaster General in 1754, nationalized the postal service and created 34 post offices around Jamaica using horses to carry mail (Tortello 2004). The earliest map showing a post office at Bluefields, however, is from 1850 (D’Invilliers 1850). The post office may have played a small role in the development of Jamaica’s infrastructure, including roads and bridges (National Library of Jamaica n.d.a). Bluefields Tavern is located along roads later referred to as the Great Post Road and the Port Road (Stewart 1984), now referred to by locals as the “main” and designated as route A-2. A historic map

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64 Bulstrode Estate was named for Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke (died 1675) who is said to have served as ambassador to Sweden, as well as being a Commissioner of the Great Seal, and a lawyer in the Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell (Whitelocke, personal communication, February 17, 2011).

65 A late 1800s map (Harrison ca.1890b) shows William A. Tate owned the 835-acre Bluefields Estate, containing Bluefields Great House. The map also shows that the property passed from Jefferies Sanl to Jas W. Keighly in 1799 (Harrison ca. 1890b).

66 Judge (interview, January 18, 2011) said there was a quarry or mill on the Bluefields Property that ground and crushed stone to produce gravel for coast roads.

67 Maps also refer to the road as the “Queen’s Road” from Savanna-la-Mar to Black River (National Library of Jamaica 1864) and Ferris Cross to Auchindown Main Road.
produced after 1698 shows a section of the road along Bluefields Bay with cottonwood, orange, and breadnut trees as landmarks along the “King’s Road to the Cave” (National Library of Jamaica n.d.a). Another map shows a road from the Old Wharf and Bluefields Tavern leading north along Bluefields Bay (Wilson 1800).

Travelers along the road could stop at the tavern to rest, leaving their horses in the stables behind the tavern or having them fitted with shoes at the blacksmith shop across the road. The three-sided wall behind the tavern was likely a horse stable or carriage house (Siegel 2011:116). Bluefields Estate may have sold a considerable number of horses for transportation, supervision by overseers and headmasters on pens and estates, the racehorse industry, and occasionally as draught animals.

(Statistical Institute of Jamaica 1991). Judge said locals called it the “coast road” (interview, January 18, 2011).
Surface surveys at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) in 2008 uncovered the remains of three separate buildings of a blacksmith shop (Goucher 2009), built before 1893 (Resident Magistrate Court of Westmoreland 1893, Appendix B). William Tate, who died before 1893, owned the blacksmith shop (Resident Magistrate Court of Westmoreland 1893, Appendix B). While on the archaeology site at Bluefields Gardens from 2008 to 2012, Wedenoja (personal communication, September 3, 2012) said he communicated with local elders who said the shop existed in the 1940s. The shop may have been part of the Bluefields Estate and used for shoeing livestock and manufacturing tools as well as to accommodate travelers. The shop manufactured iron tools including machetes, horseshoes, nails, wire, spikes, straps, hooks, stove accessories, chains, lock plates, nuts, bolts, washers, and gears during the 1800s to mid-1900s (Savery et al. 2008:4, 2009:8, 2011:5). English ceramics from the 1600-1800s and wine bottles from the 1700-1800s found at Bluefields Gardens suggest heavy importation of European manufactured goods through the Old Wharf (Savery et al. 2009:8). Historian and archaeologist Candice Goucher (2009) said the blacksmith shop at Bluefields Gardens and adjacent pens and estates suggest Bluefields Bay reveals the transition from prehistoric stone tools and ceramics to an Iron Age industrial site and shipping port with a lively community that existed between the 1500s to 1800s.68

Historic maps indicate Bluefields Tavern and Oristano Great House, likely the “Overseer’s House” for Bluefields Estate, served as navigational landmarks for mariners (Rice 1787; Leard and Buller 1791; United States Navy 1878). Historic maps show

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68 A map from the late 1700s shows an area between the Watering Place and Bluefields Tavern known as “an Iron Bound Coast” (Rice 1787).
Bluefields Bay had anchorage for small vessels (Craskell 1763) and large vessels near Belmont Point west of the coral reef (Robertson 1804). Other historic maps show anchorage at several locations on Bluefields Bay (Jefferys 1775; Leard and Buller 1791; Purdy 1880; United States Navy 1893). Ships anchoring at Bluefields Bay sent small boats and canoes to trade at the Old Wharf where a large port or pier once stood (National Library of Jamaica n.d.b). An early-1800s map shows an “L” shaped wharf jutting out into the bay near Bluefields Tavern on property granted to Captain George Brimeacan in 1671 (Wilson 1800). Two rows of ten I-beams or iron pilings were driven into the seafloor extending out about 33 feet (10 meters) (Siegel 2011:104-111, Figure 9).

Figure 9. Interior of the Southern Group of I-beam Pilings at the Old Wharf (Siegel 2011:107).

An assortment of people including planters, servants, and enslaved people, perhaps rented from their owners by merchants or other landowners, likely transported cash crops and other commodities on horses, donkeys, mules, and carts from pens and
estates in the hills surrounding Bluefields Bay along roads to the Old Wharf. Bluefields Tavern may have served as an office for conducting pre-arranged and spontaneous business transactions between merchants, pirates, soldiers, landowners, servants, and other settlers based on cash and credit. Ships entering Bluefields Bay would have anchored a quarter mile from shore and sent small boats to the tavern. The tavern would likely have been open daily on an irregular basis, perhaps during all hours of the day to accommodate individual needs and situations. There is a stone oven behind the tavern (Siegel 2011:114-115) used to cook food, likely for sale to customers. Merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, pirates, naval officers, accountants, landowners, carpenters, masons, tradesmen, and travelers may have occupied the tavern, seeking work, discussing business, eating food, and drinking liquor.69

Ships at Bluefields Bay. On February 8, 1762, during the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), a militia transported prisoners – “72 Spaniards, 5 French, 1 Italian, and 1 Maltese” – by canoe from Savanna-la-Mar to Bluefields before moving them by land to Parker’s Bay (Hall 1989:125-126).70 The militia included Thomas Thistlewood (Hall 1989:125). By April 1762, Thistlewood wrote that a militia from Midgeham (Northwest of Savanna-la-Mar) was “to board the warship Centurion at Bluefields to go to Kingston” (Hall 1989:126). Thistlewood wrote that on November 3, 1762, Captain Lake aboard the Westmoreland captured 33 men, 2 carriages, and 8 swivel guns at sea and carried them

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69 Enslaved people and indentured servants worked as caulkers, carpenters, masons (Simmonds 1987:32), cloggers or shoemakers, tailors, coopers or barrel makers, and blacksmiths for making necessary tools for the outfitting or repair of ships, mills, and waterwheels (Sheridan 1965:300).

70 Mid-1700s maps show a fort at Savanna-la-Mar (Ehert 1757; Bellin 1758). An early-1700s map shows a fort at Scot’s or “Schots” Cove near Parker’s Bay (Moll 1710).
into Bluefields Bay (Hall 1989:126).

On November 28, 1762, Thistlewood wrote that the Spaniards had “robbed Bluefields lately” (Hall 1989:126). In December 1762, Spanish raiders “plundered Mr. Thos. White’s house at Bluefields,” stealing “his plate, furniture, wearing apparel,” and “the girl he kept,” making him “help carry his own things down to their canoe” and “stripped him naked except an old dirty check shirt they gave him” (Hall 1989:127). Fear of Spanish raiders may have prompted the construction of a private fort at Belmont Point, erected around 1767 by the owner of the Belmont or Blue Hole Estate (Wright and White 1969:173), likely Andrew Black or Christopher Senior (Sangster 1792). An English fort or battery, a platform for cannons, which Reliable Adventures Jamaica tour operator Wolde Kristos, who has lived in Belmont since he was a child, refers to as Fort Henry (Kristos 2006a) or Fort Charles (Kristos 2006b), was built along Bluefields Bay near Bluefields Tavern. People also built forts and batteries in response to uprisings of enslaved people and fear of the Maroons, runaway enslaved people who organized in the

71 Eighteenth (Rice 1787; Leard and Buller 1791) and nineteenth century maps (Robertson 1804; National Library of Jamaica 1809; Harrison ca. 1890b) show a fort or battery near Belmont Point and One Tree Rock. Kristos suggests that people knew this fort, on the bluff near the high seawall known as Brokedown, as Fort Charlotte (Kristos 2006a) or Fort Victoria (Kristos 2006b). Judge (interview, January 19, 2011) said the fort fell during an earthquake in 1917. Underwater surveys conducted in 2008 by archaeologist Dina Bazzill, and in 2010 by East Carolina University graduate student Benjamin Siegel, identified two cannons and three anchors at the bottom of Bluefields Bay near Belmont Point (Siegel 2011). Wedenoja (personal communication, September 3, 2012) heard that salvagers proclaiming to be archaeologists took at least one other cannon from the bottom of Bluefields Bay. Dr. Pinnock later owned the fort known locally as “Shoot and Stand,” on property currently owned by Alvin Forrester (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). A Belmont elder said there were cannons and balls in the area in the 1940s (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). By the 1990s, people took these cannons to the fort in Savanna-la-Mar and likely sold them for scrap metal (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011).
interior forests of Jamaica such as the Cockpit Country, including the current village of Accompong (Curtin 1991:18).

In the late 1700s, frequent raids and constant threats by pirates forced many creditors and insurance agencies to require merchants shipping enslaved people, sugar, and other items across the Caribbean Sea and Atlantic Ocean to hire the Royal Navy to escort convoys for protection (Zahedieh 1986b:591; Eltis et al. 2005:685).72 Back-door competition, piracy, fraud, and corruption also greatly eroded profits, raised the cost of convoys, and made goods increasingly expensive (Zahedieh 1986b:573). Other costs of shipping included spoiled, stolen, damaged, and otherwise lost goods, crew wages and ship repairs, port charges and duties on particular goods or tariffs between nations, and insurance fees (Eltis 1995:638).

Vessels assembled at Bluefields Bay four times a year for convoy to England under paid protection from the Royal Navy (Cundall 1915:73-74). On June 25, 1778, Thistlewood wrote that a fleet of merchant ships assembled in convoy had sailed from Bluefields Bay (Hall 1989:256-257). Admiral Peter Parker published a notice in the Jamaica Mercury on April 16, 1779 that a convoy was to sail for Europe, and that traders from around the island were to assemble at Bluefields to sail through the Gulf of Florida (Wright and White 1969:173). The convoy left Port Royal on May 28, 1779 and Bluefields on June 1, 1779 (Wright and White 1969:173).

72 By the 1670s, people in Jamaica, unlike other English colonies in the Caribbean, exchanged gold and silver bullion, acquired by English privateers through the plundering of Spanish ships and ports (Zahedieh 1986a:219, 1986b:583). In the 1700s, goldsmiths and bankers picked out and exported the heaviest gold and silver coins via convoy to England (Zahedieh 1986b:583). Convoys protected shipments of produce and bullion sent from the New World to meet European demand and settle Old World affairs in the Baltic, Levant, and East Indies (Zahedieh 1986b:573).
During the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), privateers and the French navy raided settlements in Jamaica. In 1780, 40 men from an American privateer ship landed at Parker’s Bay (Curtin 2010:87, 89). On April 12, 1782, Admiral George Brydges Rodney and the Royal Navy defeated a French fleet under the command of Count de Grasse (Wright 1937:90, 174) at the Battle of the Saints off the coast of Dominica and captured the French flagship, the Ville de Paris (Powell 1973:35).

Thistlewood wrote on May 22, 1782 that a fleet of 88 “and counting” was at Bluefields, including the Sandwich, a 90-gun ship, with Sir Peter Parker and Count de Grasse aboard (Hall 1989:290). Rear-Admiral Grave’s clergyman or chaplain went ashore to buy yams, limes, fowls, sheep, hogs, and other provisions for the “house full of sea-faring people” (Hall 1989:290). 73 Residents of Savanna-la-Mar went to Bluefields to see the fleet and convoy before it sailed on May 25, 1782 (Curtin 2010:93-94). On June 23, the fleet and convoy returned with captured French ships the Ville de Paris “which had a marvelous battery” (Curtin 2010:93-94), and Le Hector (Burke 1785:121-122). 74

The fleet and convoy, which departed from Bluefields on July 26, 1782, consisted

73 “House” may refer to Bluefields Great House or Bluefields Tavern.

74 The Rodney Memorial, commissioned by Jamaica’s House of Assembly in 1783 (Coutu 2006:240), was erected in Spanish Town Square in 1801, and features a statue of the Admiral designed by English sculptor John Bacon and accompanied by two cannons taken off the Ville de Paris (Tortello 2003b). Geoffrey Whitelocke (personal communication, February 17, 2011) believed Admiral Graves had cannons deposited from the Ville de Paris in Bluefields at Oristano Great House. Thieves stole one small cannon from Oristano Great House or Fort Oristano, but owner William Fielding (personal communication, March 20, 2011) got it back and then sold it. Bluefields Great House had one large cannon and two small cannons (National Library of Jamaica 1964). In 1975, Roland Whitelocke showed researchers these three cannons at Bluefields Hotel, including one that dated to 1795 (Jamaica Gleaner 1975). He spoke on the defense system used by the English Regiment stationed at Bluefields and said the cannons could still be fired and that one of his relatives used to ignite one and fire into the sea at Christmas time up to recent years (Jamaica Gleaner 1975).
of nine ships and around 100 merchantmen under the conduct of Admiral Graves, in the *Ramiflies*, however the number was reduced to seven with the *Ardent*, having sprung a leak at Bluefields and the *Jafon*… detained for some other cause and later sailed alone. [Burke 1785:121-122]

Other ships that sailed in the fleet from Bluefields Bay included *Centaur, Glorieux, Caton, Pallas*, and *Canada* (Beatson 1804:496). For many years afterward, on April 12, people drank toasts in honor of Rodney (Wright 1937:90).

**Crop Diversification.** In addition to naval expeditions and markets, the diversity of crops grown in provision grounds increased because of naval expeditions, markets, and the botanical gardens. William Fawcett (1897:347), the director of the Colonial Botanical Department and Public Gardens and Plantations in Jamaica from 1887 to 1908, said j

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75 On August 22, 1782, while accompanying the convoy towards New York, storms at sea sink *Le Hector* (Burke 1785:121-122). Another account stated that after losing sight of the convoy, French ships *L’Aigle* and *La Gloire* attacked *Le Hector*, which later sank (Beatson 1804:497, 520-525). The *Caton* and *Pallas* took on water and sailed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the ships were repaired (Beatson 1804:525). The *Ramiflies, Ville de Paris, Centaur*, and *Glorieux* sank off the coast of Newfoundland after severe weather, dangerous seas, and a Central Atlantic hurricane on September 16-17, 1782 caused critical damage to the vessels, killing about 3,500 men (Beatson 1804:518, 526). Scottish writer Robert Beatson (1804:525) said that only the *Canada, Jafon*, and *Caton* reached England. Frenchman Dominic Serres (ca. 1782) and Englishman Robert Dodd (1783) created paintings of these events. Dodd’s painting, which depicts “the damaged merchantman *Lady Juliana* in the foreground, in tow of the frigate *Pallas*” (Rodger 2004:510). According to archaeologist Peter Flynn (2006:132) the *Pallas* later completed the voyage and in 1793, after being unable to anchor near Faial Island in the Azores, ran ashore in Calheta Harbor on *São Jorge* (Saint George’s Island). Others have likely mistaken *São Jorge* for *Saint George’s Island* in Bermuda (Berg and Berg 1991:50) or along the panhandle of Florida (Singer 1998:23).

76 Bluefields Bay maintained a military presence into the 1800s. The medical journals of the H. M. S. *Renard* recorded by Andrew Smith (1806) and those of the H. M. S. *Hunter* recorded by surgeon Guy Alexander Achison (1807), which mention that many sick were discharged or taken ill at Bluefields Bay, suggest the existence of some kind of naval hospital at Bluefields Bay.
ship in Rodney’s fleet, captured a French ship off the coast of Madagascar sailing from Mauri-
tius, an island east of Madagascar, to Haiti carrying a number of plants.\textsuperscript{77}

Having sailed as navigator and marine surveyor on Captain Cook’s third voyage to the South Seas, William Bligh, then a Lieutenant, was hired to bring breadfruit to Jamaica, but failed on his first attempt (Powell 1973:11) after the mutiny on the H. M. S. \textit{Bounty} in 1789. Cook saw that breadfruit (\textit{Artocarpus altilis}) supplied Tahiti and other islands with food all year, with nine months of fresh fruit and three months of a paste preserved in “leaf-lined holes in the ground” (Powell 1973:9-10). In 1793, Captain Bligh on the H. M. S. \textit{Providence}, accompanied by the H. M. S. \textit{Assistant} commanded by Lieutenant Nathaniel Portlock, introduced breadfruit, species of mangos, and several other plants from Tahiti to Jamaica (Powell 1973:10).\textsuperscript{78}

After depositing most of the plants at government and private botanical gardens in Jamaica, Bligh distributed the remainder to various regions of the island (Fawcett 1897:347), including Savanna-la-Mar and areas of Westmoreland (Powell 1973:27, 30). On June 5, the holiday celebrating the Queen’s birthday, the \textit{Providence} fired a 21-gun salute to Her Majesty before sailing to Bluefields Bay (Tobin 1793). The crew of the \textit{Providence}, upon reaching Bluefields Bay, “hauled seine in bay with launch and large cutter and filled water Casks” (Tobin 1793). Bligh took on beef, wood, water, fowls, hay bags, corn, and other things for his “Sea Store,” before sailing in the \textit{Providence}, along

\textsuperscript{77}The number of diverse species of mango allows for a yearlong growing season, reaching a height during mango season from May to July (Fawcett 1897:347). Another source said mango and breadfruit seasons are from June to August (Norton and Symanski 1975:472).

\textsuperscript{78}Tahiti has a similar climate, topography, and latitude opposite the Equator to Jamaica. Breadfruit bear no fertile seed and are propagated by suckers (Powell 1973:10)
with the *Assistant*, a “distressed ship” the *Roehampton*, His Majesty’s packet or mailing vessel *Antelope*, and two merchant ships, across the Atlantic to deliver plants to the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in London (Powell 1973:7, 37; Figure 10).  

Figure 10. Bluefields, Jamaica (Tobin 1811[1793]:84). Bluefields Great House (far left), Oristano Great House (left on hill), Bluefields Tavern (left by water), and likely slave village (middle).

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Coopers repaired casks on June 6. Tobin also mentions work for carpenters and spinning yarn (Tobin 1793). On June 10, the *Providence* received another turn of water per launch, on June 11, received water from a small cutter, and on June 13, received water again per launch (Tobin 1793). Tobin (1793) mentions receiving beef on three occasions: 285 pounds on June 8, 234 pounds on June 10, and 287 pounds on June 12 that was stored in the hold. Watercress (*Nasturtium* sp.), a semi-aquatic leafy vegetable native to Europe and Asia where it grew in rivers and springs, was gathered and served to the ships company on June 6 and June 10 (Tobin 1793). Other ships that anchored in Bluefields Bay to join the convoy to England included *William and Charlotte* from Savanna-la-Mar on June 7, *John of Scarborough* from Savanna-la-Mar on June 9, H. M. S. *Proserpine* from Port Royal on June 10, and H. M. Packet *Antelope* from Port Royal on June 11 (Tobin 1793). The convoy left on June 15 for England (Tobin 1793).
Diversification of food crops also expanded the supplies within the internal marketing system (Powell 1973:8). Much of the dispersal of seeds and knowledge came through the markets and experimentation with crops by farmers across Jamaica’s diverse landscape (Fawcett 1897:357). Although the growing season in Jamaica is yearlong with no winter to disrupt labor, farmers harvest different crops throughout the year, also varying from region to region due to the island’s diverse elevation, topography, and soil (Anderson 1851:32). The area surrounding Bluefields Bay also provides a diverse topography of varying elevations and soil types with some access to rivers and springs.

**Regulation.** Although slave owners allowed and even encouraged buying and selling among enslaved people, lawmakers enacted legislation in an effort to prevent enslaved people from monopolizing the markets. In 1711, laws allowed the sale of fruits and provisions but banned the sale of beef, mutton, salt fish, and manufactures except crafts such as ropes, pottery, and baskets (Mintz and Hall 1960:15). Legislation in 1735 required that enslaved people selling provisions such as fruits, fish, milk, and poultry have a ticket of approval from their owner or employer (Mintz and Hall 1960:15).

An article in the *Royal Gazette* written between February 27 and March 6, 1819 stated that ordinances in an Act of Legislature passed in 1791, restricting “hawking and peddling within the parishes of this island” by enslaved people, were enforced to prevent the black market trade of stolen goods (Simmonds 1987:35). In 1803, laws passed in the Court of Common Council of Kingston restricted the higglers to sell only produce grown on their own provision grounds, and in 1815, vending goods and provisions in the streets was banned (Simmonds 1987:37).

“Waywardens” were assigned to “make allotments of [enslaved people], carts,
and labour” along specific sections of road (Votes of the Assembly of Jamaica 1802[1751]:370). Wardens regulated movement between markets and kept order on roads by preventing mobs from forming and catching runaways. Bluefields Tavern likely served as a station between wardens assigned along the road from Bluefields to Cave or Parker’s Bay (Westmoreland Parish Council 1781).

Restrictions appear to have had little effect. Monk Lewis, an English writer who owned Cornwall Estate in Westmoreland and resided in Jamaica from January 1 to April 1, 1816 and January 24 to May 4, 1818, wrote, in a log of his travels, that enslaved people carried home from their provision grounds enough produce to eat for a week, or less if grounds were close by, so they would not be tempted to sell to “wandering higglers, or at Savanna la Mar, in exchange for spirits; and then, at the end of the week, they find themselves entirely unprovided with food, and come to beg a supply from the master’s storehouse” (Lewis 1999:xl, 55). Lewis also wrote that Savanna-la-Mar was “the best place in the island [to fish], both for variety and safety” (Lewis 1999:67).

Reverend Bickell (1825:66-67), writing in 1819, said that Jews, French, Spanish, free blacks, enslaved people, and servants illegally bought, sold, and bartered provisions, rum, gin, tobacco, salt, and dresses in Kingston markets on Sunday. By 1824, Alderman Mitchell of the Kingston Corporation looked to repeal laws restricting the sale of goods and marketing activity and “make legal what had become an accepted and prevalent activity of the urban slave economy” (Simmonds 1987:37). An 1829 article in the St. Jago Gazette suggested enslaved people regulated the price of provisions by monopolizing the supply (Simmonds 1987:36). Individually, however, higglers tried to have diverse stocks to prevent gluts at market (Mintz 1965:239). At a commission of the
English House of Commons on Extinction of Slavery in 1832, Captain Charles Handen Williams said the enslaved people of Jamaica also supplied all the markets in the West Indies (Bouverie-Pusey 1864:cclxxix-cclxxx). He also said that many enslaved people bought their freedom through marketing (Bouverie-Pusey 1864:cclxxx).

In the 1800s, Christian missionaries sought to change markets from Sunday to Saturday to observe the Christian Sabbath from sundown Saturday to sundown Sunday and to increase congregations (Simmonds 1987:37-38). Edward Long (1774, 2:492) thought Thursday might be a preferable market day to put Christians on equal footing with Jewish merchants who at the time profited from Sunday markets. On October 18, 1825, Colonel William Montagu, the Duke of Manchester and Governor of Jamaica (1808-1827), known as Governor Manchester, wrote that the best way to eliminate Sunday markets was to allow enslaved people to attend Saturday markets without restrictions (Williams 1952:2). In 1831, government officials promoted Saturday markets to reduce attendance at Sunday markets (Simmonds 1987:37). Marketing hours were extended to 9 p.m. or later to ensure that all business activities finished before Sunday (Simmonds 1987:34-37). In 1834, a notice issued by “the Peace Office in Spanish Town” stated that, after Emancipation day (August 1), no goods were to be sold on Sunday at markets (Simmonds 1987:38). Abolishing Sunday markets was among the only issues on which missionaries and proslavery supporters agreed (Mintz and Hall 1960:19).

**Holidays and Social Gatherings.** Market days were like holidays where enslaved people formed relationships and exchanged information and gossip, “forgetting their miseries in talk and laughter” (Wright 1937:229). Friends, family, and “week-end lovers” often looked for each other at market (Patterson 1973:229). There were also “a large
number of coloured and black belles… all dressed to kill…” in “…tawdry dresses” and new shoes (Patterson 1973: 229). In the afternoon, as selling finished, higglers hoisted baskets on their heads and began the journey home, squabbling, drinking, dancing, gambling, rioting, and fighting along the road (Simmonds 1987:38).

Slave masters thought that enslaved people with better diets, “a small source of income, and a feeling of proprietorship in land” through cultivating provision grounds were “less likely to run away” or start a rebellion (Mintz and Hall 1960:11). In addition to weekends, enslaved people received time off for holidays on Christmas, the day after Christmas known as Boxing Day, sometimes the day after Boxing Day, and New Year’s Day (Patterson 1973:236). Enslaved people were given time off at Easter, known also as “Pigganinny” or “pickaninny” Christmas,” which became an important market day (Sloane 1707, 1:lii; Gardner 1873:99). At noon on Christmas Eve, landowners and overseers released enslaved people and servants from normal duties and restrictions, such as the ban on night assemblies usually feared and carefully observed by whites. Enslaved people prepared for festivities by gathering produce from provision grounds and begging their owners for extra rations of cereals, beef, rum (Dirks 1975:194-195), salt fish, raw sugar (Simmonds 1987:38), plantains, and fruit, clothing, and a few coins (Bennett 1964:63). By the “latter half of the eighteenth century most masters gave allowances of salted meat and fish twice a year and clothing and other articles every Christmas” (Patterson 1973:222). Slave masters also bought shoes, clothes, and rum for indentured servants or free wage laborers (Bennett 1964:64).

In Jamaica, “the weekend before Christmas and particularly on Christmas Eve and

80 Jamaicans commonly use the term “pickaninny” or “pikney” to refer to children.
Christmas Day, markets all over the island were awash with vendors selling small toys, firecrackers, balloons,” peanut cakes also known as “pinda,” “peppermint sticks,” “sweets of all kinds,” oranges, “American apples” (*Malus domestica*), sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*) from Sudan in Africa, “chocolate tea,” and coffee (Tortello 2001b). The newly available goods amounted to a tremendous nutritional increment just before the holidays (Dirks 1975:198). On Christmas, markets had “streamers, large accordion-style bells, and balloons” (Tortello 2001b). People sang Christmas carols (Tortello 2001b). There was also “a merry banter between vendors and customers” (Tortello 2001b). Some wore “fancy clothes” and “bright hats” purchased in the so-called “Grand Market” (Tortello 2001b). People went to major towns for the Grand Market (Tortello 2001b).

“Celebrations lasted throughout the day and well into the night” (Tortello 2001b). Enslaved people from estates surrounding Bluefields Bay likely traveled to Savanna-la-Mar where a larger market crowd would be gathering.

As soon as people heard music from the John Canoe or Jonkonnu bands, they “poured out of their houses lining the streets to watch the dancing masqueraders” in their costumes parading around the island (Tortello 2001b). John Canoe blended the “tradition of masquerade from Africa with those of European masquerade” and English plays (Tortello 2001b). Enslaved people produced John Canoe masks (Patterson 1973:223).81

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81 Traditional John Canoe characters include a horned cow head, police officer, horse head, wild Indian, devil, belly-woman, a character wearing Maroon camouflage known as “pitchy-patchy,” and “a Bride and House Head who carried an image of a great house on his head” (Tortello 2001b). The costumes often featured the attire of European kings and queens (Tortello 2001b). “Each character had a special role and sometimes a special dance to perform” (e.g., “belly-woman,” usually a man dressed as a pregnant woman, “exaggerating the belly in time with the music”) (Tortello 2001b). “Characters often interacted with one another and the music of the drums and fife caused many an onlooker
“Actor-boys” performed dramatic performances, usually a scene from Shakespeare’s *Richard III* (Dirks 1975:195). White audiences customarily honored these visitors by giving them a few coins (Dirks 1975:195). Many gathered at dances or pageants often organized by enterprising enslaved women who charged a small admission fee (Dirks 1975:194-195). Every year, “set-girls” contested in beauty, grace, costume, and songs to become the queen (Dirks 1975:197). Set-girls wore stunning costumes and occasionally jewels loaned by their mistresses (Dirks 1975:197). As a symbol of authority, set-girls sometimes carried a whip covered with ribbons (Dirks 1975:197). Some went in rags the whole year to save for their costume (Dirks 1975:197). Set-girls went to grand balls in the homes of wealthy whites (Dirks 1975:197). Set-girls rose to prominence toward the end of the 1700s, at first appearing only at Christmas, but later also on New Year’s Day with the John Canoes and actor-boys (Dirks 1975:197). The portrayals of fighting and death by John Canoes and actor-boys and the heated quarreling of the set-girls, the boisterous invasions of white residents, and the satirical barbs tossed at planters all suggest ritualized aggression, patterned reversal, the ritual of rebellion, a rite of reversal, or a ritual event in which everyday patterns are turned “topsy-turvy” (Dirks 1975:194, 199).

On Boxing Day, markets took on the atmosphere of a fair with decorated booths displaying assortments of foods and fine apparel and featured a John Canoe dance (Patterson 1973:238-242). Dances held on New Year’s Eve and New Year’s Day had to dance along with the band” (Tortello 2001b). Long, writing in 1774, described men who dressed as John Canoes, wearing masks with boar and ox horns and carrying a wooden sword, “koo-koos,” with “koo-koo, koo-koo” being an imitation of the rumblings of a hungry belly, or actor boys wearing masks and carrying whips accompanied by fifes and drums, and traveling with set girls (Dirks 1975:195).

82 The name “set-girls” may derive from the term “set” used in square dancing.
John Canoes and set-girls (Patterson 1973:239). Easter, however, had no set-girls (Patterson 1973:242). Enslaved people who could afford to pay for food and musicians visited weeknight dances held by other enslaved people known as “Grandy Balls” (Patterson 1973:232). Nine-nights (Simpson 1957), the Crop-over or Harvest Home Festival, and the Yam Festival after the “big yam harvest in September,” which celebrated the great abundance of food available, were also important gatherings (Patterson 1973:236, 242).

Bluefields Tavern continued to be an important hangout into the nineteenth century. On February 1, 1816, Monk Lewis “reached a solitary tavern, called Blue-fields, where the horses rested for a couple of hours” (Lewis 1999:98).

Leaning against one of the pillars of its porch we found a young girl, who exactly answered George Colman’s description of Yarico, ‘quite brown, but extremely genteel, like a Wedgewood teapot’. She told us that she was a Spanish Creole, who had fled with her mother from the disputes between the royalists and independents in the island of Old Providence; and the owner of the tavern being a relation of the mother, he had permitted the fugitives to establish themselves in his garden-cottage, till the troubles of their own country should be over. She talked perfectly good English, for she said that there were many of that nation established in Providence. Her name was Antonietta. Her figure was light and elegant; her black eyes mild and bright; her countenance intelligent and good-humoured; and her teeth beautiful to perfection; altogether, Antonietta was by far the handsomest Creole that I have ever seen. [Lewis 1999:98]

Lewis later passed Bluefields Tavern on March 4, 1818 on his way to Saint Thomas (Lewis 1999:225). The Parish Council granted licenses for retailing brandy, gin, rum, and other distilled spirits for the accommodation of travelers at Bluefields Tavern to Thomas Williams on February 3, 1821 and Yate Jame Bailey on January 20, 1826 (Westmoreland Parish Council 1831:76, 130). A historic map shows Bluefields Tavern on a piece of land separate from the surrounding properties and shaded yellow, suggesting that the government owned the land (National Library of Jamaica n.d.b).
Novelist Michael Scott, who lived in Jamaica 1806-1817 and 1818-1822 and may have resided in Bluefields (Aarons 1983:4), published a painting by Clarkson Frederick Stanfield and engraved by E. Goodall in his 1834 work *Tom Cringle’s Log* depicting the H. M. S. *Torch* “lying at Anchor in Bluefields Bay” (Scott 1834:82, Figure 11). The painting shows what appears to be a mill, a large structure near the water, and a house on the hill (Scott 1834:82). The buildings may be at Waterwheel and Cave Shipping Place or the Old Wharf and Bluefields Tavern, and Oristana Great House or Shafston Great House on the hill. It could also be an image of the fort at Belmont Point. Wedenoja (personal communication, October 22, 2012) suggested that the painter may have used Tobin’s 1793 painting of the bay (1811[1793]:84; see Figure 10, page 72) rather than having actually been in Bluefields Bay and that the mill and some of the buildings may have been fabricated by Stanfield.
Figure 11. The *Torch* was lying at Anchor in Bluefields Bay (Scott 1834:82).
CHAPTER 4
THE POST-EMANCIPATION MARKET

Technological advancements at the end of the 1700s led to shifts in economic policies that favored European producers over those in Caribbean colonies. In 1747, Prussian chemist Andreas Sigismund Marggraf extracted sugar from root vegetables, particularly sea beet (\textit{Beta vulgaris}), since known as the sugar beet, domesticated in Europe as cattle feed (Ferguson 2008:118). Eric Eustace Williams, historian and first Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago (1956-1981), suggested that while the production costs of beet sugar were comparable to sugarcane, government subsidies allowed European producers to sell sugar below production costs and still earn a profit, a scheme known as the “bounty system” designed to destroy the sugarcane industry (Ferguson 2008:198). In 1807, in an attempt to stop English merchants and ports from supplying competing nations with enslaved people for the sugar industry, England legally banned the trade of enslaved people (Ferguson 2008:153). By 1829, sugar prices were so high that demand fell off (Ferguson 2008:160). Refiners and merchants began to call for an end to the Caribbean monopoly on sugar and slavery (Ferguson 2008:160-161).

