

The Jamaica Brocks—a History

By Claire Callender

Contents

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. From Denny to Jamaica**
- 3. Family**
- 4. Industry Plantation**
- 5. The Enslaved People**
- 6. 1829—the year it all changed**
- 7. 1830s Jamaica**
- 8. 1830s Denny**
- 9. 1840—snapshot of a family uprooted**
- 10. Making a life in late-19th-century Scotland**
- 11. 20th century legacy**
- 12. The other Jamaica Brocks**
- 13. It's the journey, not the destination**

Authors Preface

When I started writing about my Brock ancestors my intention was to produce a short family history story with a genealogical slant—a kind of hybrid story that would record all the research I had done, be of interest to my immediate family and the few friends who had been supportive over the years when I wanted to discuss my enslaved and slave owner forebears, and a guide for other researchers interested in Jamaican and Scottish genealogy. In the last few months, I produced that short story in several versions, yet never felt satisfied with any of the completed pieces. It quickly became clear that this story wouldn't fit easily into 4000 words! It was more than just worrying about a few gaps in my research, it was a deep urge to produce something with more detail and context, something that could contribute to the understanding of Scottish connections to the slave trade.

I have asked myself many times what I, as a white person, have to offer as an author on this complex and difficult topic. I am not qualified to comment on the experiences of those descended from enslaved people, who grew up suffering the consequences of the horrors inflicted on their ancestors and the enduring racist views of many white people. But I believe that the documentation of this shameful period in history is important and needs a variety of voices. I grew up in Scotland, surrounded by white people and subjected to the casual racism and religious bigotry that was commonplace amongst my parents and their peers. By the time I was a teenager in the 1970s I was arguing with my father regularly and loudly about his generation's attitudes. By the time I had children of my own I felt that I wanted to understand where these attitudes came from. How do I put everything in context when my daughters ask about our family history?

The financial and cultural legacies of the slavery in the UK have become a topic of increasing interest in the past few years, but much of the growing body of published work focusses on wealthy men and their families, the owners of large plantations in the Caribbean who were influential for many decades after slavery was abolished, not only in the building of cities, but in shaping politics, laws and race relations in British society. This is not surprising as these are the people whose lives are most often reflected in the records of that time. But these wealthy men were only part of the picture; there were many "ordinary" families who became involved in slave ownership. Their stories are part of the fabric of those times, and I tell my family's story in the hope that even my small thread will contribute to something worthy of meaningful discussion in these challenging times.

1. Introduction

Every family historian hopes for that special discovery—the one where you find out you’re connected to royalty, or your great-great uncle helped to build the Brooklyn Bridge, or your third great-grandmother was nanny to a film star. I spent quite a few years researching my Scottish family before I had my own eureka moment. My family tree has deep roots in various parts of Scotland. There have been generations of Logans in Ayrshire, Strachans farming in Aberdeenshire, and Wilsons working hard in the ironworks in central Scotland. There have certainly been some colourful characters in the family: great-great-uncle Alexander Logan was a pioneer settler at Slave Lake, Alberta, and my great-grandfather Adam Logan¹ had a wanderlust that took his family all over Scotland, England and Wales. My great-aunt Georgie married an orchid grower in Australia, and her sister Madge settled in Chilliwack, British Columbia with a Dutch farmer. For the most part though, my ancestors were hard working Scots who didn’t move far. When I started researching my paternal grandmother’s family, I was particularly struck by how little things changed through the generations. Several generations of Johnstons, Scotts and Cowies lived in the area around Falkirk in Stirlingshire, had many children, all named according to strict conventions, and worked hard as iron moulders and masons, housekeepers and laundresses. As I worked my way through the records for a line of the Cowie family, I found that my third great-grandfather had been a canal boatman. More interesting. And then I opened the 1851 Falkirk census return for the Cowies,² and there it was, like a poppy in a barley field—the birthplace of my third great-grandmother Elizabeth Brock Cowie was not Denny, Falkirk or Larbert, but Jamaica! I quickly discovered that her father, James Brock was born in Denny in 1782³ and had gone to Jamaica in the early 19th century.

William 20	son	Mar	29	Lighterman's Wife	Jamaica, Barbados
Elizabeth Cowie	Wife	Mar	29	Lighterman's Wife	Jamaica, Barbados
Margaret 20	Daughter	Mar	8		Stirling, Bainsford

1851 Scotland Census for Falkirk showing entry for Elizabeth Cowie and her daughter Margaret. National Records of Scotland.

This turned out to be the beginning of a remarkably interesting, and sometimes emotional journey through a part of my family that no one had ever talked about. My first thought was that no one wanted to admit that anyone in the family had owned slaves, but of course it turned out to be more complicated than that. I thought back to some cryptic jokes my father used to make, before I had children, about pale redheads like me possibly having genetic throwbacks, and realized that he knew—we were probably descended from a white slave owner and his black or mixed-race mistress. Sadly, he died before I embarked on researching this part of the family, so I was not able to ask him about it, but others in the family were able to help.

Early in my investigations I was given some papers that had belonged to an uncle who had also been doing family research. He had not documented the Cowie family back as far as Elizabeth Brock Cowie, but I found some letters that he had exchanged with a couple of other researchers he had contacted to discuss the “Jamaica Brocks.” I contacted one of the people mentioned in my uncle’s correspondence.

Dr James Russell generously shared photos, documents, and family lore on our shared ancestors. I found myself in a genealogical gold mine when one of the documents turned out to be a transcription of James Brock's will.⁴ The detail in the will allowed me to confirm his parents' names, his family situation in Jamaica and Scotland, his children's names, the name of his plantation and the names of his executors and close associates. Jim Russell's assistance is gratefully acknowledged—it made my journey through the sporadic and diverse records for Jamaica and pre-1855 Scotland much easier. I am also grateful and delighted that Jim's daughter Elspeth Russell Anjos has continued this journey with me, digging through family photos and documents and collaborating with me to unravel the details of the lives of the Brocks and their descendants.

In the last few years there have been many publications and programs aimed at understanding and educating people about the legacies of slavery in the UK. In particular, the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery⁵ provides invaluable online resources that I have benefited from and been able to contribute to. However, my genealogical journey started before I was aware of the Centre. I spent the initial period of my research reading everything I could find on the sugar and coffee industries, slavery, and life on plantations in the West Indies and feeling very enraged that I had been educated in Scotland and never been taught even a single high school course on any of this, not even on the abolition of slavery. I am hopeful that the current generation of students will have a different experience and that the legacies of slavery will continue to be talked about, presented, analyzed and understood in meaningful ways.

Telling this story will probably always be a work in progress. The version I present here is "what I know now." A few parts are hanging on shoogly pegs as I rely on extrapolation, social history context and a bit of perhapsing⁶ to connect the many facts that I have extracted from available records. I intend to continue to confirm, rule out and add information as new and more fully indexed sources become available. For now, this is a broad-strokes history of the Brock family that I am descended from and whom no one talked about. I hope this tale and the many sources that I consulted will be useful to others interested in ancestors who spent time in the Caribbean. I will be happy if it also contributes in some small way to the understanding of the ordinary Scots people who became involved in slavery.

2. From Denny to Jamaica

The bare bones of this story were embedded in James Brock's will:⁴ he went to Jamaica a young man, owned a plantation called Industry in St Ann parish and had at least seven children with a Jamaican woman. After his death in 1829 his children, their mother, and her sister went to Scotland and settled there amongst James's family.

I first wanted to understand why James Brock from Denny, a village in Stirlingshire, had gone to Jamaica. The Brock family was deeply rooted in the Denny area—I confirmed Brocks born in Denny or St Ninians parishes back to the late 17th century. James was born in 1782 to James Brock and Janet Henderson,³ one of at least five children. In 1782 the population of Denny was around 1400 and most inhabitants were either tenant farmers to two major landowners or "heritors, feuers or portioners"⁷ cultivating their own small pieces of land. When James was a child, the Brocks were most likely scraping a living from the land around Denny like most of their neighbours. By the time he was a young adult at the turn of the century, life in Scotland was changing quickly as people moved away from agricultural life to jobs in mines, mills and factories. Sometime in the first few years of the 19th century, James Brock made his way to Jamaica.

It was quite common in the second half of the 18th and early 19th centuries for Scots men from wealthy, well-educated families to go to the West Indies to seek prosperity as plantation owners, merchants, or doctors.^{8,9,10} Many of them never planned to stay, but were simply "sojourners," aiming to increase their wealth then return to their families in Scotland with a better standard of living. In contrast, as Alan Karras notes in his book *Sojourners in the Sun*,¹¹ "permanent emigrants were almost universally drawn from the lower echelons of Scottish agricultural society." James Brock likely fell into the latter category, given his humble agricultural origins. Perhaps as a young man he foresaw a dire economic future in Scotland, or maybe he simply sought adventure and a chance to do better than he could hope to in Denny. Whether he had hoped to return or not will remain a mystery.



Parishes of Jamaica from 1814-1840. From CaribbeanExams.com. Copyright??

I have not yet found any record of James Brock's passage to Jamaica; the earliest evidence I found for him there was the baptism of his first child, Helen, aged three in 1816 in Trelawny,¹² which confirmed that he was there by 1813. I also found him on a membership list for the Seville Lodge of the Freemasons in the parish of St Ann, Jamaica for 1814/15.¹³ It was common for Scots already in Jamaica to assist family members or others with connections to their part of Scotland,^{9,10} and I wondered if the Freemasons list would provide clues. However, it was a family connection that I found first. A search of the invaluable Jamaican Family Search website¹⁴ yielded a John Brock, proprietor* in St Ann parish listed in the Jamaica Almanac for 1811¹⁵ and 1812¹⁶ (givings-in for 1809 and 1811). The Jamaica Almanacs for 1811-1845 provide lists by parish of proprietors, properties, and number of slaves and stock owned, and usefully cover the period James Brock spent in Jamaica. John Brock did not appear in an earlier 1792 list of St Ann slave owners,¹⁷ but he may have been in Jamaica for some time before that, working his way up to the common goal of all the young, white fortune seekers arriving in Jamaica—ownership of land and slaves. As Christer Petley states in his study of mobility and aspirations in Jamaican society,¹⁸ “before attaining the elusive and desired status of an estate owner, non-elite white men had to begin from the lowly position of a bookkeeper.” John Brock was almost certainly James Brock's uncle, who was baptized in Denny in February 1755¹⁹ and died in Jamaica in February 1812. His death is recorded on the same grave marker as James Brock and James's infant daughter Janet.²⁰ James Brock would also have arrived in Jamaica as a “non-elite white” but with the benefit of a family connection he may have worked on the Brock plantation before his uncle's death and inherited the plantation. Or, he may have travelled to Jamaica shortly after John's death to claim his legacy. In the 1816 Almanac, James Brock is listed as a proprietor in St Ann, owner of 82 slaves and 94 stock.²¹ By 1817 he was proprietor of the plantation named Industry,²² which is mentioned in his will.

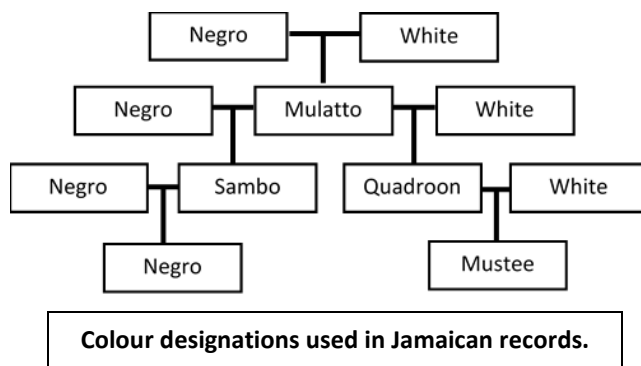
* “Proprietor,” “plantation (or estate) owner” and “planter” were used to assign status to white men in the upper echelons of Jamaican society. All these terms describe men who were also enslavers.

3. Family

Between 1813 and 1827 James Brock had eight children with Margaret Gibb, described in his will as “a free woman of colour and my housekeeper.” The free people of colour²³ were of mixed race, their steadily increasing population during this time resulting from the practice of white enslavers manumitting (freeing) their black mistresses, commonly known as “housekeepers,” and their illegitimate children, who inherited enslaved status from their mothers. Free people gradually played an increasingly important role in the politics and economy of 19th-century Jamaica, but they never attained legal or societal equality with whites, occupying, as Gad Heuman observes,²⁴ “a middle ground between the upper ranks of the slaves and the poorer whites.” In a chapter of the book based on her PhD thesis—*Historical Study of Women in Jamaica, 1655-1844*—Lucille Mathurin Mair paints a portrait of “The Mulatto Woman in Jamaican Slave Society.”²⁵ As I read Mair’s elegant prose, I could imagine Margaret Gibb, a beautiful mulatto woman enjoying a position of relative privilege as the housekeeper and concubine of a white planter. However, even as a free woman of colour she may have previously worked as an agricultural labourer or perhaps been promoted from a lowlier position in James Brock’s household.

Margaret Gibb’s sister Mary died in Scotland in 1878 and her Scottish death record²⁶ provided parents names: Robert Gibb and Sydney Anderson. Robert Gibb was a planter at Dover Castle, a plantation in Trelawny, the neighbouring parish to St Ann.^{27,28} Sydney Anderson was probably, for at least part of her life, enslaved.

I turned to the Jamaica Church of England Parish Records, the images for which are available on FamilySearch, for additional information on Margaret, her mother, and her children. The records are not complete or fully indexed and interpreting them can be challenging due to the common practice of previously enslaved people changing or adding names when they were baptized as adults. However, baptism records can provide valuable information as there are often several related baptisms on the same page. Also, categorization of people by colour, shocking and offensive as it seems through a modern lens, could confirm generations in an era where large families were the norm and white men fathering illegitimate children with more than one mixed-race woman was common. The designated gradations between black and white²⁹ that were used in the baptism and other records from this time are shown below.

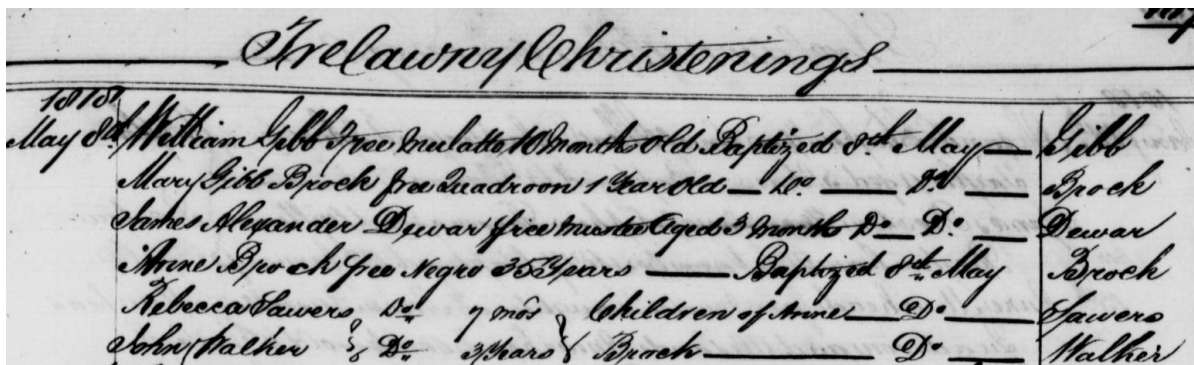


I found Sydney Gibb, a free woman, baptized in Trelawny on 11 Dec 1813, aged 35, along with Caroline, aged 2 years 6 months, free mulatto daughter of Sydney and Robert Gibb, a white man.³⁰ Sydney Anderson, as a Negro slave, may have been named after an owner or other connection from an Anderson estate,³¹ and taken the Gibb name at her baptism or manumission. There were several possible Anderson connections in St Ann, but perhaps the most likely was the family of Sidney and Elizabeth Anderson, who, with Elizabeth's husband Benjamin Henderson owned slaves at Breadnut Hall.^{32,33} Benjamin Henderson was listed on the freemasons list with James Brock in 1814.

Records of manumissions are sparse so whether it was an Anderson slave owner or Robert Gibb who freed Sydney would be difficult to confirm, but she was a free Negro woman by the time of her baptism in 1813. She would have been between 14 and 18 years of age when Margaret and Mary were born around 1792 and 1796 respectively. Margaret Gibb may have been born free if her mother before her had been freed by the time of her birth. As a Negro born in 1778 Sydney Anderson probably came to Jamaica from West Africa, in the late 18th century when the transport of Africans to Jamaica reached an all time high.³⁴ My own DNA profile suggests that she likely came from the region encompassing Ghana and Mali.

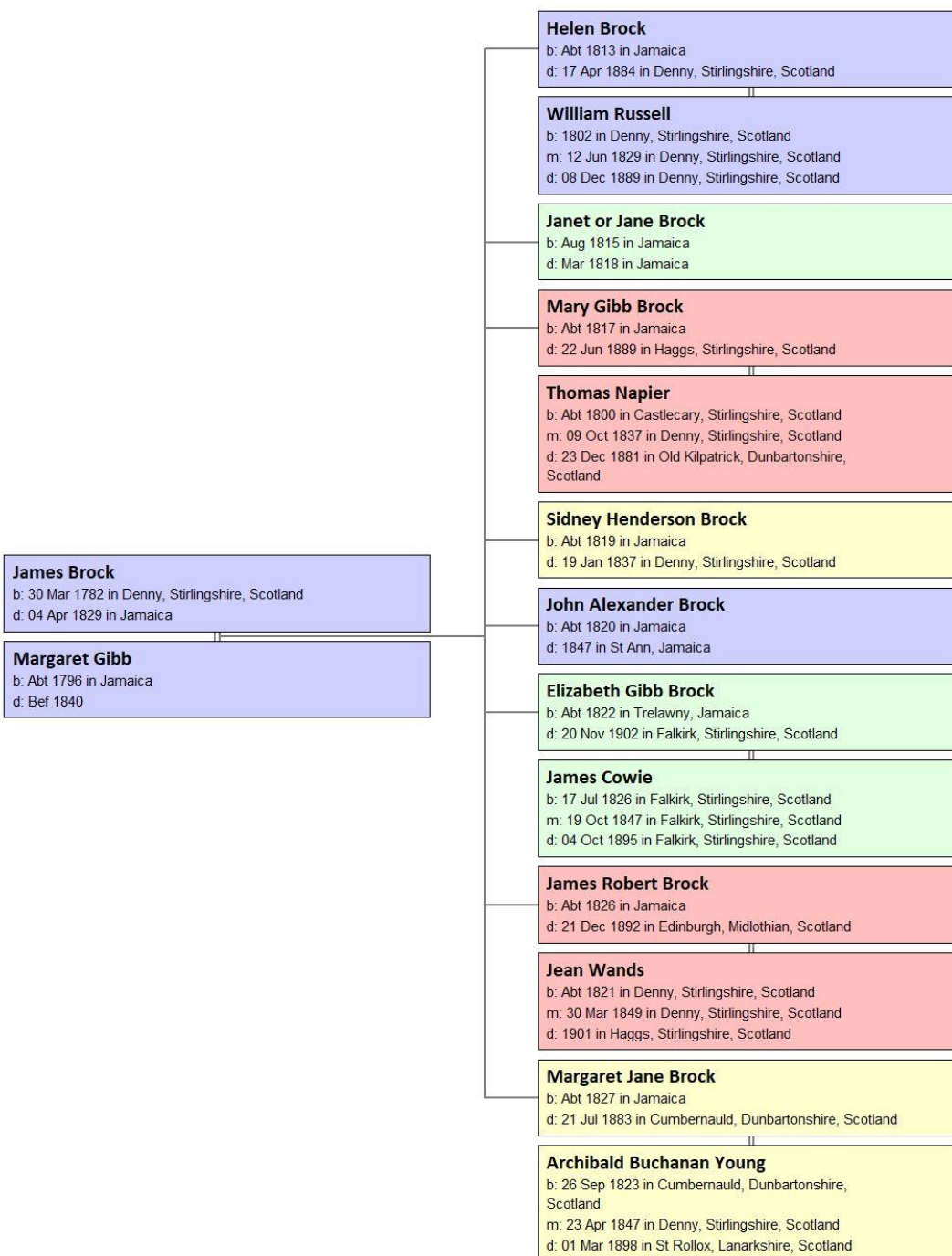
The children of James Brock and Margaret Gibb were all baptized in Trelawny between 1816 and 1829. The two eldest children, Helen and Jane (or Janet) were baptized on 15 November 1816.¹² Both are listed as "free quadroons," aged 3 years, and 1 year and 2 months, respectively. The children's status confirms that their mother Margaret was mulatto. Also baptized on the same day there was Sydney Gibb, "free mulatto, aged 3 years." Sydney was most likely another daughter of Robert Gibb and Sydney Anderson, sister to Margaret.

James and Margaret's third daughter, Mary Gibb Brock, was baptized in Trelawny on 8 May 1818,³⁵ a free quadroon, aged 1 year. Baptized with her were William Gibb, free mulatto, 10 months old, Anne Brock, free Negro, 35 years old, and Anne Brock's children Rebecca Sawers Brock and John Walker Brock, 7 months, and 3 years old respectively. William Gibb was probably a son of Robert Gibb and Sydney Anderson, a younger brother of Margaret Gibb. Anne Brock is mentioned in James Brock's will.



Baptism Record for Brock and Gibb children in Trelawny, 1818. Source: Jamaica Church of England Parish Register Transcripts. FamilySearch

Descendants of James Brock



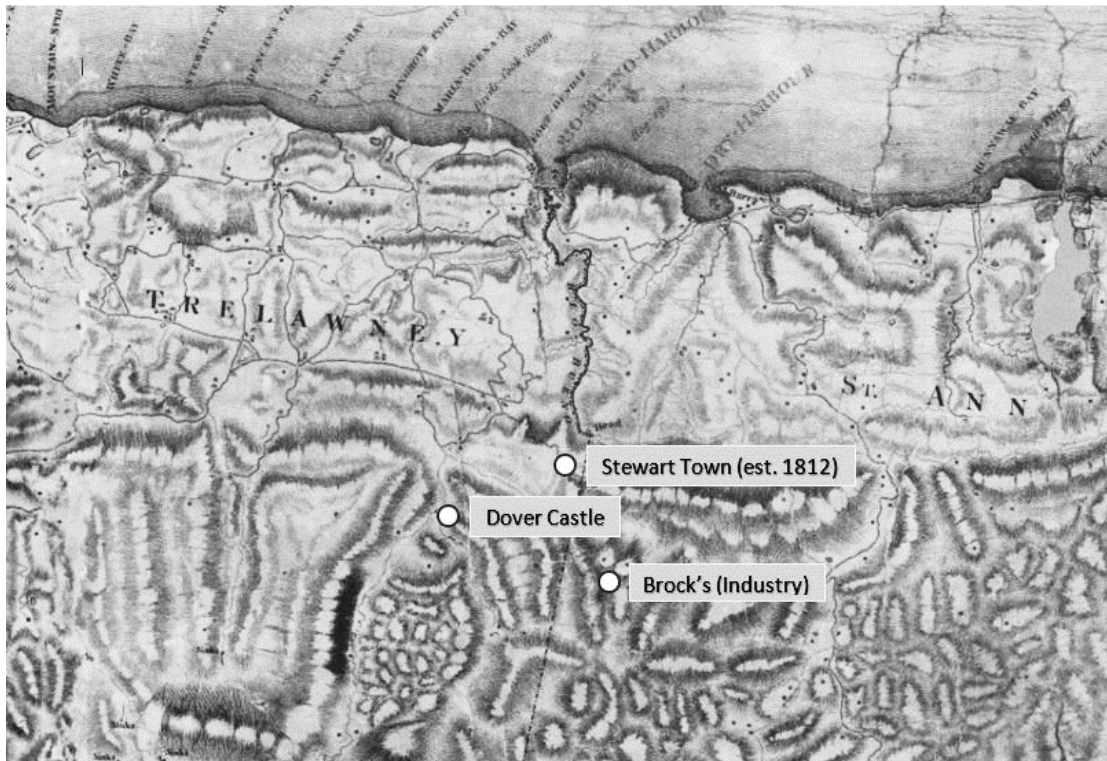
The other Brock children, John Alexander, James Robert, Sidney[†] Henderson, Elizabeth Gibb (my third great-grandmother) and Margaret Jane were all christened in Trelawny, Jamaica on 6 September 1829³⁶ after the death of their father in April that year. They were all listed as “coloured,” and the order of the children listed in the register is consistent with Sidney being a girl.