Emancipation

Economist Adam Smith wrote in his 1776 \textit{Wealth of Nations} that labor performed by freedmen is less expensive than through slavery (Ferguson 2008:132). The anti-slavery movement supported the belief that free labor would also be more efficient (Green 1974:251). Eric Williams suggested that while slavery populated the New World
and provided the labor for capitalism to thrive, because enslaved people were poor consumers, capitalists preferred free trade and labor over monopolies and slavery (Ferguson 2008:152, 162). Economic anthropologist Eric Wolf (1982:77-78, 298) suggested that capitalism emerged as the dominant mode of production in the late 1700s as people gained control of the means of production and resources and restricted access to others. People who wanted access were hired as wage laborers, earning cash then used to purchase subsistence foodstuff and other necessary commodities and pay rent to those who controlled the means of production. Profits were kept high by keeping wages as low as biologically and socially feasible and increasing production by acquiring more resources and further restricting access (Wolf 1982:77-78).

An episode in the British Broadcasting Corporation’s historical mini-series The Fight Against Slavery: Free Paper Come suggests that as William Knibb and other missionaries converted enslaved people to Christianity, slaves began to think about being free, often discussing such ideas at the markets, particularly around Christmas time (Rolling 1975). Daddy Sharpe’s Rebellion, also known as the Jamaican Baptist War or Christmas Rebellion, began with the burning of the great house and sugarcane fields on Kensington Estate in Saint James Parish on December 27, 1831 (Tortello 2001a). The rebellion led by Samuel “Daddy” Sharpe burned other fields and estates in northwest Jamaica between Montego Bay and Falmouth until a militia put down the rebellion in the first week of January 1832 (Tortello 2001a). Sharpe was hung on May 23, 1832 (Tortello 2001a).

The actions of Daddy Sharpe and his rebellion, abolitionist sentiments, and the decline of the sugar industry contributed to the British Parliament’s passing the Slavery
Abolition Act on August 28, 1833, which became law, abolishing slavery throughout England’s colonial empire, on August 1, 1834. The act called for an eight-year transition period requiring enslaved people to work on estates as apprentices for a certain number of hours during the week without compensation, and then additional work as wage laborers, usually on weekends (Mintz and Hall 1960:20). Apprentices were often required to work on Saturday, depriving them of the opportunity to cultivate provision grounds and go to market (Sheridan 1965:308). England ended the apprenticeship system early on August 1, 1838, granting former enslaved people full emancipation as freedmen (Sheridan 1965:308).

**Freedmen.** Emancipation granted the freedman “the right to work or not to work, as he saw fit” (Sires 1940b:484). Although freedmen wage laborers were legally entitled to ‘allowances’ (e.g., food and clothing), many employers refused to provide laborers “the ‘indulgences’ of slavery” (e.g., consideration for nursing mothers, the elderly, and ill and providing water and food for fieldworkers) (Sires 1940b:486–487). Some laborers earned wages and paid rent while others received fewer wages and were provided with land and dwellings rent-free (Sires 1940b:491). Freedmen remained in their villages, purchased, rented, and squatted on ruined estates and government land, or moved to church-founded free villages organized by Christian missionaries on land that was donated or purchased (Erickson 1959:101), such as Beeston Spring. Churches

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83 Missionaries bought large plots of land where they established communities with schools, farms, and churches (Mintz 1958:49). In 1828, the Moravians established a church called New Carmel near Hopeton Estate along the road from New Market to Darliston. In 1835 or 1836, Moravians established a school in New Hope or Culloden near Parker’s Bay, followed by schools in Bigwoods, Brighton, and Belmont (Wright and White 1969:174; Curtin 2010:167). In 1860, Alfred B. Lind, a Moravian missionary in
established Sunday schools and sent missionaries to estates in rural areas where “the 
demands of field labour, market days and minding younger members of the family” prevented regular attendance at church (Gordon 1958:147).  

Many freedmen preferred working as fishermen, farmers, and higglers using skills and knowledge brought by enslaved people from Africa or learned in Jamaica. Many freedmen cultivated provision grounds for subsistence and sale at local markets just as they had done during slavery, rather than working as laborers for their former masters and bargaining for wages used to buy provisions, other necessities, and a few luxuries at market (Sires 1940b:490-491). An 1834 article in the St. Jago Gazette suggested the government made efforts to reinforce the abolition of Sunday markets and ban the sale of goods, wares, merchandise or produce on Sunday with the exemption of druggist shops, taverns, lodging, and the sale of fresh meat and milk (Simmonds 1987:37-38). The lack of freedmen willing to work for their former masters forced many estates to stop production and sell property at low prices (Ferguson 2008:174).  

New Hope, purchased Salem estate at Beeston Springs and founded a church free village in 1868 with a teachers cottage (Curtin 2010:172-173). Other churches along Bluefields Bay likely founded after Emancipation include Saint Thomas Anglican in Bluefields and Wesleyan Chapel in Mearnsville (United States Navy 1878).  

The first Salvation Army mission in the Caribbean was established at Retirement Estate in 1887 (Curtin 2010:206), before being moved to the Bluefields Post Office in 1888 (Phillips n.d.).  

On December 31, 1840, an act went into effect, declaring that only English currency was legal tender in Jamaica with the exception of gold bullion (Tortello 2003a). In 1846, Jamaica minted silver farthings valued at one quarter of a penny, and in 1869, copper-nickel pennies and half pennies (Tortello 2003a).  

Until the 1830s, land and enslaved labor were the essential factors in sugar production (Mintz and Hall 1960:3). Jamaica was outdated and inefficient in comparison to larger producers with more machines (Ferguson 2008:176). The decline of the Jamaican sugarcane industry provided opportunities for pens to expand production of logwood, pimento, other commodities, subsistence crops (Higman 1989:65, 75), and
Indentured Servants. To fill the void left by African Jamaican freedmen moving away from plantations after Emancipation, the Jamaican Government looked to India and China for laborers (Tortello 2003d)).

In 1845, 261 East Indian immigrants landed at Old Harbour Bay. Between then and 1921, over 36,000 immigrants from India arrived in Jamaica. Although Asian rice \textit{(Oryza sativa)} was imported from India to Jamaica as early as the 1820s, it was not cultivated in the island until after Emancipation, largely due to the arrival of indentured laborers from India (Higman 2012:68). By the 1890s, Indian immigrants had begun growing Asian rice in low lying moist and wet lands not suited for other crops (Shepherd 1994:128-130). East Indian indentured servants who settled in Westmoreland likely introduced rice to the area (Curtin 2010:205). East Indians also introduced curry, a blend of spices that often includes turmeric, red pepper, coriander \textit{(Coriandrum sativum)} known also as cilantro or Chinese parsley, cumin \textit{(Cuminum cyminum)}, fenugreek seeds \textit{(Trigonella foenum-graecum)}, mustard seed \textit{(Brassica sp.)}, and anise seed \textit{(Pimpinella anisum)} to Jamaica.

On July 30, 1854, 267 Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong came to Jamaica on the ship \textit{Epsom} (Tortello 2003c). Some of these indentured servants planted sweet potatoes and rice in Jamaica (Sires 1940a:228). In November 1854, 205 Chinese workers came from Panama to Jamaica on the ships \textit{Vampire} and \textit{Theresa Jane} (Tortello 2003c).

\footnote{From 1850 to 1851, a cholera outbreak throughout Westmoreland (Curtin 2010:156) from Black River to Montego Bay and Savanna-la-Mar caused further labor shortages (Walvin 1994:17).}

\footnote{In the 1880s, some African Jamaicans left Jamaica to work on railroads in Panama and the Panama Canal (Tortello 2003d).}
Three Chinese men who came from Panama opened grocery stores in Kingston (Tortello 2003c). In the 1860s, around 200 Chinese indentured servants working on sugarcane plantations in Trinidad and British Guiana came to Jamaica to work for farmers producing coconuts, bananas, and sugarcane. After their contracts expired, some continued working on plantations while others opened grocery stores (Tortello 2003c). In 1884, around 680 Chinese immigrants arrived in Kingston after a 67-day voyage from China (Tortello 2003c). Following 1885, around 700 Chinese immigrants came to Jamaica to fill the void created by the departure of African Jamaican and East Indian laborers from the plantations. In 1888, over 800 Chinese arrived in Jamaica (Tortello 2003c). Another group of Chinese came to Jamaica between 1900 and the 1940’s (Bryan 2004:15). By the 1930s, around 6,000 Chinese had arrived in Jamaica (Tortello 2003c).

The Chinese developed a network of retail and wholesale shops, credit, and goods between towns and villages in Jamaica, forming trading linkages and catering “to the needs of the peasantry and the small wage-earners” (Bohr 2004:53). Chinese grocery stores or “Chinaman’s Shops” became common in Jamaican towns and villages (Bohr 2004:52). By the 1930s, the Chinese had also opened laundries, restaurants, and bakeries (Tortello 2003c). The Chinese reinforced economic relationships and increased their role in the retail trade through kinship and ethnic ties, networking, extending credit, and importing goods (Bohr 2004:50-53). Many Chinese came to Jamaica to join relatives in the retail trade (Bohr 2004:53). It is because of Chinese importers that salt fish, salted meats, rice, cornmeal, and flour “became staples of the Jamaican diet” (Tortello 2003c).

From 1841 to 1867, liberated freedmen from Africa at Saint Helena and Sierra Leone came to the British West Indies (Green 1974:257). Wedenoja (personal
communication, September 3, 2012) said that Auldayr, a small community north of Bluefields, developed after Emancipation, primarily settled by people from Nigeria.

Many indentured servants became employed building railroads (Sires 1940a:226-227). However, reports sent home by immigrants discouraged mass immigration to Jamaica (Sires 1940a:235).

**Belmont.** While some freedmen preferred to cultivate for themselves and sell in markets, leaving many areas without laborers, estates surrounding Bluefields Bay may have maintained their labor force by providing land to rent, buy, or live on free in Belmont and nearby communities for freedmen and indentured servants willing to work as wage laborers. By the time Gosse arrived in Bluefields in 1844, Belmont had been “apportioned out in small… allotments, and cultivated in gardens” (Gosse 1851:87).

Eugene “Judge” Stephenson (interview, January 21, 22, 2011), a former Justice of the Peace born in the 1930s who once used wills and family documents to legally prove that his property in Belmont was owned by his great, great grandfather Robert James Stephenson, suggested that Belmont was sold in pieces to domestic servants named Ellison, Larson, and Stephenson who allowed freedmen to live on their land. Judge (interview, January 21, 2011) defines Belmont to include areas known as Creek, Blue Hole, Pitini Road, Black’s Bay, and Kasha Tree, the area around Kasha Tree Beach. Other areas of Belmont include Albert’s Land or Mango Walk, Brokedown, Brown Land, Gardner Land, Pitini, Scotland, Wall Corner Road, and Marl.\(^9\) Wolde Kristos (personal

\(^9\) A space between signs once a few yards or meters apart and on opposite sides of the road along route A-2 that read “now entering Bluefields” and “now entering Belmont” was locally referred to as “No Man’s Land” (‘Reggie’, personal
communication, June 3, 2009) believes that people from Belmont, Farm, Robin’s River, and Mount Airy worked on Mount Edgecombe plantation.

Throughout the Caribbean after Emancipation, many freedmen moved closer to the sea, where former enslaved fishermen taught them how to fish (Price 1966:1379). This movement likely occurred in Belmont, today predominantly a fishing village. The extent to which Belmont was a fishing village during slavery, however, remains in question.

Decline of the Old Wharf and Ports of Trade along Bluefields Bay

Although Lewis mentions visiting Bluefields Tavern in 1816 and the tavern received licenses to sell spirits in 1821 and 1826, the lack of any mention of trade at the Old Wharf or Bluefields Tavern by Gosse, who stayed at Bluefields House from 1844 to 1845, and Charles Joseph Galliari Rampini, who resided in Bluefields in 1871, suggest that ports of trade along Bluefields Bay declined by the mid-1840s. Savanna-la-Mar remained an important port where Gosse observed “clustered masts of the shipping at anchor” (1851:36). Despite continued production on pens and estates along Bluefields Bay, the ban on the trade of enslaved people in 1807, a declining labor force after Emancipation, the decline in demand for sugarcane from the Caribbean, and the vast network of higglers within the Jamaican Internal Marketing System appear to have made ports along Bluefields Bay unnecessary. Also, in 1861, during the American Civil War, American pirate and naval ships created a blockade cutting off shipping and imports of

communication, December 30, 2009). Therefore, locals cannot put Belmont in Bluefields or Bluefields in Belmont (Reggie, personal communication, December 30, 2009).
grain and salt fish from America to Jamaica and other Caribbean islands and raising food prices (Ferguson 2008:180).

After Emancipation, freedmen increased production of exports including pimento, beeswax, annatto, fustic, logwood, and honey (Mintz 1958:55). In 1887, demand for logwood increased for processing into a dye in English factories (Curtin 2010:200, 222). Bluefields Estate produced logwood in the late 1840s (Gosse 1851:40). Kristos (personal communication, June 3, 2009) said Mount Edgecombe produced sugarcane, pimento, and logwood. There is evidence of a lucrative logwood trade in Black River at the end of the 1800s (Wright and White 1969:175) and in 1897 logwood “was the most valuable export from the island” (Curtin 1991:19). However, such exports were likely concentrated at major ports of entry such as Savanna-la-Mar, Black River, Lucea, and Kingston (Dangerfield 1882). Some freedmen produced a logwood honey (Curtin 2010:222).

Pens and estates along Bluefields Bay that were able to maintain a labor force continued to produce some sugarcane and converted to other crops for subsistence and sale in domestic markets. Bluefields was a cattle pen, by 1845 in neglected condition, which kept a dozen acres of grass including Mexican horn-poppy (*Argemone*), the West Indian verrain (*Stachytarpha*), swallowwort (*Aclepiade*), and small *Passiflorae* in open pasture for livestock (Gosse 1851:39), such as hogs and cattle (National Library of Jamaica n.d.b).90 Shafston also operated as a pen and grazing farm (Gosse 1851:87).91

Gosse (1851:92), writing in 1844-1845, said that Grand Vale Estate cultivated

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90 Mangos were eaten by horses, cattle, pigs (Sires 1940b:492, 494-495), and goats congregating under trees for shade (Gosse 1851:87).
91 A map produced around the late 1800s shows a springhead and spring on Old Shafston, the property of Lawrence A. Tate (Harrison ca. 1890c).
sugarcane and processed it into sugar and rum. Coffee, grown on Content Estate, was harvested and dried in the sun before the beans were sold (Gosse 1851:93-94), also likely for export. A government survey of properties in Westmoreland in 1912 lists Bluefields, Grand Vale, Paradise, Petersville, Auchindown, Robin’s River, Shafston, New Hope (near Culloden), and Mount Edgecombe as wood producing cattle pens (Curtin 2010:211). New Hope also produced sugarcane (Curtin 2010:211). Mount Ricketts was a cattle and pimento pen (Curtin 2010:211). Shafston also produced pimento (Curtin 2010:211). Gosse said people who lived on a small plantation at the “brow” of Bluefields Mountain grew pimento (Gosse 1851:64).

**The Fishing Industry at Bluefields Bay during the Mid-to-Late 1800s**

Many freedmen living in Belmont and communities surrounding Bluefields Bay became full or part-time fishermen, mostly fishing inside the bay and using similar methods employed by enslaved people and the Taino. Gosse said that seine-nets were “the chief resource of the fisherman” (Gosse 1851:211). He said there are several places along Bluefields Bay “where the peculiarities of the beach and of the shoaling water” are ideal for shooting or hauling seine-nets, particularly at Belmont Fishing Beach and Cave Fishing Beach, “where a lofty spur… juts out… to the very edge of the sea” (Gosse 1851:211-212). Gosse said seine-nets used by Bluefields Bay fishermen caught a lot of

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93 Corks attached to seine-nets kept lines floating (Gosse 1847:365). Fishermen often used two canoes to haul seine-nets with one on each end of the net (Rampini 1873:169).

94 Another fishing techniques used by Bluefields Bay fishermen, called “palenka,” used multiple hooks on small lines connected to a main line and driven into the sea floor
fish, many of which were “of no esteem in the market” (1851:211).

Fishermen in canoes looked for large conch shells crawling on the bottom, including the great rosy-mouthed conch and more valuable helmets (Cassis sp.), and dove for them (Gosse 1851:59-60). Fishermen sold live shellfish such as “heavy-back” (Cassis Madagascariensis), “turtle-back” (Cassis tuberose), and Tritonium variegatum to Gosse for “about a shilling each” (Gosse 1851:57-60).

Rampini (1873:170), writing of 1869-1871, said fishermen hunted scarce manatees for their meat, which resembled pork and beef, and bones for tools and knife-handles. Fisher-folk prized manatees for a “little piece of very fine ivory in each ear” (Rampini 1873:170). About 13 manatees were seen between Black River and Savanna-la-Mar over a two-year period from 1871 to 1873 (Rampini 1873:170).

Some Bluefields Bay fishermen caught green turtles and placed them in enclosed fences or turtle “crawls” in shallow water near the beach to swim around before being transported to Savanna-la-Mar where they were sold to trading vessels (Rampini 1873:166). Rampini (1873:166) said turtles shipped to England starved for 19 days in steamships and seven weeks in sailing vessels, which resulted in the death of 60-80 percent of the turtles. Although it is said that the green turtle over 230 pounds tastes by heavy stakes with metal bells attached which could be heard by fishermen diving to find their lines (Rampini 1873:169). Fishermen also used hand nets, from the shore or wading in shallow waters of Bluefields Bay, and fish-pots, with a hole for fish to enter and baited with an orange (Rampini 1873:164, 170).

While in Bluefields in 1871, Rampini (1873:168) went to sea in the Indian Piragua, an 11-foot canoe made out of a single cottonwood tree, which could hold 16 men and with proper care last ten years.

In the 1930-1950s, fishermen in Belmont hunted manatees with harpoons, often while they were sleeping, and dragged them to the shore, but could only pull small ones inside their boats, as many were too heavy and could cause the boat or canoe to sink or tip over (Mr. Forrester, interview, June 2, 2008).
better, merchants were reluctant to purchase a turtle weighing over 120 pounds as they believed that “no mature fish would stand the starvation” (Rampini 1873:167). Fishermen only sold green turtles as food (Rampini 1873:167). Bluefields “fisher-folk” consumed hawksbill, mulatto or yellow, and Macongo turtles or used them to produce oil (Rampini 1873:167). Turtle steak, fin, liver, and eggs were, and still are, delicacies in various parts of the world (Rampini 1873:167).

During his travels in Bluefields, Rampini met a tortoise shell worker operating a small roadside store whose “stock-in-trade” consisted of a few dozen bottles of beer and a box of country cigars (1873:165). He had saws and files, “the instruments of his craft” (Rampini 1873:165). The worker said that of all the species of sea turtle known in Jamaica, the hawksbill turtle was the only one whose shell, particularly dark thick shells, was of any value and that a single shell weighing four or five pounds sold for eight to ten shillings a pound (Rampini 1873:165). Fishermen heated turtles over a fire, which caused the shell to come off while still alive (Rampini 1873:165). Shell workers washed the shells with water and ashes and polished them with charcoal and olive oil, after which the worker again heated the shell, allowing it to be molded (Rampini 1873:165-166).97

Bluefields Beach, 1845

On Saturday, February 1, 1845, Gosse observed over a hundred people, many of them women wearing flashy frocks or dresses with handkerchiefs and a white or colorful headdress, turban or cotta, arriving at Bluefields Beach, “some on horseback, some on

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97 The tortoise shell worker developed eye inflammation from dust created carving turtle shells (Rampini 1873:165-166).
foot carrying their own loads, others driving donkeys, and others by sea in canoes”
(1851:57-58; Figure 12). Bluefields Beach was a busy scene at sunrise, with three or four
canoes on the shore preparing to launch (Gosse 1851:57). People had trays and shallow
baskets of provisions and fruit on their head and heaps of yams, cocos, sweet potatoes,
plantains, pumpkins, oranges, sugarcane, and calabashes waiting to be loaded into canoes
(Gosse 1851:57). 98 People from Bluefields Estate may have gathered fruit from trees on
the property including avocado pears, guava, custard apples, limes, “sops,” and pawpaws
(Gosse 1851:40, 94). Children sat at the edge of the water “sucking cane or oranges” and
playing around as canoes launched into the sea (Gosse 1851:58).

Figure 12. Bluefields Beach (2009).

98 While traveling by horse and buggy in Bluefields, Rampini saw a girl carrying a
long bamboo canteen on her head, filled with water from a neighboring stream, which he
proclaimed was more useful than buckets and calabashes (Rampini 1873:173). Bamboo
came to Jamaica from Hispaniola in the 1700s (Rashford 1995:395).
After a two-hour paddle, Gosse found himself at Savanna-la-Mar market, “similar to the morning bustle on Bluefields Beach, but much livelier and more like a rustic fair” (1851:59). Higglers and storeowners sold cloths, linens, butter, pork, bread, and buns (Gosse 1851:60). One woman carried a tray of yam on her head to the market in Savanna-la-Mar and returned in the evening, rather than selling at Bluefields House for a higher price (Gosse 1851:57). People from Rotherwood, a coffee plantation near Bluefields Mountain, would gather provisions on Friday to carry to Savanna-la-Mar market on Saturday (Gosse 1851:132). Rampini (1873:173-174) later wrote that some people bought shoes made in Savanna-la-Mar.

**Markets in Jamaica after Emancipation**

Emancipation in 1838 ended restrictions on movement and changed the spatial structure of marketing throughout Jamaica (Norton and Symanski 1975:464). Increased access to land and resources granted to freedmen led to the growth of new markets (Mintz and Hall 1960:18). William Fawcett (1897:362) said botanical gardens in the mid to late 1800s further increased the diversity of crops available at market including the introduction of nutmeg (*Myristica* sp.) and cabbage (*Brassica oleracea var. capitata* L.). Coastal steamers, the railroad, and the post office transported plants from botanical gardens around the island (Fawcett 1897:356-357). Tangerine (*Citrus tangerina*), navel (*Citrus* sp.), Saint Michael’s (*Citrus* sp.), and mandarin (*Citrus reticulata*) oranges came to Jamaica in 1870, and Indian mangos (*Mangifera indica*) in 1869 (Fawcett 1897:350-351).

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99 Railways built through the interior of the island connected Kingston, Spanish Town, Old Harbour, Montego Bay, and Port Antonio (D’Invilliers 1850). Appleton also had a railway station (D’Invilliers 1850) used to export rum.
Freedmen also produced sugarcane, including around 60 varieties brought from Mauritius in 1872 and 1873, for personal consumption and to supply local markets with a poorly refined sugar (Sires 1940b:492, 494-495).

The locations of markets and availability of goods synchronized through rural and urban development patterns and changes in supply and demand (Norton and Symanski 1975:472). While some markets met two or three days a week, usually from Thursday to Saturday or on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and one-day markets were usually on or between Wednesday and Saturday, the marketing day for two-thirds of Jamaica’s markets is Friday or Saturday (Norton and Symanski 1975:472).

**The Old Belmont Markets**

The relatively high concentration of people living in Belmont, its central location along major roads between markets in Savanna-la-Mar, Whitehouse, and New Market, a community in the hills east of Belmont in Saint Elizabeth Parish, and communities surrounding Bluefields Bay, and large quantities of fish caught by local fishermen made the village an attractive market location. Three market periods and locations known as the “Old Belmont Markets” existed in Belmont from the early 1900s to mid-1980s: first at Kasha Tree Beach, then the Sand Beach Market at Belmont Fishing Beach, and last the market shed at Belmont Fishing Beach (Figures 13, 14). These beaches, like Bluefields Beach, likely had served as ports to Savanna-la-Mar in the 1800s.

Judge (interview, January 18, 21, 2011), a former fisherman who learned of the

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100 A late 1700s map labels Whitehouse (Edwards 1794). An 1850 map labels New Market in Saint Elizabeth Parish (D’Invillers 1850). Another historic map (Dangerfield 1882) shows “Newmarket or Chellingham” had a post office by 1882.
Figure 13. Bluefields Bay during the Old Belmont Markets, 1900-1980s.
Figure 14. Belmont during the Old Belmont Markets, 1900-1980s.
market at Kasha Tree Beach through oral traditions and played an active role during the Sand Beach Market and as an event organizer at the market shed, said people around Bluefields Bay bought and sold in Belmont on the main fishing days, Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. A small open-air market was kept on Wednesday and a big market Saturday morning at sunup. Farmers reaped crops on Friday and sold to higglers or carried their own produce to market on Saturday (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011). Some people came on Monday to buy fish and sell crops through previously established agreements, but not usually to sell publicly (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011).¹⁰¹

**Kasha Tree Beach Market.** By the early 1900s, it became common for fishermen and farmers to keep an open-air market along the beach at Kasha Tree Beach near Belmont Point (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011; Figure 15).¹⁰² Judge, a former fisherman who grew up across the road from Kasha Tree Beach where he currently lives, learned about the market from community elders and his family, including his mother, a higgl er from Lenox Bigwoods, and father, a farmer who chipped logwood on Bluefields Property in the 1930-1940s. Market activity at Kasha Tree Beach on Belmont Point was much as Gosse described at Bluefields Beach in the 1840s, but rather than as a port to Savanna-la-Mar, people came to buy and sell on the beach.

The name Kasha Tree comes from a type of tree, two of which were once on the beach, possibly cassow (*Prosopis Juliflora*) or cashew trees (*Anacardium Occidentale*)

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¹⁰¹ Anthropologist William Davenport (1956:96), who studied fishing villages in Negril and along the south coast east of Alligator Pond in Farquhar Beach from 1954 to 1955, said that on Tuesday and Friday fishermen often caught fish, conch, and lobster for household consumption and small fish that they fried as bait for later fishing trips.

¹⁰² Locals also referred to Belmont Point as Stephenson Rock, named after the former slave master who owned the property (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011).
(Fawcett 1891:1). More likely, the name derives from the carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) referred to as “kasha,” which anthropologist William Davenport (1956:120), writing of fishing villages in Jamaica from 1954 to 1955, observed was cut to make charcoal and carried to the beach to sell. People made walking sticks from the heart of the kasha tree (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). The name may also derive from an alternative pronunciation of the “cotta” headdress used to carry goods to market (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Also at Kasha Tree Beach were two almond trees (*Prunus dulcis* or *Prunus amygdalus* sp.), a buttonwood tree (*Conocarpus erectus*), and a sea grape or seaside grape tree (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011).

103 Rashford (1995:400) said Jamaicans also made bamboo walking sticks.
The remains of a limestone seawall built by the 1930s from a quarry on the Bluefields Property exists on the landside of route A-2 and opposite a wall built by 1989 referred to as the “Nelson Mandela Seawall” (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011). Judge (interview, January 18, 2011) said the sand on the beach extended further into the sea during the time of the market.

Activity at Kasha Tree Beach was already in decline when an earthquake caused the fort at Belmont Point to collapse in the early 1900s (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011), perhaps the earthquake which devastated Kingston in 1907. The market at Kasha Tree Beach completely vanished by the early 1920s as marketers moved activity to Belmont Fishing Beach, perhaps a preferred location that Gosse (1851:211-212) said was ideal for hauling seine-nets and located at the meeting point of route A-2 and Up Street or the Parochial Road to Saint Thomas (Harrison ca. 1890c).

Sand Beach Market. Belmont elders said that in the early 1900s, sisters Hilda and Mildred “Milly” Anglin purchased land on the south side of Creek along route A-2 from a man named Larson (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011) or Jameson (Judge, interview, February 2, 2011). Former fisherman Mr. Bingham said Milly Anglin, who married Earl Pinnock and later divorced, acquired land on the seaside of

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104 Belmont elders said there were often several accompanying canoes (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 2009; Judge, interview, January 18, 2011). Some nets used five canoes and 30-35 men (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 7, 2010). Seine-nets hauled over reefs created a shadow that drove fish into the net as fishermen dragged it towards the shore (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011). Seine-nets came in sizes from quarter inch holes to half or one inch. Fishermen preferred the smaller mesh because it caught more fish (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 13, 2011). Groups of fishermen pulled up seine-nets around fish in shallow water, often in breeding areas (Comitas 1962:38).

105 The Anglin family once owned Brighton (Harrison ca. 1890b). Mildred Anglin may actually be Margaret Anglin who celebrated her 100th birthday on March 9, 1980 (Jamaica Gleaner 1980).
route A-2 at Belmont Fishing Beach where people gathered under a large naseberry tree at what came to be known as the “Sand Beach Market” (interview, January 18, 2011; Figure 16). Activity at the Sand Beach market was much the same as at Kasha Tree Beach, but larger in number of marketers and quantity and diversity of goods.

![Image of Sand Beach Market](image)

Figure 16. Sand Beach Market at Belmont Fishing Beach (2011).

A 1927 article in the *Jamaica Gleaner* (1927a, Appendix C-1) confirms a market in Bluefields, likely referring to the Sand Beach Market. There was yam, yellow corn, pimento, a poor coffee crop, and dry and wet sugar sold at Bluefields Market on Monday, August 15, 1927 (Jamaica Gleaner 1927a, Appendix C-1). Fish were scarce at Bluefields Market on Saturday, November 26, 1927 as sellers carried large catches to sell at markets in Montego Bay and Lucea (Jamaica Gleaner 1927b, Appendix C-2). Breadfruit, tobacco,
shelled corn, coffee, beef, corned and fresh pork, bananas, plantains, Saint Vincent yam, avocado “pears,” logwood, sugar, and rice were also for sale (Jamaica Gleaner 1927b, Appendix C-2). Avocado, however, was scarce as it was out of season within two weeks (Jamaica Gleaner 1927b, Appendix C-2).

Other activities also occurred at Belmont Fishing Beach. On Thursday, March 5, 1930, there was a public auction for the sale of rough pitch pine lumber at Savanna-la-Mar and “Belmont Beach,” likely referring to Belmont Fishing Beach, and on Friday, March 6 at Whitehouse (Carvalho 1930).

After the market moved to Belmont Fishing Beach, the Pinnocks built the Old General Store near the naseberry tree to sell food and alcohol and provide shelter for marketers when it rained (Judge, interview, February 2, 2011; Figures 17, 18). The Pinnocks did not charge a market fee, as they profited from business the market brought to the store (Judge, interview, January 23, 2011). Earl, Milly, and Hilda operated the store and employed a few locals to clean including Mrs. Vie (interview, February 3, 2011).

Former fisherman Mr. Forrester (interview, January 14, 2010) said that certain coastal areas of Belmont were once wetlands abundant with rice fields when he moved there from Negril in the 1930s. He helped drain these mangrove swamps for housing development and other forms of agriculture, including sugar in the 1960s (Mr. Forrester, interview, May 28, 2009). Judge (interview, January 19, 2011) said there was a group of 30-40 women who sang while they swung big sticks to ensure they all went down at the same time while they beat or threshed the rice until the grains came off. They then fanned or winnowed the grains to remove the outer layer known as bran (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). There was also an Indian man in Belmont who had a machine for processing rice (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). Workers packaged rice in crocus bags (Judge, interview January 19, 2011). People produced rice in Belmont until the 1960s (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).

Comitas (1962:48), writing of 1958, reported only one or two areas where fishermen had replaced dugout canoes with plank launches built from imported American pitch pine and fitted over a Jamaican mahoe frame. Canoes remained the most used vessel on the southwest coast of Jamaica in 1958 (Comitas 1962:48).
Figure 17. Street Scene at Creek or Belmont Square (Wedenoja 2003a). “Marry’s Chicken n’ Style Restaurant and Bar” (the Old General Store) (orange roof on left), the new general store (known now as Mrs. Mac’s) (two-story building by red truck), Mr. Plinton’s store (two-story building at far right), Breadfruit Tree Pub (at far front right).

Figure 18. The Old General Store (2011).
'Oscar', who shopped at the store, said the Old General Store sold salt, “Giant” brand bread, crackers, butter, bicycle parts, and had a “rum bar” and restaurant that sold liquor, beer, and cooked food (interview, January 17, 2011). The store also sold a dense cake made with molasses, ginger, nutmeg, flour, and baking soda known as “bulla cake,” and homemade beef patties (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). The store wrapped spices, flour, cornmeal, chicken, and other goods weighed on scales in paper bags or put in containers brought by customers. Jamaicans, particularly “Rastas” or “Rastafarians,” used “Lion Pride” brand paper bags or separated the foil from the paper from the inside of cigarette boxes to roll or “build” cigarettes with marijuana (Cannabis sp.), known in Jamaica as “ganja” (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011).

Hilda Pinnock died having had no children and left her property to her sister Milly, who died and passed both properties to her son Clive Jones (Judge, interview, January 23, 2011). Buyers and sellers became worried that Clive might start charging market fees or deny people access to the market and petitioned the Westmoreland Parish Council to provide another market location (Judge, interview, January 23, 2011).


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108 Jamaicans also smoked using calabash gourds and bamboo stalks to produce a pipe, often filled with water, referred to as a “chalice. Marijuana, a sacred herb in the faith of many of the East Indians who called the herb “ganja,” arrived with indentured servants from India who came to Jamaica after Emancipation. Ganja became holy to many Jamaicans who believe the herb grows on the tomb of King Solomon. Some Jamaicans began to worship Prince Ras Tafari Makonnen, Haile Selassie I, the Emperor of Ethiopia (1930-1974), proclaimed as a direct descendant of King Solomon through the Queen of Sheba and her son Malek. Not long after Selassie’s only visit to Jamaica on April 23, 1966, he introduced the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Saint Raphael’s near Brown Land in Belmont was built sometime thereafter.
during World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945) revived demand for Caribbean sugarcane. However, German U-boats or submarines patrolling the Caribbean during World War II disrupted shipping, cutting off imports of wheat and salt fish, raising food prices, influencing people to grow their own foods and ration supplies, and causing gluts in markets of previously exported cash crops and commodities such as Jamaican bananas (Ferguson 2008:250). Halts to shipments of imported rice from Asia forced Jamaicans to eat more green bananas and cornmeal in their diets and influenced some farmers in Jamaica to cultivate rice crops (Higman 2012:68). External factors such as these, as well as the growth of markets around the island led the Westmoreland Parish Council to build market sheds and operate markets in communities throughout the parish. By 1941, the Council built sheds and operated markets in Savanna-la-Mar, Barham, Bethel Town, Darliston, Frome, Grange Hill, Little London, and Petersfield; by 1942 in Hartford and Whithorn; and in 1955 in Locust Tree (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:9, 99; 1957:236; Figure 19).

A report by the Sanitary Committee read at the Parish Council meeting on June 10, 1943 discussed plans to erect market sheds and latrines in Belmont and Whitehouse, and requested that Roland Whitelocke, owner of Bluefields Property and a Council member, lease the Council a spot in Belmont at a “pepper-corn rental” (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:137). On February 1, 1950, the Council Road and Works

109 In 1927, Fanny Anglin McNeil of Petersville created a will bequeathing to her nephew Roland Winston Bulstrode Whitelocke, her property at Bluefields, “with all live and dead stock thereon,” including the linen and crockery in her house and a diamond and ruby ring formerly owned by her late husband (Jamaica Gleaner 1927c). Whitelocke had a brown horse that he raced in sprints at Paradise and Shafston in the mid-1930s and rode a horse while overseeing the property (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). People
occasionally gambled and played cards at Bluefields Great House, known also as Bluefields Hotel and owned by Whitelocke (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011). Landowners also gathered on Friday evenings at Bluefields Tavern on their way home from Savanna-la-Mar and gambled “paybills” and pieces of land (Mrs. Hawthorn, interviewed by Wedenoja, June 13, 2009).
Committee stated that the matter of loans for markets in “Bluefields” and Whitehouse required communication with the government (Westmoreland Parish Council 1957:5).

On January 13, 1944, Archibald Campbell, owner of the Auchindown Property, terminated his tenancy of the marketplace at Whitehouse and offered to sell the land to the Parish Council for £60 and the sale was approved by the Colonial Secretary (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:182, 198). By May 3, 1955, the market shed had officially opened at Whitehouse (Westmoreland Parish Council 1957:236). The market was along route A-2 at Whitehouse Square where there is now a Hi-Lo grocery store (Oscar, personal communication, January 18, 2011). Anthropologist Lambros Comitas, who studied fishing in Whitehouse, Long Hill, Rocky Point, Duncans, and Lances Bay in 1958, said the market shed was “several hundred yards away” from the beach (1962:55). Whitehouse kept market on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday (Comitas 1962:54).

No evidence found confirms when or how the Council obtained the land across Belmont Bridge to the north side of Creek or whether the people bought and sold there before the market shed. While it is possible that the Parish Council forced Roland

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110 Hi-Lo was formerly known as Master’s Supermarket (Tortello 2003a). Supermarkets first appeared in the 1950s and mostly sold imported goods (Norton and Symanski 1975:473-474).

111 Belmont Bridge, at the intersection of route A-2, Blue Hole Road (Parish Council road 46), and Up Street (Parish Council road 49) (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 1982, 1991:94), was likely built in 1934 when the Clarke Bridge opened in Bluefields (Jamaica Gleaner 1934), though it is unclear whether the Clarke Bridge refers to the bridge over Bluefields River, Creek, or elsewhere. Before Belmont Bridge, people walked through Creek (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011). Gosse, writing of 1844-1845, said that Creek “crosses the road” (1851:50-51). The first bridge was one lane and curved (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011). Mr. Bingham (interview, January 18, 2011) said in the early 1960s a truck pulling a trailer with a tractor on it was driving along route A-2 and when people sitting on the bridge saw it coming, they moved away. As the truck made the slight turn to cross the single lane bridge, the tractor fell off to the right into Creek,
Whitelocke to sell or lease the land, Judge (interview, January 18, 2011) said that he donated the property to the Parish Council to secure a market location for people from Belmont, Mount Airy, and Brighton who worked on Bluefields Property. 112 Elders suggested that the market was still on the south side of Creek in 1955 (Clifton, personal communication, January 22, 2011). An article in the *Jamaica Gleaner* on November 16, 1957 suggests that the market shed north of Creek at Belmont Fishing Beach had opened by that time (Appendix C-3; Figure 20). A Council meeting on October 9, 1957 discussed plans to provide electricity to Belmont Market (Jamaica Gleaner 1957, Appendix C-3). 113 Judge (interview, February 2, 2011) said electricity came to Belmont residents along route A-2 after the Jamaica Public Service took over destroying part of the bridge (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). In 1972, Mr. Reed, a building contractor, received a contract to repair and widen the bridge (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011).

112 According to Mr. Geoffrey Whitelocke (personal communication, February 17, 2011), one night after dinner, while wearing a white suit, Roland Whitelocke was shot and killed on his porch. It is unclear, however, whether Whitelocke’s death was a murder or suicide. After Whitelocke died, after 1975 (Jamaica Gleaner 1975), his wife placed Bluefields Property under the care of Lester Calder and sold the property to a lawyer from Savanna-la-Mar Freddy Hamaty (Judge, interview, January 18, 21, 2011). However, when Hamaty, who had received a loan from a bank in Savanna-la-Mar, was unable to afford payments, he sold Bluefields in four pieces (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Bluefields Hotel went to Stafford Earl from Waterworks (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Oristano Great House went to Dr. Richard Johnson and his wife from New Orleans who lived in Brighton (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Ralston Ricketts bought the area currently under housing development at Bluefields Gardens. The fourth piece along Blue Hole Road and Pitini Road went to Calder for cattle grazing (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). An incident later occurred in which someone shot Dr. Johnson in the leg. Doctors in Jamaica wanted to amputate, but to seek better medical treatment he flew home to the United States, never to return (Mr. Whitelocke, personal communication, February 17, 2011). Dr. Johnson later sold the Oristano property at auction to William Feilding (Ross 1991a:36), an English aristocrat, artist, and first cousin to the Earl of Denbigh (Mr. Whitelocke, personal communication, February 17, 2011).

113 Black River was the first place in Jamaica to receive electricity in 1893 (Jamaica National Heritage Trust 2011b). Savanna-la-Mar and Petersfield markets received electricity shortly after April 2, 1952 (Westmoreland Parish Council 1953).
around 1964.\textsuperscript{114} Wedenoja (personal communication, January 25, 2011) heard that Belmont did not receive electricity until the 1970s or early 1980s, though many had electricity when he first visited in 1986.\textsuperscript{115}

Mr. Forrester (interview, June 22, 2009), a fisherman from Negril who moved to Belmont with his three fishermen brothers in the 1930s, said that the government hired Mr. Sangster, a contractor from Cave, to build a market shed. Belmont fishermen and other community members cleared the area at Creek and Belmont Fishing Beach for the shed (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 8, 2010). Mr. Bingham, a former fisherman and

\textsuperscript{114} Although the Jamaica Public Service operated in some areas of the island, nationalization did not occur until 1966 (Jamaica Public Service 2012).

\textsuperscript{115} Oscar (interview, January 17, 2011) said people thought those living along route A-2 were “rich” because they had electricity.
fish-pot maker from Belmont, remembers the building of the market. An approximately 43 by 50 foot (13 by 15 meters) concrete foundation was poured with structural steel posts or I-beams connected with screws and bolts to the concrete and zinc or tin roof, machine punched and fastened with screws, bolts, and washers, not nails (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). Materials for the market shed came from Kingston (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). The shed had a thatch and bark shingle covered zinc roof with walls of wattle or wooden board and daub or plaster, likely gypsum or plaster-of-Paris (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). The shed later had plywood and bamboo walls. Mr. Bingham (interview, January 18, 2011) said the government also built two pit latrines or toilet stalls, which flushed.

Market Fees. Katzin, writing of Coronation Market in Kingston from 1956 to 1957, said that when a higgler entered the market, two separate clerks checked her goods or “load” to prevent favoritism and bribery between clerks and higglers (1959:16). A higgler could leave her goods with the gate clerk to check market prices before

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116 Bamboo was often used as a façade or decorative element (Rashford 1995:395, 400-401).

117 In 1928, the Westmoreland Parish Council discussed using “Belmont Spring” (likely referring to Blue Hole Spring), Bluefields River, Beeston Spring, and other springs, rivers, wells, and reservoirs (Westmoreland Parish Council 1928:90). In 1950, the Parish Council installed a 500-gallon water tank and chlorinating plant in Bluefields, likely along Bluefields River (Westmoreland Parish Council 1957:3, 6). Belmont was connected to the water supply between April 4, 1951 and June 6, 1952 and a standpipe was erected (Westmoreland Parish Council 1957:93, 101), likely on Up Street outside Aaron Tate’s land. The pipe ran mostly at night and it was rare for it to run during the day (Oscar, personal communication, January 18, 2011). In 1953, Belmont received a fire hydrant (Westmoreland Parish Council 1957:138, 143), likely near Creek at the intersection of route A-2, Blue Hole Road, and Up Street. Many areas of Westmoreland first received piped water during the 1940-1950s (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:300). Pipes supplied schools, churches, and markets with water for drinking, cooking, cleaning, and flushing toilets.
committing to selling there (Katzin 1959:16). Within the market, “cart-men” transported goods for a fee about the same as the market gate-price (Katzin 1959:21). A higgler’s earnings had to cover costs of transportation, interest on loans at around five percent for three days, market gate fees at about five percent of sales (Mintz 1965:241), meals for them and their children, and packaging materials (Witter 1989:9).

In Savanna-la-Mar, until May 31, 1945, higglers were required to pay market fees at the rate of 6 pence per week and apply for licenses from the Council (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:280). By 1941, the Parish Council hired a ticket clerk, assistant ticket clerk who kept records, “porter” or maintenance worker who served as the gatekeeper, and latrine caretaker at Savanna-la-Mar market (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:11). In 1942, the clerk at Frome market received 18 shillings (18s or 18/-) per week and the ticket clerk 7 shillings (7s or 7/-) (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:60).

In Belmont, sellers entering the market paid a fee to the “inspector” or “market-man,” local names for the ticket clerk, a man from Belmont whose cousin Mrs. Mavis sold in the market, but there was no real physical gate (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). The market-man would look on the amount of goods someone had and write them a slip with how much they owed to get in the gate (Mr. Bingham, interviewed January 18, 2011). Judge (interview, January 19, 2011) said the ticket clerk charged higglers between 10 and 18 pence at the Belmont market shed. There was an inspector’s office for market employees, which also served as a local parish council office and public works department, likely at what is now a concrete block factory on the corner of A-2 and the intersection of Blue Hole Road and Up Street (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011). Mrs.
Netta (interview, February 14, 2011), who started selling in Sand Beach market at the age of 21 after marrying a fisherman from Belmont where she then moved, said the office was built by Mos Norman, brother of the Anglin sisters.

Belmont had a big market with over 200 people buying and selling on Saturday (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). People sold goods from stalls inside the shed and on donkeys and carts, under tarps, or on cloths on the sand or grass under trees outside the shed. Seven or more higglers tied up donkeys along the landside of the road to eat bush (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011) at what might be considered a “donkey park” (Norton and Symanski 1975:468). Many selling at Belmont did not agree with and avoided paying market fees because the crowded market would spill out from under the shed where there was little cover from sun (Mr. Forrester, interview, June 22, 2009). Fishermen selling from boats and canoes on Belmont Fishing Beach never paid a market fee (Mr. Forrester, interview, June 22, 2009). Mrs. Netta (interview, January 17, 2011) and others continued selling under the naseberry tree south of Creek as they had during the Sand Beach Market.

The Parish Council defined market limits by roads, not the shed, grounds, or area surrounding the market, and prevented people from selling outside the shed without paying the fee (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:53, 280). However, unless the market was important, its “limits” or boundaries were not likely “gazetted” or published in the

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118 Rashford said, “In the Papine market in Kingston, bamboo poles and the material from burlap bags and plastic bags are used to make tents that shelter sellers who, without a place in the market, spill out onto the parking area, walkways and roadsides (1995:400). Sellers made bamboo tripods to hang scales for weighing produce (Rashford 1995:400). Sellers also erected bamboo stands and booths at markets, events, sports, weddings, fairs, parties, school activities (Rashford 1995:400).
Jamaica Gazette, a government newsletter published in the Jamaica Gleaner (Smith 1956:297).


Mrs. Norma and Mrs. Mavis from Belmont were hired as cleaners by the Parish Council and paid every month (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). Mrs. Mavis cleaned the market with a thatch and coconut shell or “bone” broom (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011).

Local Businesses. At or around the same time as the market shed, the government built the fishermen a group store and a gear shed next to the market shed north of Creek at Belmont Fishing Beach (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). The group store may have opened as early as 1955 when the Whitehouse Fishing Cooperative became

119 The remains of a trash dumpster burned around 2008 are along Creek near the intersection of Blue Hole Road and Up Street.
among the first registered fishing societies in Westmoreland (Comitas 1962:107). By 1957, registered fishing societies formed in Negril and Cave, and organized fishing groups in Savanna-la-Mar, Culloden, and Bluefields (Comitas 1962:322). Steven Brown ran the fisher’s group store, which sold nylon thread, fishing line, hooks, pot wire, thatch rope, and other fishing gear acquired from the Fisheries Division in Kingston (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).\(^\text{120}\) The group store was successful and provided fishermen with many goods previously acquired in Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Kingston. The group store had a simple door so anyone could have stolen from it, but never did (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). There may have also been a “China shop” at Creek which sold wholesale quantities of imported “China goods” (Donielle, personal communication, January 18, 2011), particularly cloth (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011).

In the late 1950s or early 1960s, Clive Jones and an American man from New Orleans living in Brighton named Dr. Richard Johnson built a two-story building with a general store and a rum bar south of Creek on the land side of A-2, now known as Mrs. Mac’s (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). A man and woman who came by truck from Manchester often stored yellow yams and sweet potatoes in the upstairs of the general store on Friday and sold in the market on Saturday (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). Mr. Plinton was the first person to rent the building and ran a small general or grocery store (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). Mr. Plinton later built his own store next-door on land he purchased, which Randall used to clean every morning when he was

\(^\text{120}\) Comitas (1962:110), writing of 1958, said trucks around Jamaica also sold imported rope to fishermen, particularly strong and durable Cayman rope.
younger (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). Mos Joe’s Breadfruit Tree Pub, a restaurant that serves food and alcohol, also opened at this time. The Old General Store also continued in operation. Belmont storeowners bought wholesale in Kingston, if possible, or Savanna-la-Mar (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011).

**Activity at the Old Belmont Markets.** Anthropologist Margaret Katzin (1959) identified several types of higglers operating in Coronation Market in Kingston from 1956 to 1957. A country higgler, usually a woman, buys from farmers in her district of residence in the early part of the week and takes what she has gathered to market on Wednesday or Thursday to sell wholesale and retail on those days and during larger markets on Friday or Saturday (Katzin 1960:341; Norton and Symanski 1975:471-472). There are also country people who sell produce grown by themselves or someone in their own household (Katzin 1960:341). Town higglers, who live in market towns and rent a stall at the market shed, buy produce from country higglers during markets and at wholesale markets when nearby markets are closed (Katzin 1960:341; Norton and Symanski 1975:471-472). Katzin also identified vendors as town higglers who specialize in one item and tray girls “who carry their total stock on a tray or flat basket” (1960:341).

Markets in Belmont had several types of entrepreneurs who operated in a variety of economic activities. Country farmers cultivated in the hills surrounding Bluefields Bay and carried their own produce to sell at market in Belmont or sold to country higglers who then carried the produce to sell at market in Belmont. Country higglers, some of whom also sold some of their own surplus subsistence crops, particularly fruit from trees, then sold to town higglers from Belmont, to other country higglers from other towns, and to general consumers from Belmont and other nearby communities. Town higglers from
Belmont sold goods purchased from country higglers and surplus subsistence crops, mostly fruit from trees on family land. A type of town higgler, the fishmonger bought fish from fishermen and sold to country higglers, other town higglers, and consumers at market in Belmont and other towns and communities. Town higglers also bought fish and other produce, used their own subsistence crops or unsold fresh surplus provisions, and cooked food for sale at the market in Belmont. While markets in Belmont, compared to other larger markets (e.g., in Savanna-la-Mar and Kingston), had many fewer people buying and selling, because of the vast network of higglers and other entrepreneurs within the Jamaican Internal Marketing System, the diversity of goods was likely much the same.

The following is a description of activity at the Old Belmont Markets, with firsthand accounts limited to the Sand Beach Market and after the construction of the market shed. Activities are described by Judge, who heard of activity at Kasha Tree Beach, went to the Sand Beach Market as a child, and played an important role in the activities at the market shed; Mr. Forrester, a fisherman from Negril who moved to Belmont in the 1930s and sold during both market periods at Belmont Fishing Beach; Mr. Bingham, a Belmont fisherman also active during both market periods at Belmont Fishing Beach; Mrs. Netta, from Auldayr who sold in Auldayr before she married a fisherman from Belmont where she moved and sold during both market periods at Belmont Fishing Beach, though always under the naseberry tree and never at the market shed; and Oscar, Randall, and Clifton, who as children started going to the Sand Beach Market just before the construction of the market shed.

Ice. Parents sent their kids to Creek early in the morning with money to buy ice
from a man who drove a truck from the ice factory at Waterworks that existed by 1912. From a man who drove a truck from the ice factory at Waterworks that existed by 1912.\footnote{A 1912 survey of government properties in Westmoreland mentions an ice factory at Waterworks on a property of 850 acres owned by T. M. DePass (Curtin 2010:210-211).}

Kids played marbles, “football” or soccer, and cricket on the beach while they waited for the truck.\footnote{Rashford (1995:400) said Jamaicans made bamboo football goal posts.} Randall, an informal wage laborer who finds work as a farmhand and construction worker, and Clifton, a former fisherman and bar owner, said as children they played a ball-game called “Big Season,” using a lime, guava, or other fruit as a ball and a ring and a line drawn in the sand (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011).

Oscar (interview January 17, 2011), a painter and gardener who as a child went to the Sand Beach Market and later the market after the shed was built, said children played cricket there while waiting for the ice truck early in the morning.\footnote{The English introduced cricket in the 1800s (Ferguson 2008:335).} They would hit or “beat” an empty Nutriment milk tin can until it was round like a ball, and throw it to a batter who struck the can with a two-by-four (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). “It would cut you up so you had to be good to hit it” (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011).

Kids pooled their money to buy larger pieces of ice at a better rate. The kids then broke the ice among them and redistributed the spare change or spent it on bulla cake, also shared among them (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). Sellers used ice to preserve fish and meats, make candy and treats, and keep drinks cold. Fishermen used ice to prevent fish from spoiling at sea. Fishermen also gathered water to drink, and bought “bun and cheese,” a sandwich with a sugary spice bun, made from flour, brown sugar, cinnamon, nutmeg, and allspice, and served with cheese, butter, and milk, particularly popular at Easter and Christmas, or bulla cake to take to sea (Judge, interview, January 17, 2011).
Older boys carried fish in baskets full of ice on bicycles or the back of trucks to markets in Savanna-la-Mar and Montego Bay, sold to higglers there, and came back the same day (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). People transporting fish in pick-up trucks also used ice to preserve fish (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).

Fish Market. People, mostly from Belmont, who bought and sold fish, known as fishmongers, came to buy fish from fishermen returning at dawn from morning seine-netting or night fishing (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Some wives of fishermen sold their husband’s catch. Fishermen also sold their catch to consumers from their canoes on the beach or from the dock at Belmont Fishing Beach (Figure 21). Some fishmongers and higglers from other communities came to buy fish in Belmont and resell in Savanna-la-Mar or scale and salt at market for resale in nearby communities such as Mount Airy, Robin’s River, Beeston Spring, and New Works (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011). Salt fish was more expensive due to the time and materials required to produce it (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Salt fish could be preserved for two or three days but it was also more difficult to sell because most wanted fresh fish or preferred to salt it themselves (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Salting and pickling, however, were important for food preservation in the absence of refrigeration and ice.

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124 Comitas (1962:55), writing of 1958, said people walked out from the beach at Whitehouse to approach boats and canoes and ensure themselves a portion of the catch. Comitas also said that night fishermen used “ballahoo” lanterns to attract fish and employed line fishing (1962:34). Two-man night crews rowed, in boats usually around 18 feet, with paddles and oars (Comitas 1962:47). Fishermen, who did not use reels or poles due to unavailability and expense, often tied multiple lines around their fingers, toes, and parts of the boat.

125 Higglers often financed their operations through capital borrowed from their husband’s wage labor or fishing (Mintz 1965:239).

126 There is an abundance of docks and jetties scattered along the coast of Bluefields Bay, including at Belmont Fishing Beach (National Land Agency of Jamaica 1972).
People also came in trucks and cars nearly every day except Sunday hoping to buy large quantities of fish, particularly goggle-eye and dolphin-fish to resell in Dias, Frome, Grange Hill, Hanover parish, Lucea, Montego Bay, and Savanna-la-Mar (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 8, 2010). One time, Mr. Forrester, a fisherman who learned “farming on the land and farming on the sea” from his father and preferred such work over wage labor, caught ten truckloads of fish trolling with seine-nets (interview, February 22, 2009, January 8, 2010). He (interview, May 28, 2009) said fishermen would call other fishermen to a spot where fish were abundant. They placed a stick in the ground to hold the net in the water and keep fish fresh (Mr. Forrester, interview, February 22, 2009). Fishermen caught “hundreds and thousands of pounds” of small fish of no use, which spoiled on the beach or were consumed by John-Crow turkey vultures (*Cathartes aura*) and crabs (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011). Fishermen sometimes took large
catches directly to Savanna-la-Mar where they bought flour, rice, and other goods grown by farmers in surrounding communities. Mr. Forrester (interview, January 7, 2010) saw a fisherman take a 28-foot boat filled with fish to Savanna-la-Mar. People from Content and Rose Spring also came to Belmont Fishing Beach to buy fish on Wednesday (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).

During the “Crab March” or “Crab Walk,” when land-crabs bred and went to wash off in the sea, people from coastal areas and rural country districts caught crabs with burlap bags in ditches, sewers, drainage pipes, and bromeliad plants (*Bromeliaceae* sp.) such as pineapple, and carried them home for consumption or sale (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011). Crab caught during this time was cheap because most who wanted it gathered it themselves (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011). Queen crab was the most expensive (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011).

Fish sold in Jamaican markets likely included horse-eye Carvallhy or Crevalle jack or jackfish (*Caranx hippos*), the oldwife or black oldwife fish (*Balistes ringens*), and

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127 After World War II, domestic rice growing in Jamaica declined as cheaper American crops began to dominate the supply (Higman 2012:68). Banana exports resumed after World War II (Ferguson 2008:282).

128 When the market was at its height, there were only two or three boats with engines in Belmont (Wedderburn, interview, March 29, 2011). Fishermen began to build dugout canoes with a blunt end for an outboard motor (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011). The increase in number of fishing vessels with outboard motors increased the need for storage facilities, including the gear shed built at Belmont Fishing Beach at or around the same time as the market shed. Engines allowed more fishermen access to offshore fishing grounds at New Bank, Blossom Bank, Walton Bank, and Pedro Bank. Most, however, continued to use canoes and paddles. On February 24, 1965, three Belmont fishermen in a 30-foot vessel with an outboard motor ran out of gas near Walton Bank and paddled to shore (Jamaica Gleaner 1965).

129 Judge (interview, January 21, 2011) said fishermen from the Cayman Islands came to Bluefields Bay to fish, catch turtle, and gather conch, mostly for shells to be sold to tourists in markets back home.
parrotfish (Scaridae sp.) (Rampini 1873:171), goggle-eye sprat (Harengula pensacclae caribaea), kingfish or king mackerel (Scomberomorus cavalla) (Comitas 1962:130), mackerel (Lactophrys sp.), grunt (Haemulon bonariense and Pomadisits ramosus), yellowtail and amber-jack (Lutianus sp.), butterfish (Celphalopholis fulvus), doctor-fish or dolphin-fish (Acanthurus sp.), bonito or tuna (Euthynmus alletteratus), snapper (Epiniphelus sp.), grouper (Mycteroperca sp.), garfish (Belone belone), and barracuda (Sphyraena sp.). While fishermen caught other seafood such as spiny lobster (Palinurus sp.), crab, crayfish, conch, octopus or sea-pus (Octopoda sp.), mudfish, and mullet for subsistence or sport, or unintentionally, they were not often sold at market. Fishermen also occasionally caught sharks and marlins, but rarely sold them at market.

Country Farmers and Higglers. On their way to Belmont, people drove or rode on donkeys, mules, and horses with boxes and thatch baskets handmade from pimento leaves or a cart with two wheels to sit on, or walked barefoot, perhaps with a walking stick, carrying baskets full of produce on their heads supported by a cotta cloth (Judge, 1911).

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130 Judge (interview, January 19, 2011) said people caught mudfish with pots or hands and cleaned, scaled, corned, dried, and salted them like salt fish. Some caught black mountain crayfish and river mullet in Blue Hole Spring and Bluefields River with bamboo baskets (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). Fishermen fried or roasted small fish and crab and lobster caught in small fish-pots on the beach and used them as bait in larger fish-pots (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). Some waited for fish to lay their eggs in mangroves and then caught them heading back out to sea (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). People gathered shellfish from mangroves and turtle eggs from beaches by poking a stick in the ground until striking a yolk. Some gathered bird eggs from trees and ground-nests (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011), particularly four endemic species. Ground-nesting birds have since become extinct, mostly due to overkill by the mongoose (Herpestidae) introduced in 1872 to kill snakes and rats, which along with the brown rat likely contributed to the extinction of the Jamaican rice rat. They also likely depleted populations of hutia, small iguanas, and turtles by eating their eggs.

131 Mr. Forrester sometimes tied a dead cow to an anchor to attract sharks and used spear guns to “lick” or shoot them (interview, June 2, 2009). He said it once took him three hours to reel in a 365-pound marlin (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 7, 2010).
interview, January 21, 2011). Higglers came down Up Street, along route A-2, and often used a shortcut across Bluefields Property to reach the market in Belmont (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Higglers and farmers came to Belmont from communities surrounding Bluefields Bay, including Bunion, Lenox Bigwoods, Auldayr, Beeston Spring, Bigwoods, Billion Bigwood, Bog, Bogne, Brighton, Cave, Cave Mountain, Charmin, Content, Cottage, Culloden, Darliston, Farm, Grand Vale, Hanover, Kentucky, Long Hill, MacAlpine, Mearnsville, Mount Airy, Mount Edgecombe, New Works, Petersville, Pinnock Wood, Retirement, Robin’s River, Rose Bank, Rose Spring, Saint Thomas, Shafston, and Whitehouse (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 7, 2010; Mr. Bingham, interview, January 13, 2011; Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).

Before a Council meeting on January 13, 1944, an officer of the roads and works department surveyed Bluefields Property and “pegged off portions thereof with a view of improving or constructing a new road through the property” (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:181). Judge (interview, January 19, 2011) said there was a shortcut to Brighton and Bluefields School near an ackee field. One day a group was using the path, but when they saw Roland Whitelocke, everyone got scared, turned back, and ran away. Judge, however, did not run and Whitelocke gave him a piece of fruit for his bravery.

One time Captain John was walking from Brighton to Belmont through the path when Whitelocke saw him and shouted, “Turn back!” Captain John looked at him and turned back to Belmont. Another time Captain John was walking from Belmont to Brighton when Whitelocke saw him and shouted, “Turn back!” Captain John looked at him and turned back to Brighton. Later, when Captain John was walking through from Brighton to Belmont, Whitelocke called to him, “Brighton you come from,” to which Captain John asked, “Who told you?” Whitelocke replied, “John Brown told me,” to which Captain John replied, “That son of a bitch” (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). After Whitelocke died, Calder, who took over the property, “ruled like a Caesar,” trying to lock up people who crossed his land and shooting goats found grazing on his land (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).

Higglers rely on family members, usually teenage daughters, to help carry goods and sell at market, often preventing them from receiving formal education in school, but teaching them the market (Durant-Gonzalez 1985:112-113). Even children who did not regularly attend markets helped their mothers sell on holidays and time off school (Durant-Gonzalez 1985:113). Higglers were active in recruiting and training others despite competition that might arise (Durant-Gonzalez 1985:103, 109). Younger higglers
‘Donielle’ (interview, January 12, 2011), who went to the market shed as a child, said Galgal, a country farmer from the hills, cultivated for herself and came to sell. Old Man Massai from Rose Bank and Mrs. Nay and her husband from Content were country farmers who planted their own subsistence and cash crops and carried them down to the market on a donkey (Donielle, interview, January 12, 2011). A man from the hills carried beef that he sold by the pound from his mule (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 13, 2011). Kathryn Ford from Saint Thomas grated and boiled coconut oil, which she sold by the pint or liter from a mule and cart in Belmont and Savanna-la-Mar (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).

Among the higglers who tied up their donkeys and sold across the road from the shed was Mrs. Gene from Rose Bank, who gathered her own surplus produce and bought from or sold for farmers in her community (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Also in this area was Mrs. Lerlene, who drove a mule from Bunion, gathered surplus subsistence crops grown by her family and also bought from or sold for farmers in her community (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 7, 2010). Donielle (interview, January 12, 2011) said Mrs. Lerlene, who she believed came from Darliston, sold cabbage, onion (*Allium* sp.), carrot (*Daucos carota*), Irish potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) (introduced in the early 1900s), and tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) by the pound and thyme (*Thymus* sp.) and scallion (*Allium* sp.) by the bundle. They stored goods in a wooden stall across from the market shed on the landside of route A-2 (Donielle, interview, January 12, 2011).

Many farmers in the hills surrounding Bluefields Bay who did not carry goods to developed respect for elders who offered information and advice (Durant-Gonzalez 1985:110).
sell at market sold to country higglers. Country higglers bought coco, dasheen, potato, yam, and breadfruit from farmers and carried them to sell at market (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Country higglers from Beeston Spring brought yam, banana, and breadfruit from farmers to sell at market (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Though most higglers were women, Mrs. Netta said “basket-men” would walk or come in pick-up trucks to sell produce and household goods (interview, January 17, 2011). Mrs. Chelsea (interview, January 27, 2011) from Belmont bought wholesale from locals and resold in Savanna-la-Mar and Whitehouse. Country higglers also bought in Belmont on Saturday and sold in Mandeville market on Sunday (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 17, 2011).