Naming of James and Margaret’s children didn’t strictly follow the Scottish tradition of naming first born children after grandparents, but first and middle names were clearly chosen from previous generations, with an almost equal division between the two families. The name Gibb was used as a middle name for Mary and Elizabeth and helpfully appeared regularly through subsequent generations. This naming pattern was the first indication that James Brock viewed his “housekeeper” and his illegitimate children rather differently than culture and laws would have allowed in Scotland. His will would reveal more of his full recognition and support of his Jamaican family.

[†] Records variously use the spellings Sydney and Sidney. I am using Sidney for Sidney Henderson Brock as her baptism and death records both use this spelling.

4. Industry Plantation

Until his death in 1829, James Brock owned and lived at Industry Plantation in St Ann, Jamaica. There were several plantations named Industry in St Ann parish but the most likely location for James Brock's estate was near the border between St Ann and Trelawny parishes and was marked on James Robertson's 1804 map of Jamaica³⁷ as "Brock's." The property belonged to James's uncle John Brock and later became Industry Plantation.³⁸ I confirmed this location later in my research from letters between William Russell and Cathy Walker, descendants of James Brock's eldest and youngest daughters Helen Brock and Margaret Jane Brock respectively. Cathy travelled to Industry with her husband James in 1960. She describes driving to Stewart Town³⁹ and then to Gibraltar looking for Industry. "It is a wild and almost frightening countryside and we were both a bit apprehensive about our safety for it was across the famous Cockpit Country⁴⁰ where the escaped slaves settled and where they still have a chief who must give permission to enter their territory," she wrote.⁴¹ However, she reported finding the people charming, and described how they were taken to a former gravesite on the plantation, where they found the grave marker listed in Philip Wright's *Monumental Inscriptions of Jamaica*,²⁰ inscribed with the names of James, John and Janet Brock. Cathy noted that, despite cleaning up the stones, only the birth and death dates for James were discernable, but it seems strong evidence that James and John were nephew and uncle, and this was their plantation, located, as understood by the family in Scotland, "in the Dry Harbour Mountains, five miles from Stewart Town."⁴²



Location of Brock's, later to become Industry, on James Robertson's map of 1804 (Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland, [National Library of Scotland - Map Images \(nls.uk\)](https://nls.uk).) Also marked are approximate locations of Stewart Town, established in 1812, and Dover Castle,⁴³ the plantation owned by Margaret Gibb's father Robert Gibb, neither of which appeared on the 1804 map.

Sugar was the dominant crop in 19th-century Jamaica, but this location of Industry Plantation, in the western inland region of St Ann parish, suggests that the most likely crop was coffee.⁴⁴ At that time (in fact from 1740 to 1927) there was a requirement that, if a plantation had an attorney or overseer acting for an absentee or deceased owner, accounts of the business of the estate be submitted annually to the Island Secretary.⁴⁵ These "Accounts Produce" are held by the Jamaica Archives⁴⁶ and provide detailed records of the output of the estates. A request to the Jamaican Archives and Records Department (JARD) resulted in the disappointing news that no such records existed for Industry Plantation, despite some evidence that there was an attorney at Industry around 1820,⁴⁷ and after the death of James Brock in 1829. Higman⁴⁸ suggested that "attorneys and overseers were often castigated as mendacious knaves," and observed that "some were lax in returning their Accounts Produce," so perhaps it is not surprising.

The Jamaica Almanacs⁴⁹, however, provide some valuable information. The returns for Brock's/Industry Plantation in St Ann parish are summarized in Table 1 and show that between 1811 and 1832 John and then James Brock owned between 79 and 120 slaves and between 42 and 135 stock. The 1840 Almanac reported the acreage of Industry as 1170. These reported numbers indicate a larger acreage and fewer enslaved workers than the average sugar plantation,^{50,51} consistent with coffee production. Also, James Brock is listed as a coffee planter on the death certificates of two of his children.^{52,53}

The number of stock reported in the Almanacs suggests that the plantation may also have generated income from livestock. It was common for proprietors to "tap two or more sources;" sugar and coffee planters often diversified into livestock, pimento, or "jobbing" enslaved people out for additional income.⁵⁴ James's uncle John Brock may have invested in coffee around the turn of the century⁵⁵ when the industry was undergoing a major expansion,⁵⁶ allowing him to grow "Brock's" into Industry Plantation and ensure the coveted planter status for himself and his nephew.

Parish	Year	Owner	Property	Slaves	Stock	Acres
St Ann	1811	John Brock	***	97	42	
	1812	John Brock	***	99	58	
	1816	James Brock	***	82	94	
	1817	James Brock	Industry	79	86	
	1818	James Brock	Industry	79	106	
	1820	James Brock	Industry	84	135	
	1821	James Brock	Industry	86	124	
	1823	James Brock	Industry	90	134	
	1824	James Brock	Industry	97	125	
	1825	James Brock	Industry	108	105	
	1826	James Brock	Industry	79	106	
	1827	James Brock	Industry	109	101	
	1828	James Brock	Industry	115	92	
	1829	James Brock	Industry	120	99	
	1831	James Brock, estate of	Industry	117	129	
	1832	James Brock, estate of	Industry	116	119	
	1833	James Brock, estate of	Industry	116	125	
	1838	James Brock, deceased	Industry	108		
	1840	Brock, James, estate of				1170
	1845	no Brock listed				

Table 1. Number of slaves and stock at Industry Plantation in St Ann. Data taken from the Jamaica Almanacs. ⁴⁹

5. The Enslaved People

The enslaved people who lived and worked at Industry Plantation were not genetically part of my family, but I felt compelled to include them in this story. “Chattel” they may have been in the early 19th century, but I wanted to personalize them as much as the limited records would allow, and broadly sketch what their lives might have been like.

I found this part of the research difficult. I didn’t want to shy away from the unpalatable truths that I had never learned as a young Scottish student, but it was deeply disturbing to realize that my ancestors were part of and benefited from this shameful period in history. I naively wondered if James Brock was a decent man and hoped that he treated “his” slaves well, but I quickly realized there was little or no evidence for this and more likely he was typical of the times—a profit-driven enslaver who participated in behaviours that are now considered atrocities. Early in my research I read about Thomas Thistlewood, a plantation owner in 18th-century Jamaica, who kept detailed diaries of his violent and abusive treatment of enslaved people.⁵⁷ Author Trevor Burnard⁵⁸ refers to him as a “sexual predator and rapist” and a “brutal sociopath, “and observes that nothing in his diaries signifies that he was at odds with his neighbours in his behaviour, personality or values. Searching for a modern and more positive slant on my connection to slavery and wondering about the real legacies of slavery on modern people of colour, I read *The Enlightenment Abolished*, Geoff Palmer’s personal account of growing up in Jamaica and Scotland, memorable for its undertone of simmering rage.⁵⁹ This book made me realize the importance of channeling the irrational guilt and shame about one’s ancestors being slave owners into something more useful in our own times.

In my quest to learn as much as I could about the enslaved people who lived and worked on Industry Plantation, I started with the Slave Registers, which were introduced after the Abolition of Slave Trade Act of 1806 made it illegal to trade slaves from Africa to the British colonies. To help ensure compliance with this act, Jamaica and other colonies started keeping registers of the “lawfully enslaved.” These registers, taken every three years, continued till 1834 when slavery was abolished. For Jamaica, Slave Registers for 1817, 1820, 1823, 1826, 1829, 1832 and 1834 are held by The National Archives at Kew⁶⁰ and can be consulted online free of charge on *Ancestry*.

The Slave Register for 1817 is the only one that gives the names of all the enslaved, along with their ages, colour (Negro, mulatto etc.) and whether they were African or Creole (born in Jamaica). In an exercise that I can only describe as deeply disturbing, I transcribed all the slave names listed as owned by James Brock in the 1817 register⁶¹ and used the subsequent registers, which noted only any increase or decrease in the number of slaves due to births, deaths and purchases or transfers, to trace them through the years that James Brock owned Industry and after his death till the last register in 1834. A transcription of the relevant 1817 Slave Register is presented in Appendix 1.

In 1817 James Brock owned 36 male and 41 female slaves. Of these, 26 men and 24 women were African, the rest Creole. James’s uncle John Brock must have acquired the older African slaves either before the slave trade was abolished in 1806 or shortly thereafter. I first imagined that he would have

chosen young healthy males that could work the most; at that time all the African male slaves at Industry would have been aged 15-40. However, this was often not the case—as Audra Diptee discusses in gruesome detail in a chapter of *From Africa to Jamaica*, profit driven enslavers used many unpalatable and disturbing criteria to select a “proper assortment” of healthy Africans, and age and gender were often secondary considerations.⁶²

In the 1817 Slave Register, all the Industry slaves were listed with only a single name. In a study of slave naming patterns,⁶³ Trevor Burnard notes that many slaves brought from Africa in the 18th century had single names connected to African culture. However, he found no evidence that the slaves named themselves, rather that the enslavers chose African names for enslaved people, and this naming pattern continued into the 19th century, even for Creole slaves. It is likely then that John and James Brock named the African slaves, choosing, for example, Quashie, Joice and Demond for men, and Lattice, Juby or Emmie for women. Burnard also observed that there was “limited genealogical awareness” in lists of slave names, so that even when enslaved people themselves named their children they chose unique names, rarely related to family. By the 1820s enslaved and freed people could choose their own names, and they often chose European names rather than African ones. Baptism or manumission presented opportunities to change a name or add a second name, and some enslaved people took the name of their previous enslaver or manumitter. Between 1823 and 1826, James Brock purchased several slaves, including Angus Brock, Jannet Brock, Catherine Fisher and Julean Clerk. These names seem very European and were not listed in the earlier slave registers under other enslavers, so these enslaved people possibly added the last names or changed names when they came to Industry. By 1832, many enslaved had two names. However, the names give few clues to their family history. Burnard remarked that “indifference to slave familial relationships was a feature of how whites dealt with Africa.” Another sad legacy—how easy it seemed to be tracing my white ancestors with the help of Scottish records and Slave Registers when it is so extremely difficult to trace the family histories of the enslaved people. I continue to work on finding connections in the post-1834 Jamaican records for the enslaved who had names they may have kept after the abolition of slavery.

There are no records of life on Industry Plantation, but records from other forced labour estates⁶⁴ can help paint a picture of what the lives of the enslaved would have been like. In *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica*, Kathleen Monteith examines every aspect of life on Jamaican coffee plantations in the period 1790–1848.⁶⁵ James Delle presents a detailed view of slave life on the Radnor coffee plantation⁶⁶ and Higman⁶⁷ has written extensively of life on Montpelier and other Jamaican estates for which plantation journals have survived. The enslaved workers at Industry were likely mostly field labourers, organized in three gangs assigned to planting, weeding, pruning, harvesting, or roasting the coffee crop. Women typically outnumbered men in the field gangs, as some of the men may have been stockmen, or occupied more skilled jobs such as carpenters or masons.⁶⁸ A few enslaved women may have been domestic workers, midwives or nurses. Children as young as five joined the third gang and worked their way up to the first gang as they grew and became more experienced.

Enslaved people lived in housing on the plantation, often in family groups.⁶⁹ Young slaves lived with their mothers, and sometimes with her male partner, while older African slaves were more likely to live singly. Slaves grew their own food, and the women may have had opportunities to sell surplus produce

to feed other plantation workers, or at a market, although the remote location of Industry may have made that difficult.⁷⁰

The Slave Registers do not provide much information on individual enslaved people, but births and deaths were recorded and provide some insight into the harsh realities of slave life. After the slave trade was abolished slaves could no longer be brought from Africa, and owners had to manage their workforce through purchase and sale within Jamaica, or with other West Indian colonies, and through births. In 1817, the 77 people enslaved by James Brock included 28 women of childbearing age (16–45), and between 1817 and 1829 there were 48 children born to enslaved women on Industry Plantation. All slaves at Industry were recorded as Negro in the slave registers, but there was no way of confirming whether fathers of slave children were enslaved men, white enslavers or white plantation workers. Higman has coldly noted that Negro women sometimes had children by men of different colours, but that slaves over 25 most likely had children by black fathers, since black and mulatto women became less attractive to whites as they got older.⁷¹ Slaves were assigned their mothers status and were effectively born into slavery even if fathered by a white man. Mothers' names were usually recorded in slave registers for births and child deaths so maternal family groups could be identified and tracked to some extent. Fatherhood, on the other hand, was not generally documented so the slave registers offer little in the way of information on the older African male slaves, except to track their ages and their deaths.

I followed some of the enslaved women who were at Industry between 1817 and 1829 through the slave registers:

Emmie was an African Negro, aged 30 in 1817. Born around 1787, she most likely came to Jamaica before 1806 on a slave ship from Africa. She had four children: Ann (1810), twins Adam and Eve (1814), and Friendship (1820). Friendship died aged 6 in 1826. Emmie's daughter Ann had her first child, Emma, at age 16 in 1826, then twins Bob and Elinor two years later. Emmie herself died in 1829 aged 42.

Lewisa, another African woman, was born around 1792 and in 1817 was listed aged 25 with a 3-year-old son named William. She was still at Industry in 1832, aged 40. In her 15 years there she had five more children, two of whom, Joe and Liverpool, died before the age of 5. William, Sylvia, York and Isabella, aged 18, 14, 8 and 4 respectively were still with her in 1832.

James Brock made few purchases of slaves, except between 1820 and 1823 when the slave return reported his having purchased 16 additional slaves, including six children aged 12 years or under. One of the enslaved women he purchased was Monday, a Creole Negro who came to Industry with her four children, Neptune, 12, Harry, 10, Clarica, 12 and Nancy, 6 months. Her age was reported as 45 in 1823 but she seems to have had two more children, Glasgow and Duncan, in 1825 and 1828 when she would have been 47 and 50 respectively. Her age may not be exact, but women typically had several children and often continued giving birth well into their 40s.

These stories highlight some of the additional harsh realities that women faced at Industry as they endured the brutal working conditions and poor nutrition that all enslaved people were subjected to—multiple births, childbearing well into their 40s, high child mortality and early death. If any mitigating factors are to be found, the years leading up to the abolition of slavery may have offered women a little bit more power, as the reproductive potential of female slaves became crucial to managing the slave population at Jamaican plantations following the abolition of the slave trade. In the two decades leading up to emancipation the slave population in Jamaica fell continuously,⁷² leading to what Kenneth Morgan refers to as a “crisis of reproduction.”⁷³ Planters faced the challenges of balancing slave productivity with improving the health of female enslaved so that they could produce healthy children. Increasing pressure from the abolitionist movement also induced them to improve slave living and working conditions so that they could justify the continuation of slavery. By the mid 1820s, women field workers may have been given lighter tasks during their pregnancies and some time off, but they were still expected to be back in the second gang within a few weeks of giving birth.

Deaths of enslaved people were sometimes recorded in the Slave Registers, but for Industry cause of death did not appear until 1832; in that year deaths were variously attributed to fever, dropsy, bowel complaint, “drowned in pond” and apoplexy. Higman, in his exploration of “Patterns of Survival,”⁷⁴ notes that slave mortality was linked to many factors, including malnutrition and physical brutality. Between 1820 and 1832 some 36 enslaved died at Industry, 14 of them under 12 years of age. The average age at death for adult slaves was 35. In 1832 the oldest slave at Industry was Liverpool, who was 65; the other African slaves were mostly in their 40s and 50s. It is impossible from these limited data to estimate the average life expectancy but suffice to say that the enslaved people at Industry and elsewhere in Jamaica lived short and exceedingly difficult lives.

6. 1829 – the year it all changed

By 1829, James Brock had been a planter and enslaver for about 15 years and, like many of his peers, had probably made more money than he could have dreamed of in Scotland. Exactly how much profit he made during his years in Jamaica was impossible to assess given the absence of any records of the operations of Industry Plantation. However, after his death the picture became clearer. In February 1829 James Brock made his will, and on 4 April that year he died, leaving behind his partner Margaret Gibb and their seven children aged 2-16. I did not find his death in the Jamaica parish records, but a grave marker found on Industry Plantation notes his date of death along with those of his uncle John and his infant daughter Janet.[‡] The dates from the marker are shown in Figure 1.²⁰

INDUSTRY

From photographs by Reynolds Jamaica Mines Ltd.
2800. JAMES BROCK Esq., of Industry Plantation, St. Ann, d. 4 Apr. 1829 aged 49.
2801. JOHN BROCK, b. Feb. 1754, d. Feb. 1812.
2802. JANET BROCK, b. Aug. 1815, d. Mar. 1818.

Figure 1. Information from grave marker found at Industry Plantation. The marker's existence was confirmed in 1960 by Brock descendents.⁴¹

James Brock's will⁴ provided for the Jamaican family he left behind, bequeathing them property in Scotland and Jamaica:

Item I leave and bequeath to my dear Brother William Brock now residing in that part of Great Britain called Scotland the Sum of Five hundred pounds Sterling, and the further Sum of Twenty Pounds Sterling to him and his heirs. Item I leave and bequeath to my dear Sister Helen Brock now residing in Scotland in Great Britain the Sum of One thousand five hundred pounds Sterling for her and her heirs. Item in event that my oldest Daughter Helen Brock has been left by my late dearly beloved parents James Brock and Janet Henderson their House and Land called Wardhead in Scotland in the County of Stirling and Parish of Denny. I leave and bequeath to my second Daughter Mary Brock, my own House and Land called Parkfoot in Scotland in the same County and Parish above named. But if my late Parents have otherwise willed their property than as above stated I desire that my eldest Daughter Helen Brock shall have the one half of my own house and land called Parkfoot in Scotland. Item I leave and bequeath to Miss Margaret Gibb a free woman of Colour my Housekeeper and her Children named as follows Helen Brock, Mary Brock, Sidney Brock, Alexander Brock, Elizabeth Brock, James Brock and Margaret Brock my Children, and any other Child or Children Miss Margaret Gibb may have for me hereafter my property called Industry together with the Slaves and Stock on said property of whatever name or denomination, and money that may be due me at my demise either in this Island or in Great Britain, for them and their heirs for ever. Item I leave and bequeath to Ann Brock a free Black Woman, the use of Ten Acres of land and a woman Slave during her natural life, and after her decease the said land and Slave to return to Miss Gibb and her Children as heretofore willed.

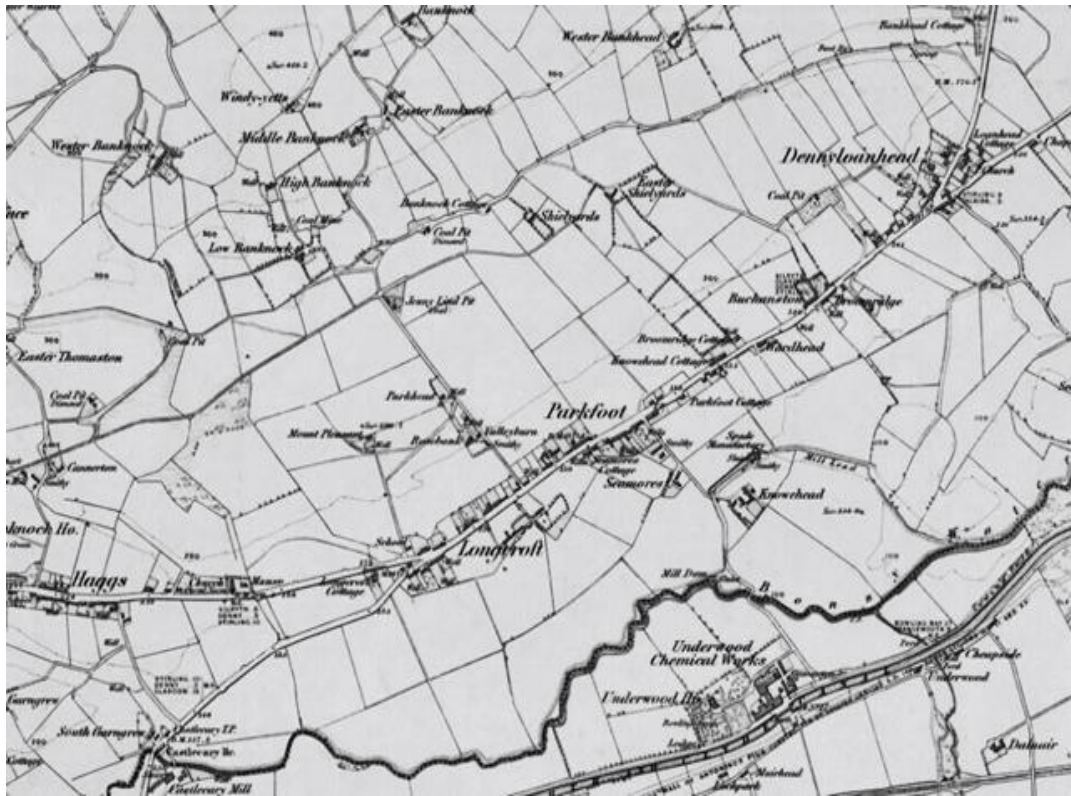
[‡] Dates are not an exact match with Scottish records (John Brocks birth date is given as Feb 1754 where his Scottish baptism gives Feb 1755, and James Brock was born in 1782, making him 47, not 49 when he died).

In his will James Brock also named the “executors, guardians and trustees,” men from his network of expatriate white planters, estate owners and professionals whom he trusted to manage his affairs after his death:

I hereby Nominate Constitute and Appoint William Frater of the Parish of Trelawney and Island aforesaid Esquire, Patrick Waugh of the same Parish and Island Esquire, John Macfarlane Practitionir in Physic and Surgeon in the Parish of St. Anns County of Middlesex and Island aforesaid, William Miller Junior Parish of Trelawney and Island aforesaid Planter, and Charles Kean same Parish and Island aforesaid Planter, my Executors Guardians and Trustees to this my last Will and Testament.