Large trucks carried higglers from other markets, including Mandeville and Coronation Market in Kingston, to sell domestic produce, household goods, and imports brought into the island through Kingston’s wharves and by higglers who carried goods from overseas (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 7, 2010). The town of Christiana in Manchester Parish supplies produce to many markets including Mandeville and Coronation Market, the largest market in Jamaica and wholesale distribution center for markets around the island. Mrs. Netta (interview, January 17, 2011) said higglers from Kingston came in trucks and sold ripe bananas, coconuts, clothes, and shoes. Some higglers from Kingston came in trucks to buy eggs, fowl, yam, and breadfruit to resell in other markets (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 8, 2010). A husband and wife from

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134 Jamaican economists Michael Witter and Claremont Kirton (1990:13) refer to people who carry foreign goods into Jamaica as informal commercial importers.
135 Katzin (1960:350), writing about country higglers traveling to Coronation Market in Kingston in 1956-1957, said higglers often discussed prices and other market information at truck stops before heading to market and in rum bars at night. Higglers
Mandeville and Manchester came in a pick-up truck to sell yam and potato and buy breadfruit and fish (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 8, 2010). Another couple came by bus from Frome and sold imported clothes and shoes (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011).

Belmont Sellers. Many country higglers who came to market sold wholesale to town higglers in Belmont for further resale. Some people in Belmont purchased wholesale goods such as household wares, mirrors, lamps, combs, earrings, ribbons, hats, clothing, and shoes from higglers to sell at retail in the market (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). People from Belmont also went to Kingston on trucks and country buses to buy shoes and clothing to resell at the market in Belmont (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). The only buses running along A-2 through Bluefields for people travelling to Savanna-la-Mar, Whitehouse, Black River, Mandeville, and Kingston, either on the same bus or by transferring busses between towns, were an “Ambassador” bus, which came early in the morning, and the “Champagne” bus at 11:00 a.m. if people missed the first bus (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). They carried a limited number of people and if “you miss them both, you were out of luck” (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). Country buses were the primary mode of transportation until taxis became popular in the 1970s (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011).

Mrs. Mavis from Belmont bought clothes wholesale from higglers traveling in trucks or in towns and sold retail at the market (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). Often reported goods sold below market price to police under suspicion of having been stolen (Katzin 1960:380).
Mrs. Mavis also sold liquor, beer, and homemade bottled soda and ginger beer made from locally grown ginger (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). She made it and bottled it at her home (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). She and her husband also sold surplus subsistence crops such as yam, potato, beans, peas, and cassava made into bammy. She also picked ackee, mangos, and other fruit from trees on family land, along roads, and on private or government land (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). “Pick ripe and sell,” she used to say (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). People from Belmont sold surplus provisions and climbed trees to gather fruit or knocked produce down with a stick, catching it before it hit the ground (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011; Donielle, interview, January 12, 2011). Some from Belmont sold coffee and naseberry, and wet sugar by the pint or quart (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011).

While he did not sell surplus provisions, Mr. Forrester (interview, January 7, 2010) planted food on his land, including big broad bean, sweet potato, cherry, ginger, breadfruit, plantains, and cassava, so he would never go hungry and not have to buy as much. 136 Many people in Belmont raised hogs, mules, goats, and grass-fed cows that produced milk, “so locals in Belmont never had to buy it” (Judge, interview, January 21, 19 2011). 137 Mrs. Ellis’ husband from Belmont was a butcher who bought live pigs and

136 People grew and ground their own black pepper (Piper nigrum) and produced their own vinegar (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). Judge’s grandfather planted striped cane and red cane, yam, potato, cocoa, dasheen, cereals such as rice and corn, and fruit trees such as ackee, breadfruit, and mangos, which he and his father continued to grow (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).

137 Judge (interview, January 19, 2011) milked goats and occasionally killed a ram for his family to eat. People in Belmont also raised common fowl that built nests for themselves (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). Judge (interview, January 22, 2011)
sold fresh or salted, dried, and pickled or corned pork (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). One man sold beef from a cart upon which he sat (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 17, 2011). Farmers grew dasheen, yam, and potatoes in household gardens for livestock feed (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011).

People from Belmont prepared food for resale such as fried or roast breadfruit, fried plantains, jerk pork, and boiled cassava (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 7, 2010). Some people from Belmont bought from fishermen and roasted lobster and roasted or fried fish for consumption and sale to consumers at market (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011, January 22, 2011). Some made fish tea or beef soup with boiled corn, big broad beans, sweet potatoes, and dumplings (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). People carried water on their heads or donkeys from Blue Hole Spring to market or households for drinking, cooking, cleaning and scaling fish, and washing clothes and dishes (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011). Judge said back then people kept Creek clean, “you couldn’t even spit in it” (interview, January 18, 2011). People said some raised roosters, also known as cock-chickens or gamecocks, for cockfights held every Sunday on his property. People would come from Savanna-la-Mar, Negril, Montego Bay, Black River, Saint Elizabeth, and other areas to bet money (Judge, interview, January 22, 2011).

The Maroons are credited with inventing “jerk,” a preservation technique and form of barbecue in which meats are seasoned with pimento, Scotch Bonnet peppers (Capsicum chinense), and other spices, and smoked, originally in earthen holes, a technique brought by enslaved people from Africa (Parkinson 2006; Williams 2012). Fishermen, fishmongers, restaurants, and cook shops in Jamaica sell fresh and cooked fish whole, with the head, and rarely filleted. Jamaicans often cut large fish such as bonito into round stakes, but rarely sell fish this way.

Mr. Forrester (personal communication, January 17, 2011) said people carried clothes to wash in Bluefields River.

Local legend has it that there was a “river-maid” in Blue Hole, which Judge said was actually a crocodile from “Capa Fear,” the mangrove swamp between Blue Hole Spring and Creek (interview, January 21, 2011).
also gathered rainwater in storage tanks and barrels at home and market (Judge, interview, January 18, 2011).

Mrs. Netta (interview, February 14, 17, 2011) said others, but never her, sold fried fish and dumpling. Some made soups, often with corn, and brought their own pimento wood and charcoal or gathered from nearby trees and mangroves with a machete to build fires with rebar placed over stones, stumps, or concrete blocks as a grill to hold pots over the flame (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 17, 2011). Some cooked “young green banana beluga rice porridge” and peanut punch porridge with nutmeg or “supmeg” and vanilla (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 26, 2011). Some higglers came to Belmont on Friday night and cooked food for subsistence and sale to other higglers, and people from Belmont cooked for sale on Friday night near the market (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 17, 2011).

Mrs. Netta (interview, January 17, 2011), who lived in Auldayr before moving to Belmont and sold at the Sand Beach, said she started selling ackee and naseberry under the naseberry tree at Creek during the Sand Beach Market. Her father, Gilbery Ewart from Auldayr, worked as a headman on Roland Whitelocke’s Bluefields Property, often riding a mule, grew sugarcane and yams, and raised cows which he transported by donkey and beef cart for sale at Savanna-la-Mar market (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 26, 2011).

Mrs. Netta made “sky-juice” with homemade syrups from natural fruit juices, such as guava, pineapple, orange, mango, banana, and sorrel, poured over shaved ice

142 Oscar (personal communication, February 8, 2011) once cooked bulga rice porridge with bulga rice, nutmeg, vanilla, cinnamon, coconut oil and milk, butter, flour, and water.
(interview, February 14, 2011). She shaved ice bought from the Waterworks truck driver with a hand-plane or planer, a tool used for shaping wood, pushed into a bag, and then would squeeze lime and pour one to three juices on top like a snow cone (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011). People would drink sky-juice using a straw or twisting the bag and biting a hole in the corner. Mrs. Netta also made ice cream, which was sold on a cone or pushed in a bag with sky-juice to make a “back and front” (interview, February 14, 2011). She gave her son and his friends a free “back and front” for helping to spin or churn the ice cream in an eight-quart or a ten-quart bucket. Mrs. Netta said she always “Sell, sell, sell;” she “never went out and did not sell” (interview, February 14, 2011).

Peppermint was also a popular treat. Mrs. Netta (interview, January 17, 2011) made three pounds of peppermint for her sister to sell and four pounds for sale to certain people, but not a lot to any individual, because many wanted to buy and sell it. She said, “If you sell two to someone, can’t sell three” (interview, January 17, 2011). She “always sell off clean,” and came back with an empty tray (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 17, 2011). Mrs. Netta usually made peppermint around Christmas time, but not always, and sometimes during other parts of the year (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). She (interview, February 14, 2011) said she learned how to make peppermint from another Belmont resident Mrs. Lela. Mrs. Netta tried to teach others how to make some goods, but no one wanted to learn as the peppermint is “too hot” and burned their hands (interview, February 14, 2011).143

143 Mrs. Netta (interview, February 14, 2011) made peppermint by boiling sugar with white limestone powder using young banana to temper the sugarcane juice in a process called whitewash. She then threw the boiled sugar on a stone table and mixed it with
Mrs. Netta (interview, February 14, 2011) baked cake, grater-cake (from grated corn), and bread pudding in an oven at her home and carried them to sell in the Sand Beach Market. One time, her husband got two dozen ears of corn to grate and make cake and pudding (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011). Mrs. Lela also sold cake and pudding (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011). Mrs. Netta baked cupcakes, cocoa bread, coconut cake, cornbread, and chocolate and made coconut and almond “drops” with almond pieces, ginger, and sugar (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). She sold cake in varying sizes depending on how much money a customer wanted to spend (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011).

Farmer and artisan Brian Wedderburn (interview, March 29, 2011), who went to the market as a child, said Mos Alley sold homemade ice cream in cones from a basket on his bicycle or motorbike. Children bought sweets like apples, naseberry, and mango (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011).

A Belmont shopkeeper, farmer, and “Rastaman” who went to the market shed as a child said the Rastafarian movement began to push, in addition to ganja smoking, an ital (natural) food diet, growing, eating, and juicing organic foods to make “roots wine” and other natural drinks from their own provisions (e.g., ginger and apples) (‘Donovan’, personal communication, May 28, 2009). Oscar said some “Rastas” produced and sold “roots drinks” made from the natural juices of sarsaparilla (Smilax regelii), ginger, apples, and strong-back (interview, January 17, 2011). ‘Dexter’, a Rastaman and Belmont farmer, said they also used other medicinal plants such as “chinny roots” (interview, natural peppermint syrup. As the sugar hardened, she beat, stretched, and wrapped it in a coil before cutting away any excess candy (Mrs. Netta, interview, February 14, 2011).
February 3, 2011). While people bought and sold other herbs and medicines in Jamaican markets, the Calypso folk song *The Weed or Man Pyabba (Piabba)* however,\(^{144}\) suggests that higglers did not sell ganja:

One day I met an old lady selling
And I wanted something to eat
I thought she had bananas, oranges, and pears
But I take back when we meet
She had a basket full of different weeds
And was calling like she was mad
I can’t remember all what she called
But these were a few she had

She had Man Pyabba
Woman Pyabba
Tomtom Callback, Lemon Grass
Minny Root, Gully Root, Granny Back Bone
Dead man getup and Lebanter Rope
Coolie Bitters, Karina Bush
And the Old Compellence Weed
Sweet Boom Cow Tongue
And the Granny Cracks Cracks
Belly Full and Granny Guzzo Weed

She had Filluptemumma
Filluptepuppa
Jacob Lead and the Alligator Weed
Arrowroot, Rango
Rock and Tirry
Madame Fate and the Ducky Batty
Burbine Pitweed
Duckweed
Me Sister Repeat
And the Bamber Root
In fact the only weed that she didn’t have
Was that wicked ganja weed
[Mr. George Jackson, audio recording by author, May 29, 2009; Count Lasher 1966]

People in Westmoreland began to grow their own ganja for shipment to tourist

\(^{144}\) Calypso evolved in the early 1900s in Trinidad and Tobago and has its roots in West African music.
markets in the Caribbean. Ganja was shipped by pressing and sewing it into jeans and hiding packages inside of woodcarvings on canoes sailing from Bluefields Bay to Kingston, the United States, Cayman Islands, Aruba, and other nearby islands. Profits from such transactions went towards financing construction of homes and small businesses.

Oscar (interview, January 17, 2011) said his mother and others from Belmont and elsewhere produced baskets for sale at the market. His mother made several types of baskets for carrying goods and a “hamper” that rested on a donkey’s back (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). Oscar (interview, January 17, 2011) said his sister made coconut straw and thatch mats. Former fisherman Mr. Bingham (interview, January 10, 2011) also built fish-pots for sale or rental, from which he received a portion of the catch and profits made from selling the catch.

Mrs. Vie (interview, February 3, 2011) from Belmont, the wife of a fisherman, would buy cabbage, pumpkin, yam, breadfruit, potato, beef, and other subsistence goods at market for household consumption. Her husband, however, always carried home fish (Mrs. Vie, interview, February 3, 2011). Wage laborers from Belmont and other communities immediately surrounding Bluefields Bay were also consumers at the market, though many also sold surplus subsistence crops grown on family land. General consumers and farmers living further away in the hills likely depended upon a vast network of country higglers returning home through various communities carrying fish and other nonlocal provisions, household goods and luxuries for sale.

The market ended in the evening, before sundown, when fishermen returned from sea with fish to sell or exchange with higglers for produce (Mrs. Netta, interview, January
17, 2011). ‘Calbert’ (personal communication, January 25, 2011), a current fisherman whose mother from Belmont sold in the markets, said people sold crops or fish for money till around 2:00 p.m. when they would exchange unsold fish for unsold crops or sell on credit so they did not have to spend their cash. People used cash to purchase goods if they could not reach a deal through bartering or had exchanged or sold all of their own goods not otherwise intended for subsistence (Calbert, personal communication, January 25, 2011). Fishermen cooked, salted, and took home unsold fish for consumption (Calbert, personal communication, January 25, 2011). Many gave fish to family and friends (Calbert, personal communication, January 25, 2011). People also bought and bartered for household goods before heading home (Calbert, personal communication, January 25, 2011).145 Higglers and farmers often returned from market on Saturday with fish for subsistence or resale in the hills along their way home (Mrs. Netta, interview, January 17, 2011). Judge (interview, January 21, 2011) said higglers from Beeston Spring took home fish, flour, and sugar. People lit glass lamps and torches with wicks dipped in kerosene oil to walk at night from Belmont to other communities, often in the hills (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).146

**Dances.** On July 31, the day before Emancipation Day, a market was held in Belmont. “Everyone bought and prepared for that day” (Judge, interview January 21, 2011). Many bought pork and fish (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). A dance was held at night on August 1 (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Dances were also held on

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145 Higglers also bought clothing, shoes, candy, or other gifts for their children (Durant-Gonzalez 1985:112).
146 Jamaican higglers often reserved goods for sale to regular customers, whether consumers or town higglers, but did not wait long before selling to others if they thought their regulars were not coming to market (Katzin 1959:22).
Easter, when people sold spiced “bun and cheese” sandwiches (Judge, interview January 21, 2011). A Belmont farmer, who went to the market as a child, said the Old General Store sold cooked foodstuffs, beer, and liquor, particularly Guinness and Red Stripe beer and Wray and Nephew white rum, during dances (‘Robinson’, interview, February 3, 2011). Sometimes the party lasted until 2:00 or 3:00 a.m. (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). During the time of the Sand Beach Market, people lit lamps and lanterns around the Old General Store and naseberry tree (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).

After the construction of the market shed, Judge (interview, January 21, 2011) rented the building for dances three to four times a year, usually on Christmas, Easter, Emancipation Day, and Independence Day after Jamaica received Independence from England on August 6, 1962.\textsuperscript{147} Boxing Day, however, was always celebrated at K. D.’s Ocean Keg Pub along route A-2 near Black’s Bay (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011).\textsuperscript{148} Families also rented the market shed for Nine Nights, a celebration of the life of someone who has recently died (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). Sociologist George Simpson said many Jamaicans believe “the spirit of a dead person returns to its home on the ninth night after death and, if it is financially possible,” a service is held that night and during other nights, possibly all the nights, leading up to it (Simpson 1957:329). The family of the deceased often provided food and drinks for people who came to the grave digging and Nine Nights (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). The Old General Store and the general store known now as Mrs. Mac’s were open during dances at the shed (Dexter, interview, February 3, 2011).

\textsuperscript{147} The Westmoreland Parish Council permitted tenants to rent market sheds for dances provided they kept good order (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:318).

\textsuperscript{148} Judge (interview, January 21, 2011) also kept parties at Bluefields Beach.
The market shed became a popular venue for concerts (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011). Judge said it cost “two shillings” or “one shilling and six pence” to enter (interview January 21, 2011). Judge said all of Belmont would come to the dance or “picnic” and everyone joined in (interview, January 21, 2011). Some came from nearby communities, but not from far into the hills. Judge organized bands from local artists and his friends from Kingston to keep a big dance at night (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Judge (interview, January 21, 2011) was the first to play at the shed in the early 1960s on Emancipation Day. Deejays played mostly reggae music with some calypso and mento, but no well-known “big artists” came (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). Before sound systems such as Delico and electricity or “current” came, people played music with saxophones, trumpets, other brass and metal instruments, banjos, guitars, basses, violins, and other acoustic instruments, drums and other skins, and a pipe like a flute with holes (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Some tried to Americanize the music with the clarinet and fiddle (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011). Sometimes the artists had played together before and other times they had not. Bands used boards to make a platform under the naseberry tree and, later, the market shed (Judge, interview, January 21, 2011).149

Dances in Belmont were often full of excitement. One night in the 1960-1970s, the Registrar Magistrate for the Parish drove his car to the dance on Emancipation Day (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011). He and a man from Brighton had a few drinks of

149 Radios powered by car batteries with makeshift antennas received national and world news and programs. The children particularly enjoyed radio shows in the afternoon like *Dulcimina* which aired from 1967 to 1980 (Jamaica Gleaner 2012) with characters like Mary Lou, Presserfoot, and Cyclops.
white “overproof” rum. They began to quarrel over some kind of nonsense and soon a fight broke out. Ten men found themselves in a brawl, breaking bottles and throwing punches. After finding his way out of the mess, the Magistrate ran to his car and quickly drove away. Someone called the police, who eventually showed up. The police arrested several men and took them to Bluefields Police Station located at Bluefields Tavern.

The next morning the Magistrate heard of the arrests and went to the station. He declared it an “ordinary fight and let them go with no court” appearance (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011).

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150 Gunpowder was soaked in rum and, if possible, ignited, only burning if the rum was at least 57.15 percent alcohol by volume, considered 100 degrees ‘proof’ (Schiefenhövel and Macbeth 2011:233). Alcohol above 57.15 percent is overproof.

151 By 1882, Bluefields had a constabulary station, likely at Bluefields Tavern, and district or petty session’s courts (Dangerfield 1882).
CHAPTER 5
DECLINE OF THE OLD BELMONT MARKETS

Overfishing

Large quantities of fish fueled the Old Belmont Markets, but proved unsustainable. While other markets in Jamaica, in general, continued in operation, by the mid-1980s Bluefields Bay had experienced dramatic declines in fish stocks due to overfishing and exploitation of fishing grounds by harmful fishing methods, particularly the hauling of fine mesh seine-nets that brought in too many fish, of all sizes, which natural breeding could not sustain. ‘Charlie’, a spear-fisherman, conch diver, and self-proclaimed “dynamite-man,” killed fish with dynamite and spear guns, damaging reefs and polluting the water (interview, January 11, 2010). Fishermen also hurt the environment by cutting mangroves for wood, destroying breeding grounds for small fish and shellfish. Fish stocks became so low there was no longer enough fish in the bay to attract sharks (Mr. Forrester, interview, January 4, 2010). Without fish to supply demand, market activity in Belmont fell into decline. Some fishermen were able to obtain small fish in low quantities for subsistence, but fish stocks were no longer adequate to meet demand from fishmongers, higglers, and consumers, particularly from farming communities in the hills and interior of Jamaica, who then went to Whitehouse, Savanna-la-Mar, and Black River to buy fish and sell goods and to New Market in the hills east of

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152 In 1965, 87 country markets operated in Jamaica outside urban areas (Mintz 1965:241). By 1972, there were 93 government-supervised markets and several small street markets and produce stalls along major roads around the island (Norton and Symanski 1975:465).
Belmont in Saint Elizabeth Parish to sell goods.\textsuperscript{153}

However, a few people continued coming to Belmont to buy fish and sell through previously established business relationships. Mrs. Lerlene, Mackiwan from New Works, and Mrs. Gene continued to sell their own surplus provisions and cash crops for other farmers by a drainage pipe near where George the shoe repairman has a stand at Creek on weekends, until one by one they stopped coming, with Mrs. Lerlene last going to market in November 2010 (Donielle, interview, January 12, 2011). Most higglers that sold during the Old Belmont Markets have since stopped due to illness and death (Donielle, interview, January 12, 2011). Mrs. Netta (interview, January 17, 2011) stopped selling after her fisherman husband died in 1984.

While the major cause of both the rise and the fall of the Old Belmont Markets was overfishing, several other factors also contributed to the decline.

\textbf{End of the Group Store}

In the 1970s, Steven Brown, who ran the fisher’s store next to the shed at Belmont Fishing Beach, moved the store to his home after his “foot got sick” (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). The business was unsuccessful in its new location and soon closed (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011). People began storing gear, outboard motors, and gasoline in the store until a shoemaker named Hobo or Moose-Moose Jones started using it for his business in the 1990s (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).\textsuperscript{154} A

\textsuperscript{153} In 1970, markets in Savanna-la-Mar and Black River had over 60 vendors six days per week, Whitehouse had 20 or fewer vendors two or three days per week, and New Market had over 60 vendors two or three day per week (Norton and Symanski 1975:465).

\textsuperscript{154} Shoemakers used car tires to make soles (Judge, interview, January 19, 2011).
“madman” later caused it to burn down (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011).

**Supermarkets**

In 1963, the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) began a network of regional collection centers and wholesale buying stations in an attempt to “maintain an efficient system of marketing” (Norton and Symanski 1975:473).\(^{155}\) The Corporation bought goods from farmers, under contracts requiring crops of a certain quality and quantity, and resold goods wholesale and retail through privatized supermarkets (Norton and Symanski 1975:473-474). Higglers eliminated the Corporation’s threat to markets, higglering, and farming by purchasing wholesale from Corporation collection centers and selling at market. However, the Corporation’s monopolization of domestic produce may have diverted higglers away from fishing beaches and smaller markets like the Old Belmont Markets to larger markets.

**The Seventh-day Adventist Church**

In the early 1960s, a group of Seventh-day Adventists, who attend church on Saturday and observe the Sabbath from sundown Friday until sundown Saturday, began meeting under a tree at Aaron Tate’s property on Up Street in Belmont (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). In 1963, they built a small church that is now a private residence and in 1973, built the present church on Senior or Larson’s land nearby on Up Street.

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\(^{155}\) The Agricultural Marketing Corporation “was preceded by the Government Marketing Board, established during World War II to encourage local food production and to operate government price schemes” (Norton and Symanski 1975:473).
Mr. Bingham (interview, January 18, 2011) and several other fishermen, including his father and brother, joined the Seventh-day Adventist church and stopped fishing during the Sabbath. He told people that if they were looking for fish on Saturday, they would have to find other fishermen, such as Mr. Forrester, who benefited from the declining number of competitors, though fish stocks in Bluefields Bay were already in decline (Mr. Bingham, interview, January 18, 2011). There is no evidence, however, of religious activities at the Old Belmont Markets. The only Sunday market is in Mandeville, an area heavily populated by Seventh-day Adventists (Norton and Symanski 1975:473).

The International Monetary Fund

In director Stephanie Black’s documentary Life and Debt (2001), Michael Manley, the fourth Prime Minister of Jamaica (1972-1980 and 1989-1992), leader of the People’s National Party, and son of the party’s founder Norman Manley, the second Chief Minister of Jamaica (1955-1962), said Independence brought financial difficulties as the island found its place in the global economy.159

156 Mount Belle, a First Form school, began around 1973 at the present Seventh-day Adventist church on Up Street. The school later moved to Belmont Square and became known as Bluefields Basic School or Bluefields Early Childhood Learning Center.  
157 Mr. Forrester (interview, January 7, 2010) stopped fishing in the 1970s after hurting his back.  
158 In 1944, the Westmoreland Parish Council gave Mrs. Dora Samuels of Bethel Town permission to hold Evangelist meetings at Bethel Town market two days per week (Westmoreland Parish Council 1945:220, 224). Wedenoja (personal communication, June 20, 2009) recalled observing Revival preaching in Christiana market in the 1970s.  
159 In 1969, Jamaica replaced English pounds, shillings, and pence with a new Jamaican currency of dollars and cents (Tortello 2003a). Although there was a “successful public education campaign” (Tortello 2003a), Judge (interview, January 22,
American companies had bought cheap bauxite from Jamaica for aluminum production since the 1950s. Manley raised levies from 1972 to 1974 and sought to create a union of “bauxite-producing nations” to negotiate for better prices from sales to aluminum manufacturers in the United States (Ferguson 2008:282, 295). In the 1970s, friendly relations between Cuban President Fidel Castro and the People’s National Party (e.g., sending Cuban doctors and teachers to Jamaica) and Manley’s “anti-imperialist rhetoric,” particularly raising taxes on bauxite, “alienated” the United States and led to anti-communist sentiments within “the opposition Jamaica Labour Party” (Ferguson 2008:295-296).

Wedenoja (personal communication, September 3, 2012) said that in the 1970s, the Cuban government built a vaccination and health center at Belmont Fishing Beach. In 1976, violence between the People’s National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party during elections in which Manley was reelected, led the United States to issue a travel warning urging American tourists to stay away from Jamaica (Ferguson 2008:295). However, the owner of a restaurant at Bluefields Beach Park (personal communication, June 7, 2009) said Bluefields was full of German tourists in the 1970-1980s.

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161 Bluefields Clinic relocated to its present location at Bluefields in the 1980s.

162 Tourism in Jamaica developed in the late 1800s for wealthy English and Americans who stayed in “stately and exclusive hotels” (Ferguson 2008:282). In 1850, cartographer Edward Vincent D’Invilliers (1850) created a tourist map of Jamaica. In the 1930s, Mr. Roland Whitelocke Justice of the Peace, and Mr. H. Lester Calder of Bluefields began arranging accommodations at Bluefields Hotel for tourists interested in using the area as a winter and summer resort (Jamaica Gleaner 1938). Wedenoja
In 1973, Jamaica was in debt and could not get loans from private banks, forcing Manley to go to the International Monetary Fund for short-term loans with high interest and restrictions on how to spend the money (Beckford and Witter 1982:92-94, 150-151; Black 2001). Loan agreements with the International Monetary Fund required the Jamaican government to cut spending on domestic development, eliminate tariffs on imported goods, and devalue the Jamaican dollar, nearly destroying all of the island’s agricultural industries (Black 2001). Loans from the International Monetary Fund and trade agreements with the World Trade Organization required Jamaica to import goods with open trade rather than trying to protect local industries with tariffs (Black 2001). The availability of cheaper imported foods caused unsold goods produced by domestic industries to spoil (Black 2001). Industries heavily affected by International Monetary Fund policies included potatoes, peanuts, carrots, onions, cabbage, tomatoes, and ginger (Black 2001).

burned ganja fields in Westmoreland and facilitated the trafficking of cocaine from South America through Jamaican ports in Negril and Kingston to the Shower Posse gang in New York and Miami, which sent guns to Jamaica (Gunst 1996:41-43, 119-120). Seaga focused on tourism development (Gunst 1996:43) and “reversed most of Manley’s social-democratic reforms in favour of opening the Jamaican economy to foreign investment and IMF-approved structural adjustment” (Ferguson 2008:297).

In 1992, under the sixth Prime Minister of Jamaica P. J. Patterson and the People’s National Party (1992-2006), Jamaica received a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank, “a regional counterpart of the World Bank,” which required that it abandon local subsidies and tariffs on imports of milk powder, meats, and other goods to compete internationally (Black 2001). The United States “dumped” cheap subsidized reconstituted powdered milk in Jamaica, creating a glut in the market and making it impossible to sell domestically produced fresh milk, destroying domestic dairy industries (Black 2001). Agreements between Jamaica and the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, and other organizations working together in Jamaica such as the World Bank and the World Trade Organization forced Jamaica to remove artificial trade barriers, restrictions, and tariffs on imports, and stop heavily subsidizing exports, which caused massive inflation and made imported produce cheaper than domestic produce (Black 2001).

Some farmers attempted to use chemical fertilizers and pesticides to increase production. However, farmers in Jamaica did not have the necessary farm equipment or money to purchase it (Black 2001). Because loan agreements did not allow the Jamaican government to loan money to its people at a lower interest rate than the government was
paying on its loan, farmers could not get loans (Black 2001). Such policies and situations contributed to a destruction of domestic agriculture, which had previously employed many now unemployed wage laborers. One Jamaican farmer asked, “How can machete compete with machine?” (Black 2001).

**Transportation**

From 1970 to the 1990s, a rapid increase in the availability of public transportation in the form of taxis and buses made going to larger markets with lower prices and more customers in Savanna-la-Mar and Whitehouse more feasible. Wedenoja (personal communication, January 25, 2011) said when he visited Bluefields in 1986, Lada (Russian Fiat) route taxis operated between Montego Bay and Savanna-la-Mar. Modern vans were also beginning to replace country buses at this time (Wedenoja, personal, communication, January 25, 2011). People were willing to travel farther for larger quantities and a greater diversity of goods (Norton and Symanski 1975:465). Because higglers from the hills could sell in larger markets more easily due to access to new modes of transportation, declining fish stocks due to overfishing did not affect farming communities as much as fishing communities along Bluefields Bay and others that used the bay, particularly Belmont where many locals were predominately fishermen and town higglers.

Increased availability of cheap transportation to wholesale markets, more traffic along the main roads, and the decline of the market in Belmont led people to build shops on their property along roads, including Mrs. Pearline’s on Up Street in 1985, another shop in 1987 that sells produce, and several others along route A-2. ‘Yardie’ (personal
communication, January 17, 2011), a Belmont shopkeeper, farmer, and fisherman, said while three stores operated at Belmont Square before the market closed, the only business on Up Street was a small shop operated by his father where he sold fresh produce and sugar from the early 1970s until around 1984.\footnote{Norton and Symanski suggested that an increase in capital and population and the construction of “new roads or improvements to old ones” lead mobile traders to become stationary traders, increased the distance consumers were willing to travel for goods, and decreased the need for “local markets to be synchronized… since full-time traders can be stationary” (1975:464-465).}

The Flood of June 1979

Mrs. Hawthorn said she went to the market shed at Creek every Saturday until it stopped after a hurricane in the 1970s, as there was “nothing to sell” (interviewed by Wedenoja, June 13, 2009). She may be referring to three consecutive days of torrential rains culminating on June 12, 1979, which forced years of sediment buildup to break what geographer Patrick Dryer referred to as a “Colonial Pond,” causing Bluefields River, Robin’s River, and other streams to flood (Dryer 2010:2; Figure 22). “Flood rains” led to the deaths of 41 people and destroyed many buildings in Westmoreland (Wallace and Dyer 1979). The flood caused over J$100,000,000 (over US$56,000,000 at the exchange rate of US$1.00 to J$1.78 on June 12, 1979) (Bank of Jamaica 2013) in damage to roads and water systems (Balfour 1979). The flood took away much of the sand on Belmont Fishing Beach and made fishing difficult (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). Although the flood damaged Belmont Fishing Beach, crops, and fish-pots, market activity was already nearly nonexistent (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011).
Figure 22. Bluefields River during the Flood of June 1979 (Jamaica Archives and Records Department 1979). Bluefields Great House (A), Oristano Great House (B), and Bluefields Tavern (C).

**Downsizing of the Westmoreland Parish Council**

‘Mrs. White’ (personal communication, January 3, 2011), who works for the Westmoreland Parish Council, said that declines in funding from the government in the mid-1980s led to the downsizing of the Parish Council. Subsequently, the Council cut funding normally used to subsidize markets and decided to lease market sheds and lands in Savanna-la-Mar, Grange Hill, Whitehouse, and Belmont (Mrs. White, personal communication, January 3, 2011). No one leased the shed in Belmont and the market closed. A restaurant owner in Belmont who went to the market after the shed opened said
there were no longer enough higglers selling at the market shed to generate sufficient revenue to pay employees and finance market upkeep (‘Charmaine’, personal communication, June 22, 2009). The Council now operates Savanna-la-Mar market, has some responsibilities towards Whitehouse market, and owns the Old Belmont Market shed (Mrs. White, personal communication, January 3, 2011). The downsizing of the Parish Council, while not a direct cause of the decline of activity, officially ended the Old Belmont Markets. While economic activity continued in Belmont through stores, shops (which increased in number), and small local exchanges of fish and produce without the need for higglers, there would be no markets kept in Belmont for over 25 years.
CHAPTER 6
POST-BELMONT MARKET AND THE NEW BLUEFIELDS MARKET

The market shed lay vacant from the mid-1980s until 1999 or 2000 (Charmaine, personal communication, June 22, 2009). In 1999, the Westmoreland Parish Council Development and Tourism Committee “was informed that the building is still there” on the “Council’s land at Belmont” and that the Superintendent of Roads and Works was “to identify a possible alternative site for the relocation of the shop” (Westmoreland Parish Council 1999:1445). The “shop” referenced here likely refers to the market shed. In late 1999 or early 2000, the market shed was leased from the Council (Mrs. White, personal communication, January 3, 2011) to Dorett for a restaurant and rum bar called Belmont Sands or Dorett’s Ocean Edge Pub, known locally as Dorett’s (Charmaine, personal communication, June 22, 2009; Figure 23). On July 1, 2001, Dorett’s Belmont Sands hosted its first annual Crab Fest or Festival (Jamaica Gleaner 2001). Before the author arrived on June 11, 2008, Dorett’s had moved south along route A-2 to a location near Black’s Bay.  

On January 7, 2010, there was still a sign on the Old Belmont Market structure reading that “D. Hibbert” had applied for a license to sell rum, gin, brandy, and other distilled spirits. Shops, stores, restaurants, clubs, bars, and other businesses operating without the proper licenses are required to put up signs declaring their intent to apply for required licenses at the next possible licensing session.

164 The author attended the Crab Fest on May 31, 2009.
Local Employment

The decline of the Old Belmont Markets forced many of the three thousand people living in Belmont to find new means of support, increasing the need for “occupational multiplicity.”165 Without fish to catch or a market in which they could sell surplus provisions, sweets, cooked food, crafts, and imported goods acquired from other higglers, many people from Belmont opened shops, produce stands, and other businesses along the main roads to sell these same types of goods (Figure 24). Some people from Belmont found wage labor as semi-skilled workers, domestic helpers, or tertiary (service) sector jobs, particularly in the growing tourism industry.

165 Anthropologist Lambros Comitas, who studied fishing villages on the southwest coast of Jamaica in 1958, uses the term “occupational multiplicity” to describe a person who “is systematically engaged in a number of gainful activities, which for him form an integrated economic complex” (1973:157).
Figure 24. Businesses in Belmont.
Changes in the local and national economies have left people in Belmont with limited job opportunities. Most adopt proven, feasible, and easily accessible occupations, learning useful skills and effective survival strategies. Many scheme up new ways to make money. Jamaicans, however, have already exploited most ventures. Kinship charts for families in Belmont suggest a transition from self-employment in manual labor – particularly fishing, farming, and higglering – to formal wage labor in the service industry with an emphasis on tourism. Many youth, after graduating high school or dropping out, work at hotels, irregular manual labor as semi-skilled carpenters and masons, or spearfish, and are often unemployed. Unemployment is high as many seek wage labor jobs that are in low supply. This is an issue for both the children and their elders. Without social security and savings for retirement, aging parents rely on their children and extended family to take care of them. Available occupations today are more likely to require formal education and cognitive skills than physical skills or street smarts. However, as children seek higher education and occupations in the service industry there is movement away from the community to larger towns and overseas, leaving fewer people in the community to take care of elders and family land. Elders suggest that the movement away from traditional occupations has led to a loss of a sense of community.

Economic activities in Belmont both formal and informal include fishing, farming, construction, craft making such as sewing and woodcarving, shoe repair, land and dwelling rental such as guesthouses, borrowing or loan making, begging, gift-giving, selling drugs such as ganja and cocaine, gambling, prostitution (usually self-prostitution without a pimp), bribery, extortion, stealing, burglary and armed robbery, and embezzlement. People in Belmont are also employed as tour guides and operators,
cashiers, higglers, fishmongers, bicycle and truck or van delivery men, shopkeepers, storeowners, jerk-men or cook shop operators, bartenders, barbers, beauticians, launderers or clothes washers, musicians, and photographers. Belmont residents also find work outside the community in nearby towns as police officers, security guards, cashiers and clerks, shopkeepers, bus and taxi drivers, teachers, tour guides and operators, bank tellers, lifeguards, jerk-men, cooks, and housekeepers. Although most businesses require licenses (e.g., rum bars, barbershops, beauty shops, and restaurants), many ignore or avoid laws and conduct a large number of transactions “off the books.”

In 1996, a survey showed that 48 percent of people over 15 years old in Belmont worked as wage laborers (Douglas-Ricketts 1996:26). Of those surveyed, only 47.7 percent earned a regular income, and of those 42.3 percent earned less than J$1,000 per day (Douglas-Ricketts 1996:26) (US$29 per day at the exchange rate of US$1 to J$35 in 1996) (Bank of Jamaica 2013). While many Jamaicans earning J$1,000 per day in 1996 would have been happy, most in Belmont likely earned far less. The survey also showed that only 24 percent of people in Belmont have graduated from high school and only 4 percent went to college or technical school (Douglas-Ricketts 1996:26).

While Belmont residents received primary education at Bluefields Early Childhood Learning Center and continued learning at Bluefields All-age School, there were no secondary high schools in Belmont until Belmont Academy opened in 2009 on the former site of Bluefields All-age School. Previously, students from Belmont attended high schools outside the community, including Grange Hill High, Little London High, Maud McLeod in Darliston, Petersfield High, Frome Technical High, and Godfrey Stewart, Manning’s, and Savanna-la-Mar High in Savanna-la-Mar. While there are over
40 colleges and universities in Jamaica, the only tertiary institutions in Westmoreland, Fordyce Business College and Westmoreland Business College, both located in Savanna-la-Mar, are relatively small. Technical or trade schools attended by people from Belmont include Human Employment and Resource Training (HEART) Trust and National Training Agency (NTA) vocational training centers in Culloden, Petersfield, Seaford Town, and Black River.

Some people in Belmont find employment as wage laborers working at local businesses. Two part-time fishermen deliver propane tanks from Midland Gas and Chemical to customers in Belmont on bicycles, holding the tank between their legs while peddling or walking alongside the bike with one hand on the handlebars and the other on the tank. The tank sits on the top tube of the bike frame, often with a board for support or in place of a missing top tube. One of these men also sells tobacco, ice cream, and other goods from his bicycle. Other men find irregular work in construction as carpenters, masons, plumbers, and painters. Some women find work as domestic helpers and massage therapists. A shopkeeper’s daughter, after graduating from high school, went to college and worked at a hotel before being hired at a bank in a nearby town (some families send one child to college, usually a female, as it is expensive and the parents believe the male has a better chance to find work in manual labor). Her father works as a painter, farmer, fisherman, and construction worker. He also gardens the property, doing

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166 Other colleges and universities in Jamaica include the University of the West Indies, which has campuses in Mona and Montego Bay; the University of Technology (U-Tech), which has campuses in Montego Bay, Brown’s Town, and Kingston; Northern Caribbean University in Mandeville; Montego Bay Community College; the University College of the Caribbean in Kingston; the Mico University College in Kingston; Saint Joseph’s Teachers’ College in Kingston; and the Edna Manley College of the Visual and Performing Arts in Kingston.
a variety of tasks such as mowing grass and raking leaves, for a family that often travels overseas. A few women find formal employment as teachers at Bluefields Early Childhood Learning Center and another woman cleans the classrooms at Belmont Academy. Two female municipal police officers and a male bailiff work full-time in Savanna-la-Mar. Other men and women not otherwise employed in entrepreneurial activities often find work in the formal sector, particularly in the tourism industry.

**Small Businesses.** Some families and a few individuals have earned enough from fishing, farming, and other means to buy their own land and start businesses such as guesthouses, shops, cook shops, grocery or general stores, restaurants, and rum bars. Some are able to hire a few local laborers.

While there were very few stationary businesses operating in Belmont during the Old Belmont Markets, in 2011 there were over 60, with more opening every year. Wedenoja (personal communication, September 3, 2012) said he shopped at Marry’s Chicken n’ Style Restaurant and Bar (the Old General Store) during his visit to Belmont in 1986. In the 1990s, Mrs. McIntyre leased the two-story general store built at Creek or Belmont Square in the 1950s or 1960s, which became commonly known as Mrs. Mac’s or Cash Pot in reference to the national lottery game, derived from the Chinese game “Drop Pan,” which can be purchased there (Oscar, interview, February 14, 2011). Delbert’s Pastry Shop opened at Belmont Square around 1990. Profits allowed

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167 Belmont fisherman ‘Durant’ (personal communication, February 14, 2011) said the Old General Store burned down sometime in 2003 after a local squatter was trying to ward off rats and a *duddy* (ghost or spirit) living there with him.

168 Drop Pan, a “numbers game” in which gamblers choose numbers between 1 and 36 and place a bet or wager, arrived with Chinese immigrants in the 1850s (Tortello 2003c). Supreme Ventures Limited, founded in 1995, began operating the national lottery
Delbert to purchase two storage containers now next to his store for more space and security. Also at Belmont Square in 2011 were the Breadfruit Tree Pub now operated by Mos Joe’s daughter Kim, a cook shop, a periodical produce stand, and hairdresser Paula’s beauty shop on the site of the old naseberry tree where people gathered during the Sand Beach Market. Nearby, at Creek, are Near and There Hardware, a new garbage-house or trash-skip built around 2008, and Wiley Pinnock’s concrete block factory on the south corner of route A-2 and the intersection of Blue Hole Road and Up Street. Midland Gas and Chemical sells imported propane or “cooking gas.”

General stores in Belmont sell cigarettes, forks, spoons, napkins (known also as “servittes”), bags, cups, balloons, popcorn, Lion Pride rolling papers, lighters, medicines such as Excedrin, Advil, and Panadol, bug spray, diapers, tissues, toilet paper, blue soap and High Grade laundry detergent, shampoo, conditioner, soap, toothpaste, toothbrushes, mouthwash, clothespins, pencils, pens, other household goods, phone cards, Rough Rider and Slam condoms, mousetraps, air fresheners, cell phones, batteries, hair weaves, hairbrushes, razors (but no shaving cream), surge protectors, mosquito coils, and a lubricant known as WD-40 (Figures 25, 26). Stores often sell local produce such as country peppers and bottled sugarcane juice with ginger. One storeowner buys fresh beef patties and cocoa bread from a truck driver and sells them with ackee and salt fish. His store also sells meat by the pound including whole chicken, chicken foot, chicken back, chicken wings, chicken liver, chicken legs, cow liver, kidney, turkey neck, Vienna cuttings, frankfurter, goat or mutton, salt fish, salt mackerel, cow foot, ox tail, and mixed

Figure 25. Snacks and other goods sold at a store in Belmont (2010).

Figure 26. Household goods sold at a store in Belmont (2010).

Stores also sell packaged “bun and cheese,” peanuts, mixed nuts, peanut butter, and canned food, particularly goods packaged by Caribbean food producer and distributor Grace Kennedy including butter beans, baked beans, corned beef, mixed vegetables, hot and spicy or regular chicken Vienna sausages, and regular or spicy mackerel. Stores sell eggs, oil, vinegar, flour, rice, sugar, salt, black pepper, chicken-noodle or cock-soup mix packets, and Easy Spice fish and meat seasoning. Stores also sell plastic packaged goods such as guava jelly, peanut butter, and cheese-filled Dixee biscuits or crackers; ginger, sweet tea, and chocolate chip biscuits; bulla cake; bread; dairy products such as cheese, butter, and fresh, condensed, and powdered milk; Tigaz and other cheese chips; piñata mix; sweets or candy such as Piazza candy sticks, Fun Dip, individually wrapped peppermints and butterscotch, and gum; Devon House ice-cream, popsicles, cereals such as corn flakes and oats; and plantain and banana chips.

Stores sell bottled Heineken, Red Stripe, and Guinness beer, Magnum tonic wine, Red Label wine, Charley’s J. B. overproof rum, other alcoholic drinks, a nonalcoholic malted beer-like soft-drink called Malta, bottled “Wata” and Ocean Spray cranberry wata, and soda brands such as Busta, Bigga, American Cola from Trinidad, and Pepsi. Stores sell coffee, ginger, and peppermint tea packets which many offer to mix for customers in a Styrofoam cup with hot water. Many also sell fruit drinks such as Tropical Rhythm, Tampico, Tropicana, cans of fruit punch, milk boxes, box-drinks such as Fruita and Cool Kids, and bag-juice, a sugar drink and a mass-produced version of sky-juice
popular among children. Some stores sell bottled fruit syrups and Kool-Aid packets or envelopes known as “Sharkleberry,” referring to the popular pink colored flavor Sharkleberry Fin, to flavor drinks by adding the powder to water, sugar, and ice.

Shops sell similar things as stores but in smaller quantities and with less variety, depending on the shop and demand from customers, but particularly Red Stripe beer, individual Craven and Matterhorn menthol cigarettes, soda, and individual phone cards, often bought wholesale from a local general store for slightly lower rates allowing shopkeepers to earn small profits (Figure 27). Shops buy bag-juice from a truck that drives by each week, freeze the drinks in home freezers, and put on ice for sale at their shops (Figure 28). Shopkeepers make ice by putting five-gallon buckets and other plastic jugs full of water in freezers at home or buy from others who do the same. Ice is broken apart or chipped out with an ice pick, screwdriver, or knife. While shops often buy goods from stores, and although shops buy goods from each other for consumption, it is rare that a shop will restock supplies by purchasing goods from another shop.

While a few stores and one shop were in operation during the time of the Old Belmont Markets, many more opened after it declined. Seven shops have opened on Up Street since 2005, with about two or three opening and two or three out of business per year since 2008 (Figure 29). In 2011, there were two shops and a manicurist on Blue Hole Road. At least 11 shops operated on Up Street, including three that sold fresh produce, one with household goods, one cook shop attached to a shop, a bar and cook shop that sells fried chicken, a barbershop, five or more shops, and a concrete foundation

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169 Throughout Jamaica in the 1970s, there was a movement from mobile higglers to stationary shopkeepers (Norton and Symanski 1975:465).
Figure 27. Shop in Belmont (2009). The shopkeeper cut the bottom off plastic soda bottles, filled them with water, and put them under the legs of food cabinets (left) to prevent ants from getting in as they stop at the water.

Figure 28. Higgler selling bag-juice at Coronation Market in Kingston (2009).
where a shop once stood. There are 14 shops operating along route A-2 from Brown Land to Black’s Bay including one that sold fresh produce, four or five that sold clothing, a barber shop operated by Mr. Forrester’s grandson Juicy who learned by watching barbers in Savanna-la-Mar and practicing on his cousin, and a rum bar with a Rastaman who often watches Kung-fu and gangster movies on a 13-inch cathode-ray tube television for himself, customers, and friends to watch. Judge’s bar, which opened in 2000, employs a few locals who sell alcohol and occasionally food. Also along route A-2 were two rum bars, five shops closed for some time, nine restaurants including Dorette’s Belmont Sands and two other clubs which sold food, and Grant’s Sunshine Plaza, a mini-mall

170 Satellite television is available, but it is only affordable to wealthy individuals and a few guesthouses such as Bluefields Bay Villas and Rainbow Villas.
shopping center built around 2008 with a meat shop, haberdashery, wholesale grocery and liquor store, Twin Doors or Robert’s restaurant, a restroom, and an electronics and cell phone store (Figure 30).\textsuperscript{171} Two shops at the “Ball Ground” were open during football matches.\textsuperscript{172}

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Grant’s Sunshine Plaza (2011).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{171} Black River was the first town in Jamaica to have telephone service (Gardner 2009). Phone lines first came to Bluefields after 1991 (Ross 1991b:14). In the 1990s, there was a phone booth at Bluefields Tavern that used phone cards, before which people went to Savanna-la-Mar where there was first one phone booth and later three more added (Oscar, personal communication, January 18, 2011). Phone lines reached houses in Belmont in 1993 or 1994 (Oscar, personal communication, January 18, 2011). In 1998, Cable and Wireless replaced Telecommunications of Jamaica Limited, which provided most of the landline telephone service in Jamaica. Mobile telecommunications are available from Digicel, which built a cell phone tower in Belmont around 2000; Claro; and Cable and Wireless, which began operating as bMobile in 2003 before the company changed its name in 2008 to Landline, Internet, Mobile, and Entertainment (LIME). Digicel and Cable and Wireless also offer Internet service (Horst 2006:143-159).

\textsuperscript{172} Children play football and cricket at Bluefields Playfield, Ball Ground, and the cricket field by Kasha Tree Beach (see Figure 25). In addition, a local football league organizes matches between teams from communities in the area.
Many shops in Belmont have electricity to power lights, a deep freezer, and 13 to 20 inch televisions.¹⁷³ Shops often have chairs around a table for playing dominoes. Shopkeepers usually keep one set of dominoes and rarely have any extra or for sale. Despite small profits, many people operate shops but also conduct other small business transactions to survive.

People in Belmont conduct transactions using cash. However, as funds are often short and cash is often unavailable, transactions among trusted individuals often are temporarily credit based until cash is available. Shopkeepers form regular relationships with wholesale dealers and customers, often receiving and extending credit. Shopkeepers give their own children small amounts of foodstuff from their shops and sell to children they know, particularly nieces and nephews, on credit or using cash given to them by their parents for lunch and bus fare to and from school. The size and diversity of a shopkeeper’s stock depends on customer demand and how much cash and credit they have available to purchase goods. Shops and stores receive most of their business from people from Belmont and regular travelers along route A-2, though they also receive the occasional tourist or random Jamaican customer driving along the road. Tourists and some formal wage laborers with banking accounts can withdraw funds at automated teller machines (ATMs) in Whitehouse, Ferris Cross, and Savanna-la-Mar, though they are often out of cash or malfunctioning.

Shopkeepers and consumers use public transportation to go to larger towns to buy produce and other goods at stores, along the road, and at market and supermarkets. Most

¹⁷³ There are still places in the hills surrounding Bluefields Bay and elsewhere in Jamaica that do not have electricity.
Belmont residents go to market in Savanna-la-Mar and Whitehouse in the morning on Friday or Saturday, though some go to the market throughout the week, but rarely on Sundays when few goods are available.

While Savanna-la-Mar is the major daily market in the area, the wholesale market in New Market, a community in the hills east of Belmont in Saint Elizabeth Parish, plays an important role in distributing goods to other markets. Some higglers gather produce from farmers Wednesday afternoon until Sunday night, when they go to New Market, which has a Sunday-Tuesday market. Higglers also carry produce from other markets around the island to sell at New Market. Higglers often sleep in their stalls until Wednesday morning or until all their goods have sold, mostly on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. ‘Terrell’, who used to help a lady sell in New Market, said some higglers come with vans to buy wholesale on Sunday and Monday to sell retail in Savanna-la-Mar and other markets during the week, particularly on Friday and Saturday (personal communication, December 31, 2010).

By Tuesday, the last night of the market at New Market, only small quantities and spoiled goods are available, but they are often sold at lower prices than on Sunday or Monday. Some higglers, however, still have fresh produce available for sale (Figure 31). Most leave by Wednesday morning to gather more goods, sell in other markets on Friday and Saturday, and return on Sunday (Terrell, personal communication, December 31, 2010). Retail and wholesale goods available at New Market include fruits, vegetables, shoes, plastic containers, spirits, matches, pots, fish, bitter or Seville oranges (Citrus x aurantium), bottled beer, beauty products, and clothes, particularly undergarments.

Whitehouse keeps a farmers market on Friday and Saturday nights. A photograph
Figure 31. Produce stall in New Market, Saint Elizabeth Parish (2009).

taken by Wedenoja on December 31, 2008 shows “The Farmers Market” in Whitehouse located in a small concrete building enclosed with rebar over most of the windows, built after the original 1940s Whitehouse market shed (Wedenoja 2008b). Most people, as in New Market, sell outside the building.

Some higglers travel to Black River or Negril. Others travel to Kingston or “Town” to buy cheap wholesale goods, especially clothing and other light and easily transportable and salable goods. Belmont shopkeepers prefer to buy less expensive goods in Savanna-la-Mar, particularly at Chinese businesses, and only buy from local stores when they need small quantities of goods on short notice.\textsuperscript{174}

While some have their own means of transportation, most people in Belmont use\textsuperscript{174} Chinese products flooded Jamaican markets in the mid-1970s (Wedenoja, personal communication, September 3, 2012).
public transportation in the form of minibuses and taxis. In 2010, adult fare was J$100 on a bus or J$120 in a taxi from Belmont to Savanna-la-Mar (12 miles or 20 kilometers) or Whitehouse (7 miles or 11 kilometers). People without a vehicle must hire a charter taxi to New Market. Most travel on regularly scheduled routes and wait for specific taxi drivers or buses. Some taxi and bus drivers overfill vehicles. Hatchbacks are notorious for holding seven passengers and the driver and a regular sedan holds five and the driver, often squeezing in one more at night and on Sunday.

While many shopkeepers and storeowners buy wholesale in towns, trucks also deliver packaged goods, foreign manufactures, and household supplies. One shopkeeper bought a dozen bags of bulla cake and a box of plastic storage bags from a taxi driver. The taxi driver had picked up the cakes from a bakery or a delivery truck driver for the bakery that delivered goods from Waterworks through Bluefields and communities in the surrounding hills. People in trucks also deliver fish inland to the hills. Delivery drivers in trucks come from bakeries and bring bread to jerk-men. A few men in Belmont work as delivery drivers, bus or taxi drivers, or conductors who open the bus doors, help with loads, and deal with passengers.

Local Organization. In 1988 people in Belmont began meeting under a kasha tree or almond tree at K. D.’s pub to discuss community development issues. The discussions were organized by Terry Williams, a Jamaican who was born in Kingston but grew up in England, where he lived for 21 years before returning to Jamaica (Anonymous 1991:19; Wedenoja and Kristos 2006; Wedenoja 2012). These meetings led to the formation of the Bluefields People’s Community Association (BPCA), which later obtained the lease to the former health clinic and vaccination center, known locally as the
“Center,” a name used in reference to the building, its location, and the organization itself. Oscar (interview, January 17, 2011), an original member of the community association, said among the issues people in Belmont became concerned with was a plan to construct Sandals Whitehouse Resort, which promised to provide jobs but threatened to cut off public access to the beach and destroy a large turtle breeding ground. The Bluefields People’s Community Association was also active in furthering the fishing industry and the development of local organizations and businesses such as Ecological Technologies Limited (Eco-Tec) and Reliable Adventures Jamaica.

**The Fishing Industry.** Despite declines in fish stocks, fishermen continue to distribute their catches throughout the community according to kinship and social obligations and sell in small quantities to local consumers, fishmongers, and vendors (Figure 32).

After Hurricane Ivan in September 2004, the Bluefields People’s Community Association sought assistance for fishermen who had lost traps. The Anthropology Club at Missouri State University held two fund-raisers and provided 14 fishermen with wire to build new fish-pots. Common concerns among fishermen and assistance from the Association, Wedenoja, and Missouri State University students led to the organization of the Belmont Fishing Group, which in 2006 received designation by the Ministry of

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175 The Bluefields People’s Community Association, through grants from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), later started Bluefields Radio, “the first community radio station in Jamaica” (Wedenoja and Kristos 2006). In 1999, however, the Association collapsed due to internal feuds (Wedenoja and Kristos 2006), culminating in a fight outside the Center, during which Kristos had his arm broken. While the Association closed and reopened after six months (Wedenoja and Kristos 2006), Bluefields Radio never resumed.

176 Noise and lights have driven turtles to other beaches, particularly Farm (Judge, interview, January 25, 2011).
Figure 32. The Fishing Industry in Belmont
Agriculture and Fisheries as the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society.

In 2005, Wedenoja and students from Missouri State University assisted the Belmont Fishing Group in a survey of fishers in communities surrounding Bluefields Bay (Belmont, Auldayr, Cave, Farm, Retirement, and Sabito) to gauge support for protecting the bay (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, Appendix A-1). Positive response led to additional surveys in 2008 in other communities with fishers who also fished in Bluefields Bay (Savanna-la-Mar, Paradise, and Wharf Road) (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2008, Appendix A-2). Surveys conducted in 2005 and 2008 collected data from a combined 182 fishers, including 64 from Belmont, 47 from Savanna-la-Mar, 20 from Auldayr, 15 from Paradise, 14 from Cave, 11 from Wharf Road, 5 from Farm, 4 from Retirement, 1 from Brighton, and 1 from Sabito (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2008, Appendices A-1, A-2). Of those, 96 (52.7%) were over 40 years old, including 42 of 64 surveyed in Belmont and 20 of 47 surveyed in Savanna-la-Mar (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2008, Appendices A-1, A-2). The average age of the fishers was about 30 years old (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2008, Appendices A-1, A-2). The Society used information from the 2005 survey to gain support from Food for the Poor, a private non-governmental organization based in Florida, which, in 2007, donated four fishing boats to the Society and built the Society’s office and at least 70 houses in the community (Figure 33).\footnote{In 2012, the government granted land to the Bluefields Early Childhood Learning Center near Belmont Academy where Food for the Poor built a new 2,400 square foot concrete school in 2013 (Wedenoja, personal communication, May 6, 2013).}

Comitas (1973:166-167) suggested that people with land to cultivate or jobs in
wage labor devote less time to fishing and more time to cultivating land or working as wage laborers, tasks usually performed during the day which allows those who choose to fish to do so at night. Therefore, fishers tend to be people living in coastal areas who do not own a lot of fertile land or do not work regularly as wage laborers.

Most of Belmont’s population of 3,000 to 4,000 lives on shared family land with some individual, privately owned properties (Wedenoja and Kristos 2006; Wedenoja 2007). Of 414 people surveyed within Belmont (enumeration or voting districts East 76-77) recorded in the 2001 census, 196 (47.3%) said they lived in dwellings or houses on land they owned, 13 (3.1%) leased, 3 (0.7%) rented, 138 (33.3%) lived rent free, 26 (6.3%) squatted, 5 (1.2%) reported other, and another 33 (8.0%) were not reported (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 2004). Of 1,738 people surveyed in Bluefields (enumeration districts East 55-58 and 73-79 and Central 126-127), 679 (39.1%) said they
lived in dwellings on land they owned, 141 (8.1%) leased, 156 (9.0%) rented, 422 (24.3%) were rent-free, 201 (11.6%) squatted, 13 (0.7%) reported other, and 126 (7.2%) were not reported (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 2004).

Among 182 fishers who fish in Bluefields Bay surveyed in either 2005 or 2008, 55 (30.2%) said they owned their land, while 127 (69.8%) did not (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2008, Table 1). These surveys suggest that the relationship between the community in which a fisher lives and whether or not he or she owns their land is significant (Table 1). Of 64 fishers in Belmont, 37 (57.8%) said they owned their land (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005), which was higher than expected with a probability less than or equal to one percent (Table 1).

Although the number of people in Belmont who own the land they live on is greater than expected, much of the land is on rocky hillsides and difficult to cultivate, leading the number of fishers who own the land they live on to be greater than expected. Because there is not a lot of good farmland in Belmont, many people continue to rely on fishing for subsistence in addition to gathering fruit from trees. Fishermen from Savannah-la-Mar, many of whom fish in Bluefields Bay, tend to be people who do not own the land they lived on. These surveys suggest that most people who do not own the land they live on tend to be fishers, while people who own the land they live on tend to farm more and fish less.

Although fishing may be their primary means of subsistence, many fishers also perform other duties. Of 107 fishers surveyed in 2005, 67 (62.6%) said they only fish (including 42 of 62 surveyed in Belmont), 17 (15.9%) also farm, 17 (15.9%) also perform labor, 3 (2.8%) also sell their fish, 2 (1.9%) are also shopkeepers, and 1 (0.9%) also
Table 1. Land Tenure among Bluefields Bay Fishers (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2008, Appendices A-1, A-2). Significance or probabilities were calculated through contingency table simulation analysis, based on 10,000 simulated tables (C. Estabrook and G. Estabrook 1989).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Own Land</th>
<th>Do Not Own Land</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auldayr</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmont</td>
<td>37++</td>
<td>27-</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabito</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharf Road</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savanna-la-Mar</td>
<td>5-</td>
<td>42+</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* Higher than expected frequency: \* if 0.01 < p ≤ 0.05; \++ if p ≤ 0.01.
\* Lower than expected frequency: \* if 0.01 < p ≤ 0.05; \- if p ≤ 0.01.

makes fish-pots to sell (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, Appendix A-1).

Many fishermen sell from boats and canoes on the beach and roadside at Kasha Tree Beach, Belmont Fishing Beach, Belmont Beach, Black’s Bay, and Bluefields Beach. A 2007 survey of beaches, boats, and canoes recorded 50 fishers at Belmont Fishing Beach, 4 at the Brokedown “Seawall,” 2 at Kasha Tree Beach, 2 at Gardner Land, 25 at Black’s Bay, 30 at Cave, and 25 at Farm (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2007).

In 2011, over a dozen fishmongers operated regularly in Belmont including two
ladies with six freezers (not connected to electricity) at the same spot since at least 1985, a lady with three freezers who has been there since 1987, two ladies in one spot with seven freezers, a lady who received orders by phone from customers driving from Kingston and Mandeville, a woman at Black’s Bay, two women at Wharf Fishing Beach, and Mr. Forrester’s brother who sells fresh fish daily at Kasha Tree Beach (Figure 34). Fishermen and fishmongers also make ice in freezers at their homes or buy from Belmont shops and stores and have five-gallon buckets or “Igloo” coolers to preserve fish. Sellers weigh whole fish on hanging scales or kitchen scales or estimate for sale. Some fish sellers in Savanna-la-Mar “wind” scales by tampering with the calibration, holding the spring, or pulling gently on the bag to overweigh fish. Most fishmongers scale fish for customers free or for a small fee. Fishermen at Belmont Fishing Beach often scale and clean fish in Creek. Fishermen have started catching lionfish (*Pterois* sp.), marketed to locals as an aphrodisiac that makes you “strong” and for tourist consumption at guesthouses in Belmont.  

Fishmongers buy from local fishermen or wholesale in Whitehouse and resell from coolers to consumers along route A-2. The Whitehouse fish market is kept daily with the exception of Sunday. People from Belmont usually go to Whitehouse to buy fish and conch rather than Savanna-la-Mar. Some fishmongers often buy fish wholesale in Whitehouse to sell retail in Savanna-la-Mar. Fish sold at the market in Whitehouse are cheaper and fresher than in Savanna-la-Mar. Wedenoja (personal communication, 178

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178 In 1995, Florida Atlantic University fisheries biologist Walter Courtenay suggested that lionfish, a species native to the Pacific Ocean, arrived in the Caribbean Sea and Atlantic Ocean as an aquarium pet or lab specimen released along the shore of the United States before Hurricane Andrew in 1992, as it had been caught near Miami as early as 1985 (Morell 2010).
September 3, 2012) said Whitehouse is the largest fishing cooperative and community on the island and has commercial industries and buyers who distribute fish island-wide.

Whitehouse received storage and repair facilities, a gas pump near the beach for fueling boat engines, a large pier, and a fish-processing center through funding from the Japanese government (Wedenoja, personal communication, September 3, 2012). The “octagonal-shaped fish market… was completed in 1999 with a grant from the government of Japan” (Thomas and Vaitilingam 2003:325; Figure 35).
Belmont fishermen go to the Whitehouse Fishing Cooperative to buy gear and tackle. Fishermen with outboard motors buy gasoline, gas canisters, spark plugs, and engine oil (Figure 36). Spear fishermen, who make their own guns using cedar wood, rubber, bike spokes, and a bike tube, also need air pipes or snorkels, diving suits, fins or water shoes, goggles, spears, and stringers.\footnote{The Rene Cavalero Arbalete “Champion” spear gun is considered the best, but expensive. All the spear guns observed by the author, however, were homemade.} To make fish-pots, fishermen buy ropes, bungee cords, and pot wire and use plastic bottles as buoys. Line fishermen buy hooks, latches, line, locks, and rebar, but rarely rods as most wrap lines around their fingers, toes, and parts of the boat. Net fishermen buy plastic and nylon netting. Night fishermen...
buy lamp oil and something called “mentholated spirit.” The Cooperative supplies goods at reduced rates for members who also have insurance benefits (Wedenoja, personal communication, September 3, 2012). The Cooperative is open during general business hours: Monday through Friday, from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Fishermen also go to Whitehouse to take large boats to Pedro Bank where they stay for months at a time.

While only one of the 50 fishing vessels in Belmont recorded in the census from 1956 to 1957 had an outboard engine (Comitas 1973:312-320), a survey conducted by the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Society, Wedenoja, and Missouri State University undergraduates in 2005 (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, Appendix A-1) and an inventory collected by the Society and Kristos in 2006 (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2006) recorded 31 vessels with engines and 31 without in Belmont from 2005 to 2006 (Table 2). The increase in number of fishing vessels with
motors in Belmont from 1 of 50 in 1956-1957 to 31 of 62 in 2005-2006 has likely occurred in other fishing communities in Jamaica, including those along and near Bluefields Bay despite a small sample size from those areas. Over this same 50-year period, 1 percent of all fishing vessels on the southwest coast of Jamaica around 1956 to 1957 had engines, including one boat from Belmont, one from Savanna-la-Mar, and eight from Whitehouse (Comitas 1973:312-320), compared to 43 percent of vessels surveyed in 2005 and inventoried in 2006 (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2006, Table 2). Outboard engines allow fishermen easier access to fish outside Bluefields Bay at New Bank, Blossom Bank, and Walton Bank, where a Society fisherman hooked a 220-pound marlin (Istiophoridae sp.) (‘Louis’, personal communication, January 18, 2011). Fishermen at Creek carry engines from the gear shed to boats.