Scots in Jamaica often lived near each other and formed networks amongst themselves to facilitate business interests and to foster “ethnic solidarity.”⁷⁵ James Brock seemed to be typical in this respect. William Frater was an attorney and enslaver who was associated with many Jamaica estates, including Dover Castle, where Margaret Gibb’s father Robert Gibb was proprietor. He was probably of English origin, as his will indicated that he still had family there, but he had multiple connections to estates with Scots owners.⁷⁶ Patrick Waugh was originally from the Falkirk area so it’s possible that James Brock knew him in Scotland before coming to Jamaica. He owned the Arbuthnot plantation in St Ann, as well as a property of the same name in Camelon, near Falkirk.⁷⁷ James Brock indicated that John Macfarlane was a medical doctor, but he was also an enslaver associated with the Caledonia and Rock Pleasant plantations in St Ann,⁷⁸ at which he probably made more money than he did practicing medicine.⁷⁹ William Miller junior was a Trelawny enslaver, associated with Retreat and other plantations.⁸⁰ He may have a family connection to the late “William Miller Esq. of Jamaica” who, sometime before 1838 made a donation of £50 to a Denny school.⁸¹ I did not find any record of Charles Kean in Trelawny or St Ann.

The two houses mentioned in James Brock’s will, at Parkfoot and Wardhead near Denny, were probably purchased with the proceeds of his Jamaica plantation. Since he left in the early part of the century, Denny had been growing in population and evolving industrially. However, home ownership was still not common. By the time of James’s death, the extended Brock family in Scotland may have been benefiting financially for several years from the proceeds of Industry and been more comfortably off than their neighbours.



Map of Denny area (1859) showing Parkfoot and Wardhead. OS Six-inch 1st edition, 1843-1882 Stirlingshire, Sheet XXIX Survey date: 1859, Publication date: 1865. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

19th-century Jamaica was part of the British Empire so wills could be proved in Jamaica, England, or Scotland. I have a transcription of James Brock's will⁴ but initially I was unable to find any record of probate or confirmation in any of the three countries. In an article entitled "Legitimacy and social boundaries: free people of colour and the social order in Jamaican slave society," Christer Petley⁸² notes that many wealthy white slaveholders followed inheritance practices from their European countries of origin, willing property and wealth only to legitimate heirs, and neglecting or even abandoning mixed-race mistresses and their illegitimate offspring. In contrast, some chose to live openly in relationships with free or enslaved black women and bequeath everything to their Jamaican partners and free coloured children, rejecting the norms of their native country. James Brock seems to have chosen the latter path. Prior to 1868, Scots inheritance law was based on primogeniture: immoveable property (houses, land etc.) could not be willed but passed automatically to the oldest son, and children could inherit only if they were the lawful product of Christian marriage. James specifically willed his house to his two eldest daughters and Industry plantation to Margaret Gibb and all his illegitimate children. At the time he wrote his will, he seemed to expect that his parents (who both died in late 1827⁸³) might also have willed their house in Wardhead to his daughter Helen. However, under Scots law his older brother William, also mentioned in the will, would have automatically inherited their parent's house. Perhaps after many years in Jamaica James had forgotten the restrictions of primogeniture! He also bequeathed land and a slave to Ann Brock; I can only speculate that she was a favourite slave who took

the Brock name on her manumission. I found myself feeling oddly pleased at this apparent recognition of all the women in his life, and his rejection of both the norms of the Scottish patriarchal legal system and the expectations of the Jamaican “plantocracy” to which he had ascended.

I considered it unlikely that the will was administered in Scotland, and later research into other legal issues surrounding Industry revealed that indeed it was the Secretary of the Colony of Jamaica who attested it on 2 June 1929. At least some of James Brocks wishes were carried out, as there is evidence of various family members later living at Parkfoot. However, Industry Plantation was to be the subject of a legal battle for Brock descendants much later.

In June of 1829 James’s eldest daughter Helen, aged 16, married William Russell, 11 years her senior, in Denny in Scotland.⁸⁴ The Russell family were neighbours of the Brocks in Longcroft, Denny. A quick scan of monument inscriptions^{85,86,87} and the 1841 Scotland census identified many Russells rooted in the Denny area, and further research into several lines of Russells revealed an extensive clan who owned several properties in and around Denny. There may also have been Jamaican connections between the Russells and the Brocks. A John Russell was co-owner of Arbutnot plantation in St Ann, Jamaica with Patrick Waugh, one of the executors named in James Brock’s will.

Helen must have left Jamaica and travelled to Scotland around the time of James’s death. The marriage record lists Helen’s abode as Parkfoot, probably the house mentioned in James Brock’s will.

In September 1829, the five youngest Brock children were baptized in Jamaica.⁸⁸ The abode listed on the register is Stewart Town in Trelawny parish, suggesting that the family had moved off the Industry estate by then.

7. 1830s Jamaica

Sometime in the months or years after James Brock's death his Jamaican family made their way to Scotland, where an extended Brock family welcomed them to Denny. As I researched this story, I worked on the assumption that Margaret Gibb, six of her children, and Margaret's sister Mary Gibb all travelled to Scotland. The date of the family's departure from Jamaica is not certain, and as I collected more evidence of key events it started to become clearer that they did not all travel together. Still missing from my evidence collection is anything definitive to confirm the presence in Scotland of Margaret or her eldest son John Alexander. I continue to search for elusive missing parts. But whatever the details, the migration of James Brock's Jamaican family to Scotland is very interesting. All were born in Jamaica and had presumably never been to Scotland before. What were the circumstances in Jamaica just prior to the abolition of slavery that led Margaret and Mary Gibb to leave their home and make the journey to a new life? How did a family of mixed race fit in and make a life in Denny, population ~4000 white people?

The Slave Register for 1832 has the signature (mark) of Margaret Gibb, dated 22 September, as owner of four slaves in St Ann: Eliza Barnett, 32, her son George, aged 2, and Susan, age 33, all transferred from James Brock, and Henry Barnett age 33, purchased from George Ogilvy, a Trelawny enslaver.⁸⁹ Still in Jamaica at that time, and no longer living at Industry, Margaret had probably chosen these slaves to help in her household. She may have had the option of staying on at Industry after James Brock's death—it was not unknown by that time for free people (including women) of colour⁹⁰ to own slaves and be involved in estate management—but several factors may have led to the decision to leave for Scotland. By 1831 slave rebellions,⁹¹ political unrest as groups in Britain and Jamaica variously opposed or pushed for the abolition of slavery,⁹² and a diminishing market for coffee⁹³ all added to the challenges of running a plantation, particularly one remote from towns or other plantations as Industry was. The 1832 slave register for Industry was signed by William Frater as executor and trustee of James Brock⁹⁴ and listed 112 slaves. It seems likely that Industry Plantation was left in his hands as Margaret Gibb and her children left for their new life in Scotland.

In 1833 the Slavery Abolition Act ended chattel slavery in the British colonies and allocated £20 million to compensate slave owners for the loss of their slaves.⁹⁵ This amount was considered to represent around 40% of the "value" of all the chattel slaves across the colonies and was administered by a newly formed Slave Compensation Commission. Records of the compensation are held at the National Archives, Kew.⁹⁶ The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery database⁵ allows access to some information from these records online. The enslaved people received nothing, and worse, were subject to a further period of "apprenticeship" under their former owners to partially pay for the compensation scheme.⁹⁷ Jamaican enslavers were compensated approximately £25 for each slave. A claim for compensation for Industry Plantation was made by William Frater, and an amount of £2598 0s 11d was awarded for 121 slaves, worth over £250,000 today.⁹⁸ William Frater was also the claimant for a total amount of over £16000 from several other Jamaica plantations, which would be worth more than £1.6 million today (see Table 2). Although James Brock had died in 1829, his estate still owned Industry, but there is no evidence that the Brock family ever received any of the compensation from the Slave

Compensation claim made by William Frater. I found myself thinking that William Frater was probably a good example of the “typical” attorney described by Higman: “a self-important man who lacked practical knowledge of plantation agriculture ... but defrauded his employers of their just profits in order to feather his own bed.” A man who “lived a far distance from the properties he was supposed to manage and rarely visited them.”⁹⁹ More of William Frater’s dealings with the affairs of Industry Plantation would become apparent later as James Brock’s family dealt with legal issues long after his death.

Status	Property	Award	Enslaved
Awardee (Executor)	Jamaica St Ann 628 (Endeavour Plantation)	£684 7s 0d	29
Awardee (Executor)	Jamaica St Ann 629 (Gibraltar Plantation)	£699 14s 2d	30
Awardee	Jamaica St Ann 630	£106 8s 11d	4
Awardee (Executor)	Jamaica St Ann 631 (Industry Plantation)	£2598 0s 11d	121
Awardee (Owner-In-Fee)	Jamaica St Ann 639 (Flamstead and Maida)	£2539 1s 8d	108
Awardee	Jamaica St Ann 785	£483 1s 4d	19
Awardee (Owner-In-Fee)	Jamaica St John 32 (Mount Pleasant)	£1308 10s 6d	72
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 663	£153 13s 7d	9
Awardee (Executor)	Jamaica Trelawny 670 (Dover Castle)	£530 1s 3d	31
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 672	£188 11s 6d	14
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 673	£79 14s 6d	3
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 674	£132 17s 6d	5
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 675	£119 7s 5d	6
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 676	£186 0s 6d	7
Awardee (Owner-In-Fee)	Jamaica Trelawny 691 (Ulster Spring)	£3159 18s 8d	156
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 696	£286 14s 2d	14
Awardee (Executor)	Jamaica Trelawny 697 (Spring Garden)	£1532 11s 5d	69
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 755	£79 14s 6d	3
Awardee	Jamaica Trelawny 77	£215 14s 3d	11
Awardee (Owner-In-Fee)	Jamaica Trelawny 81 (Lysworney)	£1223 17s 6d	61

Table 2: Claims made by William Frater to the Slave Compensation Commission. Source: Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14623/-relationships>.

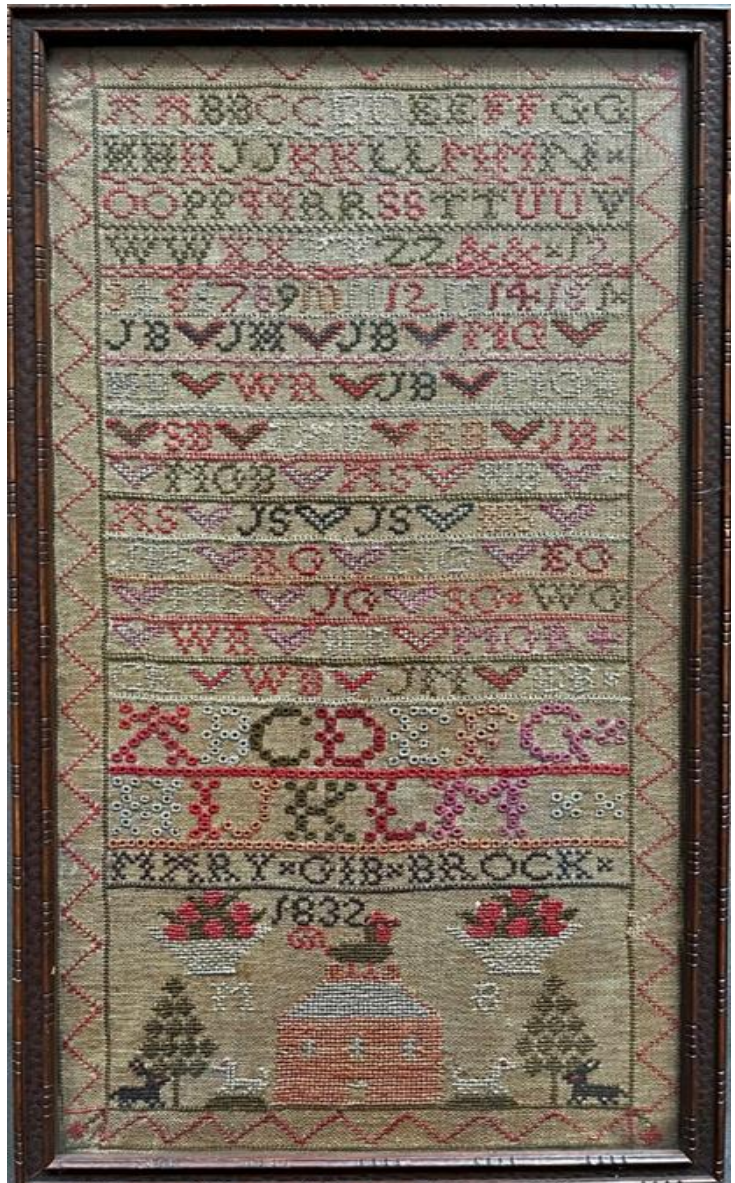
8. 1830s Denny

Networks and family connections were important in establishing and supporting James Brocks life in Jamaica and they also played a role in the settlement of his family in Scotland. I wanted to know who helped the Jamaican Brocks set up home in their new country, what kind of lives they led, who they married, what kind of work they did. Were they wealthier than previous generations, did they own land and houses, and did they benefit from the Jamaican plantation and the people that James Brock enslaved? What was my family's tiny part in the much larger story of the Legacies of British Slavery?

The Scottish census and BMD records from 1837 onwards provided confirmation of the lives of most of the family, but I also had help from a fascinating family heirloom to sketch the extended Scottish family that welcomed the Jamaican Brocks into their lives. In 1832 Mary Gibb Brock, James and Margaret's second daughter, stitched a sampler. It was passed down through several generations of women, in each case going to a sister, daughter or niece, ending up on the dining room wall of my aunt Julia (Sheila) Wilson in Falkirk, the last person in my immediate family who had recollections of anything connected to Jamaica. When she died in 2019, I became the proud owner of the sampler.

A wonderfully informative book by Naomi Tarrant, published originally in 2014 and recently made available as an open access e-book¹⁰⁰ allowed me to compare Mary Brock's sampler with many others from the same time period, and provided invaluable insights into Mary's situation at the time she sewed it.

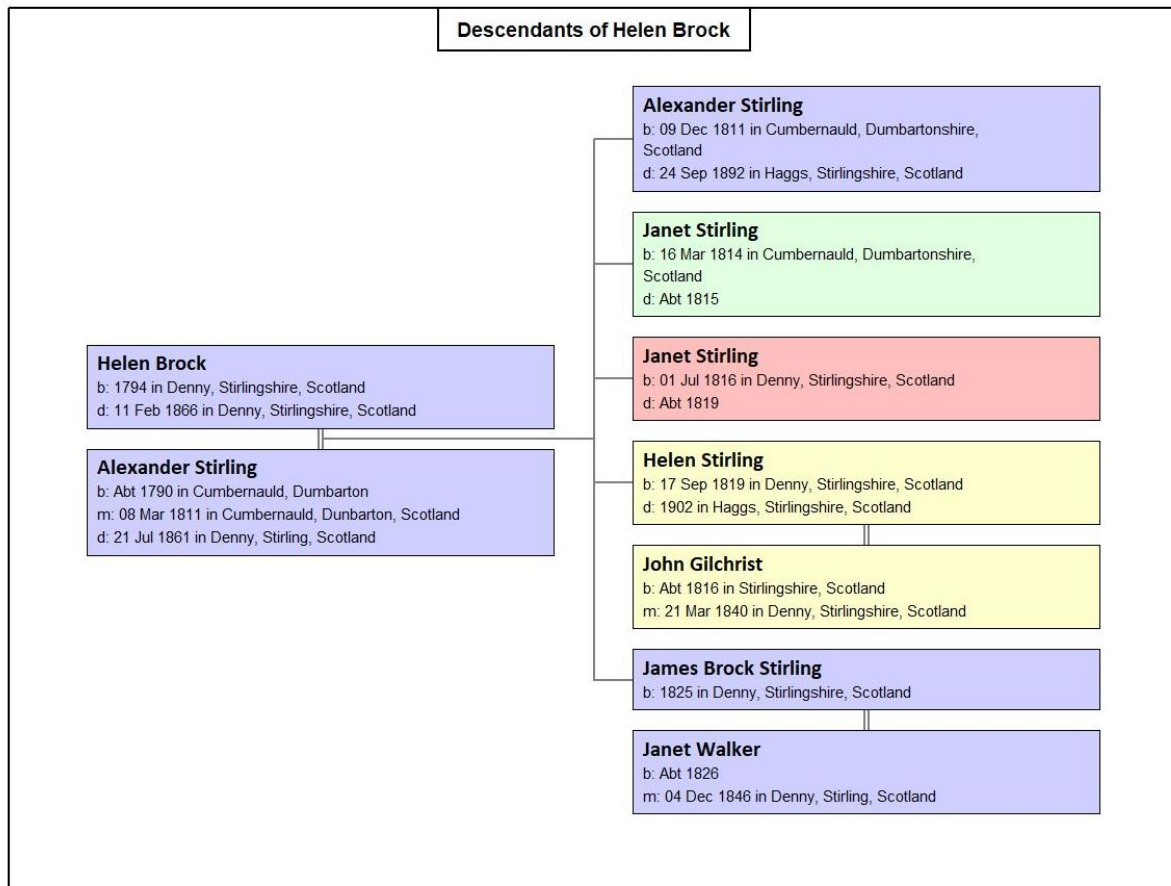
Most samplers were done by girls aged 7-14,¹⁰¹ creating a sampler provided opportunities to learn letters and basic stitching skills that they would use in their own households or to earn a living. Mary Brock's sampler is still intact and colourful and shows many features of typical Scottish samplers from the 18th and 19th centuries. There are two alphabets, sewn alternately in red and green. The small alphabet is stitched in cross-stitch, the larger one is done using an eyelet hole stitch. At the bottom of the sampler Mary has stitched several motifs. The house, trees and animals may reflect something personal to



Sampler stitched by Mary Gibb Brock ~1832. Source: Author

her, but more likely they followed conventions of the time; elements such as black dogs chasing rabbits were common on Scottish samplers. The trees resemble fir trees, which were uncommon in Scotland at the time, and were probably chosen as they were easy to embroider. The rows of pairs of initials refer to family members, and feature women’s maiden names, which is also unique to Scottish samplers. The initials are roughly arranged in generations or families, and deceased family members are stitched in black.

The year 1832 is probably the year Mary completed the sampler, supporting the idea that she was in Scotland earlier than that. Except for the fifth row, which seems to match the Gibb family left behind in Jamaica, most of the rows focus on Denny family, which also strongly suggests that she was already amongst them when she stitched it. Naomi Tarrant proposes that many girls fabricated samplers in a school setting, rather than at home with their mother or other female relative.¹⁰² Mary Gibb Brock arrived from Jamaica at the age of around 12-13 and may have attended school for some period after that. The New Statistical Account (1834)¹⁰³ for Denny mentions several schools, including a parochial school and a “Dame’s school for reading, sewing etc.” As elsewhere in Scotland at the time, most of the schools were unendowed, but after the death of her planter father, the family would probably have had sufficient funds to send Mary to school. It seems likely then that her sampler was done under the instruction of a teacher. If it was a mother figure who helped her with the sampler the most likely possibility is Helen Brock Stirling, Mary’s aunt. Helen and Alex Stirling were neighbours of the Russell family in Longcroft in the 1841 census. Helen is mentioned in James Brock’s will and is depicted on the sampler; she clearly had an important role in the family.



I have deciphered the sampler as shown below. Groups are families, sometimes stitched over multiple rows. Unconfirmed initials are in italics and deceased individuals stitched in black are noted in bold. I believe all the people in the initial support network to the Jamaican family, as understood by 15-year-old Mary, are represented in the sampler.



1. **JB JH**
Grandparents: **James Brock, Janet Henderson.**
2. **JB MG**
Parents: **James Brock, Margaret Gibb.**
3. HB WR **JB** MGB SB JAB EB JB MGB
Siblings in order: Helen Brock–William Russell, **Janet Brock**, Mary Gibb Brock, Sydney Brock, John Alexander Brock, Elizabeth Brock, James Brock, Margaret Gibb Brock.
4. AS HB AS **JS JS** HS JBS
Aunt Helen Brock’s family (living nearby): Alexander Stirling–Helen Brock, Alexander Stirling, **Janet Stirling, Janet Stirling**, Helen Stirling, James Brock Stirling.
5. RG MG EG MG JG SG WG
Margaret Gibb’s family in Jamaica: Gibbs in Jamaica: Robert Gibb, Margaret Gibb, *Elizabeth Gibb*, Mary Gibb, *John Gibb*, Sydney Gibb, William Gibb.
6. WR HB MGR CR Sister Helen Brock Russell’s family: William Russell- Helen Brock, Margaret Russell, Christina Russell.
7. WB JM EB *Uncle William Brock – Janet Mcowat, child.*

Fading of the stitching makes it difficult to be sure that some letters are black but grandparents James Brock and Janet Henderson, father James Brock and sister Janet Brock are definitely in black. Two Janet Stirlings also appear to be in black – they both died as children in 1815 and ~1819 respectively. If the G series represents the Gibbs in Jamaica, they all seemed to be living in 1832. I also noted that Margaret Gibb was listed in the parents line and in the Jamaican Gibb line, and was stitched as being alive in 1832.

From the events in Jamaica between 1829 and 1832 and the details of Mary Gibb Brock’s sampler, I considered that Helen and Mary may have travelled to Scotland together in 1829 while the rest of the family remained in Jamaica immediately after the death of James Brock. There are no passenger lists available for as early as 1829, but ships sailing between Jamaica and the UK are mentioned in the “Ship News” section of newspapers of the time, with many mentioning that they brought passengers as well as goods, mail, etc. For example, the *General Wolfe*, captained by ship master Wright, sailed from Kingston, Jamaica on 7 April 1829 and arrived in Greenock, Scotland on 5 June 1829.¹⁰⁴ If a typical voyage took approximately 8-9 weeks it was possible for Helen and Mary to leave Jamaica either just after the death of their father in early April, or perhaps before his death but after he made his will

bequeathing them a house in Parkfoot, Denny, and arrive in Scotland in time for Helen's marriage on 12 June that year. It seems unlikely, however, that Helen and Mary, aged 16 and 12 respectively, would have travelled alone on a long voyage to Scotland. I have no direct evidence to suggest the whereabouts of their aunt Mary Gibb between 1829 and 1841, when she appears in the Scottish census, but it is possible that she was the adult who travelled with them. Margaret Gibb and her younger children followed, leaving Jamaica sometime between Sep 1832 and late 1836.

The earliest undeniable evidence of others in the family being in Denny is the death of Sidney Brock, James and Margaret's middle daughter, aged 18 on 19 January 1837.¹⁰⁵ Her cause of death was recorded simply as "fever." Also in 1837, Mary Brock married Thomas Napier of Falkirk on 9 October.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Napier was about 17 years older than Mary and had two daughters, born 1829 and 1831, with Isabella Simpson, whom he married in 1828. Mary may have been his housekeeper after his wife died in 1834.¹⁰⁷ The 1841 census showed Napiers listed next door to a Brock family in Camelon Park, and Simpsons living in Wardhead, where James Brocks parents formerly had a house—all family connections that would have been very important in the early years after the family returned from Jamaica.

The Jamaica Brocks clearly had family support, but I wondered how they all dealt with the financial challenges of adding several dependent family members. Helen and Mary inherited James's house in Parkfoot and it was probably there that they all first set up home. Their financial situation became clearer when in 1840 legal issues surrounding Industry Plantation emerged to complicate the lives of James Brock's family in Scotland.