Table 2. Vessels on Fishing Beaches near Bluefields Bay (Comitas 1962:317; Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2006; Appendix A-1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motor</td>
<td>Without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auldayr</td>
<td>INA*</td>
<td>INA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmont</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cave</td>
<td>INA</td>
<td>INA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabito</td>
<td>INA</td>
<td>INA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savanna-la-Mar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehouse</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* INA: Information Not Available
Despite the introduction of outboard engines, a 2007 survey of boats and canoes, which recorded seven canoes at Belmont Fishing Beach, one at Kasha Tree Beach, one at Gardner Land, four at Black’s Bay, ten at Cave, and two at Farm, shows that several Bluefields Bay fishermen still use paddles and canoes (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2007; Figure 37).

Figure 37. Canoe, paddles, and fishing nets at Belmont Fishing Beach (2009).

**Farming.** While some Belmont farmers produce surplus for sale, most locally grown produce goes towards subsistence and household consumption. Many are limited to gathering from available fruit trees and raising goats on family land, usually small plots on poor and infertile hinterlands and hillsides with most space being used for building houses. Despite the difficulties of planting, some grow subsistence and cash crops on family land and land owned by the Rural Agricultural Development Authority.
(e.g., around Pitini Road) and the Urban Development Corporation (e.g., along route A-2 near Bluefields Beach Park and Belmont Academy). Farmers use intercropping farming techniques, such as planting peanut, sorrel, and corn together. One farmer has a sugarcane mill with a one-eared donkey he bought at half-price and uses to process sugarcane juice, which he bottles with ginger for distribution in Westmoreland and some areas of Saint Elizabeth. Farmers have to buy tools such as machetes, files, pickers, rope, seeds, and water boots in Savanna-la-Mar or Whitehouse. While land is available, there seems to be little interest among the youth for farming.

Former President of the Bluefields People’s Community Association, Keith Wedderburn (e-mail to Wedenoja, August 9, 2008) said that on August 11, 2008, the Association in collaboration with the Jamaica Sustainable Development Program and Jamaica Organic Agriculture Movement would host organic agriculture and Information Communication Technology training sessions for farmers at the Center. Cooperation among farmers (e.g., sharing intercropping techniques, irrigation methods, equipment and tools, and watching other farmers’ fields to prevent thieves from stealing crops) and such sessions led to the organization of the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group in 2009.

Peace Corps volunteer Matthew Colvin was active in the organization of the Farmers Group from 2007 to 2009. Peace Corps volunteers Patrick Marti (2010-2012) and Kevin Fath (2012 – present) and Rotarian John Rasmussen (2008 – present) from Ann Arbor, Michigan have also been active in assisting the Organic Farmers.

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180 The Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group (now known as the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society) currently meet under a large gazebo at Belmont Fishing Beach built after 1990, though the small gazebo was there before (Pariser 1990:206).
While most people in Belmont continue to farm only for subsistence and cash, farmers tend to use nonorganic chemicals, fertilizers, fungicides, herbicides such as paraquat or gramoxone and Roundup, and pesticides such as ant-powder, many are looking to expand farmland and adopt organic methods. The Rastafarian belief in “ital” or natural foods has been one of the leading forces behind a push toward producing more foods that are organic. Rastafarians account for a high proportion of fishermen and farmers, particularly within the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group.

Produce currently grown in Belmont includes ackee, avocado, banana, honey banana, plantain, breadfruit, watermelon or melon (*Citrullus* sp.), mango, naseberry, orange, papaya, pineapple, soursop, sweetsop, cocoa, coco, cucumber, gungo pea, hot pepper (*Capsicum* sp.), sweet pepper or bell pepper (*Capsicum annum*), Scotch Bonnet pepper (*Capsicum chinense*), okra, pumpkin, squash (*Cucurbita* sp.), tomato, coconut, peanut, cashew, almond, nutmeg, pimento berries or allspice, cinnamon, onion, scallion, cabbage, lettuce, sorrel, callaloo, carrots, garlic, radishes, turnips, ginger, yam, yellow yam, sweet yam, negro yam, Irish potato, sweet potato, sweet cassava, bitter cassava, dasheen, gungo peas, red peas, sugarcane, rice, and corn (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2010, Appendix A-3). People in Belmont also grow lemongrass (*Cymdopogon* sp.), known also as “fever grass,” which is often made into a tea to cure fever or rubbed directly on the skin for rashes and other ailments. Some grow herbs such as thyme and mint (*Metha* sp.).

Some farmers have small surpluses that they sell at roadside stands and stalls or

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181 In the 1980s the poor came to have no choice but to eat rice as their most popular starch and main meal (Higman 2012:68).
door to door by walking up and down Up Street and route A-2. Since 2010, Mrs. Chelsea has sold produce at her home on Sunday. Entrepreneurial farmer Brian Wedderburn, whose father and uncle were fishermen, bought sorrel seeds one time for J$100 and now people come with trucks to buy sorrel from his fields, particularly around Christmas when Jamaicans regularly consume the traditional drink. Some vendors go to Bluefields Beach Park and Belmont Beach to sell, including one Rastaman who sells fresh produce from his bicycle on Sunday and holidays. Belmont shopkeepers selling locally grown produce include Mrs. Pearline who sells naseberry from trees on her family land; Mrs. Norma who sells bananas, carrots, and potatoes, onions, scallion; and Desrine who sells onions and Scotch Bonnet peppers. A Belmont subsistence fisherman and farmer sold fresh and cooked surplus provisions and fish at his “Peanut Shop,” which opened in 2008 but has since closed (Figure 38). A couple from the hills occasionally sells cabbage from their hatchback at Belmont Square.

Many people in Belmont also raise goats and often tie the animals with rope to a tree to feed on bush, wild grass, leaves, other plant life, and trash. Farmers often use pastures surrounding Blue Hole Spring and Creek for goat grazing. Many tie goats to trees near Blue Hole Spring to drink, leading to effluent in the water (Ebert 2010:87, 114). Families kill a goat for big events such as a birthday. A few farmers also sell live and butchered goats. Goats receive lice medicine and “drench” or “wash” to kill maggots by pill or injection. One local told me that while no one raises cattle in Belmont, there are a few communities in the hills surrounding Bluefields Bay that raise cattle (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). After moving to Belmont in the 1980s, Kristos (personal communication, June 12, 2009) took care of a dozen or more pigs for Granny Bec, a
Belmont elder who took care of several children in the community and let them live on her property. However, the author only found one pig in Belmont in 2009 and none by 2011. A man in Auldayr, however, had two pigs in 2011 that he bought as baby piglets and intended to raise for sale to a butcher for a decent profit. Many people keep dogs for protection. A few entrepreneurs in Belmont also sell peacocks, rabbits, and doves as pets. Farmers produce or buy livestock feed such as corn, cabbage, and carrots. Some people feed chicken-back, dog food, and store bought feeds to livestock. Dogs and cats help clean up food scraps, particularly chicken and fish bones.

**Jerk Chicken.** Some people raise broiler chickens to sell as jerk chicken, but no one raises layer chickens in Belmont, although a few women raised common fowl free-range for household consumption. One man occasionally sells roosters for cockfighting. Broiler chicken producers purchase two-day-old chickens from Big “M” Hardware in
Savanna-la-Mar. Omar (interview, August 4, 2010), a jerk-man who sells chicken from his stand along route A-2, said he let chickens grow for six weeks before killing them. He said the meat on chickens older than that becomes “trashy” (Omar, interview, August 4, 2010). Women in Belmont who raise broiler chickens clean them for household consumption or sale to jerk-men. They also sell livers and necks or give them away to family and friends who help cut off chicken heads and clean the birds. Many feed boiled chicken heads to their dogs, but never raw, fearing that dogs might develop a taste for raw chickens and attack the chicken coop (Omar, interview, August 4, 2010).

Farmers feed store bought chicken feed and molasses to chickens. Chickens receive medicines such as anti-stressor, booster or developer with minerals and vitamins, and de-wormer. Other supplies for raising chickens include extension cords, fans, heat lamps, light bulbs, sawdust, water and feeder pans or trowels, chicken fence wire, and metal roofing. Farmers buy most of their supplies in Savanna-la-Mar and Whitehouse.

Some jerk-men keep chicken coops on their land. After cleaning chickens, Omar carries them in a five-gallon bucket on a bicycle to his jerk hut where he cooks them over pimento wood in an oil drum that has been cut in half and reattached by hinges, and sells them by the quarter, half or an amount worth the money the customer has to purchase. Omar chops chicken with a cleaver, picks up pieces with a large fork, puts them on a piece of aluminum foil, applies homemade sauces or hot pepper sauce, slices a couple pieces of National Giant Brand “hardo” unsliced white bread, and folds the foil (Omar, interview, August 4, 2010). Omar sometimes delivers himself or pays a taxi driver, bicycle man, or child to deliver food at no additional charge to the consumer. The deliverer often receives a free quarter of chicken after taking a few deliveries. Many jerk-
men hold multiple occupations such as carpentry, while others jerk full-time. At first, Omar cooked only on weekends and holidays, but since 2002 he has jerked chicken Monday through Saturday. For a while, Omar closed on Sunday to tend to his chickens and kill for the next week. Many reserve Sunday to rest, tend to their garden, and be with family, avoiding regular work and travel. However, frequent requests and large orders forced Omar (personal communication, March 9, 2011) to open on Sunday. Without time to raise chickens, Omar started buying cleaned chickens from local producers.

Jerk-men sell to locals, foreigners, and hungry people traveling along the road. Shoe-doctor George and another man jerk chicken part-time on weekends and at Bluefields Beach Park and Belmont Beach near Black’s Bay on holidays. The Fresh Touch restaurant, open daily at Bluefields Beach Park, also sells cooked food. Jerk-men also work local street dances, parties, and Nine Nights. Some local cook shops and jerk-men, men who jerk chicken, buy from local chicken producers. Three shops operate next-door to Omar’s, including one run by his mother, who sells drinks to Omar’s thirsty customers. A few people from the hills collect firewood, particularly pimento, often sold to jerk-men.

**Cook Shops.** Jasmine, who runs a shop on Up Street, built the shop in 2007 at Creek near the fire hydrant on the north corner of route A-2 and the intersection of Up Street and Blue Hole Road. In November 2009, she rented it, at a low rate, to ‘Marta’ who cooks food for sale on a two-burner “Mega” stove fueled by propane stored in a tank bought, often on credit, from Midland Gas and Chemical at Creek. Marta, whose father and brothers were fishermen and farmers active in the former markets at Belmont Fishing Beach, uses a metal spoon and fork in a small nonstick pan to cook, salt and black pepper
for seasoning, and a napkin or foil to wrap sandwiches. Condiments such as ketchup and hot sauce or pepper are sold and added to cooked or prepared foods such as fried chicken, boiled eggs, and callaloo, fried eggs, and salt fish sandwiches. Marta sometimes sells ackee, orange, banana, coconut, yam, and other locally grown produce for others. She also sells small candy, chocolate tea, coffee, and coconut or almond “drops” produced by her half-sister ‘Rita’ for which she receives a small commission. Kids often buy drops. Rita, who is married to a farmer who also did some woodwork, building beds, tables, and other household furniture, runs a cook shop attached to a small shop built in 2004 and operated by Rita’s sister where people often gamble on bingo. Rita sells fried or curried chicken with fried dumplings, made from flour, sugar, baking powder, and water, on Saturday after the Sabbath ends at sundown, or rice and peas with steamed cabbage and carrots in a Styrofoam box with a fork and service or napkin. Rita fries chicken in a cast iron pot with vegetable oil on a steel rebar grill over a pimento wood fire between three large rocks.

**Exports.** The Belmont community exports souvenirs, crafts, and foodstuff through tourists and relatives leaving the island, ganja illegally in small quantities to tourist markets in nearby Caribbean islands, and pimento leaves through a local exporter. A man who owns property in Belmont containing plantain, ackee, breadfruit, banana, mango, and cherry trees; beehives; and a few animal pens buys pimento leaves from local farmers (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). Workers boil leaves in huge vats and store the resulting liquid in metal drums or barrels (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). They then skim the water off the top as it separates from the oil until all the water is removed (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). The man, who holds one of a few pimento export
licenses on the island, still exports a few barrels of pimento oil each year (Oscar, interview, January 17, 2011). Wedenoja (personal communication, September 3, 2012) said this process might have been part of a larger operation involving the pimento factory, no longer in operation, behind Oristano Great House. He also said another pimento factory still operates in Cave.

The illegal drug trade has also become a popular way for many to earn a living. The western end of Jamaica, where coastlines are largely unprotected by a sparse Coast Guard and patrolmen, has been used by modern drug runners as a port for the transshipment of cocaine and ganja from South America, particularly Colombia, through the Caribbean (Davis 2002). Ganja was also “cultivated in remote regions” of Jamaica and “flown out on small planes making touch-and-go landings from makeshift airfields, smuggled on board commercial aircraft or transported by sea” to the United States and England (Wedenoja 2007).

While in Belmont in 1986, during President Reagan’s War on Drugs, which targeted supply rather than demand, Wedenoja witnessed United States Drug Enforcement Agency helicopters “spotting and burning marijuana fields” and the Jamaica Defense Force making “house-to-house searches, roughly interrogating residents” (Wedenoja 2007). In the mid-1990s, drug runners, chased in their boat by the Coast Guard, dumped packages of cocaine overboard in Bluefields Bay (Wedenoja 2007). After Belmont fishermen recovered the jettisoned drugs at sea, a “don” or gang boss from Montego Bay came to acquire or buy the drugs, but ran off after an aspiring local don slashed his tires (Wedenoja 2007). The Montego Bay boss soon returned to humiliate the local don and recruited Belmont fishermen to transport cocaine and ganja overseas,
which included trips to Colombia (Wedenoja 2007). At least ten fishermen died in the operation, at sea or due to violence, and others went to prison (Wedenoja 2007).

On October 16, 2001, police in Belmont seized 1,227 kilograms (2,705 pounds) (Thompson 2001) or 977 kilograms (2,154 pounds) of cocaine, worth an estimated J$339 million or US$36 million, one of the biggest cocaine busts in Jamaican history (Wright 2002). “The police also seized a 35-foot speed boat with two 200 horsepower engines; two satellite phones; a cellular phone; two letters written in Spanish and a map of South America, with certain sections of it highlighted in bright coloured ink” (Thompson 2001). Apparently the Coast Guard chased the boat into Bluefields Bay and occupants of the boat dumped packages of cocaine “in the mangrove swamps along the beach,” likely at Kasha Tree Beach, and stashed some in a house, which the police discovered (Wedenoja 2007). People in Belmont who grabbed the bags sold the drugs and bought sports cars and luxuries. However, when the owners came to recover their drugs, six people died (Wedenoja 2007). Authorities later arrested the Montego Bay don and extradited him to the United States (Wedenoja 2007). In 2003, there were two murders in Belmont following a military police operation that led to the seizure of over 1,200 kilograms of compressed ganja (Wilson 2003).

**Tourism.** Tourism has become the dominant industry in Belmont, Bluefields, and most of Jamaica. An abundance of visitors has influenced many people to open guesthouses with varying features and amenities at a wide range of prices. Guesthouses in Belmont include Rastaman and farmer Brian Wedderburn’s Nature Roots Cottage that opened in the 1990s, Horizon Guesthouse, Quashi’s Cabins, former fisherman Mr. Forrester’s Belmont Garden Cottage, Pleasant View Cottage, Rainbow Villa, and
returning resident Mr. George Jackson’s Sunset Cottage. In 2000, Braxton and Debbie Moncure opened Bluefields Villas, known also as San Michele, a high-end all-inclusive guesthouse for tourists. The Moncures employ a number of Belmont residents. Near Bluefields Beach Park are guesthouses Hermitage House and Wilton House. Another small building has two or three rooms available for rent on a monthly basis, usually to locals, but occasionally squatted on by the author. From 2001 to 2013, Wedenoja brought Missouri State University students to Bluefields to conduct research projects in cooperation with various community organizations and Reliable Adventures Jamaica, an ecotourism company that specializes in bird watching established in Belmont in 2003 and operated from Belmont by Wolde Kristos. Students also came from Drury University, Binghamton University, and Eastern Michigan University. Many American, German, English, Dutch, and Canadian tourists also stay at various guesthouses and villas in the Bluefields Bay area.

Tourism led many people to seek employment outside Belmont at Sandals Whitehouse, an all-inclusive resort opened by 2000 on the beach near Auchindown, and other hotels in Negril and Montego Bay.\textsuperscript{182} From 1987 to 1997, local Indian fisherman Frizi (interview, January 11, 2010) worked at the Peter Tosh mausoleum, a tourist site dedicated to the Jamaican reggae artist and founding member of the musical group the Wailers at his home in Belmont.\textsuperscript{183} Some are directly involved as tour operators and guides picking up tourists at airports, resorts, and guesthouses and taking them on tours to different sites and attractions. Three women work full or part-time as tour guides and

\textsuperscript{182} Construction on Sandals Whitehouse Resort began in 1998 (Whylie 1998).

\textsuperscript{183} Peter Tosh, who died in 1987, was likely born in Grange Hill in 1944 and moved to Belmont when he was young.
cooks for Kristos and Reliable Adventures Jamaica. Kristos also hires two men to work as security guards and Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society fishermen take snorkelers, scuba divers, and boating enthusiasts out to sea in Bluefields Bay. Mr. Forrester’s great nephew became a mason and in 2010 began working at Sandals Whitehouse Resort. After graduating from high school, Marta’s son briefly worked at Sandals Whitehouse Resort, but he soon left, and is currently unemployed. Former photographer and former President of the Bluefields People’s Community Association Keith Wedderburn was in management at Sandals Whitehouse before starting Western Express Travel, a bus company that provides transportation for students. Tourists staying at local guesthouses, particularly student researchers, and a few from Sandals Whitehouse and hotels in Negril, Montego Bay, and Treasure Beach are the target customers for fishing and marine tours. Other “dry land” domestic or native tourists may also show some interest. Others are casual recipients of tourism, such as when buses stop to buy jerk chicken, bammy, breadfruit and other roadside food from vendors. Many work their way into the tourism industry by networking and gaining access to tourists for their own benefit. Some seek to gain a share of others’ earnings or to prevent them from benefiting. Tourists and student researchers, particularly returning guests, also bring gifts such as cell phones, computers, and other desired imports to their friends as informal importers.

**Beggars and Choosers.** Beggars roam daily at Creek. Some have phoned...
tourists met in Jamaica when they return overseas to ask for money. Many of the stories
told to solicit money are often blatant lies and repeated swindles learned from others.

Beggars are often rude when denied and ungrateful if not satisfied. When beggars ask for
something, they usually want something specific and not a lesser quality substitute.

Beggars will accept what is given, but are often disgruntled. Reliable Adventures Jamaica
tour operator Kristos (personal communication, December 31, 2009) said, “Jamaicans are
choosy beggars.” Jamaican reggae artist Bob Marley and founding member of the

Wailers sang about the problem of craving things:

Want all lose all
Then I know the wicked must fall
I say wanty, wanty cyaan getty (want it, want it can’t get it)
Oh no, and getty, getty no wanty

The craven dog will lose his bone grafting after something else
Can't take it for themselves alone
They don’t think about the other man
The old-time people say, wanty, wanty cyaan getty, yeah (Marley 1992[1972]).

Many without jobs, and too proud to beg, choose to steal. Belmont elders said that during
the Old Belmont Markets there was more food, less stealing and killing, and a stronger
sense of community (Randall and Clifton, interview, January 17, 2011). Jamaicans
consider thieves to be modern pirates, while the police are much like colonial privateers
hired by the government.185 While police may be necessary, they solve very few crimes.

Most victims and witnesses never report crimes as many in the community are related

nickname for Jamaican dancehall artist Movado, “white-man,” and “black-man.” On June
8, 2010 while walking with a friend on Up Street in Belmont, some children called the
author “King Perfect.”

185 Jamaicans often refer to police as “Babylon” in reference to the Biblical
enslavement of the Jews under the Babylonian Empire and officers as “Red Stripe” in
reference to the officer’s uniform, which features a red stripe, and in reference to the
popular domestic beer. Jamaicans also refer to police officers as “squady.”
and are reluctant to turn in family members. People often look down upon informants. Some Jamaicans prefer to try to take such problems into their own hands through vigilantism.

Over several nights in 2010, robbers stole various pieces of a house under construction, including the front and back doors and pieces of lumber. People have tried to rob businesses in Belmont, but have usually been unsuccessful, often being unable to get in or chased off by dogs. By 2008 Mrs. Mac’s general store, in 2010 the other general store at Belmont Square, and in 2011 Yardie’s shop on Up Street, had mesh fencing to prevent stealing and to hang merchandise to advertise. Others study their target’s movements and rob a house when the owners are not present, particularly during large local public gatherings such as festivals, dances, and Nine Nights. From 2008 to 2012, at least four 40-horsepower outboard fishing engines, valued at J$350,000 each, were stolen on fishing beaches in Belmont from the boats of fishermen who did not properly store and secure their motors. On rare occasions, people come from Kingston to exchange “cash for gold,” a scheme in which the seller is often robbed.

Local Events. On weekends and holidays such as Ash Wednesday, Independence Day, and Emancipation Day, vendors and some shopkeepers who close shop carry goods to sell at Bluefields Beach Park and Belmont Beach, often using bicycles or pushcarts (Figure 39). People also rent Bluefields Beach Park for private events and festivals. Some set up stalls with grills to jerk chicken and steam roast fish and conch in a blend of spices including pimento leaves and berries, coconut oil, Scotch Bonnet pepper, fish seasoning, meat seasoning, and salt. Some vendors erect makeshift stalls or find stumps, rocks, and walls to set pots on for cooking fried fish and dumplings, rice and peas, beef patties, and
“festival” made from cornmeal, sugar, baking powder, and water. Mobile traders sell from pushcarts and coolers or walk around. Many vendors sell peanuts, cashews, almond drops, bottled water, Pepsi, and rum.

People also sell at street dances, outside rum bars, at frequent meeting places, and at social gatherings such as wakes, Nine Nights, street dances, the Peter Tosh Tribute held annually at the Peter Tosh Mausoleum in February, and the Crab Fest held annually at Dorett’s Belmont Sands, most recently on May 26, 2013 (Figure 40). Vendors came to Belmont Fishing Beach on December 23, 2007, December 14, 2008, and December 13, 2009 for the Bluefields Bay Marine Conference and Festival hosted by Sandals Whitehouse and Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society. The festival featured boat
Figure 40. Social Gatherings and Hangouts in Belmont.
and canoe races. However, a lack of funding prevented later conferences and festivals.

On December 26, 2010 and 2011 the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and the Rebecca Campbell Foundation hosted the Rebecca Campbell Family Treat at Belmont Fishing Beach. The events had a “Bounce About,” waterslide, traditional games and foods, a band, and alcohol for sale.

On Saturday August 18, 2012 and Sunday September 16, 2012, there were movie nights held under the large gazebo at Belmont Fishing Beach. Movies showed included Hollywood films, Jamaican movies, and documentaries. Admission was free and refreshments were available for purchase.

The night scene in Belmont provides many outlets for entertainment. While there are still parties at K. D.’s pub, much of the action has moved to Belmont Square. A bar in the building attached to Mrs. Mac’s general store that had closed in 1985 was reopened as a “go-go” strip club and brothel in 2011 but has since closed. Women from Savanna-la-Mar and Kingston came to work as go-go girls, strippers and prostitutes, seeking financial independence by trading sexual favors for material gain. Shoe-doctor George and another man jerked chicken outside the go-go club.

Leroy’s Beach Bar and Grill in Belmont has become a popular venue for local events. On December 25, 2010 and December 26, 2011, Leroy’s hosted “Squeeze: Shortest Shorts Edition,” a dancehall event organized by Confident Promotions, the alias of a local entrepreneur (Figure 41). According to Facebook, recent parties at Leroy’s in

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186 “Promiscuity and direct or delayed money payments are quite normal,” as Keith Hart describes in Ghanaian sexual relationships, making it difficult to distinguish between a ‘good-time girl’ and a prostitute, unless she “is protected by a pimp and receives cash on delivery,” “largely a western practice” (1973:75-76).
Belmont included “Seductive City: Short Shorts and Skirt Edition” by First Blood Entertainment on May 19, 2012 and “Ballers Invasion” presented by Jah-Chris Presha Lewis on August 10, 2012. “A Yah So Nice” by Likkle Girl Promotions was held on August 11, 2012 at Belmont Fishing Beach, Belmont Square with music from Ghetto Rock and guest selectors DJ (deejay) Blacks, “ZJ” Ball, and DJ Rayon. There was chicken, fish, pork, conch, curried goat, and “lots of prize and surprises.” A sign at Belmont Square said that admission was free to keep the bar busy and that the meal ticket was J$300. Other events at Leroy’s included “Pink Crush: The Ultimate Sexxi in Pink Party” by Den-Doc Promotions on August 17, 2012 and “Juvinile’s Birthday Bash: The All White Mix Drink Edition” presented by Juvinile and Shan Shan Glimity in
association with Peerpresha on October 20, 2012. Promoters advertise events through word of mouth, posters, handing out flyers at other dances and the Internet, particularly through the social networking website Facebook.

Several rum bars and shops also stay open late, particularly weekends and holidays, to sell to hungry and thirsty people, and others who need miscellaneous goods such as diapers and phone cards. Judge’s bar is a popular spot for a nightcap. People also throw parties in unfinished buildings where electricians tie extension cords into power lines to provide electricity.

Bluefields Bay Fish Sanctuary

Fishing surveys indicating support among Bluefields Bay fishermen for protecting the bay (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005, 2008) influenced the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to declare 3,100 acres of Bluefields Bay from Belmont Point to Paradise or Bluff Point as a fish sanctuary in August 2009, banning fishing in the bay under the Fishing Industry Act of 1975 (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries 1975, 2009; Figure 42). Three pairs of wardens alternating 12-hour shifts began patrolling the sanctuary in January 2011. The Black River Coast Guard occasionally visits the area and responds to calls.

The recent sightings of rare marine life including sharks, stingrays, and hawksbill turtles are evidence of an increase in fish stocks due to the ban on fishing in Bluefields Bay.¹⁸⁷ The ban on fishing, however, has forced seine-net crews, particularly from

¹⁸⁷ In 2011, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and CARIBSAVE began funding a sea turtle monitoring program in Farm.
Figure 42. Bluefields Bay Fish Sanctuary
Auldayr, and spear fishermen, particularly from Belmont, Farm, and Paradise, to find alternative fishing locations and methods to catch fish, conch, and lobster or risk being caught fishing illegally. A fishing survey conducted in 2010 by the author and the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society showed continued support for the fish sanctuary. Marine biologist Daniel Beckman and students from Missouri State University have been conducting surveys on the health of the reefs and fisheries since 2010.

The documentary *Jamaica For Sale* suggested that declaring Montego Bay a fish sanctuary became a precursor to tourism development and the privatization of beaches along the bay (Figueroa 2008). Privatization of beaches has occurred in Negril, Ocho Rios, and recently in Falmouth with the construction of a cruise ship pier. Businesses along the beach often restrict or charge for access to the beach, showers, and changing facilities. Another documentary, *Font Hill: Jamaica’s Gift to the World*, suggests that while the Font Hill Wildlife Reserve might appear to protect natural resources, the area will likely be deforested for tourism development, including the destruction of mangrove swamps and coral reefs, which will likely lead to pollution of fish nurseries and drinking water, displacement of local people, and restricted access to the beach (Figueroa 2010).

**Lease of the Market Shed**

On December 1, 2009, the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society obtained a five-year lease from the Westmoreland Parish Council, at J$15,000 per year, to the Council’s shed north of Creek at Belmont Fishing Beach known as “Old Belmont Market,” with plans to develop the building as a fisher’s and farmer’s group store and hold fish, farmers, and craft markets (Figure 43). The society intends to collect either a
flat fee or variable rates based on the type of goods sold from all vendors selling in the general market area. Sellers will pay a fee to sell, but consumers would not likely have to pay an entrance fee to buy at the market.

In 2010, architect and Peace Corps Response volunteer Shannon David French drafted plans to remodel the market shed. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries later revised these plans. Remodeling began in 2010 (Figure 44). In 2011, the Savanna-la-Mar Rotary Club and Rotary International in Ann Arbor, Michigan, through the work of Michigan Rotarian and “Raw Food Chef” John Rasmussen and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, funded the Bluefields Market Sanitation Project. Rasmussen, his fellow Rotarians, and a few people from Belmont helped paint and clean up the building (Figure 45). New latrines, built with a US$12,000 grant from Rotary, are not yet in use due to problems with the pit (Wedenoja, personal communication, September 3,
Figure 44. Inside the Old Belmont Market shed (Wedenoja 2010a).

Figure 45. The Old Belmont Market shed, now the New Bluefields Market (2011).
Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society is seeking additional funds for further repairs and improvements and to pay utility bills and employee salaries.

**The Group Store.** Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society plans to open the fisher’s and farmer’s group store as a private for-profit business (Westmoreland Parish Council 2009a). The members of the organization who own shares in the society will receive funding from group store profits and market fees. The society plans to sell fishing and farming gear and other tools used to produce goods that they might then sell at the market. The group store will likely be open Monday through Friday from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. The Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society has also discussed operating a natural juice spot and rum bar within the group store as a tourist attraction.

**Cold Storage and Fish Market.** In 2008, Food for the Poor built the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society cold storage unit, a small building containing two deep freezers and one large walk-in freezer (Figure 46). The Society began selling fish caught by its members from the two deep freezers, though the large walk-in would not be operational until 2011. Although people prefer to buy fresh fish, they will buy frozen fish from the cold storage unit when fresh fish are not available. The Society plans to sell fish daily and during markets at the shed. Society fishermen also catch, sell, and prepare lionfish for tourists at Bluefields Villas. The Society hopes to get contracts to supply fish to other hotels and supermarkets.

Members will receive a portion of profits from fish sales based on the quantity and weight of fish they catch and how many shares they own in the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society. However, market crowds will attract non-Society fishermen to sell their catch from boats, canoes, and coolers along the beach and at the
dock or pier at Belmont Fishing Beach. The Society may attempt to charge non-Society fishermen a small fee and ensure they observe fishing regulations.

As of April 2011, only one freezer was working and the cold storage was not yet in operation, pending approval of the Westmoreland Public Health Department, which requires the unit to have a sanitation system with a septic tank for cleaning fish. The system will provide a place to clean fish other than near the bridge at Creek. There is also a standpipe at Belmont Fishing Beach that provides fresh water for drinking and other purposes.

In 2011, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) began funding aquaponics projects in Bluefields, which combines aquaculture (raising marine life in tanks) and hydroponics (growing plants in water).\textsuperscript{188} Wedenoja (personal

\textsuperscript{188} In 2012, the United States Agency for International Development funded an aquaponics project at Belmont Academy (Laing 2012). In 2013, the Westmoreland
communication, September 3, 2012) said the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society wants to build a gas station and anchorage to attract yacht traffic. On January 27, 2011, the Society bought a new patrol boat with funding provided by the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), the Caribbean Community Climate Change Center (CCCCC), and the CARIBSAVE Partnership.189

Crafts. The Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society also had interest in holding periodic farmers and craft markets, during which they would also sell fish. There are many artisans and craftsmen who could potentially sell their wares in such markets. Types of art found in Bluefields include utilitarian handicrafts, carvings, paintings, drawings, cuisine, and fashion. The most common craft items are woodcarvings, jewelry, and paintings. Shopkeepers occasionally try to sell their own crafts and those produced by other artisans at their shops in Belmont. However, while many are capable of producing utilitarian and decorative crafts for sale, most only produce for personal use because they feel there is no reliable market or outlet to sell goods and surplus. While artisans with workshops along route A-2 have a regular location from which to sell, many say that they would like to sell at the market.

Belmont shopkeeper Marta once, unsuccessfully, tried to sell mass-produced Rastaman beanies bought from a store in Savanna-la-Mar by another entrepreneur from

Organic Farmers’ Society, formerly the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Society, completed an aquaponics system with four square concrete walled tanks that farmers will use to raise tilapia (Oreochromis sp., Sarotherodon sp., and Tilapia sp.) and grow vegetables. Peace Corps volunteer and agriculture specialist Kevin Fath has been active in assisting the Organic Farmers with the aquaponics project since 2012.189 During the final revisions of this thesis, I learned that the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society received a grant from the National Environment and Planning Agency to build a 176 foot (54 meters) pier at Belmont Fishing Beach, which was nearly complete on July 17, 2013.
Belmont. Two full-time craftsmen or artisans, McDonald and Jah Calo, sell mainly to tourists visiting Belmont and driving along route A-2. McDonald, from Mount Airy, has been carving since 1991 and had a workshop along route A-2 by 2010. Studio Black, Jah Calo’s business, also on route A-2, has been in operation since 1977. After his workshop burned in 2008, Calo began selling from the building next door, which was once his brother’s shop. Brian Wedderburn, fisherman, farmer, artisan, and guesthouse operator, produces woodcarvings and other crafts for sale to tourists at his Nature Roots Cottage guesthouse and from his shop near Kasha Tree Beach. One artisan from Black’s Bay has a roadside workshop where he produces and sells wood and limestone carvings. A man from Black’s Bay produces hammocks and jewelry, particularly beaded necklaces, bracelets, and anklets, for sale along the roadside or in nearby markets. One part-time spear fisherman sells seashells at Belmont Bridge.

Another type of artisan, George, repairs shoes at his stand along route A-2 at Creek. His business was originally in the same structure as the former group store before it burned in 1988, after which George built a new stand across the road where he is now located. Barrington Walker from Brighton also repairs shoes and makes his own when there is demand, but has no location for marketing or selling his product. Walker in 2010 received orders to produce shoes in the style of Clarks, an English shoemaking company.

Some people produce utilitarian crafts for their trade such as fish-pots and fishnets. A Fishermen also make fish-pots and spear guns, and dugout canoes. Local

190 Fish-pots are regulated under Jamaican law, requiring the width of the hole be larger than three-quarter-inch (0.75”). Chicken coop wire on the other hand is often half-inch (0.5”) and illegal, however occasionally used to catch smaller fish when surplus wire exists from building fences or chicken coops.
youth sell “burned” compact discs (CDs) featuring reggae and dancehall music, produced (illegally) with a personal computer. Some woodworkers produce dressers, beds, and rocking chairs. Some artisans produce ashtrays, flat decorative faces, necklaces, cups, tables, rocking chairs, and hair clips. There are at least three other woodworkers, also having worked as carpenters, who produce furniture including bed frames, cabinets, tables, and chairs. A farmer from Bluefields also makes woodcarvings and furniture. Woodworkers usually work on commission and rarely produce to sell on speculation.

In 2011, Cotta Craft, a community-based sewing business located next door to Reliable Adventures Jamaica and the Bluefields People’s Community Association, employed two or three seamstresses. They often receive orders for dresses, school uniforms, chef hats, and aprons. Customers come from both inside and outside the community, including tourists. Other women make crochet and knit potholders and other items. Cotta Craft also receives orders to have jeans fitted tight, known as straight jeans, or to trim jeans and stitch or hem the ends to make shorts, capris, or “cutoff foot-pants.” Cotta Craft buys many of its supplies from Savanna-la-Mar and Kingston.

While some skills are self-taught, many artisans learn from other tradesmen and pass on their knowledge and skills to others. Calo (personal communication, December 30, 2009) said some artists paint bad wood such as wormwood to hide imperfections.

Belmont artisans buy supplies in Negril and Ocho Rios such as beads, buttons, canvas, cardboard, cardstock, cork, Duco white paint, dust masks, eyelets, gloves, hardwood, laces, leather, fabric referred to as “material,” matte waterproof sealer, needles, paint, paint brushes, paper, pencils, pinchers, pins, screens, shoe laces, shoe models, stain, stamps, steel wire, stone, tacks, thread, toothpaste, and varnish. Local
materials such as blue mahoe wood, sea coral, shark spine, shells, bamboo, cedar wood, coconut shells, limestone, and mahogany are used to produce necklaces, hair clips, anklets, aprons, ashtrays, beads, bracelets, calabash plates, carvings, chains, hats, shoes, cups, carvings, hammocks, lamps, paintings, and shell wind chimes. Artisans sometimes receive tools and supplies from tourists and friends visiting or returning from overseas.

Craft markets exist mainly in tourist areas such as Ocho Rios, Montego Bay, Negril, and inside the general market in Port Antonio. Savanna-la-Mar and Kingston, however, receive very few tourists. There are some stores in Savanna-la-Mar that sell clothing and other goods with the Jamaican national colors: red, green, yellow or gold, and black (Figure 47). The Kingston Craft Market has many vendors who rent booths and sell similar goods as the others (Figure 48). Rashford (1995:401-403) said that that bamboo jars, jugs, salt and pepper shakers, tobacco pipes, ashtrays, spoons, boxes, fans, wind chimes, waste baskets, handbags, spinners, and other crafts sold in the Kingston Craft Market are also sold at other markets around Jamaica. One Belmont craft maker said that, “If everyone sells something different then everyone can sell their goods. Everyone can't sell the same thing.”

**Market Fees.** Artisans usually pay a flat fee to sell at a market stall for a given period. An artisan from Belmont who makes necklaces and hammocks said he paid J$500 a day to sell crafts from a stall at Margaritaville in Negril (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2010, Appendix A-3). There is no consensus on the amount people are willing to pay for a stall or a space in the proposed market to sell crafts. Of those who produce a craft potentially to sell, 26 of 32 surveyed said they needed a place to sell goods, and all but one was willing to pay to rent a stall in the new market.
Figure 47. Clothing store in Savanna-la-Mar (2009).

Figure 48. Stall at Kingston Craft Market (2009).
Farmers markets often assess market fees based on quantity, weight, and type of goods. In 2009, market fees in Savanna-la-Mar increased on ground provisions such as yam, dasheen, sweet potato, Irish potato, and other staples to J$150 per 100 pounds; vegetables such as cabbage J$100 per 100 pounds, tomato J$100 per crate, lettuce J$50 per small crate, carrot J$150 per 100 pounds, onion J$100 per bag, scallion J$150 per 100 pounds, pumpkin J$150 per 100 pounds, callaloo J$150 per bundle; and fruits such as pineapple J$100 per basket, oranges J$50 per bag, ripe banana J$150 per basket, naseberry J$150 per basket, melon J$150 per 100 pounds, pawpaw J$150 per basket, ackee J$100 per crate, mangoes J$200 per basket, green banana J$50 per bunch of 5-12 hands per bunch and 12-15 fingers per hand, and plantain J$50 per bunch. Rates for meat, sold per carcass and per pound, also increased on cows from J$300 to J$350 per carcass (J$140 per pound), goats J$200 to J$250 per carcass (J$200 per pound), pigs J$200 to J$300 per carcass (J$140 per pound), and fish J$250 to J$300 per pound (Westmoreland Parish Council 2009b). However, at New Market in Saint Elizabeth Parish in 2009 vendors were charged only J$250 per week (Kristos, personal communication, June 2, 2009).

**Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expo**

In 2010, the author and Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society conducted a survey of fishermen and farmers including many members of the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society, artisans, and other vendors in order to gauge support for fish, farmers, and craft markets in Belmont (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2010,
Appendix A-3). The survey showed overwhelming support and a desire to hold markets at the shed in Belmont. The 2010 market survey also showed potential for greater food production in Belmont and the immediate surrounding areas (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2010, Appendix A-3).

Eight months after the author finished fieldwork, the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group held the first Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expo on Wednesday, December 21, 2011 from 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. at Belmont Fishing Beach. Reliable Adventures Jamaica tour guide Veda Tate later told Wedenoja about the event (Tate, personal communication with Wedenoja, December 28, 2011). Vendors came from Belmont, Auldayr, Farm, and Beeston Spring and paid a small fee to sell. Farmers sold locally grown produce including banana, breadfruit, yam, chocho or chayote (Sechium edule), coconut, sorrel, and bissy or kola nut (Cola acuminata), a medicine boiled as a tea to cure poisoning from barracuda. There were also plantains, cinnamon sticks, Scotch Bonnet and sweet bell peppers, sorrel pods and seedlings, and a live goat for sale. Sellers weighed goods on hanging kitchen scales.

Members of the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group produced, prepared, labeled, and sold organic sorrel liqueurs, with five-percent alcohol. Many of them produced organic jams for sale, such as June plum (Spondias dulcis) and sorrel, with sugar, limejuice, cinnamon, and ginger. Some also made sweet potato pudding, corn pudding, coconut drops, coconut grater-cake, and parched sweet corn powder for sale. Members of the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group built a kitchen and sold food such as peanut porridge, ital stew, fish and chicken, and rice and peas. A man was also selling organic fertilizers. There was a display of old-time items such as utensils and an iron powered by
kerosene oil. Jah Calo was there with paintings and carvings to sell. Members of the
Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group built bamboo benches and put them by the sea. The
Mighty Beestons performed old-time mento music. A band from Auldayr, hired to
sing, stopped three hours early at 7:00 p.m. as the crowd was not responsive (Tate,
personal communication with Wedenoja, December 28, 2011).

Efforts of the Bluefields Organic Farmers’ Group and the success of the first
Expo led to a reclassification of the group in 2012 as the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’
Specially Authorized Society, also known as the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’
Society, Limited. Peace Corps Volunteer Patrick Marti played an important role in
assisting the Organic Farmers as an environmental promoter and business advisor from
2010 to 2012.

On August 6, 2012, members from Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society
and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society represented Westmoreland in competition
and festivities at the Jamaica Agricultural Society’s annual Denbigh Agricultural Festival
in May Pen.

The Second Annual Bluefields Organic Expo and Sorrel Festival was held on
Wednesday, December 19, 2012 from 10:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. and Thursday, December
20 from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m., sponsored by the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’

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191 Mento was an early to mid-1900s style of calypso music, featuring acoustic
instruments such as a three or four metal tooth piano box called a rumba box, a banjo
with strings made from unwound electrical wire, a drum with a cow skin, and sometimes
a harmonica, which greatly influenced ska and reggae (MacDonald 2012).
192 The Registrar General was there helping people apply for new birth certificates
(Tate, personal communication with Wedenoja, December 28, 2011).
193 The author attended the Denbigh Agricultural Festival from July 31 to August 2,
2010.
Society, Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, Bluefields Environmental Protection Agency, Jamaica Organic Agriculture Movement, and Eco-Tec.

The event offered vending space for farmers, higglers, and artisans such as Jah Calo, and members of the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society. People sold ugli fruit (*Citrus reticulata x Citrus paradisi*), melon, guinep, Seville and other oranges, lime, ackee, squash, gungo peas in shell, red peas, green beans, organic lettuce, sugarcane cut from the husk with a machete, nutmeg in shell, various ground spices, organic honey and sauces bottled in overproof rum fifths and pints, sorrel jams, sorrel cake, cupcakes, and other baked goods, sorrel pods and seedlings, and bamboo and wire fish-pots produced by local fishermen and members of the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society. Women of the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society sold embroidered and tie-dyed tank tops, knit pouches, knit hats or beanies, and other knit crafts. Bottled water was also available for purchase.

One man displayed a traditional mortar and pestle and a modern stainless steel hand crank grinder representing old and new technology. The Expo also featured prepared meals and organic jams, jellies, ice cream, and sorbets made from June plums, Otaheite or maple apple (*Syzygium malaccense*), sorrel and Scotch Bonnet peppers, and other local produce. Other cash crops produced by society members included pak choy (*Brassica rapa*) or Chinese cabbage, cabbage, sweet pepper, pumpkins, lettuce, carrots, plantain and turmeric (Anonymous 2012). Some are raising organic free-range chickens (Anonymous 2012).

The 2012 Expo had dancing and youth hand drummers from Beeston Spring and storytelling through a microphone and stereo system. According to Facebook, there was
also a demonstration of “biochar,” a process in which burning biomass or agricultural waste is covered to produce a low oxygen environment with little combustion, storing greenhouse gasses in the ground and improving water retention, resulting in enriched soil quality as an advanced slash and burn method, producing char, oils, and gasses usable as fuel.

The December 2012 Expo, however, was affected by Hurricane Sandy in October 2012, which caused power outages across 70 percent of the island, including Belmont. Weather alerts before the storm allowed members of the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and other Bluefields Bay fishermen time to take up their traps from the sea, beach their boats, and pull up the pier at Belmont Fishing Beach. Much of the tree crops, including breadfruit, bananas, mangos, Otaheite apples, sweetsop, soursop, and ackee, however, were lost (Wedenoja, personal communication, September 3, 2012). While Hurricane Sandy devastated many crops around the island, particularly in eastern Jamaica, fishermen in Whitehouse, and presumably along Bluefields Bay and other fishing communities along the southwest coast of Jamaica, experienced temporary increases in fish catches due to the introduction of marine life from other areas entering the area while fleeing from the storm (Titus 2012). Despite Hurricane Sandy, those involved feel the Expo was a success. A third annual Expo is slated for December 2013.

Bluefields Art and Craft Festival

According to Facebook, on Saturday February 23, 2013, from 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., paintings, woodcarvings, crafts, food, and refreshments were on sale at the market shed. The Bluefields Art and Craft Festival, in celebration of Black History Month,
featured cultural music, art, craft demonstrations, and onsite productions. The festival featured Jah Calo and other artists, artisans, craftsmen, woodworkers, and entrepreneurs from Belmont and nearby communities.
CHAPTER 7
THE FUTURE OF THE NEW BLUEFIELDS MARKET

This research has aimed to describe and evaluate the history of marketing activity at Bluefields Bay, particularly the community of Belmont, and assess the viability of holding fisher’s and farmer’s markets. The purpose of this research was to provide answers for: (1) when, why, and how market activity in Belmont began; (2) why marketing activity in Belmont declined; (3) how a new market will affect the local Belmont economy; and last, suggestions for (4) how the new market can be successful. While previous chapters focused on the first two objectives, this chapter briefly summarizes previous information and evaluates the last two goals. This chapter also discusses links between the rise and fall of rural markets and broader processes such as geography, modes of production, technology, and government policies.

Rise of the Old Belmont Markets

The area surrounding Bluefields Bay has a diverse topography, though it is often rocky and difficult to irrigate, and tropical environment ideal for people to grow a diversity of native and foreign crops, catch an abundance of various fish in the bay, and distribute goods in Belmont, regionally, and through Jamaica’s vast network of roads and trails. The hills surrounding Bluefields Bay also provided protection from hurricanes and invaders, and aided navigators who could see landmarks on the hills. During the Old Belmont Markets, people used many of the same natural resources available to the native Taino. However, Jamaican markets are in no way a continuation of the Taino way of life.
Markets along Bluefields Bay developed after Emancipation on beaches where land-based producers exchanged with fishermen returning from sea.

**The Old Wharf and Ports of Trade along Bluefields Bay.** The location of Bluefields Bay along sea routes between North and South America frequented by merchants, pirates, and explorers was ideal as a port of trade for the exchange of nonlocal goods (e.g., enslaved people, gold, silver, logwood, and European manufactures) and export of raw materials (e.g., sugar and pimento). Bluefields Bay served as a provisioning station for outfitting ships conducting such transactions with wood, water (e.g., from Bluefields River, Blue Hole Spring, Creek, and Waterwheel), and foodstuffs (e.g., cassava and corn bread, salt fish, and beef). Ships stopping at Bluefields Bay included merchants, the Royal Navy, pirates, and privateers licensed by England to plunder Spanish ships and ports. Ships often stopped at Bluefields Bay before sailing to destinations in Spanish America, across the Atlantic to Europe or from Africa, or elsewhere in the Caribbean.

The commercial export of goods along Bluefields Bay, particularly at the Old Wharf, Cave, and Waterwheel, including sugar, pimento, logwood, cotton, tobacco, and other raw materials to support European factories, began after the English took over the island. Among the earliest settlers were land speculating army and naval officers who received land grants. Further settlers came after England signed trade agreements and peace treaties including the Treaty of Breda in 1667 and Treaty of Madrid in 1670. Wealth brought to the area may have provided some of the necessary capital for plantation agriculture, the importation of enslaved people and livestock, and construction projects such as forts, aqueducts, waterwheels, the Old Wharf, Bluefields Great House,
and Bluefields Tavern.

**The Jamaican Internal Marketing System.** During the colonial period of slavery and sugar estates, trade between local and domestic whites, enslaved people, and foreign merchants would have occurred at ports of trade along Bluefields Bay, particularly the Old Wharf. Enslaved people were allowed time-off on weekends to cultivate provision grounds and carry surplus produce to markets, in large part to lower the cost of feeding enslaved people with imported goods. Enslaved people living in communities surrounding Bluefields Bay likely carried goods to sell on other estates, ports of trade along Bluefields Bay including Cave and the Old Wharf, and at the market in Savanna-la-Mar.

Slave markets in Jamaica were initially held on Sunday, but later moved to Saturday to break up the Jewish monopoly. This explains why Saturday was the big market day during the Old Belmont Markets. Although markets originated through English demand and legislature, enslaved people and African traditions and culture had perhaps the larger influence. Some produce was native to Jamaica and available to the Taino. However, livestock and the diversity of crops available at markets in Belmont and around the island were also influenced by botanical gardens, government commissioned colonial expeditions, and the distribution of goods by higglers to various markets in various regions of the island through the Jamaican internal marketing system.

**Decline of Ports of Trade.** Unlike many other areas of Jamaica, the shortage of labor after Emancipation did not force all estates and pens around Bluefields Bay out of production. However, disruptions to shipping during the American Revolutionary War, the end of the slave trade in 1807, foreign economic policies favoring European sugar
beet producers and the fall of the sugarcane industry in Jamaica, and Emancipation in 1834 led to a decline of shipping in Jamaica and presumably at the Old Wharf and other ports along Bluefields Bay. The distribution of domestic goods, imports, and exports by higglers to various markets in various regions of the island through the Jamaican internal marketing system also allowed for the distribution of goods in or out of communities in the Bluefields Bay area without the need for importing or exporting directly from ports on the bay. The decline of ports along Bluefields Bay appears to have contributed to the rise of beach markets, first at Bluefields Beach as a port for people to take goods by canoe to the market in Savanna-la-Mar and later the Old Belmont Markets at Kasha Tree Beach, the Sand Beach Market at Belmont Fishing Beach, and the market shed.

**The Old Belmont Markets.** Markets developed in Belmont after Emancipation. Freedmen likely settled Belmont after Emancipation, possibly people who became wage laborers on Bluefields and other nearby estates including Mount Edgecombe. Many freedmen in Belmont also fished and farmed for subsistence. After people stopped buying and selling at the Old Wharf, the economic activity continued at fishing beaches along Bluefields Bay and developed into markets, where fishermen sold and exchanged fish for produce brought by higglers from communities in the hills surrounding Bluefields Bay. Over time, fisher’s and farmer’s markets developed and expanded on beaches in Belmont.

The development of markets in Belmont is in large part due to the use of seine-nets and to some degree fish-pots, which caught large quantities of fish to meet demand from fishmongers, higglers, and consumers. Access to ice from delivery men driving trucks from Waterworks by 1912 allowed people to keep fish from spoiling and allowed
for fresh fish to be sold by fishmongers, higglers, and people in pick-up trucks to
consumers in the hills and other markets along roads, without always having to be salted
as would previously have been necessary. Today, fishermen have access to electricity and
their own freezers to produce ice or can buy it in local shops and stores.

Fishermen sold their catch to fishmongers, country higglers, town higglers
cooking for sale at the market, and consumers, many of whom were likely wage laborers
on Bluefields Property and other estates still in production. Fishermen also exchanged
fish for produce from higglers. Fishmongers sold in Belmont and other nearby markets
while higglers carrying produce from the hills brought fish to sell in communities along
their routes home. The introduction of the motor vehicle also aided the transportation of
fish to more distant markets and communities along the road to Montego Bay in pick-up
trucks full of ice bought off the ice truck from Waterworks. Country higglers also sold to
wage laborers and exchanged crops for fish or bought fish. Higglers within the Jamaican
internal marketing system, later aided by increased availability of mass transportation in
the forms of trucks, buses, taxis, and vans, connected larger markets and ports and
transported domestic, imported, and exported goods across the island to Belmont. People
came from other towns with regional produce and imported goods brought in by informal
commercial importers. Markets transitioned from irregular encounters to periodical
meetings of large groups of people on the main fishing days: Monday, Wednesday, and
Saturday. Fishermen, farmers, higglers, and wage laborers all contributed to creating
successful markets. Further shipping disruptions during the American Civil War and
World Wars I and II also contributed to the need for increased domestic production and
distribution and influenced the Westmoreland Parish Council to build market sheds
throughout the parish including at Belmont. Efforts were also made to assist fishermen by forming groups and societies, including organizations in Bluefields and Whitehouse, and building gear sheds and group stores to sell gear.

**Decline of the Old Belmont Markets**

While the rise of the Old Belmont Markets involved several interwoven geographical, technological, and political factors, the main reason for their decline was rather simple: overfishing. By the middle 1970s, fish stocks, which allowed the Old Belmont Markets to expand during the early to middle 1900s, had begun a rapid decline due to prolonged overfishing with seine-nets and the use of dynamite. Without fish to be caught, fishermen could not meet market demand from fishmongers, higglers, and consumers who began buying and selling in other markets such as Savanna-la-Mar and Whitehouse with larger quantities of fish and market crowds. The booming fish market at Whitehouse may have also influenced higglers and farmers to sell in Whitehouse rather than in Belmont. Improved transportation, which originally facilitated the selling of imported and nonlocal goods in Belmont, increasingly made it financially feasible for people from Belmont to travel to larger markets and towns to buy goods.

Although overfishing was the primary cause of the decline of the Old Belmont Markets, several other factors contributed to their demise. Government sponsored food collection centers (the Agricultural Marketing Corporation) may have diverted some produce to other markets, particularly Savanna-la-Mar. The Seventh-day Adventist church also influenced fishermen and others in Belmont and other communities to stop fishing, working, and attending the market on Saturday. Repeated trips to Belmont
markets without finding fish might have influenced some to go to other markets.

Market activity was already in heavy decline and nearly ceased after the hurricanes and flood of June 1979. Hurricanes also played a role in destroying crops that would have been available at the 2012 Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expo. Hurricanes, including those historical sources note as having hit Savanna-la-Mar and others remembered by people in Belmont, also likely affected fishing activities and devastated crops sold at the markets.

National government deficits in part due to government neglect of domestic agriculture and investments in tourism, unfavorable trade agreements, and unsuccessful loans from the International Monetary Fund, contributed to the downsizing of the Westmoreland Parish Council and spending cuts that, along with declining marketing activity, resulted in the Council’s decision to stop funding the Old Belmont Market shed and offer the building for lease in the mid-1980s. The shed lay vacant until Dorett leased the building in 1999 or 2000 for her restaurant.

**Impact of the New Bluefields Market**

A new market can improve economic opportunities for locals involved in fishing, farming, craft making, and higglering. While the market, the group store, and cold storage unit are in their early stages of development, limited to fish sales, the 2011 and 2012 Expos, and the 2013 Bluefields Art and Craft Festival, the market can expand and boost the overall local economy by providing an outlet for people to buy and sell, particularly locally produced foodstuffs and crafts. Higglers may also consider selling in Bluefields rather than in Savanna-la-Mar or Whitehouse. There will also be potential to
hire wage laborers, likely within organizations such as the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Westmoreland Organic Farmers Society.

The cold storage will not likely undercut local fishmongers, as most currently buy from Whitehouse. However, if fishermen can catch greater quantities sustainably and sell collectively to the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society cold storage, fishmongers may choose to buy from the cold storage and continue selling along the road at their current locations.

This research shows that the formation of the new market involves minimal risk to participants in the local economy. The group store, however, will take business away from the local general store and hardware stores that presently sell a small stock of fishing gear and hardware. The group store will also make available fishing and farming gear now only acquired in other markets. The group store, which will receive most of its business from people living in Belmont, will have a minimal impact on the Whitehouse Fishing Cooperative or other supply stores in Savanna-la-Mar, even though people from Belmont currently buy in these locations, as their customers come from many other communities. Fishermen still need to buy gas in Whitehouse. Broiler chicken farmers need to buy baby chickens at Big “M” Hardware on Saint George Street in Savanna-la-Mar.

Although in the past markets and stores coexisted, there was only one shop towards the end of the time of the Old Belmont Markets. A successful market may influence some shops to close and fewer to open as people reallocate capital, labor, and resources to more profitable ventures (e.g., in fishing, farming, and higglering).

An improved economy should reduce local unemployment and lead to less
poverty and hunger, keys towards reducing begging and crime, particularly stealing. Success of the new market, cold storage unit, group store, and local organizations could become a model for developing other rural coastal fishing communities in Jamaica, the Caribbean, and the world.

**Keys to Success**

Although many of the keys to past success cannot be easily reproduced today, there is much that can be borrowed and remodeled to fit current needs and make the new market successful and beneficial to people in Belmont and surrounding communities. Brian Wedderburn (interview, March 29, 2011), President of the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society, recommends blending old-time traditions and customs with technological change. A successful market and group store should carve its own niche and complement existing local businesses.

**Recruiting Participants.** People do not have to be fishermen or farmers to become involved in the new market. A successful market will provide an outlet for people with skills in an assortment of entrepreneurial activities to exchange local, regional, and foreign goods and services for cash or through credit and barter. Fishermen, farmers, higglers, shopkeepers, craftsmen, artisans, hair stylists, musicians, jerk-men and other cooks, bakers, fryers, soup makers, and butchers from Belmont, other communities surrounding Bluefields Bay, and perhaps elsewhere in Westmoreland, can all buy and sell goods in the market. Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society will also sell fish from the cold storage unit, where Society members will freeze fish they have caught and sell it through contracts to supermarkets, restaurants, and resorts. Although there may be
opportunities for fishmongers to buy frozen fish from the cold storage unit to resell at slightly higher rates to consumers along route A-2 or in communities in the hills, most locals are not likely to buy frozen fish. As activity rises at future Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expos and Art and Craft Festivals, membership increases in the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society, and production expands in communities that once came to the Old Belmont Markets, there should be potential to hold markets that are more regular.

**Preserving the Fishing Industry.** The Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society plans to sell fresh and frozen fish daily. During markets, this will require acquiring adequate quantities of fish to meet consumer demand. Fishermen, particularly in Belmont and communities nearby and along the shore, may need to fish the night before or the morning of the market to supply fresh catches, preferred by most people over frozen fish. It is likely that non-Society fishermen will sell fish from canoes on the beach or at the dock. Such activities may or may not hurt the Society’s sales from the cold storage unit. The Society might charge a fee for fishermen selling on the beach during the market or ban such activities. Fishermen and others will also need to buy ice from the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society cold storage unit and local shops and stores or produce it themselves at home in personal freezers. In addition to the hanging fish scale outside the cold storage unit, the market also needs scales to weigh goods of various types and sizes, ideally for permanent public use on the outside of the structure.

Because of the ban on fishing inside Bluefields Bay, the market will rely on fish from outside the bay along the coastal shelf at areas known as Middle Ground and
Rowling Bank and at offshore fishing areas such as New Bank and Blossom Bank. While the repopulation of fish stocks within Bluefields Bay Fish Sanctuary should lead to increased fish size and quantities available in fishing zones outside the sanctuary, fishermen need access to safer and larger boats over 20-feet long and preferably dual outboard motors over 40-horsepower to fish safely and successfully outside the bay. Some may also travel further out to Walton Bank and Pedro Bank. A gas pump at Belmont Fishing Beach for fueling boat engines would particularly benefit fishermen from Belmont, Cave, and Auldayr and boat operators taking tourists out to sea.

In the future, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries should consider imposing catch limits in Bluefields Bay Fish Sanctuary based on weight, species (e.g., lionfish can be hunted without concern for overfishing), size, number, and other factors that might be determined by a marine biologist. Patrol officers, already employed, could collect fees from fishermen in boats and canoes and along the shore, and see that laws are observed. Biologists should determine when the health of the bay could sustain fishing for at least 100 fishermen from areas surrounding Bluefields Bay. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries could issue a limited number of licenses for a small fee to those most in need (e.g., those too poor to have large boats and motors to get out of the bay) or on a first-come, first-served basis.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries could also open Bluefields Bay Fish Sanctuary for sport fishing, which might be of particular interest to tourists. While Jamaican fishermen tie lines to their fingers, toes, and the boat, most tourists will desire fishing rods and reels. Scuba diving tours could be offered, but this would also require proper gear and training fishermen in diving. Experienced spear fishermen would be ideal
guides. Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society fishermen can also benefit from tourism through selling fish, particularly lionfish and bonito, to local guesthouses and tour companies.

**Domestic Production.** Fishmongers, farmers, higglers, and wage laboring consumers will come to the market if there is fish to buy. People from Belmont and other communities coming to buy fish and other goods can sell surplus provisions and their own cash crops or buy wholesale produce at markets in Savanna-la-Mar and Whitehouse and sell at retail in Belmont. There may be potential for others in Belmont and communities surrounding Bluefields Bay to increase production on family, private, and government land. Farmers may need equipment to assist in plowing and irrigating new fields. Private landowners, with untended arable lands, and the Urban Development Corporation, which controls much of the land currently under cultivation by local farmers, could rent, lease, or sell parcels of land to farmers, especially if farmers could get loans.

The Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society should consider setting up cooking drums or building a permanent barbeque pit and grill outside the market shed for jerk-men. They could also erect posts outside the market shed for vendors to hang tarps for shade from the sun and rain. The area could also be paved and have a drainage system installed to alleviate the present mosquito problem.

There is potential for people to produce a variety of crafts for sale at market to both Jamaicans and tourists. Cotta Craft could manufacture hats, shirts, and bags for tourists. Fishermen could make utilitarian crafts, both miniature and full size (e.g., fish-
pots and cottonwood canoes) from locally acquired materials (e.g., cottonwood, bamboo, and cedar). Utilitarian crafts produced by people who use them in their trade would likely provide a greater sense of authenticity. Other artisans could make miniature and full-size forks, spoons, calabash jugs, thatch baskets, and possibly clay pots and jars. Tourists could also have their hair braided or nails painted by hairdressers. There is potential for craft and art workshops, or cooking lessons with chefs and elders in a variety of styles such as bake, fry, roast, jerk, grill, steam or steam roast, and barbeque. Classes could discuss traditional markets and fishing and farming practices.

**Market Frequency.** The annual Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expos and 2013 Art and Craft Market may lead to more frequent and weekly or even daily fishers, farmers, and craft markets at the shed. The fisher’s and farmer’s market would do well to open Friday and Saturday from sunrise to sunset, with a dance afterwards on Saturday nights. Results of the 2010 market survey indicated that many Seventh-day Adventists were willing to ignore religious beliefs about not working during the Sabbath from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday and attend Saturday markets (Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2010). People can also hold events at the market shed on holidays such as Emancipation Day and Independence Day.

The Old Belmont Markets likely developed spontaneously through encounters between fishermen, farmers, and higglers using beaches along Bluefields Bay as ports where they loaded goods in canoes for sale at the market in Savanna-la-Mar. However, reorganizing the new market has involved more planning and advertising. Those involved can promote the market through newspapers, word-of-mouth, television, flyers handed out at events, posters along route A-2, megaphone cars, radio, and social networking sites.
on the Internet, particularly Facebook. Taxi and bus drivers will hear about the event and provide transportation. People may also come by truck, bicycle and, less likely, donkey or mule and cart. There is also need for lighting along roads between communities in the hills and Belmont. The availability of mass transportation will allow market sellers to arrive earlier and leave later than in the past when people traveled by foot and donkey. There may, however, be a potential problem with congestion due to increased traffic in Belmont.

Some people buying and selling elsewhere or employed in other ventures may decide to try their hand at some aspect of marketing activity if they see how they can contribute and benefit. Many, however, will be unwilling to risk changing their present occupation to buy and sell in Belmont unless they are shown how they can contribute and benefit. Sellers also want assurance that their goods will sell so they do not have to transport much back home. Successful stories told by marketers will influence more people to buy and sell in Belmont.

**Funding.** Despite some income generated from collecting fees, the development of the new market will continue to rely on efforts of the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society. Their efforts and projects also need continued support and funding from government entities such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, National Environment and Planning Agency, National Land Agency, Westmoreland Parish Council, and non-governmental organizations such as Food for the Poor and Rotary International. Donations from the Anthropology Club at Missouri State University will also continue to contribute towards various community interests.
In order to become more sustainable and reduce dependence on the government and outside funding, profits made by the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society from the market, cold storage, and group store need to be reinvested for future repairs, renovations, and improvements to the marketplace. Funds are also needed to pay utilities and employee salaries. Assistance from Belmont community members in remodeling and operating the market will help generate a sense of pride and ownership in the market. Some materials required for improvements may be available locally such as concrete blocks from the factory at Belmont Square. There is also potential for raising funds through sub-leasing or renting the market for dances and holiday events and holding another Marine Festival, particularly the boat and canoe races.

**The Group Store.** The fisher’s and farmer’s group store or gear store can also contribute to the success of the market by providing fishers and farmers with gear needed to produce goods for sale at the market. Revenue from the group store should benefit shareholding members and go towards maintaining upkeep and costs of the market shed and activities. Although many people would like to buy gear and supplies on credit, it is unlikely that the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society will have the necessary capital to extend credit or give loans for purchases at the group store. There is a general need among Jamaicans for short-term credit or loans, perhaps on a daily or weekly basis, at low interest rates for groceries, restocking shops, and taxi or bus fare.