9. 1840—snapshot of a family uprooted

In 1829 James Brock had willed his house to his two eldest daughters, clearly rejecting the norms of Scots inheritance law. I had courted the notion that as he contemplated his death James saw them as de facto heads of the family, but by 1840, back under the mantle of Scots law, it was their respective husbands, William Russell and Thomas Napier who had the legal responsibilities for the inherited property[§] and for dealing with outstanding business related to Industry Plantation. In June 1840 Thomas Napier and William Russell were appointed *curators bonis* to the three Brock children who were still minors. Curators bonis were generally appointed to manage legal and financial affairs in place of a legal guardian. The petition and appointment of the curators were documented in the Court of Session.¹⁰⁸ The petitioners were listed as the three minor Brock children: “Elizabeth residing at Lock Sixteen near Falkirk, James at Ardoch in Dumbartonshire,** and Margaret at Dennyloanhead in the County of Stirling.” Elizabeth was in the care of Mary and Thomas Napier, Margaret was with Helen and William Russell, and James was with another family member living in Dunbartonshire, probably one of the Stirling family that James Brock’s sister Helen married into and that is represented on the sampler. I wondered if the appointment of curators meant that the children’s mother Margaret Gibb had recently died, although to date I have not found any evidence of her death either in Scotland or Jamaica. However, the court documentation did not mention Margaret Gibb as I had hoped, but instead revealed a series of interesting events.

In the years after the Brock family left Jamaica, William Frater, as attorney and executor of James’s will, had been managing Industry and had been remitting payments to Scotland “for behoof of the children of the deceased.” However, he had never rendered any details of the payments, or any information about the state of the plantation under his management. William Frater died in 1839^{109,110} and at the time the family in Scotland expected that significant money was still owing to them from James Brock’s estate. The petition for the appointment of curators bonis stated:

That it was expected, looking to the reputed extent of the real and personal estate of which the deceased was possessed at the time of his death, and the amount of money remitted to this country, that a considerable sum should have been in the hands of the acting executor, as at the date of his death, belonging to the petitioners. But the parties succeeding to the said executor, instead of accounting for his intromissions, and making payment of the balance believed to have been in his hands, set forth claims of considerable magnitude against the petitioners, and insist on retaining possession till their claims, which are believed to be unfounded, are paid or satisfied.

With the petition documents was an Inventory of Productions, which mentions a letter from William Miller, one of the other men named as executors in James Brock’s will, to William Russell and Thomas Napier dated 10 February/10 April 1840. This letter was not included in the file,^{††} but it likely laid out the

[§] Before 1881, when the *Married Women's Property (Scotland) Act* came into effect, a woman’s moveable property, and administrative rights to any heritable property automatically passed to her husband on marriage.

^{**} Dumbarton and Dunbarton were both accepted spellings until Statutory recognition of the latter in 1947. In this document Dumbarton is used only for direct quotations or references to sources using it.

financial claims *against* James Brocks heirs. This must have come as a shock to the family, and the minor Brock children could not legally respond to any of this without guardians, leading to the petition for the appointment of curators bonis. The petition was lodged on 29 May 1840 and granted on 12 June 1840.

Following the appointment of the curators bonis, in November of 1840 an inventory of James Brock's estate was carried out and documented in the Court of Session.¹¹¹ An inventory was a supplement to a will and typically covered something that was not included in the original will. I again had originally wondered if the inventory was triggered by the death of Margaret Gibb, but the events described in the petition for curators seem to have started the process. However, while the original will divided most of James Brock's estate between Margaret and her seven children, the 1840 inventory refers to equal sixth shares for the surviving siblings (Sidney died in 1837), which suggests that Margaret Gibb was no longer in the picture. I am keeping an open mind to the possibilities that she never left Jamaica with the rest of the family, or that she died on the voyage or shortly after arriving in Scotland.

James Brock's will dealt with cash legacies for his brother and sister, his house in Parkfoot, and Industry Plantation. The 1840 inventory listed assets still to be distributed to his six surviving children. The first item, which was not included in the will, was "the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds deposited and invested by the said deceased James Brock in the "three per cent consols for behoof of his children and a like proportion of such dividends or profits as have since accrued thereon no part of which has been uplifted." Consols were government bonds; by 1840 the investment would have grown to around £5000, worth over £400,000 today.⁹⁸

The second item refers to Industry Plantation and mentions that a sum of £1300 had already been remitted from Jamaica, and that the "minors' proportion of which sums are remitted has been used and consumed." The inventory indicated that the minor children were still each entitled to a one-sixth share of the residue of the estate in Jamaica but that "the state and condition thereof being unknown the amount or value thereof cannot be condiscended on." That £1300 would be worth over £100,000 today, and seems to have been used for the living expenses of the Jamaican family in the first few years of their life in Denny. These sums are not insignificant and would have ensured a decent start to the Jamaican family's new life.

I have not been able to find any further documentation to suggest what happened after the inventory was carried out, but with William Russell and Thomas Napier acting as curators it seems reasonable to assume that the claims that any money was owed to Messrs. Waugh, McFarlane, Miller and Kean by the Brock children now in Scotland were put to rest and some payments continued to be paid to the Brock heirs from the proceeds of Industry.

^{††} Original documents produced in court were itemized in the Inventory of Productions. These items remained private property and were returned to the various individuals or solicitors at the end of the case.

10. Making a Life in late-19th-century Scotland

James Brock's children were born between 1813 and 1827 and all but one died before the turn of the century. My third great-grandmother Elizabeth Brock Cowie outlasted them all, dying in 1902 at the age of 80.¹¹² As I pored over censuses, valuation rolls and newspaper articles to trace where and how they lived and worked, and understand how they supported their families, it struck me that their lives and occupations after arriving from Jamaica seemed to mirror what was going on in Scotland as the 19th century progressed.

In the early 1800s agricultural labour was still a common occupation. William Russell, Helen Brock's husband and the eldest of that generation, lived in Longcroft and worked as a labourer for his whole life.¹¹³ He supported a family of 11 children and he and Helen provided a home for Mary Gibb (and possibly Margaret) and for some of the Brock children in the early years when they arrived from Jamaica. (James and Margaret Brock and are listed with the Russells in the 1841 census¹¹⁴ and probably stayed until their respective marriages in 1849¹¹⁵ and 1847;¹¹⁶ Mary Gibb was with them from 1841 until her death²⁶ in 1878.) That support of several extra family members would probably not have been possible without the financial contributions from James Brock's estate and ongoing payments coming from the plantation in Jamaica. William Russell may also have inherited from the Russell family, but he was the youngest son, and it was his older brother Thomas who took over farming their father's property in Longcroft.¹¹⁷ In valuation rolls between 1855 and 1885 William Russell is listed as the proprietor of a house in Longcroft, which he occupied, and two houses in Parkfoot, Denny. One Parkfoot house was let to a named tenant paying a rent of between £4 and £5, the other generated four or five "small rents" under £4.¹¹⁸ One of the houses may have been the Wardhead property mentioned in James Brock's will—the older valuation rolls are often not clear and Wardhead may have been reported as Parkfoot. After his death¹¹⁹ in 1889 William and Helen's properties were taken over by their daughters Christina and Isabella. The 1895 valuation roll¹²⁰ lists the two women as proprietors of a house in Wardhead and several properties in Longcroft. It is interesting to note that by the time of William Russell's death Scots law allowed houses and property to be willed to chosen heirs rather than everything passing to the oldest son automatically. Perhaps following James Brock's example, William and Helen chose to leave the houses to daughters rather than sons. At the time of William's death Christina was a widow and Isabella was single, so Helen and William possibly wanted to make sure they would be financially independent. I found myself smiling again.



William Russell of Longcroft.
Photographer is James
Bowman, Glasgow. Early 1860s.
Source: Elspeth Russell Anjos.

Descendants of Helen Brock

Helen Brock
 b: Abt 1813 in Jamaica
 d: 17 Apr 1884 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

William Russell
 b: 1802 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 m: 12 Jun 1829 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: 08 Dec 1889 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Margaret Russell
 b: 1830 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

James Walker
 b: Abt 1825
 m: 20 Apr 1850 in Denny, Stirlingshire

Christina Russell
 b: 18 Aug 1831 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: 02 Oct 1913 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

William Allan
 b: Abt 1833 in Falkirk, Stirling
 m: 29 Jun 1855 in Denny, Stirling, Scotland
 d: Abt 1878

James Russell
 b: 08 Oct 1833 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Jane Johnston
 b: Abt 1842 in Lanarkshire, Glasgow
 m: 30 Sep 1864 in Blythswood, Glasgow, Lanark, Scotland

John Russell
 b: 23 Jan 1835 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: 25 Jun 1901 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

William Russell
 b: 16 Nov 1836 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: 13 Apr 1875 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Isabella Gillies
 b: Abt 1846 in Straven, Lanarkshire, Scotland
 m: 18 Feb 1862 in Milton, Glasgow, Scotland

Mary Russell
 b: 05 Oct 1839 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Thomas Russell
 b: 26 Dec 1841 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Agnes Russell
 b: 09 Aug 1843 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: Abt 1925

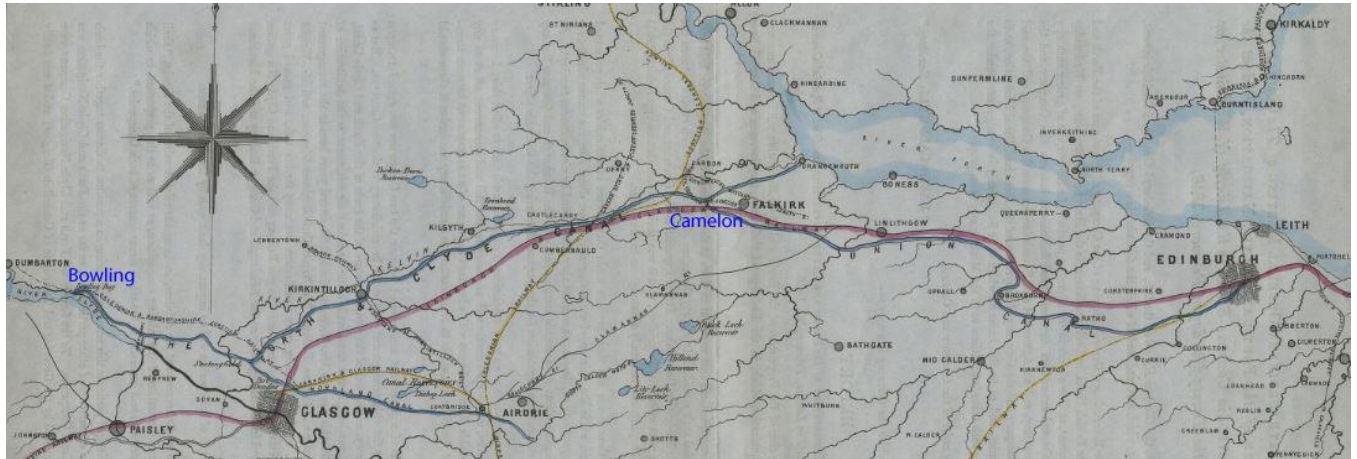
Alexander Birrell
 b: Abt 1843 in Livingstone, Linlithgowshire, Scotland
 m: 31 Aug 1866 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

David Russell
 b: 11 May 1847 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

Janet or Jessie Russell
 b: 16 Jul 1851 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: 21 Apr 1868 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

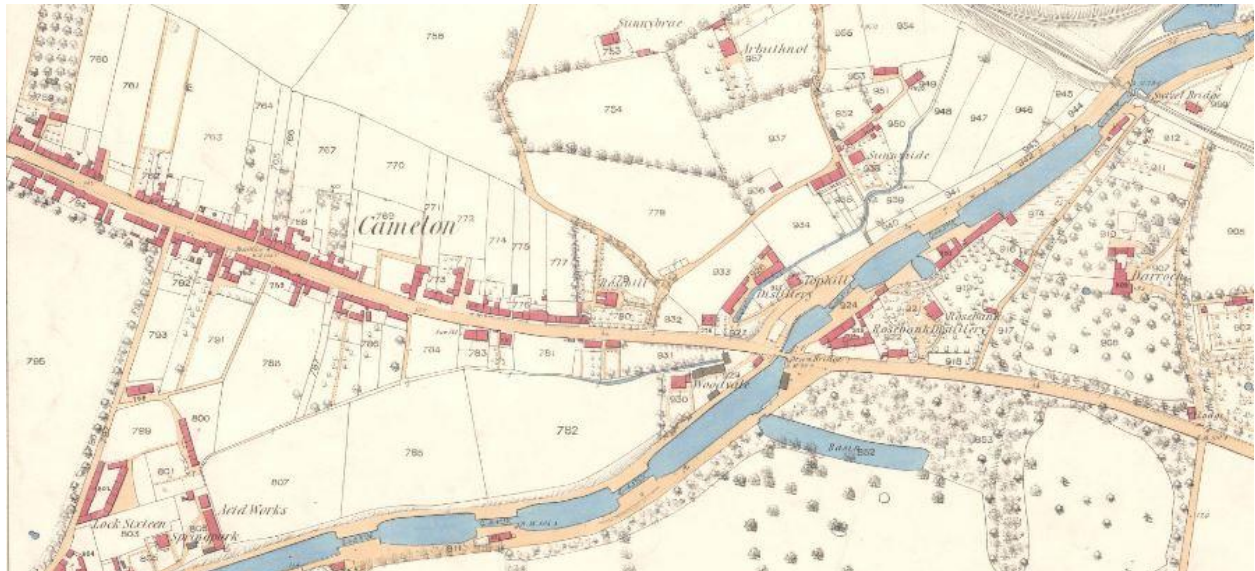
Isabella Russell
 b: 20 Jun 1857 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland
 d: 21 Mar 1942 in Denny, Stirlingshire, Scotland

As the 19th century progressed, industrial jobs replaced agricultural labour for many people in central Scotland. The Falkirk area became a centre for iron smelting and associated industries after the establishment and growth of the Carron Company and the building of the Forth and Clyde, and Union canals that followed.^{121,122} Mary Gibb Brock's husband, Thomas Napier, was a shipowner who worked in various jobs associated with the canals and lived in several places along the length of the Forth and Clyde canal, which stretched across Scotland from Edinburgh on the east coast to Bowling in the West. He would probably have made a better living than an agricultural labourer, but he spent a lot of time away from home.



Map showing Forth and Clyde Canal and associated railways. Maclure, Hugh Hough, c.1821-1892 and Macdonald.1846. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Thomas Napier's address on the 1840 inventory of James Brock's estate¹¹¹ was given as Lock 16, at Camelon, and in the 1841 census¹²³ his wife Mary and daughters are at Camelon Park, along with Mary's sister Elizabeth Brock (listed as Eliza Napier). Camelon is situated on the west side of Falkirk adjacent to the Forth and Clyde Canal between Lock 9 and Lock 16. The village had expanded rapidly in the early part of the century with the establishment of nail manufacturers, distilleries and foundries, attracted by the new rapid and reliable transportation options on the canal, which was completed in 1790.¹²⁴ By the 1830s the population of the village had grown to over 800.¹²⁵



Camelon in 1860 showing Locks 9 to 16 on the Forth and Clyde Canal. Map is OS 25-inch to the mile, 1st edition, 1855–1882 Stirlingshire XXX.3 (Falkirk. Survey date: 1860, Publication date: 1862. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

The inscription on Thomas Napier’s gravestone in Camelon cemetery¹⁰⁷ reads “for many years Captain of Swift boats on the canal between Lock 16 Falkirk and Glasgow.” The Swift passenger boats¹²⁶ were horse drawn lightweight boats operated by the Forth and Clyde Canal Company in the 1830s. By the end of that decade business was waning due to competition from the railways and the company sold several of the passenger boats to the captains who had been operating them.¹²⁷ An article in the *Falkirk Herald* in 1848 referred to Thomas as “shipowner, Tophill, near Camelon”¹²⁸ and the 1851 census¹²⁹ listed him as a ship owner living a little further east along the canal at



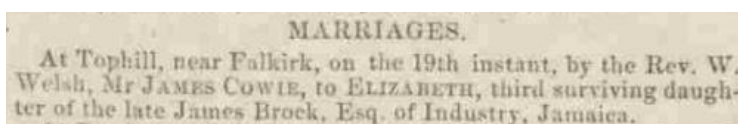
A typical ‘Swift’ of the late 1830s.

A typical horse-drawn Swift boat, 1830s. Source: *Swifts and Queens*, A Ian Bowman. Copyright??

Bankside in Bainsford. He may have purchased his boat at the end of the Swift boat era but I have not confirmed whether he continued to captain passenger boats or whether he moved into goods transportation or possibly dredging.¹³⁰ By 1861 Thomas and Mary were living in Greenock on the River Clyde,¹³¹ west of the canal, where Thomas’s occupation was “weigher” and by 1865¹³² they were tenants of a house in Bowling, Old Kilpatrick¹³³ at the very west end of the Forth and Clyde canal. The valuation rolls reveal that their annual rent was £10 10s in 1865 and £16 by 1875,¹³⁴ significantly higher than many nearby properties, suggesting Thomas Napier made a good living. The census for 1881¹³⁵ shows Thomas, now age 80 and still working as a shipping agent, and Mary both still living in the Bowling house; he died there on 23 December 1881.¹³⁶ In the 1855, 1865 and 1875 valuation rolls¹³⁷ Thomas Napier is also listed as the proprietor of a house in Parkfoot and a nearby grocer’s shop, both with tenants in them. Mary

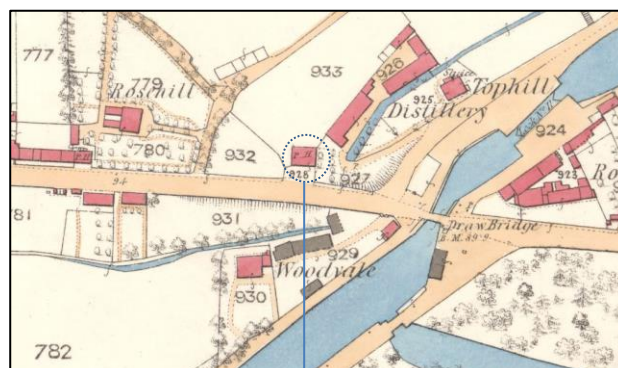
took over as proprietor after Thomas died in 1881.¹³⁸ As a widow she may have returned to live in one of the Parkfoot properties—she died at Longcroft in 1889.⁵² The total rent they collected from the Parkfoot properties cannot be calculated exactly from the valuation rolls, as rents under £4 were often listed with no tenants or specific amounts recorded; however, the total was at least £15 per year by 1885. Thomas and Mary did not have any children together, but after their deaths their properties passed to Thomas’s daughter Jessie and her husband Robert Marshall. Robert was listed as proprietor of the Parkfoot house and shop in the valuation rolls for 1895 and 1905.¹³⁹ Robert’s and Jessie’s death certificates (1912 and 1911 respectively)^{140,141} list him as a retired coal merchant and “landed proprietor.” Robert Marshall’s estate was worth £11,604 6s 5d and Jessie’s £2150 3s 9d.^{142,143} The total would be worth approximately £1.2 million today.

Elizabeth Brock married James Cowie on 19 Oct 1847 in Falkirk.¹⁴⁴ The marriage announcement in the *Stirling Observer*¹⁴⁵ gives the location as Tophill, near Falkirk, suggesting that she was still living with her sister Mary and husband Thomas Napier in Camelon at the time of her marriage.



James Cowie was one of four children; his father, Alexander, was a vintner^{146,147} in Camelon. Alexander probably died around 1840, leaving few genealogical clues about his life. On James’s death certificate his father’s occupation is given as “innkeeper” but I was unable to identify an inn associated with him.

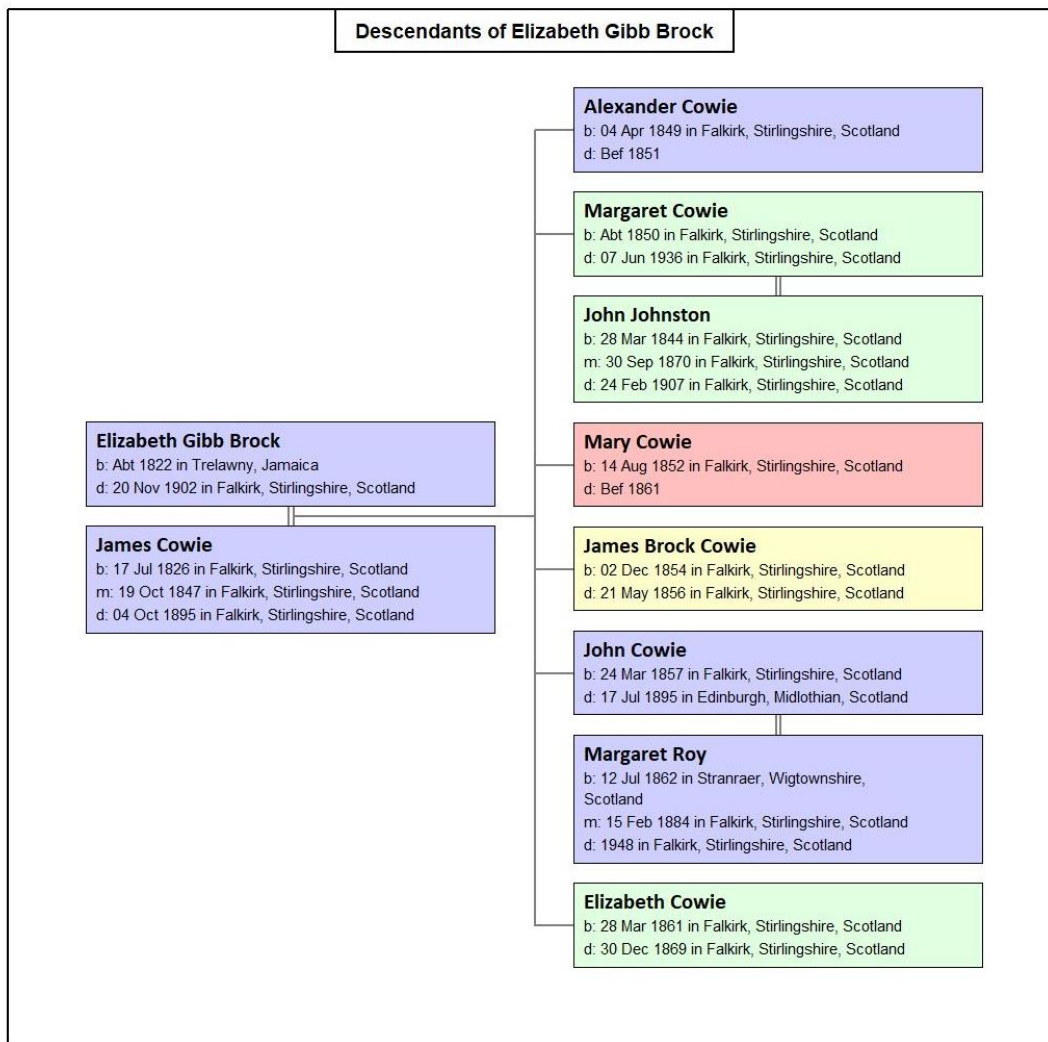
However, as early as 1845, James’s mother, Mary Baird Cowie, was innkeeper of the Blue Bell inn (sometimes referred to as “Cowie’s public house”) in Camelon.^{148,149,150} The inn is marked on the 1860 map of Camelon as PH (public house) between Lock 11 and Lock 12, and along the road from Tophill, where Elizabeth Brock was living with Thomas and Mary Napier. When Mary Cowie died sometime around 1850, James’s older brother John, who was a writer (solicitor) in Falkirk, inherited the Blue Bell inn building and a piece of land that was rented out for cattle grazing.¹⁵¹ By 1861 he was renting the inn to his sister Mary and her husband Robert Neilson,¹⁵² who later carried on the family tradition of tavern keeping at the Spur Inn in Cumbernauld.¹⁵³ Like many younger sons of the time, James received no legacy from his parents. By 1850 James had moved to nearby Bainsford from Camelon and had applied for *cessio bonorum*—a voluntary surrender of possessions to creditors.¹⁵⁴ In August 1866, his brother John Cowie, who by that time was Town Clerk of neighbouring Bo’ness, died at the age of 42 after falling down a railway cutting following an accident in his horse-



Detail from 1860 map of Camelon showing location of The Blue Bell Inn on Main Street, Camelon. Below is photo of the inn around 1900? Source: Falkirk Archives

drawn gig.^{155,156} John Cowie had made a will in 1859¹⁵⁷ leaving the Blue Bell inn to James. However, in February 1866, just a few months before he died, he revoked his will in favour of Jessie Donaldson, daughter of a Bo'ness mason, to whom he was engaged to be married. All his assets, including the inn and land that he had inherited from his parents then passed out of the Cowie family.