**Other Uses for the Market Shed.** In addition to the fisher’s, farmer’s, and craft markets, the group store, and events such as Rebecca Campbell Family Treat, there are other potential uses for the market shed. The community would benefit from holding swap meets or yard sales at Creek to exchange goods between locals and outsiders.
through cash or barter and collect fees from sellers. Redistributing goods in this manner can provide people with used goods at lower prices or without cash through reciprocal exchanges or borrowing. Locals could benefit from a system of low-rate credit perhaps in the form of a nonprofit pawnshop. People may also have goods they wish to sell at auction, like the one for rough pitch pine lumber at Belmont Fishing Beach in 1930. Consignment auctions and sit-down auctions are ways to redistribute local goods at low prices. Things people in Belmont might exchange through barter or sale include movie DVDs, cell phones, stereos, televisions, computers, boats, canoes, engines, spear guns, water hoses, lumber, saws, machetes, hammers, power tools, refrigerators, freezers, stoves, microwaves, Toasters, blenders, fans, tables, chairs, desks, beds, other furniture, clothes, jewelry, pots, pans, and other kitchen supplies.

The craft market could operate like a souvenir or gift shop and would do well to be open during the day, Monday through Friday, to receive tour buses, primarily traveling to and from Sandals Whitehouse, Negril, Ocho Rios, or Montego Bay, just as trucks from Kingston, Mandeville, and Montego Bay stopped at the Old Belmont Markets for fish.

The market could also operate like a flea market or antique mall type business. Sellers would pay a low rent, likely on a monthly basis, for a booth or a certain square footage of space to display goods for sale to tourists. Artists could come to the market and sell personally or price arts and crafts for sale by an attendant, possibly an employee also operating the group store, and be paid later. Artisans could devote more time to making goods at home or their workshop rather than having to transport tools to work at the market and be present to sell. However, while some tourists may prefer to buy at a set price in a store, others may want the experience of haggling for a price directly and
meeting the artist. Profits from these sales could benefit shareholding members of the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society. Additional fees charged to customers, mostly tourists, might include the general consumption tax and other government taxes.

**Miscellaneous Economic Opportunities.** While market exchange has dominated the Jamaican economy from the Spanish to the English under slavery and capitalism, and after Emancipation, into Independence and the present day, other economic systems have existed and continue to exist. Gift giving and reciprocity have been important, particularly at the local level. Possibilities for reciprocity within the community include the barter of food and fish and vendors buying from and assisting each other by providing what the other needs to earn a profit (e.g., a fisherman sells a large quantity of fish to a fishmonger who sells to several higglers or exchanges crops with them, who then sell to a consumer). Some can also offer to loan tools, sell on credit or give monetary loans. Fishermen with vessels, particularly those with boats and engines, can take on new crew members and provide them access to fishing grounds. Farmers can continue to assist each other and develop more hinterlands into arable gardens. Sellers can also reserve goods for customers based on social, economic, and kinship relationships. Children can assist their parents by running errands or doing other chores for small amounts of money or playing sports on the beach and staying out of trouble. Elders can assist fishermen in building fish-pots and sharing knowledge of fishing techniques and receive small quantities of fish from successful ventures. People cooking fish and other foodstuff can distribute portions free to family and through social relationships.

In addition to Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Westmoreland Organic Farmers Society, people can form other local organizations such as a wage
laborers’ group for temporary work in construction and farming. Shopkeepers could pool money together to buy larger quantities of wholesale goods at lower costs and redistribute for retail sale just as kids bought ice from the truck from Waterworks. Shopkeepers also let customers and non-paying visitors play dominoes, watch television, and enjoy music from their radios. Other possibilities include communal gardening like the Taino village at Bluefields Gardens and hosting local events with free distributions of goods such as food and clothes provided by willing sponsors.

Other development projects in Belmont and Bluefields could also support the market. Belmont would benefit from a gas station for fueling taxis, busses, trucks, cars, and other vehicles as there are currently no pumps along 14 miles (23 kilometers) of route A-2 between Whitehouse and Ferris Cross. This would help create traffic at the market, the group store, and other nearby businesses as people stop to fill their tanks. Belmont Fishing Beach and Bluefields Bay could also serve as a station for the Jamaica Coast Guard, as the present station at Black River is too far away to police the bay properly.

Cleaning up the area around Creek and Belmont Fishing Beach and making it attractive is also necessary. A wildlife biologist can evaluate potential benefits of restocking Blue Hole Spring and Creek with mullet, mudfish, and crayfish. Local tour operators might be interested in building a boardwalk around the spring as a tourist attraction along existing tour routes and for visitors to the community. In addition, a protected area around the stream and at Blue Hole, perhaps with a fence, could ensure that people do not hunt the fish or crocodiles at Creek. Geographer Jackie Ebert (2010:123) suggested that people should stop washing clothes in rivers and springs and
find alternative ways to clean their drawers such as building a community washing facility.

Taino feasts and games at the batey court with other villages, though hypothetical and in no way a continuation, are similar to present sports leagues that hold cricket and football matches between various communities at Bluefields Playfield, Ball Ground, and other pitches. Locals and tourists could come to watch people play games, learn how to play, and play themselves, and buy food, drinks, and crafts from vendors, the market when it is in session, and possibly the juice spot and rum bar.

There is also potential to recreate the historic atmosphere of Bluefields Tavern by restoring the blacksmith shop, the Old Wharf, and stables for horses and horseback riding. On May 23, 2012, locals helped clean up Bluefields Tavern with the intention of restoring the building as a heritage center for the newly established Bluefields Community Development Committee. The Committee includes representatives from local organizations including the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society, Bluefields People’s Community Association, tourist groups such as Reliable Adventures Jamaica, and the Bluefields Police Department. Plans to renovate the tavern include creating a museum, restaurant and bar, workspace for researchers, and hostel for visitors.

**Access to Land and Resources.** Although the fishermen sought to declare Bluefields Bay a fish sanctuary in an effort to increase the fish population for fishing, the Jamaican government may have other plans. Just as declaring Montego Bay a fish sanctuary became a precursor to tourism development and privatization of beaches along the bay, efforts to protect the Font Hill Wildlife Reserve could open the area for tourism
development. Just as the cruise ship pier in Falmouth displaced the local population, and the construction and opening of Sandals Whitehouse cut off access of fishers to the beach at Auchindown and displaced turtles and crocodiles, declaring Bluefields Bay a fish sanctuary may influence the government to sell Bluefields Beach to private owners for development into a tourist strip, with resorts and hotels on other beaches along Bluefields Bay likely to follow. Privatization of land along Bluefields Bay would be a threat to the market. The Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society needs long-term leases, at modest rates, from the Westmoreland Parish Council, the National Land Agency, and perhaps other government entities to protect fishing, farming, and market areas and leave them open to public access in the future. Population growth and the construction of new houses are also reducing the amount of land available for people in Belmont to farm. Preserving land and resources is important for ensuring future generations of Jamaicans a place to live.

**Education.** Markets and dances were important events for the exchange of knowledge and culture. While many former sellers from the Old Belmont Markets are deceased, retired fishermen, farmers, and higglers who are still living could provide valuable knowledge to the youth (e.g., fishing methods, knowledge of fishing grounds, companion planting or planting goods together, and distribution routes). Elders can hold youth group meetings and tell old-time stories. People value knowledge and can continue to exchange information through reciprocal social, economic, formal, and kinship relations, including knowledge of occupations and skills such as fishing, farming, cooking, woodwork, and craft making. Although some young people continue to learn fishing, farming, and marketing from family and friends, primary and secondary schools
can further educate children about traditional occupations and practices and teach skills useful for domestic production. Reliable Adventures Jamaica guides also inform tourists about the past and present history of Bluefields Bay. There will be need for local leadership among younger generations to preserve organizations such as Bluefields People’s Community Association, Bluefields Fishermen’s Friendly Society, and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society, and local businesses such as Reliable Adventures Jamaica.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Westmoreland Parish Council, and Peace Corps; non-governmental organizations such as Rotary International and Food for the Poor; and local organizations such as Bluefields People’s Community Association, Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society can use data provided in this research to assist in developing the new market in Bluefields. Information provided in this research may also contribute towards creating a model to prevent the decline of rural markets in other areas of Jamaica and coastal communities throughout the world.

Future Research

This research synthesizes the history of economic activity along Bluefields Bay and provides a foundation for future studies. While many past records are lost forever, uncovering further documentation (e.g., missing sections of parish council notes) may provide more information. There is need for more information on how ports of trade along Bluefields Bay transitioned to the Old Belmont Markets after Emancipation. There is also need for more information on the fishing industry in Belmont and along Bluefields.
Bay during slavery.

Bluefields Bay Fish Sanctuary has many potential benefits (e.g., increasing fish stocks, improving the health of coral reefs, offering recreation for scuba divers, and providing a source of protein for the children and later generations). Future researchers can conduct follow-up studies to evaluate the success of the fish sanctuary, fisher’s and farmer’s markets, craft markets, the group store, and other events held at the market shed, including dances and holiday parties. A complete price breakdown of goods potentially for sale at shops and stores, services available, and expenses (e.g., transportation by bus or taxi, market gate fees, and food to eat) that people may incur to buy and sell at the new market would be useful for an analysis of the local economy. Future researchers can conduct in-depth studies on the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and the present fishing industry. Other studies could specifically look at the organization of the Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society and local agriculture and farming methods. Similar research conducted in other former and current market towns can provide geographical and cross-cultural comparisons.
Bluefields Bay, on the southwest coast of Jamaica, was once isolated from the rest of the world. The area was first settled by Native Americans sailing canoes from Central and South America and other islands in the Caribbean during the first millennium A.D. before being conquered by European explorers sailing in ships across the Atlantic Ocean from Spain in the late 1400s to early 1500s and later England in 1655 (Appendix D). Now, with the availability of airplanes and motor vehicles, the area can be reached in less than a day. Because of this, the new market is forming under considerably different conditions than during past periods of economic activity.

The Taino at Bluefields Gardens (WES05MC) were subsistence fishers and farmers who practiced local redistribution of resources and possibly some trade around the island as well as hosting other villages for feasts and batey ball games. They used available natural resources to farm, gather wild plants and marine life, and fish for subsistence from cottonwood tree canoes. The Taino survived for hundreds of years in Jamaica, with some trade between villages and few if any foreign imports. Although the Taino probably gathered large quantities of goods for feasts, it is unlikely they overfished or caused massive deforestation for large-scale agricultural development.

The Taino way of life collapsed under Spanish oppression, guns, competitive markets, and invasive diseases. Ports of trade and the introduction of market exchange, slavery, and capitalism dominated the Spanish and English colonial imperial era. Under English colonial rule focused on sugarcane production and aided by the institution of
slavery, Jamaica reached its height in the world economy. Economic activity developed along Bluefields Bay where merchants imported foreign goods, enslaved Africans to work on estates, and exported commodities to Europe and North America. The decline of the sugarcane industry, the vast network of higglers, and the introduction of new forms of transportation contributed to the decline of the Old Wharf.

Enslaved people working in Jamaica’s sugarcane fields produced their own provisions for subsistence and resale on estates, at ports, and within the Jamaican internal markets. While markets developed in larger towns during slavery, markets on fishing beaches along Bluefields Bay developed after Emancipation in the absence of the Old Wharf. From the Bluefields Beach port to Savanna-la-Mar described by Gosse in 1845, and likely other beach ports along Bluefields Bay, emerged the Old Belmont Markets at Kasha Tree Beach by the early 1900s and at Belmont Fishing Beach with the Sand Beach Market by 1927 and the market shed by 1957. People from the hills would exchange crops for abundant supplies of fish caught using seine-nets. Markets served as places where people exchange goods (e.g., food, fish, meat, crafts, and cooked or processed foods), services (e.g., labor and cooking), knowledge (e.g., farming practices and fishing techniques), political views (emancipation), and religious beliefs (Christianity and the Rastafari movement).

However, the overfishing that fueled the market also led to its rapid decline by the mid-1980s. Markets in Belmont thrived while fish stocks were high, but a decline in fish led consumers and higglers to look elsewhere in search of fish and larger market crowds. The decline of fish stocks led many fishermen to seek work outside the fishing industry, particularly farming and manual labor such as masonry, carpentry, and woodwork. The
area, however, likely experienced a decline in available wage labor jobs as Bluefields Property stopped production after the death of Roland Whitelocke around 1975. Former fishmongers and sellers from the Old Belmont Markets opened shops, restaurants, and rum bars, or built produce stands along route A-2 to sell crops gathered from household gardens, mostly fruit trees such as ackee, bananas, breadfruit, and coconuts. Until their decline, the Old Belmont Markets allowed many people in Belmont and other communities surrounding Bluefields Bay to provide for themselves and their families.

Although the present Belmont economy relies on subsistence fishing and farming, many people are involved in a variety of formal, informal, legal, and illegal activities. Tourism plays an increasing role in the local economy. Belmont men and women seek work in formal occupations as domestic servants in the service industry, especially in tourism, and particularly at Sandals Whitehouse resort. While formal wage labor, mostly in tourism, provides some opportunities for men and women (e.g., employment through Reliable Adventures Jamaica, Sandals Whitehouse, local guesthouses, and artisans), tourism has provided relatively few jobs for people in Belmont and Jamaica. The few foreigners staying at local guesthouses, booking tours with Reliable Adventures Jamaica, eating at restaurants along route A-2, and buying beer in shops and rum bars generate little income for people in Belmont, particularly on Up Street where locals hang out and tourists rarely travel.

Tourism can be beneficial as long as domestic needs are considered first. Eliminating traditional informal occupations such as fishing, farming, and higglering requires replacing them with an equal number of income earning opportunities. A declining demand for jobs in fishing, farming, and higglering, and increasing demand
for jobs in tourism, however, have not met increases in available jobs in tourism. While government policies continue to favor tourism over domestic production, there is potential to incorporate in the tourist industry Jamaicans, particularly fishermen and farmers, working in their natural environment and occupations to create a greater sense of authenticity in the tourism product and experience.

The rise and fall of rural markets and access to land, sea, resources, goods, ports, and markets are linked to local, national, and global economic policies, particularly colonization. Land sold to private individuals and businesses, such as for hotel and tourism development, will cause public access to resources (e.g., farmland, fishing locations, marinas or docks, fishing and bathing beaches, and markets) to become restricted or denied. Belmont elder Oscar often toasts drinks of rum to “more land.” With greater organization and education, the people of Belmont, Bluefields, and elsewhere in Jamaica can better preserve and conserve available resources for future generations.

While in the past people carried on traditional ways of life, often following in their parents’ footsteps, children today, working various jobs in the service industry, are less involved in the lives of their parents and elders and community activities. Some, however, are becoming members of local organizations such as the Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society and Westmoreland Organic Farmers’ Society. These organizations have been instrumental in efforts to hold recent markets. The market can create a stronger sense of community, encourage reciprocity and reduce household costs, increase the amount of cash in the local economy through purchases by domestic tourists and foreigners, reduce unemployment and poverty, reduce stealing, and reduce violence.

Efforts of people in Belmont (aided by local organizations) can help resist
economic pressures felt from rising national debt, a deteriorating balance of trade, devaluation, and global recession and empower themselves to control their own destiny, whatever path they may choose. While many people in Belmont are seeking formal wage labor, mostly in tourism, and operating various types of businesses, fishing and small-scale farming, mostly gathering from fruit trees on family land, continue to be the primary means of subsistence in Belmont. However, if the people are not involved in fishing, farming, and higglering, if there is no leadership among future generations, if community and kinship relationships are not maintained through reciprocity, if the local, parish, and national governments and organizations are not willing to assist with funding, then the people may lose their coral reefs to snorkelers, beaches to bathers and hotels, farm lands to parking lots, and markets to gift shops.
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APPENDICIES

Appendix A. Survey Forms


1. Name: ________________ Middle: ____________ Surname: __________________
2. Age: 15-20 □, 21-40 □, 40-80 □. Write age if given: ______________________
4. Do you have any children? If yes, how many?
5. What is your address?
6. How long are you in fishing?
7. Is fishing your only source of income? Yes □, No □.
   If no, what other trade do you have?
8. Do you have a license to fish? Yes □, No □. If yes, when does it expire?
9. Do you own a boat and engine Yes □, No □.
   If yes, what length? And what is the horsepower engine?
   Is it licensed Yes □, No □. If yes, what is the name and license number?
    If no, would you like to be part of a cooperative in Belmont? Yes □, No □.
13. Do you think the Bluefields Bay and Mangrove is to be protected? Yes □, No □.
15. Are you able to finance your family from fishing? Yes □, No □.
16. Do you own the house and land you occupy? Yes □, No □.
17. Do you have your own vehicle? Yes □, No □.
18. What is your average catch per day? 5-10 lbs. □, 10-20 □, 20-40 □, 40-60 □, 60-100 □.
19. What would you like to be done for fishing?
   [Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2005]


5. Where do you fish? Bluefields Bay □, New Bank (Lowered Bank), □ Walton Bank □,
   Blossom Bank (Windward Bank) □, Pedro Bank □.
8. Do you think the Mangrove and Bay should be protected? Yes □, No □.
10. What is your average catch? 5-10 lbs. ☐, 10-20 ☐, 20-40 ☐, 40-60 ☐, 60-100 ☐.
11. Do you support a family? Yes ☐, No ☐.
13. Is fishing your only income? Yes ☐, No ☐.
14. Do you own: House only ☐, Land only ☐, Both ☐, Neither ☐.
15. Member of an organized fishing group? Yes ☐, No ☐.
17. Would you participate in workshops? Yes ☐, No ☐.

[Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2008]


1. Name (optional): __________________________ Date: __________
2. Which district do you live in?
3. When do you go to church?
4. Do you have a telephone? Cell phone ☐, Landline ☐.
5. Current occupation/trade/job: ________________. How long in current work?
6. How did you receive training? Other Skills: ________________
7. Do you produce any crafts for sale? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, would you need somewhere to sell them? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, are you willing to pay per a location? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, what is a reasonable fee?
8. Do you farm? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, Full-time ☐, Part-time ☐, Other: ________________
9. What crops do you produce?
10. Do you use pesticides or fertilizers? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, what are they and how often are they purchased?
11. In which market do you sell most of your crops? Export ☐, Local ☐, Neither ☐, About the same in each ☐. Why?
12. Do you raise livestock? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, what types of animals and how many?
13. Where you buy supplies or gear? Whitehouse ☐, Savanna-La-Mar ☐, Belmont ☐, Cave ☐, New Market ☐, Kingston ☐. Why do you buy there?
14. Would you buy from a store in Belmont that sells the same things you need? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, what would you buy from that store? If no, why not?
15. When do you go to market? Morning ☐, Afternoon ☐, Evening ☐, Night ☐; on: ____
16. Do you sell goods? Yes ☐, No ☐. If yes, what item(s) sells best?
17. Who are your customers? Locals ☐, Tourists ☐, Outside Community ☐, Other: ________________
18. Where do you obtain loans? Family ☐, Friends ☐, Society ☐, Bank ☐, Other: ________________
19. What tools or supplies do you use? How often are they purchased? And how much do they cost?
20. What would you purchase from Belmont Market? From the Fishers/Farmers Store?
21. When (day/time) would you go to buy at Belmont Market? Fishers/Farmers Store?
22. What would you sell at Belmont Market?
23. When (day/time) would you go to sell at Belmont Market?
[Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society 2010]
Appendix B. Tate v. Jenkinson

Taken from Judge’s Notes,

R.M. Court, WM

379.

Tate vs. Jenkinson

EJECTMENT

Mr. Palache and Mr. Walcott for Plaintiff; Mr. Petgrove and Mr. Grant for the Defense.

Evidence by Angus C. Kennedy, Overseer and Manager of Bluefields Pen, the property of the Plaintiff.

I undertook management in February 1881 soon after William Tate’s death. Mr. Jenkinson put up houses on the spot in dispute. Towards end of 1881, in August or September 1881, he pointed out a suitable spot on his land for me to build a bath house. I didn’t like to build a house on another man’s land and suggested his giving me a little Residence if Mrs. Tate would give him a title to the piece of land he wanted of the scales (that now I think in dispute) she would not consent. After that he pointed out a spot about a chain from the fence as his line. That would include spot where houses stand. They were being built then. I understand he now claims up to stream and including scales. He is in possession up to stream. I have demanded possession which he refuses. The line I pointed to him corresponded with the plan produced. The blacksmith’s shop on this spot was build before W. A. Tate’s death. The new houses are west of it and are 4 or 5 chains from stream. Mr. I did not point out the spots by scales he wished to get. [Resident Magistrate Court of Westmoreland 1893]
Appendix C. Newspaper Articles

Appendix C-1. Bluefields Market, August 15, 1927.

Bluefields, [Monday,] August 15 – In the market there, on Saturday yams were scarcer than the week previous and they sold very quickly. Wet sugar was also scarce, and holders were selling at 10 ½ d. per quart and before the market was over, there was none to be had, so that resort had to be made to dry sugar, which is not so much liked. It is only used when it is impossible to get wet sugar.

Yellow corn were sold at as high as 16 for 3d. Pimento in the mountainous parts is quite finished, except for a little in the lowlands which is not expected to be ready before about the end of October.

There is every likelihood of a very poor crop of coffee around Bluefields, while in other quarters it has borne well.

There was a good catch of King fishes at White House for the past weeks, and there seem to have been a fair market right there for it as none of the men who used to take it out by motor truck to other markets came out. [Jamaica Gleaner 1927a]


(From our Correspondent)… Bluefields, [Saturday,] November 26. The market was very strong today, with a gaudy amount of sugar sold at 6d and 7 ½ d a quart. The greater part, however is sold at 6. There was also a large amount of breadfruits. These did not meet with a ready sale, as nearly all the people around the neighbourhood have been fortunate enough to have their own. Fish has been rather scarce due to the fact that when sellers have a good catch they either go off to Montego Bay or to Lucea, where it is quite an easy thing for them to make [illegible]. Tobacco is sold at 2d per yard, shell corn at 2d and 2 ½ d per quart, coffee at 1 and 1 ½ d per quart. Beef at 7 ½ d. corn and fresh pork at 7 ½ d and 9d per lb.

There was not much of ground provision due to the [illegible] of breadfruits, bananas and plantains. There is also a good amount of Saint Vincent Yam, which is very much liked by a number of people owing to its softness. Pears are getting quite out of season and perhaps by one or two weeks [illegible] will be quite done away.

A [illegible] at White House taking a load of logwood for [illegible] at Works. It is understood that she might take from [illegible] together with what load she already had in.

The coolies around are [illegible] their crop of rice [illegible] year. Some of them have done [illegible] but others have not done [illegible] well as had been

expected [illegible] the richness of [illegible] which does not produce the
[illegible] until some threw [illegible] working. From the [illegible] of vegetation,
one can [illegible] imagine that the year is at an [illegible]. The people working
on the estate are looking forward to the crop [illegible] started. It is rather
doubtful whether there will be much [illegible] of money for this Xmas Season as
there has been very little wealth. [Jamaica Gleaner 1927b]

Appendix C-3. Belmont Market, October 9, 1957.

Parish Improvement Plans: £1/2m cost seen

Savanna-La-Mar, Wednesday, October 9

From our correspondent: Loquacious Councilors of the Westmoreland Parish
Council at a special meeting of the Council called by their Chairman, Mr.
Matthew Henry, at the Council’s Chambers in Savanna-la-Mar today talked
themselves hoarse at they pressed forward their claims for improvement in their
respective constituencies.

When they did prepare a list of what was wanted, it was suggested that it would
take about £500,000 of Government funds to carry through their programme.

How did all this come about? It arose out of a circular letter from the Ministry of
Local Government and Housing requesting the Council to submit a three-year
loan programme which, when read, at the September meeting was referred to a
special meeting of the Council to be called by the Chairman.

Councilors in attendance, besides the Chairman, were Messar, Maxie Carey,
M.H.R. Westmoreland Eastern, C.A. Johnson, H. O. Ireland, C.C. Jones, Linford
Stone, A.B. Bloomfield, K. Laing, C.G. Spencer, B. Phillips, James Lewis, J.M.
Thompson, S. Clarke, Arthur Crooks, V.E. Meyler, Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Myrtle
Reynolds, Measar, Stennet Young, E. Segre Lewis, Secretary to the Council and
Miss Sadie Turner, Clerk to the Council.

Councilors were in an angry mood long before meeting time as they loudly
debated their claims for improvement in their respective areas and complained of
victimization on the part of the P.N.P. Council in power. The meeting got
underway at 20 minutes to eleven although summoned for 10 o’clock.

Councilor Stennett Young, Lay Reader of the George’s Plain Baptist Church
offered prayer. This over, Councilor C.C. Jones rose to his feet and addressing the
Chairman said: “I crave your indulgence to move for a suspension of the standing
orders to call the Council’s attention to a matter.”
Appendix C-3 Continued. Belmont Market, October 9, 1957.

Voices: “No, no, this can’t be done.”
The chairman: “Mr. Jones, this is a special meeting and it cannot be done.”
Councilor Jones: “All right Sir, I bow.”

On the directions of the Chairman, the Secretary read the Circular letter from the Ministry requesting the Council to submit a three-year loan programme.

Councilor Carey said that before business was commenced he would like to know of the Council’s commitments: as to how much they owed Government in loans, interest and sinking fund.

The Secretary told the Council that the total commitments of the Council were £77,516 and between interest and sinking fund, £5,730.

The Secretary pointed out that the Council was very keen on such works of improvement as the Belmont Market and the Health Office in Savanna-La-Mar; and, in his opinion, those were matters which should be submitted under the three-year loan programme now under discussion.

The question of the improvement of the Electric Lighting Scheme was raised: and Councilor Arthur Crooks rose to say that a deputation went to the Ministry on the subject of Electric Light improvement. If he were to gauge from the last member Councilor Carey’s remarks, it seemed that the mission had been fruitless.

Councilor Carey had said that the Ministry had already told them what was in its mind.

“Are we hoping Mr. Chairman to get improvement for electricity in Westmoreland or not?” Council Crooks said.

Councilor Young: “Mr. Chairman, that is not on the agenda, Sir.”

Councilor Crooks (sharply): “It is unfortunate that you should interrupt me.”

Councilor Young: “Mr. Chairman, on a point of order, I am not prepared to hear an argument about a deputation going to the Ministry on electric light; as that is not before us.”

Councilor Crooks: “It is before us; electricity, water and markets are things that are revenue-earning; and we are asked to put before Government a loan programme for three years; and electricity is essential.”

The Chairman: “Gentlemen, if you put on this programme, for instance, £10,000 on electric light development; and if the Government rules it out, then they must tell us why they rule it out.”
Council Crooks: “A deputation has gone to Government already on this electric light development; and we don’t hear anything like a report from the deputation. The Council should get a report from the deputation as to the re-action of the Ministry in the matter.”

Council Meyler suggested that the question of the programme, the money for completing the Health Office in Savanna-la-Mar and the Belmont Market and other things should not be embodied in the programme.

Councillor James Lewis said he was asking the Council to carry out an improvement in the fire-fighting equipment of the town as they actually had none at present they could not have a town without an efficient fire brigade.

The Secretary suggested that the Council ask the Superintendent of Roads and Works to prepare an estimate of the cost of the projects that come under his department to be listed in the loan programme.

Councillor Crooks moved that the water scheme for Flanders Pond in the Darliston District should be embodied. That scheme came into prominence and got support and when it was about… [Jamaica Gleaner 1957]
Appendix D. Chronology of Events

c. A.D. 650  Taino arrived in Xaymaca.

c. A.D. 950  Taino settlement at Bluefields Garden (WES05MC)

1494  Columbus arrived in Jamaica and claimed the island for Spain.

c. 1509-1521 Oristan founded.

1644  The Dutch explorer and pirate Abraham Blauvelt raided Spanish shipping from Blauvelt’s Bay.

1655  English invaded Jamaica.

1657  Two-hundred Spanish settlers near Oristan discovered by English soldiers.

1664  John Duglas and the Blue Dove anchored in Bluefields Bay.

1665  The buccaneer Mansvelt launched a raid on southern Cuba from Bluefields Bay in November.


1670  Spain officially recognized Jamaica as an English Colony after the Treaty of Madrid. Henry Morgan left Bluefields to attack Panama.

1671  English and Dutch settlers from Surinam arrived in Surinam Quarters.

1675  Second wave of settlers from Surinam arrived.

1679  A French fleet took on wood and water in Bluefields Bay.

1692  Survivors from the Port Royal earthquake of 1692 resettled near Bluefields Bay.

1694  Bluefields attacked by French, driven off by militia led by Major Bernard Andriess.

1699  Refugees from the failed Scottish colony of Darien in Panama arrived in Jamaica.

1700  Remnants of the second Darien expedition arrived in Bluefields from the Isthmus of Panama.

1739  A treaty ending the First Maroon War signed on March 1.
1744  Great Storm of October 20, a hurricane and earthquake devastated Savanna-La-Mar.
1745  A hurricane devastated Savanna-la-Mar.
1750  Thomas Thistlewood arrived from England to work as an overseer. Bluefields Great House, Oristano Great House, and Bluefield Tavern built around this time.
1767  A private fort erected near Kasha Tree Beach and Belmont Point.
1775-1783 The American Revolutionary War.
1778  Thistlewood noted a “barcadier” at Paradise.
1780  Forty men from an American privateer landed at Parker’s Bay. Hurricane of October 3 particularly affected Savanna-la-Mar and Westmoreland.
1782  Admiral Rodney visited Bluefields Bay with the captured French ship Ville de Paris.
1786  Thistlewood died. Storm of October 20 particularly affected Westmoreland.
1793  Captain Bligh anchored in Bluefields Bay upon his return from Tahiti.
1799  John Barton and Company advertised the sale of beef and wood in Bluefields.
1807  The Slave Trade Act abolishes the exchange of enslaved people throughout the British Empire.
1816  Matthew “Monk” Lewis arrived in Jamaica on January 1 and left April 1.
1818  Lewis returned to Jamaica on January 24 and left May 4.
1834  Emancipation on August 1. Apprenticeship began.
1838  Apprenticeship ended.
1844  The Jamaica Almanack listed John G. Campbell as owner of Auchindown, Albany, Bluefields, Bogg, New Hope and Retrieve.
1845  English naturalist Philip Henry Gosse described market activity at Bluefields Beach. Government-sponsored emigration of indentured servants to Jamaica began.
1851  A cholera epidemic reached Westmoreland.
1869 Charles Joseph Galliari Rampini arrived in Jamaica.

1871 Rampini left Jamaica.

1887 The first Salvation Army mission in the Caribbean established at Retirement Estate.

1893 *Tate v. Jenkinson.*

ca. 1900-1920s Market kept at Kasha Tree Beach near Belmont Point.

1912 A hurricane and tidal wave hit Savanna-la-Mar.

1917 Government-sponsored emigration of indentured servants to Jamaica ended.

1927 Articles in the *Jamaica Gleaner* confirm a Bluefields Market, likely the Sand Beach Market at Belmont Fishing Beach south of Creek.

1957 Article in the *Jamaica Gleaner* confirms the market shed built by this time. Earthquake hits Western Jamaica.


1963 Seventh-day Adventist Church built on Tate property.

1970 Seventh-day Adventist church built on Up Street at its current location.

1972 Michael Manley (People’s National Party) elected the fourth Prime Minister of Jamaica, March 2 – November 1, 1980.

1977 Jamaica received first loan from the International Monetary Fund.

1979 The Flood of Bluefields River, June 12.


ca. 1985 Westmoreland Parish Council downsized and the market shed in Belmont closed.

1985 Wedenoja’s first visit to Bluefields and Belmont.
1987  Peter Tosh died, September 11. Mrs. Pearline’s shop opened.


1989  Date on the so-called “Nelson Mandela Seawall” at Kasha Tree Beach. Michael Manley (People’s National Party) reelected Prime Minister of Jamaica, February 10 – March 30, 1992.

1990  Naseberry Tree bar opened behind Mrs. Pearline’s shop.

1992  P. J. Patterson (People’s National Party) elected the sixth Prime Minister of Jamaica, March 30 – March 30, 2006.

c. 1993 First phone lines in Belmont.

1997  Brian Wedderburn’s shop opened.

c. 2000 Doret’s Ocean Edge Pub opened at Old Belmont Market.

2003  Old General Store burned down.

2004  Hurricane Ivan, September.

2005  Belmont Fishing Group Survey.


2007  Bruce Golding (Jamaica Labour Party) elected the eighth Prime Minister of Jamaica (September 11 – October 23, 2011). Hurricane Dean, August.

2008  Author's first visit to Jamaica, June 11-24.


2010  Bluefields Market Survey. Tropical Storm Nicole, September 28-29. Author’s fourth visit to Jamaica, June 8 – August 9.

2011  Author’s last visit to Jamaica, December 30, 2010 – April 8. Renovations began on the Old Belmont Market shed. First Bluefields Organic Agriculture Expo,


2013 Bluefields Art and Craft Festival, February 23.