James and Elizabeth Brock Cowie had three sons and three daughters together between 1849 and 1861. Their sons Alexander and James and daughters Mary and Elizabeth all died as young children;^{158,159,160} only Margaret (my second great-grandmother) and John survived to adulthood.

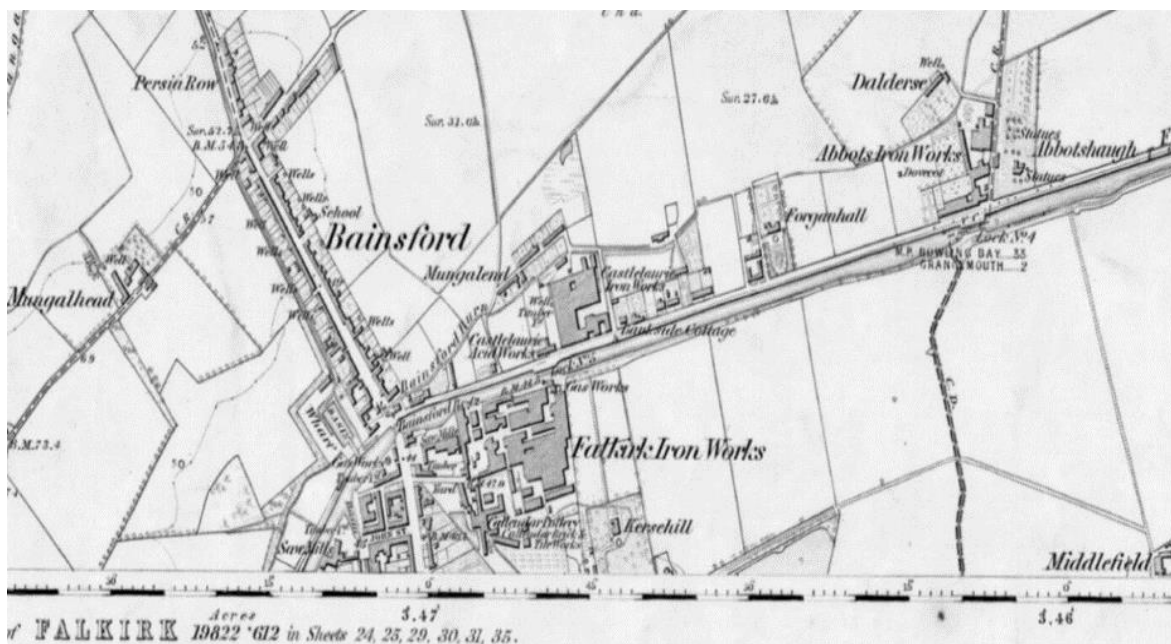


James Cowie, like Thomas Napier, spent most of his life in jobs associated with the canals around Falkirk. In the 1851 census he is not listed, as was typical for men who spent much of their time on the boats, but Elizabeth is listed living in Bainsford² as a "lighterman's wife."^{††} In the 1861 census¹⁶¹ James is

^{††} A lighter was a type of flat-bottomed barge

absent again and Elizabeth is listed as a sailor's wife. In 1871 James is listed as a carter,¹⁶² suggesting that he had a dryland job for some period. By the 1881 and 1891 censuses he was once again a boatman.^{163,164} James Cowie likely made a good living working on the canals, but he does not seem to have owned a house. In the mid to late 19th century, many of the houses in Bainsford, shown in 1865 on the map below, were owned by the Falkirk Iron Company, the Carron Company or other smaller local business owners and employers.

The valuation rolls¹⁶⁵ and censuses for the period 1850 to 1901 show that James and Elizabeth Cowie lived in Bainsford, near the Forth and Clyde canal, as tenants at addresses variously listed as Canal Side, East Bank, Canal Bank, Bankside, and Bainsford West Side. It is not clear how many different houses are represented; even now locals use some of those terms interchangeably.¹⁶⁶



Bainsford on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1865. Map is OS 6-inch to the mile, 1st edition, 1843-1882 Stirlingshire, Sheet XXIV. Survey date: 1861, Publication date: 1865 Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. [View map: Great Britain. Ordnance Survey, OS six-inch to the](#)

In 1881 and 1891 James and Elizabeth were tenants of a house in Mungalend Road in Bainsford. Their daughter Margaret (my second great-grandmother) and her husband John Johnston lived next door,¹⁶³ and by 1891 their son John Cowie and his family were nearby in Persia Row.¹⁶⁷ James and Elizabeth Cowie paid annual rent of £4 10s in 1855 and by 1895 rent was £6 10s. James died in 1895,¹⁶⁸ but Elizabeth was still listed at 7 Mungalend Road in the 1901 census.¹⁶⁹ She died in 1902; the address on the death certificate is Bankside.¹¹² I did not find a will or confirmation (probate) record for either James or Elizabeth.



Houses in Mungalend (left) and Persia Row (right) in Bainsford. These photos are dated c.1960 but houses date back to 1860-1896 for Mungalend and prior to 1860 for Persia Row (from NLS OS maps). Source: Falkirk Archives

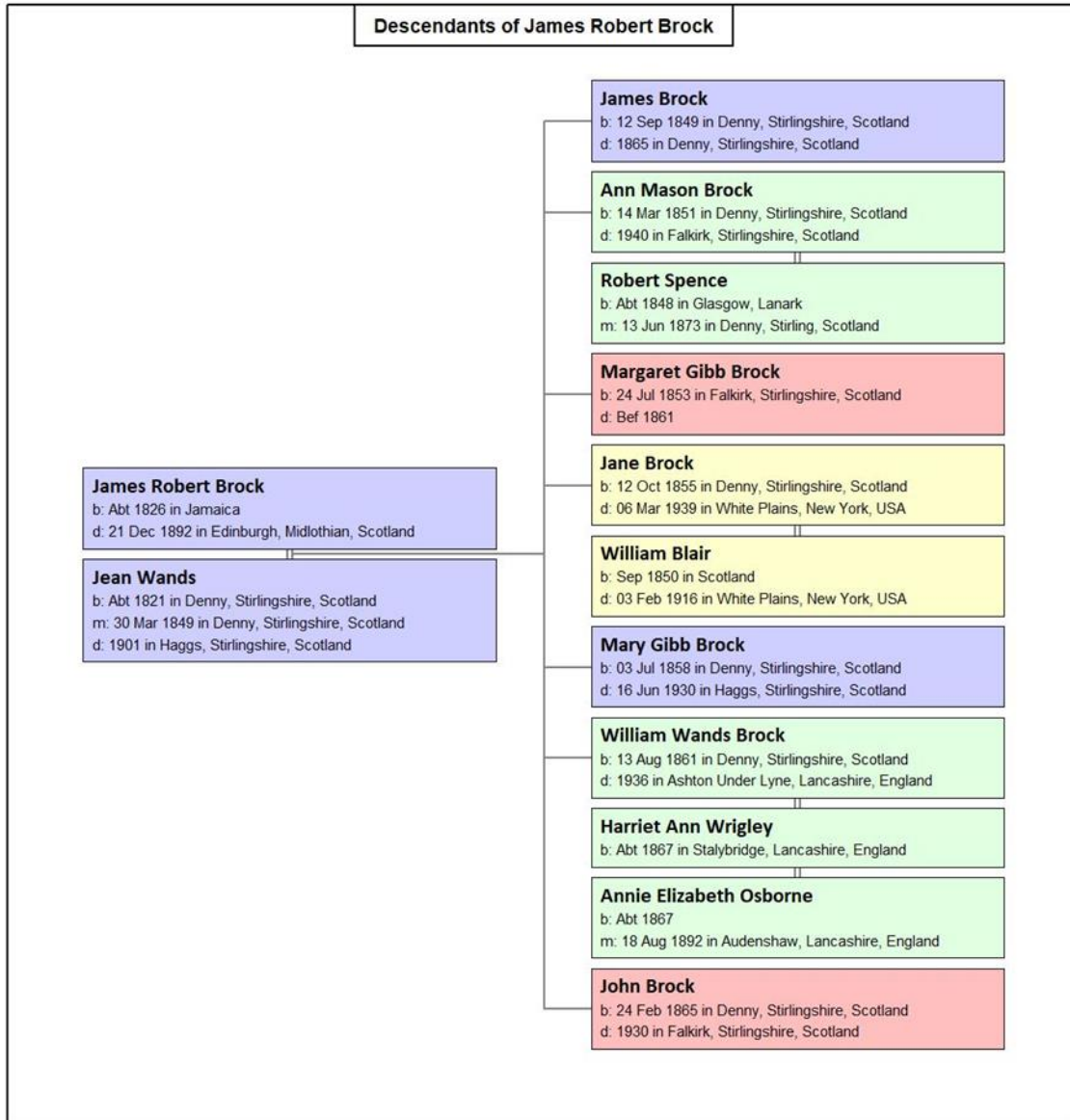


Margaret Cowie Johnston and Elizabeth Brock Cowie with baby Isabella Johnston in 1898.
Source: James Russell.

Elizabeth Brock Cowie is shown in the photograph on the left with her daughter Margaret Cowie Johnston. The child in the photo is almost certainly Margaret's grand-daughter Isabella Johnston, my grandmother, the only one of Margaret's grandchildren born before Elizabeth died in 1902. Isabella was born in September 1897¹⁷⁰ which dates the photo to 1898. The house in the background is probably one of their adjacent Mungalend Road homes.

James Robert Brock, the youngest Brock son, married Jane Wands on 13 March 1849 in Denny.¹⁷¹ The Wands were neighbours of William and Helen Brock Russell in Longcroft, where Jane's father William was a shoemaker.¹⁷² James and Jane had seven children between 1849 and 1865.^{173,174} The 1851 census lists James Robert Brock as an agricultural labourer;¹⁷⁵ in 1861 and 1871 he is listed simply as a labourer.¹⁷⁶ By 1881 he, like many of his neighbours, had found work as a labourer at an iron foundry,¹⁷⁷ possibly the Denny Iron Works that opened in Denny in 1870.¹⁷⁸ He was still working as a foundry labourer in 1891,¹⁷⁹ and died the following year at the age of 66.¹⁸⁰ James lived around Denny his whole life. The 1851 census lists James and Jane's address as Parkfoot. James is not listed in the valuation roll for 1855 but he and his family were possibly living in one of the properties owned by Thomas and Mary Napier, listed as "rents under £4" with no tenant name. There is no entry for James in the valuation rolls until 1885,¹⁸¹ when he is the tenant of a house in Longcroft with a rent of £3 10s. In 1895, after James's death, Jane is listed at a house in Denny paying £6 in rent. I was not able to find a will or confirmation record, but it seems clear that he was not a wealthy man at any stage of his life. It is interesting to note that two of his children did not follow their father's path and remain in the area, but instead, like many

young Scots at the time, took opportunities to go where mine and foundry workers were in demand. Daughter Jane's husband, William Blair was a miner from Cumbernauld. He had gone to Pennsylvania in 1867, and she followed him in 1873. They married there¹⁸² then returned to Scotland for a period before settling first in Tioga, Pennsylvania¹⁸³ and later White Plains, New York.¹⁸⁴ James Brock's son William started his working life as an iron moulder in Denny,¹⁷⁷ but moved to Lancashire in his twenties. He married twice, had at least four children, and spent the rest of his life there.¹⁸⁵



The youngest of the Brock siblings, Margaret, married Archibald Young on 23 Apr 1847.¹⁸⁶ Margaret is shown in the photo on the left. The photographer's logo on the card is "Geo. Bell & Co., 152 Sauchiehall St., Glasgow." George Bell was in business at that address from 1893-1900.¹⁸⁷ Margaret died¹⁸⁸ in 1883 at the age of 55 so the photo must be a reprint of a much earlier image, possibly made at the time of Archibald's death¹⁸⁹ in 1898. Her dress dates the image to the early 1860s when Margaret was in her early 30s.¹⁹⁰



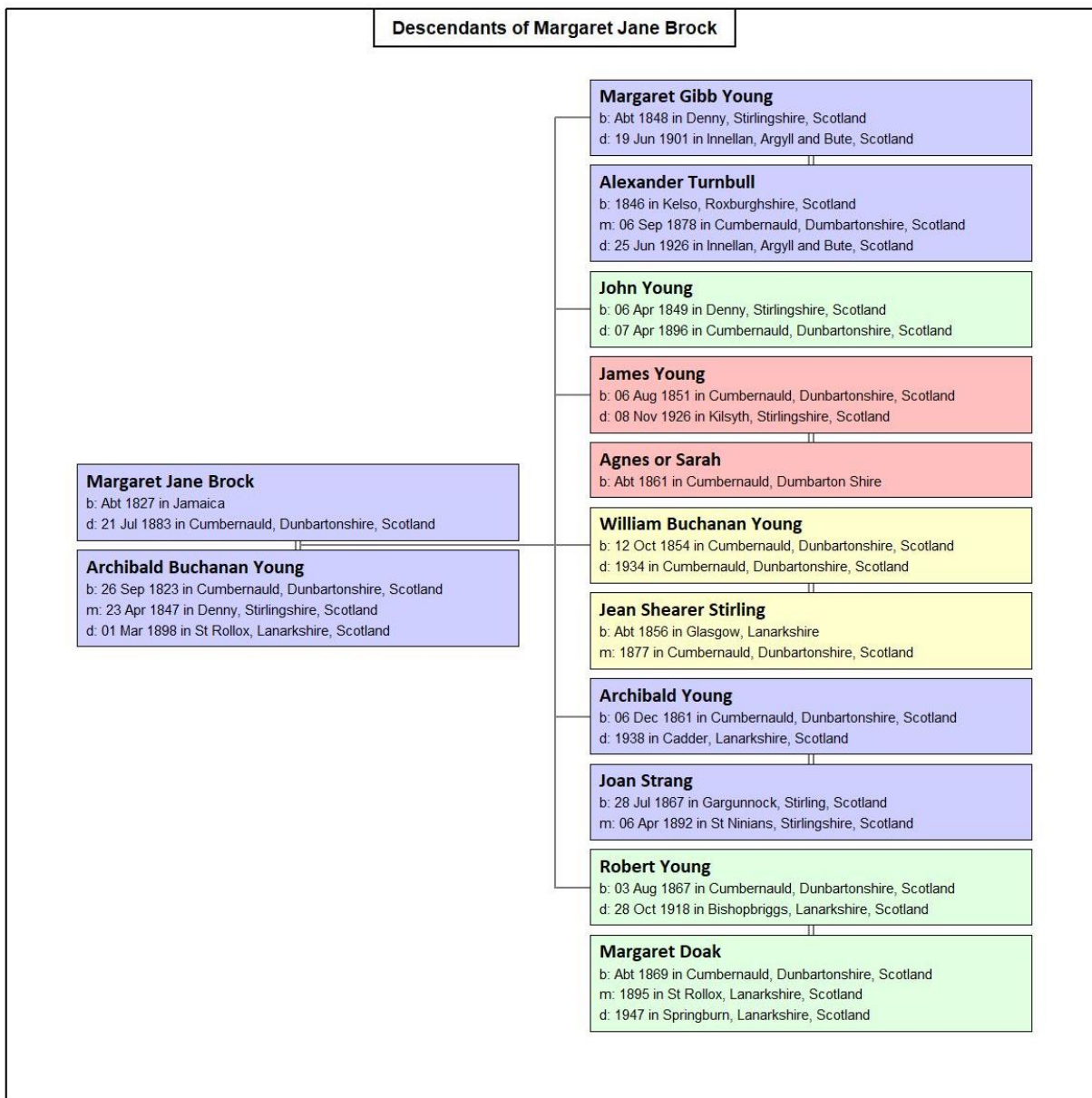
**Margaret Brock Young
c. 1860. Source:
Elsbeth Russell Anjos**

In the 1851 census Archibald is listed as a flesher (butcher),¹⁹¹ but for most of his life he was a draper.¹⁹² Between 1851 and 1865 he was a tenant of a house and shop in Main St, Cumbernauld and sometime between 1865 and 1875¹⁹³ he became proprietor of those properties. By 1895 Archibald owned seven properties in Cumbernauld including a house on Wynd, a house and shop on Main Street, and a weaving shop and "stable and harness shop."¹⁹⁴ His own address is listed as Hazel Bank, Bishopbriggs; he died there in 1898 at the age of 74. Archibald Young was the last living male of the generation of Brock siblings and their spouses and was probably the contact for ongoing affairs concerning Industry Plantation in Jamaica. This responsibility passed to his son Archibald (1861-1938) after his death.

Margaret and Archibald had five sons and a daughter between 1848 and 1867.^{195,196,197} Their daughter Margaret also lived in Bishopbriggs with her husband, Alex Turnbull, an engineer.¹⁹⁸ They had probably moved there for his job—the Bishopbriggs and neighbouring Springburn and St Rollox areas offered lots of employment in the surrounding railways, foundries, quarries and mines. The five Young sons held a variety of jobs, reflecting the increasingly diverse economy in central Scotland at the time. Three sons, James, William and Archibald started their working lives as butchers in Cumbernauld, as their father had done. James continued as a butcher, but by 1901 William was working on the railways,¹⁹⁹ and Archibald was a foundry manager,²⁰⁰ living in St Rollox. Robert also lived and worked in St Rollox; in 1891 he was listed living with the Turnbells and working as an engine and valve maker,¹⁹⁸ and by 1901 he was an engineering manager.²⁰¹ John was first a tailor, then later owner of a cab (carriage) in Cumbernauld; he died in 1896.²⁰²

Archibald Young's estate was valued at £280 10s (approx. £30,000 today),²⁰³ but he was also the owner of multiple properties. His will is an interesting example of how creative men became in the period after 1868 when buildings and land became heritable. The will is long and rather rambling²⁰⁴ and offered his five surviving children the "opportunity" to bid against each other for his property in Main Street, Cumbernauld, with the property to go to highest bidder over £400 pounds. He also ensured compliance—the will stated: "should any of my said children repudiate this settlement those so repudiating shall forfeit and lose all right and interest thereunder." There were also three codicils to the will—he seemed to change his mind every couple of years about which was his favourite son. It seems that eldest son James lost out in the "bidding war" to his younger brother William—the 1905 valuation roll²⁰⁵ lists William as proprietor of multiple properties on Main St, Cumbernauld, after being a tenant in 1895. Daughter Margaret's husband Alexander Turnbull died in 1926 and his estate was worth more

than £25,000.²⁰⁶ And so it seems that Margaret Brock, like several of her siblings, and her children after her, was comfortably off for most of her life.



The life of the last Brock sibling remains, to date, something of a mystery. John Alexander Brock was the oldest son, who by Scots law should have inherited James Brock's houses and Jamaica plantation. Throughout all my research I found no evidence of his presence in Scotland between 1829 and 1900. I considered a few possibilities:

1. He didn't leave Jamaica to come to Scotland with the rest of the family; he was born around 1820 so he may have been 14 or 15 by the time they left.
2. He came to Scotland with the rest of the family but went back to Jamaica.
3. He died in Scotland sometime after the 1840 inventory (which mentions six Brock children).

Perhaps James Brock always planned for his oldest son to take over the Industry Plantation, which might explain why he left him out of his will. I have always considered 1 or 2 the most likely possibilities, and the ones that I have the most circumstantial evidence for. Chapter 12 will discuss this evidence and the branch of the Brock family that grew in places other than Scotland.

This chapter would not be complete without considering the life of Mary Gibb, Margaret Gibb's sister and aunt to the Brock siblings. When she arrived in Scotland, most likely in 1829 with her nieces Helen and Mary, she lived with Helen and William Russell in Longcroft, and the censuses from 1841 to 1871¹¹³,¹¹⁴ show her still living with them throughout the next several decades. In 1841 she was listed as "independent" and in 1851 her occupation was "laundress." I can only speculate that she was not financially independent enough to live alone, but for some period she worked to contribute to the household. She was likely put to work helping with the 11 Russell children who grew up in the house during the period she lived there. She died in in 1878 at the age of 86.²⁶

The death of the last of the Brock siblings, Elizabeth Brock Cowie in 1902 brings this chapter to an end. The five Brock siblings who filled 19th-century Scotland with their lives surely faced challenges of the times—children dying, hard agricultural labour, adjusting to the industrialisation of central Scotland—but for the most part they led relatively comfortable productive lives. Each of them would have continued receiving some payments from the Jamaica plantation throughout their lives, which no doubt made things easier. However, it was James Brock's bequeathing houses to the two eldest daughters Helen and Mary that set them up for relatively more comfortable lives, and wealth that carried on into subsequent generations. In contrast, youngest daughter Margaret achieved property ownership only by marrying a man whose business ventures were eventually sufficiently successful. James's daughter Elizabeth (my third great-grandmother) and his younger son James never owned a house and did not appear to accumulate any wealth. This confirmed the feelings that I had early in this research that no one in my own branch of the family was ever at all wealthy. But in the end, they all benefited to some extent from the spoils of slavery and I, along with many other descendants, must find a place for the tangled emotions that endure long after unravelling this story.

11. 20th-Century Legacy

While the Brock siblings were making a life for themselves in Scotland in the latter part of the 19th century, Industry Plantation continued to operate in Jamaica. Left in the hands of first William Frater, and subsequently other attorneys or overseers, it survived the abolition of slavery and the transition to the apprenticeship system that was in place until 1838. No records of the business of Industry Plantation after 1838 remain but whomever was in charge would have faced declines in their labour force as formerly enslaved people moved off the plantations, confrontations with workers as new approaches to the assignment of labour were implemented, and a severe contraction of the coffee industry after the middle of the century, when many coffee plantations were simply abandoned.²⁰⁷ Whether or not Industry continued to produce coffee, or whether, like many others in Jamaica in the post-emancipation period, it changed to pen-keeping or other crops, is not clear, but it is almost certain that payments from Jamaica to the Brock family in Scotland continued throughout the 19th century and into the first decades of the 20th century. In the collection of documents that Dr James Russell shared with me early in my research there is a “Memorandum as to Industry Plantation” from Russel & Aitken, Writers, Falkirk, dated May 1925.²⁰⁸ A full transcription is given in Appendix 2.

The reason for the memorandum seemed clear: “The matter has come up at present in consequence of Mr. Fisher, who manages the property in Jamaica, having received an offer to purchase and having asked Messrs. Russel & Aitken what title the Beneficiaries could give to a purchaser.” However, the memorandum does not seem to address the issue of title to Industry Plantation, but states that the payment arrangements that had been in effect since James Brock’s death were not legally justified, due to the illegitimacy of all of James Brock and Margaret Gibb’s children:

It will be observed that there were originally eight legatees entitled to one eighth share each of Industry Plantation. Each of these legatees would have a vested interest in one eighth share of the property. It is thought that of these the following died intestate and without issue viz:- Margaret Gibb, Sidney Brock, Alexander Brock and Mary Brock. In the year 1900, when Russel & Aitken first had dealings in the matter, the income of the property was being divided into four shares as follows:

1. Helen Brock or Russell’s 7 children so far as alive and the issue of deceased children *per stirpes*.^{§§}
2. Elizabeth Brock or Cowie’s daughter, Mrs Johnston.
3. James Brock’s 5 children.
4. Margaret Brock or Young’s 5 children.

All moneys received on account of the rents of the property, since 1900, have been divided in the same way.

From the above it will be seen that the shares of the original legatees, as they died, had been added to the interests of those remaining and that the shares of deceasers have been dealt with as moveable estate. The Will, however, does not appear to justify this manner of dealing with deceiver’s shares. The original legatees’ interests in Industry Plantation appear to be heritable as regards succession and would,

^{§§} *Per stirpes* distribution of assets means the beneficiary's share of an estate will pass to the beneficiary's descendants or heirs.

failing Wills, go to their respective heirs in heritage. Margaret Gibb's heir in heritage could not be her children, or any of them, as it appears from James Brock's will that they were illegitimate. Sidney, Alexander and Mary Brock, being illegitimate children, could not have heirs if they left no children. If, therefore, none of the above left a Will or Wills in favor of the remaining beneficiaries, or some of them, four shares of Industry Plantation out of eight shares, do not belong to those among whom the rents are now being divided. In the same way only the half of the proceeds of a sale of the property would belong to them.

After the death of the last of the Jamaican-born Brocks, Elizabeth Brock Cowie in 1902, payments had indeed been going to the subsequent generation, as noted in the memorandum. It is interesting to note that John Alexander is assumed to have died "without issue" when in fact he had four sons in Jamaica (see next chapter). However, since they were illegitimate, under Scots law they would have no legal entitlement to his share of his father's estate, and whether they did benefit from the proceeds of Industry in separate payments from the Scottish arrangements would be difficult to determine.

It is not clear whether anything changed for the Scottish family after 1925. By then, many of the 18 Brock descendants mentioned in the memorandum had children of their own, and evidence of where any payments were going is deeply embedded in the complexities of the Brock-Russell-Cowie-Young family tree. I can only turn to my own branch of the family for clues as to how the situation evolved. The aunt who bequeathed me the Brock sampler, the last of my family with any connection to the Brocks, remembered "Auntie Lizzie" (actually her great-aunt, Elizabeth Brock Johnston, 1880-1958, daughter of Margaret Cowie Johnston) talking about still getting cheques from Jamaica well after that date. However, there is no family evidence that anyone in the subsequent generation received anything. This implies that Margaret Cowie Johnston inherited her mother's share of payments from Industry as the 1925 memorandum noted, then whether she left a will or not, that share passed to be divided amongst her four children after her death in 1936. There is no way of knowing whether the amounts they received were adjusted to align with the legal opinion stated in the memorandum. It seems likely though that Auntie Lizzie, the oldest surviving member of her generation, was the last family member to receive any income, and payments stopped sometime between 1936 and 1958.

In the 1950s, several descendants of the Brocks launched a legal effort to claim ownership of Industry Plantation.²⁰⁹ A collection of letters²¹⁰ exchanged between various members of the Russell, Johnston and Young families and lawyers in both Scotland and Jamaica provided valuable insight into the situation with Industry Plantation and followed the legal process over more than 20 years. In the beginning, the family were under the impression that the man in charge of the plantation, a Mr Arnett, had been defaulting on the payments to the family for several years. In fact, in 1937 Mr Arnett had informed Archibald Young, son of Margaret Brock Young, who had been the family contact dealing with Mr Arnett and the business of Industry, that he was unable to pay such a high rental. Archibald Young died the following year, and after his death no one in the family had followed up and replied to Mr Arnett. After several years of no communication with the Brock family, Mr Arnett was able to claim "adverse

possession”^{***} of Industry. He went to court in Jamaica to acquire legal ownership of title, and as part of the proceedings a commission was appointed in the mid-1960s to take evidence in Scotland from Brock family members. As the legal process unfolded, several family members lost interest, perhaps due to costs, perhaps not wanting to know they had black ancestors, or maybe the shame of owning slaves. In the end Industry Plantation passed out of family hands and was purchased by Reynolds Jamaica Mines at the time when much of Jamaica was being taken over for bauxite mining.²¹¹ Mr Arnett claimed the purchase price. By the 1970s, some descendants of the Brock family were continuing to correspond with a Jamaican lawyer to further explore a claim on the title to Industry, now owned by Reynolds. The situation was put to rest in a 1975 letter²¹² from Clinton Hart, a Kingston lawyer, who clarified that:

From the evidence taken by the commission and other evidence adduced including a family Bible of the Brock Family it was shown that those members of the Brock Family concerned were under no disability which would prevent time to establish adverse possession running in favour of Mr Arnett.

An Application under the Registration of Titles Law was thereafter made to the Registrar of Titles for a registered title to be issued in the name of Reynolds Jamaica Mines Limited and in due course such a title was issued to Reynolds Jamaica Mines Limited.

The present position is that Reynolds Jamaica Mines Limited are in fact the registered proprietors of Industry Pen.

This felt like the end of the story, and perhaps it was not a bad ending —after all, the Scottish Brocks did not too badly. But a thread remained—the one that might join the Brocks in this story to Brocks elsewhere.

^{***} Adverse possession does not exist in Scots law but is similar to “squatters rights.” If someone occupies a piece of property without permission and the property's owner does not exercise their right to recover their property for a significant period of time, a new title to the property can be claimed by the adverse possessor.

12. The other Jamaica Brocks

This chapter assumes that James Brock's eldest son, John Alexander Brock, either remained in Jamaica when the rest of the family left for Scotland, or that he came to Scotland but returned to Jamaica to live in St Ann at Industry, likely around 1840. As described in Chapter 10, I have no solid evidence that John Alexander Brock was ever in Scotland. The first evidence for this theory came in the form of a photograph that was given to me by Dr James Russell and is shown below. It is a portrait of a man named William Gibb Brock and was taken in Jamaica by Duperly Bros., St Ann. The clothing and facial hair suggest that the photo dates to the 1870s.²¹³

Given that this photo was in the possession of a descendant of Helen Brock Russell, it seemed certain that there was a connection with the Jamaica Brock–Gibb family. I also saw an uncanny resemblance of William Gibb Brock to another William Brock (1861-1936), son of James Robert Brock and Jean Wands. His photo, shown on the right below, was identified on the back as "William Brock, Mary Brock's brother," and the clothing suggests that the photo was taken around 1882. These two men would be cousins if my reasoning is correct.



**Photo of William Gibb Brock, taken in Jamaica by Duperly. Estimated date ~1875.
Source: James Russell**



**Photo of William Wands Brock, taken in Glasgow by Andrew Bowen. Estimated date ~1882.
Source: James Russell**

A search of the Jamaica Church of England Parish Register Transcripts (available on *FamilySearch*) yielded the records of the baptisms in Trelawny of four boys, all born at Industry with the surname Brock.²¹⁴ (Records for the Brock family throughout the period of this research were variously listed under both Trelawny and St Ann, reflecting the proximity of Industry to the parish border, and perhaps which church the family frequented.) The boys' names were James, John Alexander, George, and William Gibb, all names found within the Brock family and fitting the typical Scottish naming pattern (grandfather, father, uncle, uncle). To my great frustration, no parent's names were listed, suggesting that the parents were not legally married. Anglican ministers at that time would baptize illegitimate children but not name their parents. This changed in 1871 when Law 6 came into effect,²¹⁵ decreeing that if the parents were known, whether married or not, their names were to appear in the baptismal record.

92 May 7 1847	James Brock Born 7 April 1841	Industry
93 May 7 1847	John Alexander Brock Born 3 November 1842	Industry
94 May 7 1847	George Brock Born 8 April 1845	Industry
95 May 7 1847	William Gibb Brock Born 16 December 1846	Industry
96 May 7 1847	Edney Brock Born 19 November 1842	

Baptisms of Brock children in the Parish of Trelawny, 7 May 1847. Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register. *FamilySearch*

Keeping the faith that William Gibb Brock was John Alexander Brock's son, I launched into further research. Jamaican records on *FamilySearch*, along with online access to *Jamaica Gleaner*, and the passenger lists and US censuses available on *Ancestry* were invaluable and I quickly sketched a multi-generational family picture of this branch of the Jamaica Brocks and their diaspora in the US. But I still had the problem of John Alexander. If he was the patriarch of this family, where was he in the years after the birth of these four boys? The continuing lack of evidence led me to believe that he must have died. The un-indexed Jamaica death records prior to civil registration⁺⁺⁺ had to hold the key so I searched them, page by torturous page until I found a death that was probably him: John Brock, buried 25 April 1847 at Industry in St Ann²¹⁶ at the age of 26. His sons were baptized two weeks later. Further evidence for connection with the Brock–Gibb family came from the 1879 death record for Robert Gibb, brother of Margaret, which records the informant as WG Brock, nephew.²¹⁷

³⁴ Burials in the Parish of Saint Ann in the County of Middlesex in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty seven.

No	Name	Descriphon	Age	Abode	When Buried	Where Buried	Preacher the Anniversary was
10	John Brock		26 yrs		April 25 1847	Industry	J. S. De Groot

Death record for John Brock 1847: Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880, *FamilySearch*.

⁺⁺⁺ At the time of writing these records are now indexed.

Descendants of John Alexander Brock

John Alexander Brock
 b: Abt 1820 in Jamaica
 d: 1847 in Jamaica

James Brock
 b: 17 Apr 1841 in Trelawny, Jamaica

John Alexander Brock
 b: 03 Nov 1842 in Trelawny, Jamaica

George Brock
 b: 08 Apr 1845 in Trelawny, Jamaica

William Brock

Llewellyn Alexander Brock
 b: 03 Jan 1876 in Trelawny, Jamaica

George Percival Brock
 b: 12 Jan 1878 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 24 Jul 1923 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Elgetha Elizabeth Brock
 b: Abt 1879 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 28 Dec 1953 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Ivor Ernest Patterson
 b: 1877
 d: 15 May 1917 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Constance Lavinia Brock
 b: 04 Jan 1882 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 13 Mar 1964 in Queens, NY, USA

Robert Neilson
 b: Abt 1879 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 03 Feb 1976 in Queens, NY, USA

Alice Brock
 b: 13 Aug 1884 in Stewart Town, Trelawny, Jamaica

William Gibb Brock
 b: 16 Dec 1846 in Trelawny, Jamaica

Mildred Louise Brock
 b: 13 Aug 1885 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 08 Mar 1932 in New York, NY, USA

Lavinia Harper
 b: Abt 1855 in Jamaica
 d: 16 Sep 1937 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Joseph Augustas Weckessar
 b: 12 May 1886 in Jamaica
 d: 08 Jul 1964 in Brooklyn, NY, USA

Hilda Mary Brock
 b: 14 Dec 1886 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 29 Dec 1967 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Thomas Percy Victor McDaniel
 b: 20 Oct 1881 in Manchester, Jamaica
 d: 08 Oct 1953 in Kingston, Jamaica

Mabel Brock
 b: 01 Apr 1889 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 14 Nov 1987 in Rhode Island, USA

Margaret Brock
 b: 20 Jul 1892 in Jamaica

Florence Brock
 b: 05 Oct 1894 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 11 Jul 1979 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Randolph Lopez
 b: 1889 in Portland, Jamaica
 d: 17 Dec 1966 in St Andrew, Jamaica

Clarence Cleveland Brock
 b: 17 Sep 1896 in Trelawny, Jamaica
 d: 17 Jan 1990 in Walworth, WI, USA

William Gibb Brock married Lavinia Harper in 1875 in Stewart Town, Trelawny.²¹⁸ They had eleven children between 1876 and 1896. Most of their births were found easily in the Jamaica Church of England Parish Registers,^{219,220} or in the Jamaica Civil Registration BMD records for the younger children.²²¹⁻²²⁸ I did not find a birth record for Mildred but she appeared in immigration, census and US naturalization records. Her reported birth date varies; she may have matched her age to that of her younger husband when filling in forms.

On several of his children's birth records William Gibb Brock was listed as a shoemaker in Stewart Town. Sometime after 1897 he became a penkeeper. Lavinia died in Cross Roads, St Andrew in 1937 at the age of 82, but I have not yet found a record of Williams death. Several of William and Lavinia's children left Jamaica for the US, mostly initially to Brooklyn, New York, and I was able to track their lives and families through the US censuses. William's brothers and their families seem to have remained in Jamaica. There is too much detail on this branch of the family to include the full story here, but I would like to tell some brief tales of William Gibb Brock's children.

William and Lavinia's two eldest sons remained in Jamaica. Llewellyn was born in 1876. When he was a young man he was the subject of a "wanted" ad in 1898 in the *Jamaica Gleaner*,²²⁹ which offered a £5 reward for his apprehension after he had been accused of "defaulting money." At some point he travelled to Cristobal, Panama, most likely to work on the construction of the Panama Canal, along with many other West Indian men.²³⁰ He returned to Jamaica in 1939.²³¹ His closest brother George Percival was viewed as a model citizen. He died suddenly at the age of 45; his obituary²³² described him as "a worthy citizen and ...a dutiful and loving son." He worked at David Henderson & Co as a "popular salesman" for almost 25 years. His father was the informant on the death record²³³ so was still alive in 1923 at the age of 76.

Constance Brock was the first of William Gibb Brock's children to leave Jamaica for the US. She immigrated to Brooklyn, arriving in 1907²³⁴ as a single person and is listed in the 1910 US census²³⁵ living as a boarder in Brooklyn, New York. Her occupation was dressmaker in a store, and her colour or race is noted as white. She married Robert Neilson, also from Jamaica, in 1911.²³⁶ In 1920 Constance and Robert were living at McDonough Street in Brooklyn with their sons Robert and Kenneth, aged 7 and 3 years respectively.²³⁷ Also living with them were Robert's sister Ambrozyne, her husband Richard Smith and their daughter Lilith, and another Jamaican (who may also be related), Wilson Newman and his 14-year-old son Howard. It was common for Jamaicans from extended family and friends to live together after arriving in the US. Everyone in the household was now listed as black. I wondered if they chose to identify as white or black, but in fact up until 1950,²³⁸ it was the census-taker who determined race. By 1925,²³⁹ Constance's sister Elgetha was living with them at 579 Monroe Street, Brooklyn. Elgetha's husband, Ivor Patterson, had died in 1917 and she immigrated to the US with her two children Lena (b. 1901) and Harry (b. 1905) in 1920.²⁴⁰ In 1930²⁴¹ and 1940,²⁴² Constance was still listed in the censuses at the same address but with only her husband and sons. They were all listed as white in 1925, 1930 and 1940. Sometime after 1940 Elgetha returned to Jamaica, where she died in 1953, age 74.²⁴³ Constance lived the rest of her life in the US; she died in Queens, New York in 1964 at the age of 82.²⁴⁴ Mildred Brock was born around 1885 in Jamaica and emigrated to the US in 1913.²⁴⁵ She married another Jamaican, Joseph Weckesser, in 1919 in New York²⁴⁶ at the age of 33. She gave birth to a son, Joseph in

1931 and died in 1932 of peritoneal cancer²⁴⁷ at the age of 46. She seemed to be close to her sister Constance, who was named as her contact for her arrival in New York in 1913. After her death her husband and son lived close to or in the household of Constance and Robert Neilson until at least 1950. Constance made a trip to Jamaica and back to New York²⁴⁸ with Mildreds son Joseph in 1937 when he was 5.

Hilda Brock was born and died in Jamaica. She married Thomas McDaniel in Kingston in 1911²⁴⁹ and had five children. Thomas died in 1953 and Hilda travelled to the US later in life, arriving on a flight in 1962²⁵⁰ at the age of 75. She returned to Jamaica sometime before her death there in 1967.²⁵¹

Mabel Brock first went to the US in 1916 as a tourist, then returned to live there in 1918.²⁵² Her occupation was listed as “stenographer.” She was naturalized in 1928²⁵³ and in 1934 she married William Callan in Brooklyn, New York.²⁵⁴ She died in 1987 in Rhode Island.²⁵⁵ In 1989 a notice appeared in the *Jamaica Gleaner*²⁵⁶ appealing for “anyone knowing any information as the whereabouts of any relatives of the late Mabel Norman Callan” to contact the lawyer dealing with her estate. Sadly, she seems to have been estranged from the extended family, at least later in her life. Mabel and William Callan are shown in the photograph on the right. It is possibly their wedding day in 1934.²⁵⁷



**Mabel Brock and
William Callan, 1930s
Source: Karen Syrett**

Florence Brock lived in Jamaica all her life. She married Randolph Lopez in 1923.²⁵⁸ In 1927 she sailed to New York for a “temporary visit of about 6 months” presumably to visit her sisters Constance and Elgetha and their families.²⁵⁹ In 1932 her daughter Laura was born in Jamaica, then she and Laura returned to the US the following year.²⁶⁰ Florence died in St Andrew, Jamaica in 1979 at the age of 84.²⁶¹

Clarence Brock was the last sibling to be born and the last to die. He was born in 1896, 20 years after his oldest brother. In 1915 he set sail for England to volunteer for active service in World War I.²⁶² An article in the *Jamaica Gleaner* 25 years later notes that during the war he was gassed and lost his voice.²⁶³ In 1922 he immigrated to the US.²⁶⁴ He married Mary Ann Lawless in 1923 in Indiana²⁶⁵ and they had 3 sons and a daughter together. Unlike his siblings, he didn’t settle in Brooklyn but spent most of his adult life in Wisconsin, where he died in 1990 at the age of 93.²⁶⁶

There is so much more to learn and tell about this branch of the Brock family. I would very much like to connect with someone descended from William Gibb Brock and learn more about how this part of the family fared through the generations. In the Memorandum of 1925 mentioned in chapter 11 above, the now-Scottish part of the family seems to have assumed that John Alexander Brock had died without having any children. This suggests that his sons did not benefit from the Industry estate, but it is a mystery why descendants of Helen Brock came to be in possession of photos of his son William. And on a more existential note, how interesting that a twist of fate back in the 1830s resulted in me being descended from a mixed race Brock sibling and growing up as a white person in Scotland, when another

branch of the same family flourished in Jamaica and in Brooklyn in the US, living an entirely different life and navigating the racist system that required them to be identified as coloured, black or white every time they went on a ship or filled out a census form. We should all think on how random it all is!

13. It's the Journey not the Destination.

This is a long story, and the writer and scientist in me feels that a conclusion chapter should come next. But all this is not exact, not empirical, not tidy, not complete—this is a journey, and it may never really end. But in the interests of tying it all together, I will step temporarily out of the journey, take a breath and conclude with how it all seems to me now. First, I feel lucky to have been able to find out about this part of my family. What started as another little genealogy project to find out about my granny's family turned into something much more meaningful. Researching and thinking about so many aspects of this story and the consequences of being descended from enslaver and enslaved has been a deeply transformative process. I am struck by the randomness of growing up white, and I hope that sharing my mixed-race past will make others examine their situation and realize that whiteness is a just a twist of genetic fate. I still feel shame—yes, its irrational, but I think its helpful to feel shame. Everyone with enslavers in their story should feel shame and ensure that they conduct themselves in ways that will avoid ever adding to this shame. I also recognize that in every era ordinary people do things that seem ordinary at the time, but when viewed through a modern lens may seem unacceptable, horrific, or evil. For this I feel we need empathy and understanding of context, but we must not forget or repeat. James Brock was an ordinary man from a hardworking Scots family and yet in his short life he impacted many, many people. He made money at the expense of enslaved people and his wealth filtered through several generations. Perhaps it made the lives of his descendants just a little easier, but in the end, it surely was not worth the price that others paid. I think it may be a fitting end that his plantation left the family to be part of a new wave of industry in Jamaica.

As mentioned in the introduction, I have relied on some speculation and perhapsing to shape this story. Some aspects may yet be confirmed or be proven incorrect as I find more information. Perhaps I will find a DNA match with someone from the “Brooklyn Brocks” and learn a lot more about them.” But one thing is certain—the journey will continue.

Appendix 1: Transcription of Slave Register for James Brock, owner, in 1817.⁶¹

A Return of Slaves in the Parish of Saint Ann in the possession of James Bro(ck) as Owner on the 28th day of June in the Year of our Lord 1817

Names Names of all males to precede names of females	Colour	Age	African or Creole	Remarks
--Males--	Negro			
Pepe	Negro	35	African	
Mark	Negro	40	African	
Will	Negro	40	African	
Same	Negro	40	African	
John	Negro	40	African	
Mager	Negro	40	African	
Fyfe	Negro	40	African	
Quamie	Negro	30	African	
Demond	Negro	35	African	
Quashie	Negro	40	African	
Joice	Negro	40	African	
Kingston	Negro	30	African	
Gowan	Negro	30	African	
Liverpool	Negro	50	African	
Sharp	Negro	30	African	
Hope	Negro	25	African	
Solomon	Negro	25	African	
London	Negro	25	African	
Mountain Man	Negro	25	African	
Dragon	Negro	25	African	
Leith	Negro	25	African	
Symon	Negro	25	African	
Abram	Negro	25	African	
Bob	Negro	25	African	
Trick	Negro	25	African	
Billy	Negro	25	African	
Prince	Negro	20	Creole	
Sambo	Negro	15	Creole	
Quick	Negro	14	Creole	Mary Ann
Jamsy	Negro	14	Creole	Hannah
Herclus	Negro	11	Creole	
Adam	Negro	3	Creole	Emmie
William	Negro	3	Creole	Lewisa
Hendrey	Negro	2	Creole	Hannah
Angus	Negro	2	Creole	Maggey
Lerian	Negro	2	Creole	Bell
-----Females-----				
Lattice	Negro	40	African	
Venus	Negro	35	African	
Mary Ann	Negro	40	African	
Nelley	Negro	40	African	

Eve	Negro	35	African	
Hannah	Negro	35	African	
Emellia	Negro	20	Creole	
Syenthar	Negro	20	Creole	
Bellenda	Negro	20	Creole	
Polly	Negro	30	African	
Marey	Negro	30	African	
Estar	Negro	30	African	
Emmie	Negro	30	African	
Juba	Negro	30	African	
Bessie	Negro	25	African	
Beckie	Negro	30	African	
Rose	Negro	25	African	
Queen	Negro	25	African	
Sue	Negro	25	African	
Jannet	Negro	25	African	
Small Hoof	Negro	25	African	
Maggey	Negro	25	African	
Martha	Negro	25	African	
Lewisa	Negro	25	African	
Bell	Negro	25	African	
Dry Wether	Negro	25	African	
Molley	Negro	30	African	
Peggie	Negro	18	Creole	
Luckie	Negro	9	Creole	Martha
Ann	Negro	7	Creole	Emmie
Christmas	Negro	6	Creole	
Jean	Negro	5	Creole	Juba
Margrate	Negro	5	Creole	Hannah
Flora	Negro	5	Creole	Molley
Abba	Negro	4	Creole	Beckie
Eve	Negro	3	Creole	Emmie
Quashaba	Negro	2	Creole	Dry Wether
Hagar	Negro	2	Creole	Syentha
Sidney	Negro	1	Creole	Molley
Myrtella	Negro	1	Creole	Beckie
Joann	Negro	1	Creole	Ester
			Males 36	Thirty six
			Females 41	Forty one
			Total 77	Seventy seven

I James Brock do swear, that the above list and return, consisting of two sheets, is a true, perfect(?) and complete list and return, to the best of my knowledge and belief, in every particular therein mentioned, of all and every slave and slaves possessed by me as Owner, considered as most permanently settled, worked or employed in the Parish of St Ann, on the twenty Eighth day of ??? One thousand Eight Hundred and Seventeen, without fraud, deceit or evasion.

So help me God
James Brock

Sworn before me, this sixth day of September 1817

Hamilton Brown⁺⁺⁺

⁺⁺⁺ Hamilton Brown was a major plantation owner in St Ann. See Brathwaite, *Development of Creole Society*, p 121.

Appendix 2: Transcription of “Memorandum as to Industry Plantation,” May 1925. Russel & Aitken, Writers, Falkirk May 1925.²⁰⁸

James Brock, Planter, Jamaica, was owner of the property and cultivated it till his death in or about 1829. On what title he held it is not known. By his Will, dated 21st February 1829, he left & bequeathed “to Miss Margaret Gibb a free woman of colour my housekeeper and her children named as follows:- Helen Brock, Mary Brock, Sidney Brock, Alexander Brock, Elizabeth Brock, James Brock and Margaret Brock my children and any other child or children Miss Margaret Gibb may have for me hereafter, my property called Industry together with the slaves and stock on said property of whatever name or denomination and money that may be due to me at my demise either in this Island or in Great Britain for them and their heirs for ever.” Certain “Executors Guardians and Trustees” were appointed to the Will, which it is assumed was in all respects regular and dealt effectively with the testator’s estate.

Mr James Brock died within a very short period of the date of his Will. The children above named are understood to be the whole children of Margaret Gibb, and it is also understood that she and the seven children above named all survived the testator.

It is to be assumed that all the purposes of the Will were carried into effect after the testator’s death, except that Industry Plantation was, for some reason, left unrealised and the free rents paid from time to time to those understood to be entitled to them, down to the present time.

It will be observed that there were originally eight legatees entitled to one eighth share each of Industry Plantation. Each of these legatees would have a vested interest in one eighth share of the property. It is thought that of these the following died intestate and without issue viz:- Margaret Gibb, Sidney Brock, Alexander Brock and Mary Brock. In the year 1900, when Russel & Aitken first had dealings in the matter, the income of the property was being divided into four shares as follows:-

1. Helen Brock or Russell’s 7 children so far as alive and the issue of deceased children per stirpes.
2. Elizabeth Brock or Cowie’s daughter, Mrs Johnston
3. James Brock’s 5 children.
4. Margaret Brock or Young’s 5 children.

All moneys received on account of the rents of the property, since 1900, have been divided in the same way.

From the above it will be seen that the shares of the original legatees, as they died, had been added to the interests of those remaining and that the shares of deceasers have been dealt with as moveable estate. The Will, however, does not appear to justify this manner of dealing with deceiver’s shares. The original legatees’ interests in Industry Plantation appear to be heritable as regards succession and would, failing Wills, go to their respective heirs in heritage. Margaret Gibb’s heir in heritage could not be her children, or any of them, as it appears from James Brock’s will that they were illegitimate. Sidney, Alexander and Mary Brock, being illegitimate children, could not have heirs if they

left no children. If, therefore, none of the above left a Will or Wills in favor of the remaining beneficiaries, or some of them, four shares of Industry Plantation out of eight shares, do not belong to those among whom the rents are now being divided. In the same way only the half of the proceeds of a sale of the property would belong to them.

Russel & Aitken have only now, for the first time, seen a copy of James Brock's Will. The copy appears to have been made by the late Adam Smith, Writer, Falkirk in 1857. It is not known how this copy came to be made nor whether it was made from the Will itself or from a previous copy. It is not known where the Will itself is, if it is in existence.

The matter has come up at present in consequence of Mr Fisher, who manages the property in Jamaica, having received an offer to purchase and having asked Messrs Russel & Aitken what title the Beneficiaries could give to a purchaser.

-
- ¹ Claire Callender, "The Travels and Trials of Adam Logan, Dairyman," *Anglo-Celtic Roots* 25, no.4 (Winter 2019): 3–15.
- ² Census, Scotland, 1851. Falkirk, Stirling, Elizabeth Cowie. 479/00 001/00 034. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 May 2014.
- ³ Baptisms (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 30 March 1782, James Brock. 476/00 0010 0322. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 8 January 2012.
- ⁴ Adam Smith, Writer, Falkirk, "Copy of Last Will and Settlement of James Brock, Jamaica, 21 Feb. 1829," 1857. Paper copy received from James Russell, descendent of Helen Brock, formerly professor of Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies at University of British Columbia, Canada, 2012.
- ⁵ University College London, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, [Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](http://legaciesofbritishslavery.ucl.ac.uk).
- ⁶ Lisa Knopp, "Perhapsing: The Use of Speculation in Creative Nonfiction," *Brevity*, 8 Jan 2009, [Brevity: A Journal of Concise Literary Nonfiction \(brevitymag.com\)](http://brevitymag.com).
- ⁷ Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 2, Denny, Stirling. (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1792), 420–421. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow (1999). <https://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk:443/link/osa-vol2-p420-parish-stirling-denny>
- ⁸ Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1800* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), chapter I, 9–45.
- ⁹ Eric J. Graham, "The Scots Penetration of the Jamaica Plantation Business," in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past—The Caribbean Connection*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 82–98.
- ¹⁰ Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 55–83.
- ¹¹ Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*, 16.
- ¹² Jamaica Births and Baptisms, 1752-1920 [database with images]. Trelawny, 15 Nov 1816, Helen Brock. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/ark:/61903/1:1:3Q9M-CSK3-3?i=1&cc=2>
- ¹³ United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers, 1751-1921 [database with images]. Seville Lodge, St Ann's Bay, Jamaica, 1813-1836, James Brock. 173/694A/449B. [England, United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers, 1751-1921 - Ancestry.ca](http://www.ancestry.ca/england-freemason-membership-registers-1751-1921).
- ¹⁴ Patricia Jackson, JamaicaFamilySearch. <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com>. (The website is now hosted by the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery at [Jamaican Family Search | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](http://jamaicanfamilysearch.ucl.ac.uk)).
- ¹⁵ Jamaica Almanac, 1811. St Ann, John Brock. [1811 Jamaica Almanac - St Ann Slave-owners \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/1811-jamaica-almanac-st-ann-slave-owners).
- ¹⁶ Jamaica Almanac, 1812. St Mary and St Ann, John Brock. [1812 Jamaica Almanac St. Mary and St. Ann \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/1812-jamaica-almanac-st-mary-and-st-ann).
- ¹⁷ List of Slaves and Stock, Jamaica, St Ann, 1792. [Transcription]. [St. Ann Jamaica slave owners 1792 \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/st-ann-jamaica-slave-owners-1792).
- ¹⁸ Christer Petley, "Boundaries of Rule, Ties of Dependency: Jamaican Planters, Local Society and the Metropole, 1800 – 1834" (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2003), Chapter 4, 112.
- ¹⁹ Baptisms (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 26 February 1755, John Brock. 476/ 10 240. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk> : accessed 18 January 2017.
- ²⁰ Philip Wright, *Monumental Inscriptions of Jamaica* (London: Society of Genealogists, 1966), 274. <https://www.familysearch.org/library/books/records/item/195872-monumental-inscriptions-of-jamaica?viewer=1&offset=0#page=1&viewer=picture&o=info&n=0&q=> : accessed Nov 1 2019.
- ²¹ Jamaica Almanac, 1816. St Ann, James Brock. [1816 Jamaica Almanac - St Ann Slave-owners \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/1816-jamaica-almanac-st-ann-slave-owners).
- ²² Jamaica Almanac, 1817. St Mary and St Ann, James Brock. [1817 Jamaica Almanac - St Mary and St Ann slave-owners \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/1817-jamaica-almanac-st-mary-and-st-ann-slave-owners).

-
- ²³ Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770–1820* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2005), 167–175.
- ²⁴ Gad J. Heuman, *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792–1865* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 9.
- ²⁵ Lucille Mathurin Mair, “The Mulatto Woman in Jamaican Slave Society,” in *A Historical Study of Women in Jamaica, 1655–1844*, eds. Hilary McD. Beckles and Verene A. Shepherd (Kingston, University of the West Indies Press, 2006), 268–294.
- ²⁶ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Higgs, Stirling, 25 May 1878, Mary Gibb. 476/02 0011. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 23 May 2014.
- ²⁷ Jamaica Almanac, 1816. Trelawny, Robert Gibb. [1816 Jamaica Almanac - Trelawny Slave-owners \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com).
- ²⁸ University College London, “Dover Castle, Jamaica, Trelawny,” Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery. [“Details of Estate | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](http://ucl.ac.uk).
- ²⁹ B.W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 139.
- ³⁰ Jamaica Births and Baptisms, 1752–1920 [database with images]. Trelawny, 11 Dec 1813, Sydney Gibb. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/ark:/61903/1:1:XNV1-B2F>.
- ³¹ Trevor Burnard, “Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica,” *J. Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 3 (Winter 2001): 325–34, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/207085>.
- ³² Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813–1834 [database online]. Jamaica, St Ann, 1817, Sidney Anderson. [Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813–1834 - Ancestry.ca](http://ancestry.ca).
- ³³ University College London, “Breadnut Hall, Jamaica, St Ann,” Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, [Details of Estate | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](http://ucl.ac.uk).
- ³⁴ Audra A. Diptee, *From Africa to Jamaica: The Making of an Atlantic Slave Society, 1775–1807* (Gainseville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 9–14.
- ³⁵ Jamaica Births and Baptisms, 1752–1920 [database with images]. Trelawny, 8 May 1818, Mary Gibb Brock. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XNKM-3NL>.
- ³⁶ Jamaica Births and Baptisms, 1752–1920 [database with images]. Trelawny, 6 Sep 1829, Elizabeth Gibb Brock. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:V5SS-B32>.
- ³⁷ James Robertson, Maps of Jamaica, 1804. National Library of Scotland. [Map Finder - with Outlines - National Library of Scotland \(nls.uk\)](http://nls.uk).
- ³⁸ University College London, “Industry Plantation, Jamaica, St Ann,” Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, [Details of Estate | Legacies of British Slavery \(ucl.ac.uk\)](http://ucl.ac.uk).
- ³⁹ Paul H. Williams, “Historic Stewart Town Caught up in Time Warp,” *The Gleaner*, 24 July 2014, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20140724/news/news2.html>.
- ⁴⁰ Windsor Research Centre, “Cockpit Country is our Home,” <https://cockpitcountry.com/index.html>.
- ⁴¹ Cathy Walker, letter to William Russell, 1960. From Elspeth Russell Anjos, private collection of Russell family papers.
- ⁴² William Russell, letter to Susan Cooper, 1975. From Elspeth Russell Anjos, private collection of Russell family papers.
- ⁴³ Jamaica National Heritage Trust, “Cockpit Country Heritage Survey Report,” 2009.
- ⁴⁴ Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, 21–24.
- ⁴⁵ Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, 9–10.
- ⁴⁶ Crop Accounts, Fonds 1B/11. Jamaica Archives and Records Department. [Holdings - Archives | Jamaica Archives and Records Department - Government of Jamaica \(jard.gov.jm\)](http://jard.gov.jm).
- ⁴⁷ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813–1834 [database online]. Jamaica, St Ann, 1820, Alexander Leslie, attorney for James Brock. [Ancestry.ca - Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813–1834](http://ancestry.ca).
- ⁴⁸ Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, 9–11.
- ⁴⁹ Jamaica Almanacs, 1811–1840. St Ann, Brock. [Jamaica Almanacs - lead page \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](http://jamaicanfamilysearch.com).

-
- ⁵⁰ Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, 23.
- ⁵¹ Kathleen E.A. Monteith, *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica, 1790–1848* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2019), 15–21.
- ⁵² Deaths (CR), Scotland. Higgs, Stirling, 22 June 1889, Mary Napier. 476/02 0015.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 1 June 2014.
Deaths (CR), Scotland. St Giles, Edinburgh, 21 December 1892, James Brock. 685 / 4 / 1226.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>
- ⁵⁴ Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, 26.
- ⁵⁵ Monteith, *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica*, 28–29.
- ⁵⁶ Monteith, *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica*, 3.
- ⁵⁷ Douglas Hall, *In Miserable Slavery: Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica, 1750-1786* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1999).
- ⁵⁸ Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), Kindle.
- ⁵⁹ Geoff Palmer, *The Enlightenment Abolished* (Penicuik: Henry Publishing, 2007).
- ⁶⁰ Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records, 1812–1851, T71. The National Archives, Kew. [Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records | The National Archives](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/office-of-registry-of-colonial-slaves-and-slave-compensation-commission-records/).
- ⁶¹ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 [database online]. Jamaica, St Ann, 1817, James Brock (mistranscribed as James Brown). [Ancestry.ca - Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834](https://www.ancestry.ca/former-british-colonial-dependencies-slave-registers-1813-1834).
- ⁶² Diptee, *From Africa to Jamaica*, chapter 2, 25–49.
- ⁶³ Trevor Burnard, “Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica,” *J. Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 3 (Winter 2001): 325–346, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/207085>.
- ⁶⁴ S.D. Smith, “Coffee and the ‘Poorer Sort of People’ in Jamaica During the Period of African Enslavement,” in *Slavery Without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society Since the 17th Century*, ed. Verene A. Shepherd (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 102–128.
- ⁶⁵ Monteith, *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica*.
- ⁶⁶ J.A. Delle, “Women’s Lives and labour on Radnor, a Jamaican Coffee Plantation, 1822-1826,” *Caribbean Quarterly*, 54, no. 4 (2008): 7-23, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40654696>.
- ⁶⁷ B.W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750–1850* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2008).
- ⁶⁸ Higman, *Slave Populations and Economy in Jamaica*, 21-24.
- ⁶⁹ B.W. Higman, “The Slave Family and Household in the British West Indies, 1800-1834” *J. Interdisciplinary History* 6, no. 2 (The History of the Family III, Autumn 1975): 261-287, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/202234>.
- ⁷⁰ James A. Dell, “The Landscapes of Class Negotiation on Coffee Plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica: 1790-1850,” *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (Confronting Class 1999): 136-158, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25616676>.
- ⁷¹ Higman, *Slave Populations and Economy in Jamaica*, 152.
- ⁷² Higman, *Slave Populations and Economy in Jamaica*, 62.
- ⁷³ Kenneth Morgan, “Slave Women and Reproduction in Jamaica, c.1776–1834,” *History* 91, no. 302 (April 2006): 175-318, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-229X.2006.00365.x>.
- ⁷⁴ Higman, *Slave Populations and Economy in Jamaica*, 99–138.
- ⁷⁵ Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*, Chapter 4, 118–169.
- ⁷⁶ University College London, “William Frater, Profile and Legacies Summary,” Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14623>.
- ⁷⁷ Russel & Aitken Papers, Papers of Patrick Waugh of Arbuthnot, 1818-1862, Falkirk Archives (A1815). <https://www.falkirkleisureandculture.org/learning/archives/finding-aids/>.
- ⁷⁸ Jamaica Almanac, 1829. St Ann, John McFarlane. [1829 Jamaica Almanac - St Ann \(jamaicanfamilysearch.com\)](https://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/1829-Jamaica-Almanac-St-Ann)
- ⁷⁹ Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun*, 55–60.

-
- ⁸⁰ University College London, “William Miller junior, Profile and Legacies Summary,” Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23677>.
- ⁸¹ Kirk Session Minutes, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1838, William Miller Esq. of Jamaica, CH2/1254/3, 223. https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/virtual-volumes/volume-images/volume_data-CH2-1254-3/GAZ00432?image_number=223.
- ⁸² Christer Petley, “‘Legitimacy’ and Social Boundaries: Free People of Colour and the Social Order in Jamaican Slave Society,” *Social History* 30, no. 4 (November 2005): 481-498, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4287265>.
- ⁸³ Burial Records, Pre-1855, transcriptions, Central Scotland Family History Society, Scotland. Denny Parish, Stirling, 15 November 1827, Jas Brock and 1 December 1827, Mrs Brock, both of Wardhead. [Publications List \(csfhs.org.uk\)](http://csfhs.org.uk).
- ⁸⁴ Marriages (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 12 June 1829, William Russell and Helen Brock. 476/00 0030 0426. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 12 August 2014.
- ⁸⁵ Geoff B. Bailey, “The Graveyards of Falkirk District (Part 15) Denny Parish”, *Calatria*, 29 (Spring 2013): 1-13. [Graveyards – Denny Parish Churchyard \(wordpress.com\)](http://www.wordpress.com).
- ⁸⁶ Denny Cemetery Monumental Inscription Index, Memento-mori.co.uk. <https://web.archive.org/web/20170726005938/http://www.memento-mori.co.uk/20.pdf>
- ⁸⁷ Dennyloanhead Churchyard Monumental Inscription Index, Memento-Mori.co.uk. Accessed 2015, not archived.
- ⁸⁸ Jamaica Births and Baptisms, 1752-1920 [database with images]. Trelawny, 6 September 1829, Brock Children: John Alexander, James Robert, Sidney Henderson, Elizabeth Gibb and Margaret Jane. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:V5SS-B3P>.
- ⁸⁹ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 [database online]. Jamaica, St Ann, 1832, Margaret Gibb. [Ancestry.ca - Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834](http://ancestry.ca).
- ⁹⁰ Monteith, *Planation Coffee in Jamaica*, p 39-40.
- ⁹¹ Higman, *Slave Populations and Economy in Jamaica*, Chapter 11, 227–232.
- ⁹² Petley, “Boundaries of Rule, Ties of Dependency,” 171–186.
- ⁹³ Kathleen E.A. Monteith, “Boom and Bust in Jamaica’s Coffee Industry, 1790–1835,” *J. Caribbean History* 47, no.1 (2013): 1-27.
- ⁹⁴ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 [database online]. Jamaica, St Ann, 1832, estate of James Brock. [Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 - Ancestry.ca](http://ancestry.ca).
- ⁹⁵ Nicholas Draper, “Scotland and Colonial Slave Ownership: The Evidence of the Slave Compensation Records,” in *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 166–186.
- ⁹⁶ Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records, T71. The National Archives, Kew. [Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records | The National Archives](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk).
- ⁹⁷ Monteith, *Planation Coffee in Jamaica*, 151–164.
- ⁹⁸ “Inflation Calculator,” Bank of England, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.
- ⁹⁹ Higman, *Plantation Jamaica*, 91–92.
- ¹⁰⁰ Naomi E.A. Tarrant, *Remember Now Thy Creator: Scottish Girls’ Samplers, 1700–1872* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museums Scotland, 2022) <http://books.socantscot.org/digital-books/catalog/book/8>.
- ¹⁰¹ Tarrant, *Remember Now Thy Creator*, Chapter 4, 57.
- ¹⁰² Tarrant, *Remember Now Thy Creator*, Chapter 2, 23.
- ¹⁰³ J. Gordon, ed., *The New Statistical Account of Scotland (by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy)* (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), Denny, Stirling, Vol. 8, 115–138. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow (1999). [Statistical Accounts of Scotland \(edina.ac.uk\)](http://www.edina.ac.uk).
- ¹⁰⁴ “Ship News,” *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 June 1829, [Ship News. | Caledonian Mercury | Saturday 06 June 1829 | British Newspaper Archive](http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).
- ¹⁰⁵ Deaths (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 19 January 1837, Sidney Brock. Dennyloanhead Register of Baptisms and Deaths. Falkirk Archives (CH3/704/25). Accessed by email, 22 September 2015.

-
- ¹⁰⁶ Marriages (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 9 October 1837, Mary Gibb Brock and Thomas Napier. 476/00 0030 0493. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 1 March 2015.
- ¹⁰⁷ Find a Grave (database and images), Thomas Napier, 1800–1881, Memorial ID 20771038, Camelon Cemetery, Falkirk, Scotland. [Thomas Napier \(1800-1881\) - Find a Grave Memorial](#).
- ¹⁰⁸ “Act and decree appointing Thomas Napier and William Russell curator bonis to Elizabeth Brock and others,” National Records of Scotland, CS46/1840/10/4 and CS45/243 (Court of Session: Warrants of the Register of Acts and Decrees, 5th Series [Extracted Processes] 1830–1994), 1840.
- ¹⁰⁹ Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664–1880, [database with images]. Trelawny, 23 October 1839, William Frater burial. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/ark:/61903/1:1:6JN6-FM5M>.
- ¹¹⁰ Find a Grave (database and images), William Frater (1781–1839), Memorial ID 124016850, St Mark Anglican Church, Rio Bueno, Trelawny, Jamaica. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124016850/william-frater>.
- ¹¹¹ “Children of James Brock, Falkirk”, National Records of Scotland, CS314/430 (Court of Session: Factories Constituted Prior to 12 and 13 Vict. C. 5), 1840.
- ¹¹² Deaths (CR), Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 20 November 1902, Elizabeth Cowie. 479/00 0612. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 May 2014.
- ¹¹³ Census, Scotland, 1851; 1862; 1871; 1881. Denny, Stirling, William Russell. 476/00 007/00 053; 476/ 8/ 33; 476/00 /008/00 034; 476/02 001/00 005. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹¹⁴ Census, Scotland, 1841. Higgs, Stirling, William Russell. 476/00 008/00 017. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 22 May 2013.
- ¹¹⁵ Marriages (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 30 March 1849, James Brock and Jean Wands. 476/00 0030 0597. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 26 March 2015.
- ¹¹⁶ Marriages (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 23 April 1847, Margaret Brock and Archibald Young. 476/00 0030 0580. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 13 November 2015.
- ¹¹⁷ Census, Scotland, 1841. Higgs, Stirling, Thomas Russell. 476/08 /19. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 26 March 2023.
- ¹¹⁸ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1855, 1865, 1875, 1885, William Russell (labourer), Longcroft and Parkfoot. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹¹⁹ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Higgs, Stirling, 8 December 1889, William Russell. 476/02 34. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 29 February 2020.
- ¹²⁰ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1895, Isabella and Christina Russell, Wardhead and Longcroft, VR011900039–/151. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 6 April 2020.
- ¹²¹ Ian Scott, *The Life and Times of Falkirk* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1994), 75–89.
- ¹²² “Forth and Clyde Canal,” Falkirk Local History Society, <https://falkirklocalhistory.club/around-and-about-the-area/themes/forth-and-clyde-canal/>.
- ¹²³ Census, Scotland, 1841. Falkirk, Stirling, Mary Napier. 479/00 015/00 035. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 11 November 2015.
- ¹²⁴ “A History of Camelon,” Falkirk Local History Society, [A History of Camelon – Falkirk Local History Society](#).
- ¹²⁵ J. Gordon, ed., *The New Statistical Account of Scotland (by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy)* (Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845), Falkirk, Stirling, Vol. 8, 23. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow (1999). [Statistical Accounts of Scotland \(edina.ac.uk\)](#).
- ¹²⁶ A. Ian Bowman, *Swifts and Queens – Passenger Transport on the Forth and Clyde Canal* (Glasgow: Strathkelvin District Libraries and Museums, 1984), 21–49. <https://archive.org/details/swiftsqueenspass0000bowm/mode/2up>.
- ¹²⁷ InternetAndDigital, “Canal History–Forth & Clyde Canal–Passenger Service 1800s –1940s Glasgow/Edinburgh,” 2017, Public Access Media Broadcast, 31:24, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TRcR6aQE8Wg>.
- ¹²⁸ “Mark of Respect,” *Falkirk Herald*, 13 April 1848, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000465/18480413/005/0002?browse=False>
- ¹²⁹ Census, Scotland, 1851. Falkirk, Stirling, Thomas Napier. 564/ 2 1/ 20. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 January 2021.

-
- ¹³⁰ Caledonian Railway Co., "Record of Employees at Old Basin Works (Grangemouth), June 1853," Thomas Napier, Master of Dredger, Falkirk Archives (A003.023), [Record of employees at Old Basin Works - Falkirk Council](#).
- ¹³¹ Census, Scotland, 1861. Greenock, Renfrew, Thomas and Mary Napier. 479/ 1/ 65. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 18 January 2017.
- ¹³² Valuation Roll, Scotland. West Kilpatrick, Dunbarton, 1865, Thomas Napier, Bowling, VR009600011–/154. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 5 April 2020.
- ¹³³ Census, Scotland, 1871. Bowling, West Kilpatrick, Thomas and Mary Napier. 501/ 2/ 23. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 18 January 2017.
- ¹³⁴ Valuation Roll, Scotland. West Kilpatrick, Dunbarton, 1875, Thomas Napier, Bowling, VR009600021–/276. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 14 March 2023.
- ¹³⁵ Census, Scotland, 1881. Bowling, Old Kilpatrick, Thomas and Mary Napier. 501/ 2/ 23. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 29 March 2023.
- ¹³⁶ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Old Kilpatrick, Dunbarton, 23 December 1881, Thomas Napier. 501/ 158. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 9 February 2020.
- ¹³⁷ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1855, 1865, 1875, Thomas Napier, House, garden and shop, Parkfoot. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹³⁸ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1885, Mrs Mary Napier, Parkfoot. VR011900029–/ 441. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 6 April 2020.
- ¹³⁹ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1895, 1905, Robert Marshall (coal merchant), Parkfoot. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁴⁰ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Beith, Ayr, 1 July 1912, Robert Marshall. 581/ 45. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 30 April 2020.
- ¹⁴¹ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Beith, Ayr, 4 October 1911, Jessie Marshall. 581/ 62. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 30 April 2020.
- ¹⁴² Scotland, National Probate Index (Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories), 1876-1936 [database online]. 21 August 1912, Robert Marshall. [Ancestry.ca - Scotland, National Probate Index \(Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories\), 1876-1936](#).
- ¹⁴³ Scotland, National Probate Index (Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories), 1876-1936 [database online]. 3 November 1911, Jessie Napier Marshall. [Scotland, National Probate Index \(Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories\), 1876-1936 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ¹⁴⁴ Marriages (OPR—Other Church Registers), Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 19 October 1847, Elizabeth Brock and James Cowie. CH3/1459/16 3. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 22 October 2019.
- ¹⁴⁵ "Marriages," *Stirling Observer*, 21 October 1847, Elizabeth Brock James Cowie marriage, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000474/18471021/034/0004>.
- ¹⁴⁶ Pigot & Co.'s New Commercial Directory of Scotland for 1825-6, Camelon, Stirlingshire, Alexander Cowie, vintner, 632–633. National Library of Scotland. <https://digital.nls.uk/85576295>.
- ¹⁴⁷ Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory for the Whole of Scotland and of the Isle of Man, 1837, Falkirk, Stirlingshire, Alexander Cowie, vintner (Camelon), 772. National Library of Scotland. <https://digital.nls.uk/85593760>.
- ¹⁴⁸ "Palinode," *Stirling Observer*, 7 August 1845, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000474/18450807/033/0001?browse=False>.
- ¹⁴⁹ "Stirling Autumn Circuit—Isabella Davidson or Rae," *Stirling Observer*, 18 September 1845, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000474/18450918/011/0003?browse=False>.
- ¹⁵⁰ "Stirling Spring Circuit—Henry Stein," *Stirling Observer*, 19 April 1849, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0002659/18490419/004/0004?browse=False>.
- ¹⁵¹ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 1855, John Cowie, writer, house and land, Camelon, VR011900001–/124. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 25 November 2020.
- ¹⁵² Census, Scotland, 1861. Falkirk (Camelon), Stirling, Robert Neilson. 479/ 2/ 7/ 1. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 27 November 2020.

-
- ¹⁵³ "Presentation (Robert Neilson)," *Falkirk Herald*, 8 May 1869, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000466/18690508/045/0002?browse=False>.
- ¹⁵⁴ "Applications for cessio bonorum (James Cowie)," *Glasgow Chronicle*, 29 May 1850, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0003088/18500529/070/0007?browse=False>.
- ¹⁵⁵ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Dalmeny, Linlithgow, 9 August 1866, John Cowie. 665/ 12 (RCE 665/ 01 001 7). <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 11 November 2020.
- ¹⁵⁶ "Melancholy Death of the Town Clerk of Bo'ness," *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 13 August 1866, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001060/18660813/050/0004>.
- ¹⁵⁷ "Disposition and Settlement for John Cowie," National Records of Scotland, RD5/1267 (Register of Deeds: 3rd Series, 4 August 1866–18 August 1866) 434-438, 1866.
- ¹⁵⁸ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 21 May 1856, James Cowie. 479/01 0076. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 March 2015.
- ¹⁵⁹ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 30 December 1869, Elizabeth Cowie. 479/01 0313. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 28 May 2016.
- ¹⁶⁰ Alexander and Mary Cowie never appeared in a census with the family so are assumed to have died as children.
- ¹⁶¹ Census, Scotland, 1861. Falkirk, Stirling, Elizabeth Cowie, 479/01 011/00 032. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 May 2014.
- ¹⁶² Census, Scotland, 1871. Falkirk, Stirling, James Cowie, 479/01 011/00 038. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 23 March 2015.
- ¹⁶³ Census, Scotland, 1881. Falkirk, Stirling, James Cowie, 479/01 015/00 027. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 25 February 2015.
- ¹⁶⁴ Census, Scotland, 1891. Falkirk, Stirling, James Cowie, 479/1 15/ 5. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 5 May 2020.
- ¹⁶⁵ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 1855, 1865, 1875, 1886, 1894, James Cowie, Canal Side or Bankside, Bainsford. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁶⁶ Old Falkirk in Pictures, Facebook Group Discussions with author, 7 May 2020.
- ¹⁶⁷ Census, Scotland, 1891. Falkirk, Stirling, John Cowie, 479/1 11/ 36. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 31 March 2023.
- ¹⁶⁸ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 4 October 1895, James Cowie. 479/00 0439. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 May 2014.
- ¹⁶⁹ Census, Scotland, 1901. Falkirk, Stirling, Elizabeth Cowie, 479/ 15/ 6. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 29 March 2023.
- ¹⁷⁰ Births (CR), Scotland. Falkirk, Stirling, 6 September 1897, Isabella Clark Johnston. 479/ 790. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 30 September 2020.
- ¹⁷¹ Marriages (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 17 March 1849, James Brock and Jane Wands, 476/00 0030 0597. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 26 March 2015.
- ¹⁷² Census, Scotland, 1841. Haggs, Stirling, William Wands, 476/ 8/ 17. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 1 April 2023.
- ¹⁷³ Baptisms (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1849–1853, James, Ann Mason and Margaret Gibb, children of James Brock and Jean Wands, 476/ 30 / 302, 315 and 336. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁷⁴ Births (CR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1855–1865, Jane, William Wands, John and Mary, children of James Brock and Jean Wands, 476 / 148, 99, 36, 107. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁷⁵ Census, Scotland, 1851. Denny, Stirling, James Brock, 476/ 6/ 14. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 27 February 2020.
- ¹⁷⁶ Census, Scotland. 1861, 1871, Denny, Stirling, James Brock, 476/ 8/ 37 and 8/ 38. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁷⁷ Census, Scotland, 1881. Haggs, Stirling, James Brock, 476/2 1/ 6. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁷⁸ "Denny, Glasgow Road, Foundry," Canmore, National Record of the Historic Environment, <https://canmore.org.uk/site/241749/denny-glasgow-road-foundry>.
- ¹⁷⁹ Census, Scotland, 1891. Haggs, Stirling, James Brock, 476/2 1/ 27. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.

-
- ¹⁸⁰ Deaths (CR), Scotland. St Giles, Edinburgh, 21 December 1892, James Brock. 685/ 4/ 1226.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 1 April 2023.
- ¹⁸¹ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1885, James Brock, Longcroft, VR011900029–/ 433.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 10 May 2020.
- ¹⁸² Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970, US [database online]. Fall Brook, Pennsylvania, 13 June 1873, Jane Brock and William Blair. www.ancestry.ca.
- ¹⁸³ United States Federal Census. Tioga, Pennsylvania, 1900, William Blair, T623_1489, 2A; ED 134.
<https://www.ancestry.ca/discoveryui-content/view/47922715:7602?ssrc=pt&tid=23362934&pid=12196307432>.
- ¹⁸⁴ New York, US, Death Index, 1852-1956 [database online]. White Plains, NY, 13 February 1916, William Blair and 6 March 1939, Jane Blair. www.ancestry.ca.
- ¹⁸⁵ Census, England, 1911 [database online]. Audenshaw, Lancashire, William Brock, 468, ED 01, 24367.
www.ancestry.ca.
- ¹⁸⁶ Marriages (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 23 April 1847, Margaret Brock and Archibald Young, 476/00 0030 0580. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 13 November 2015.
- ¹⁸⁷ "The 'B' List," Glasgow's Victorian Photographers, <http://www.thelows.madasafish.com/alpha/Bs.htm>.
- ¹⁸⁸ Deaths (CR), Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 21 July 1883, Margaret Brock Young. 495/00 0037.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 1 June 2014.
- ¹⁸⁹ Deaths (CR), Scotland. St Rollox, Lanark, 1 March 1898, Archibald Young. 644/6 261.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 24 March 2020.
- ¹⁹⁰ Jayne Shrimpton, *Family Photographs and How to Date Them* (Newbury: Countryside Books, 2008), chapter 2, Kindle.
- ¹⁹¹ Census, Scotland. 1851, Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, Archibald Young, 495/ 6/ 38.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 4 April 2023.
- ¹⁹² Census, Scotland. 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, Archibald Young, 495/ ED 9 or 8 (transcription). <http://ancestry.ca>.
- ¹⁹³ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 1875, Archibald Young, Main Street, VR009600021–/ 424.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 15 May 2020.
- ¹⁹⁴ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 1895, Archibald Young, Main Street, VR009600041–/ 239.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 15 May 2020.
- ¹⁹⁵ Baptisms (OPR), Scotland. Denny, Stirling, 1848 and 1849, Margaret Gibb and John, children of Archibald Young and Margaret Brock, 476/ 30 / 289 and 298. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁹⁶ Baptisms (OPR), Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 1851 and 1854, James and William Buchanan, children of Archibald Young and Margaret Brock, 495/ 30 / 210 and 230. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁹⁷ Births (CR), Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 1854 and 1861, Archibald and Robert, children of Archibald Young and Margaret Brock, 495/ 124 and 104. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.
- ¹⁹⁸ Census, Scotland, 1891. St Rollox, Lanark, Alexander Turnbull, 644/ 6 ED 94 (transcription). www.ancestry.ca.
- ¹⁹⁹ Census, Scotland, 1901. Cumbernauld, Dunbartonshire, William Young, 495 ED 8 (transcription).
www.ancestry.ca.
- ²⁰⁰ Census, Scotland, 1901. St Rollox, Lanark, Archibald Young, 644/ 6 ED 1 (transcription). www.ancestry.ca.
- ²⁰¹ Census, Scotland, 1891. St Rollox, Lanark, Robert Young, 644/ 6 ED 84 (transcription). www.ancestry.ca.
- ²⁰² Deaths (CR), Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 6 April 1896, John Young. 495/ 12.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 6 April 2023.
- ²⁰³ Scotland, National Probate Index (Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories), 1876-1936 [database online]. 21 April 1898, Archibald Young. [Scotland, National Probate Index \(Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories\), 1876-1936 - Ancestry.ca](https://www.ancestry.ca/1876-1936-National-Probate-Index-(Calendar-of-Confirmations-and-Inventories)).
- ²⁰⁴ Wills and Testaments, Scotland. Glasgow Sherriff Court, 1898, Archibald Young. SC36/ 51/ 118.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 25 July 2020.
- ²⁰⁵ Valuation Roll, Scotland. Cumbernauld, Dunbarton, 1905, William Young, Main Street, VR009600041–/ 239.
<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>: accessed 15 May 2020.

-
- ²⁰⁶ Scotland, National Probate Index (Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories), 1876-1936 [database online]. 22 September 1926, Alexander Turnbull. [Ancestry.ca - Scotland, National Probate Index \(Calendar of Confirmations and Inventories\), 1876-1936](https://www.ancestry.ca/collections/1876-1936-Scotland-National-Probate-Index-Calendar-of-Confirmations-and-Inventories).
- ²⁰⁷ Monteith, *Planation Coffee in Jamaica*, chapters 5 and 6, 124–164.
- ²⁰⁸ Russel & Aitken, Writers, Falkirk, “Memorandum as to Industry Plantation,” May 1925. Paper copy received from James Russell, December 2011.
- ²⁰⁹ James Russell, email to author, 12 September 2011.
- ²¹⁰ Elspeth Russell Anjos, private collection of letters between Brock descendants and lawyers.
- ²¹¹ “The Story of Reynolds Jamaica Mines Limited”, *Kingston Gleaner*, 12 June 1982. <https://newspaperarchive.com/tags/reynolds-mine/?pci=4&ndt=by&py=1982&pey=1982/>.
- ²¹² Clinton Hart, Letter to Susan Cooper, 28 May 1975. From Elspeth Russell Anjos, private collection.
- ²¹³ Shrimpton, *Family Photographs*, chapter 3.
- ²¹⁴ Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880 [database with images]. Trelawny, 7 May 1847, William Gibb Brock baptism. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VHD2-ZK1>.
- ²¹⁵ "The Laws of Jamaica, 1871," Florida International University College of Law eCollections, <https://ecollections.law.fiu.edu/jamaica/27>.
- ²¹⁶ Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880 [database with images]. St Ann, 26 April 1847, John Brock death. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6NT2-GW9J>.
- ²¹⁷ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 18 Jan 1879, Robert Gibb death. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q24B-CBL8>.
- ²¹⁸ Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880 [database with images]. Trelawny, 20 July 1875, William Gibb Brock and Lavinia Harper marriage. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6ZCP-YX1S>.
- ²¹⁹ Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 3 January 1876, Llewellyn Alexander Brock birth. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VHDJ-B71>.
- ²²⁰ Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664-1880 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 12 January 1878, George Percival Brock birth. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VHDY-XLL>.
- ²²¹ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 16 December 1879, Elgetha Brock birth (image 228 of 2842). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DYM7-LWQ?i=227&cc=15383861>.
- ²²² Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 4 January 1882, Constance Lavinia Brock birth (image 944 of 2842). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DYM7-Y9B?i=943&cc=1538386>.
- ²²³ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 13 August 1884, Alice Brock birth (image 325 of 2878). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XFY8-NFZ>.
- ²²⁴ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 14 December 1886, Hilda Brock birth (image 2818 of 2878). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XFYD-W9X>.
- ²²⁵ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 1 April 1889, Mabel Brock birth (image 146 of 2525). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XFY6-S6J>.
- ²²⁶ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 20 July 1892, Margaret Brock birth (image 1126 of 2856). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XFYR-1HX>.
- ²²⁷ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 5 October 1894, Florence Brock birth (image 2000 of 2918). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XFYF-SQX>. (Note this is a reregister of her birth—more likely to be correct birthdate.)
- ²²⁸ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Stewart Town, Trelawny, 17 September 1896, Clarence Cleveland Brock birth (image 445 of 2643). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XFYF-68K>.
- ²²⁹ “Reward,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 15 November 1898, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](https://www.newspaperarchive.com/Jamaica-Gleaner-15-November-1898).

-
- ²³⁰ “In Celebration of 100 Years of the Panama Canal: West Indian Canal Employee Records,” Rediscovering Black History, National Archives (US), <https://rediscovering-black-history.blogs.archives.gov/2014/08/26/in-celebration-of-100-years-of-the-panama-canal-west-indian-canal-employee-records/>.
- ²³¹ “Passengers Arrived,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 25 April 1939, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²³² “The Passing of Mr. G.P. Brock,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 3 August 1923, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²³³ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Cross Roads, St Andrew, 24 July 1923, George Percival Brock death (image 437 of 2980). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVSP-7T5S>.
- ²³⁴ New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database online]. 22 May 1907, Constance Brock. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²³⁵ 1910 United States Federal Census [database online]. Brooklyn Ward 25, Kings, New York, Constance Brock. Roll T624_973, page 8A, ED 0703. [Ancestry.ca - 1910 United States Federal Census](#).
- ²³⁶ New York, New York, US, Extracted Marriage Index, 1866-1937 [database online]. 25 December 1911, Constance Brock and Robert Neilson, cert. 13221. [New York, New York, US, Extracted Marriage Index, 1866-1937 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²³⁷ 1920 United States Federal Census [database online]. Brooklyn Assembly District 17, Kings, New York, Robert and Constance Neilson. Roll T625_1171, page 2B, ED 10301920. [1920 United States Federal Census - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²³⁸ “What Census Call Us—A Historical Timeline,” Pew Research Center, https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/PH_15.06.11_MultiRacial-Timeline.pdf.
- ²³⁹ New York, US, State Census, 1925 [database online]. Brooklyn, Assembly District 05, Kings, Robert and Constance Neilson. ED 02, page 22925. [New York, US, State Census, 1925 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁴⁰ New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database online]. 16 June 1920, Elgetha Patterson. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁴¹ 1930 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Brooklyn, Kings, New York, Robert and Constance Neilson. Page 16A, ED 0278. [1930 United States Federal Census - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁴² 1940 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Kings, New York, Robert and Constance Neilson. Roll m-t0627-02562, page 1A, ED 24-637. [1940 United States Federal Census - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁴³ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Half Way Tree, St Andrew, 28 December 1953, Elgetha Patterson death. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVSR-895G>.
- ²⁴⁴ “Deaths, Neilson—Constance,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 15 March 1964, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²⁴⁵ New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database on-line]. 21 July 1913, Mildred Brock. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁴⁶ New York, New York, US, Marriage License Indexes, 1907-2018 [database on-line]. Manhattan, New York, 26 March 1919, Mildred Brock and Joseph Weckesser, license #737. [New York, New York, US, Marriage License Indexes, 1907-2018 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁴⁷ New York, New York, US, Index to Death Certificates, 1862-1948 [database on-line]. Brooklyn New York, 8 March 1932, Mildred Weckesser. [New York, New York, US, Index to Death Certificates, 1862-1948 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁴⁸ New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 database on-line]. 14 January 1937, Constance Neilson and Joseph Weckesser. [Ancestry.ca - New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁴⁹ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Kingston, 18 July 1911, Hilda Brock and Thomas McDaniel marriage (image 6250 of 6327). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KP14-8YS>.
- ²⁵⁰ New York State, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1917-1967 [database on-line]. 1962, Hilda McDaniel. [New York State, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1917-1967 - Ancestry.ca](#).

-
- ²⁵¹ “Mrs Hilda McDaniel Dies,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 3 January 1963, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²⁵² New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database on-line]. 15 November 1918, Mabel Brock. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁵³ New York, US, State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943 [database on-line]. 17 September 1928, Mabel Brock, naturalization petition. [New York, US, State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943 - Ancestry.ca](#). Also, 18 December 1828, Mabel Brock, naturalization oath of allegiance. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943](#).
- ²⁵⁴ New York, New York, US, Marriage License Indexes, 1907-2018 [database on-line]. Brooklyn, New York, 24 December 1934, Mabel Brock and William Callan marriage, license #24246. [New York, New York, US, Marriage License Indexes, 1907-2018 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁵⁵ US, Social Security Death Index, 1935-2014 [database on-line]. New York, 14 November 1987, Mabel Callan. [US, Social Security Death Index, 1935-2014 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁵⁶ “To Whom it May Concern: Re: Estate of Mabel Norman Callan formerly Mabel Norman Brock,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 12 July 1989, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²⁵⁷ Karen Syrett, *Ancestry* message to author, 9 August 2018.
- ²⁵⁸ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. St Andrew, 17 September 1923, Florence Brock and Randolph Lopez marriage (image 1529 of 3086). <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVSP-7T5S>.
- ²⁵⁹ New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database on-line]. 17 October 1927, Florence Lopez. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁶⁰ New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database on-line]. 17 May 1933, Florence and Laura Lopez. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁶¹ Jamaica, Civil Registration, 1880-1999 [database with images]. Half Way Tree, St Andrew, 11 July 1979, Florence Lopez death. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVSP-55H2>.
- ²⁶² “Current Items—Among the passengers who have sailed for England,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 30 July 1915, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²⁶³ “25 Years Ago 6 Brave Sons of Jamaica Did This,” *Jamaica Gleaner*, 29 July 1940, [The Jamaica Gleaner Online | NewspaperArchive](#).
- ²⁶⁴ New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957 [database on-line]. 30 July 1922, Clarence Brock. [Ancestry.ca - New York, US, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists \(including Castle Garden and Ellis Island\), 1820-1957](#).
- ²⁶⁵ Indiana, US, Marriages, 1810-2001 [database on-line]. 18 June 1932, Clarence Cleveland Brock and Dorothy Ann Lawless. [Indiana, US, Marriages, 1810-2001 - Ancestry.ca](#).
- ²⁶⁶ Wisconsin, US, Death Records, 1959-2004 [database on-line]. Walworth, Wisconsin, 17 January 1990, Clarence C. Brock. [Wisconsin, US, Death Records, 1959-2004 - Ancestry.ca](#).