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The Urban Environment as a Barrier to Historic Preservation: A Mitigation Plan for Falmouth, Jamaica

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THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT AS A BARRIER TO HISTORIC PRESERVATION:
A MITIGATION PLAN FOR FALMOUTH, JAMAICA

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University
and
the College of Charleston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
Daniel Heinz Watts
May 2013

Accepted by:
Dr. Barry Stiefel, Committee Chair
Dr. Clifford Ellis
Amalia Leifeste
The principle question asked in this thesis is can widespread historic preservation occur in Falmouth, Jamaica without improvements to the town's urban environment? The question will be answered by researching the condition of Falmouth's historic district in light of its history, economic decline and current challenges. Background analysis revealed that the town has been economically stagnant for more than a century, that this weakness has incidentally allowed it to retain the largest collection of Georgian-era structures in the Caribbean, but has also led to a continuing decline in the condition of historic resources faster than preservation efforts can provide remediation. Additionally, recent attempts to resuscitate the town's economy through the construction of a cruise ship terminal have failed and will, in fact, accelerate the deterioration of the historic district unless changes are made. After a series of interviews, research and fieldwork in Falmouth, the conclusion was reached that the state of the town's urban environment is much to blame for its weak economy. The environment also reduces quality of life standards for residents and has led to the failure of the cruise terminal to have a more positive impact on the town. Unless Falmouth's urban environment is improved, its economy will either remain the same or worsen and, as a result, substantial preservation of its historic resources will not take place. In response, a series of issues are identified which have a significant effect on the condition of the town's urban environment. A set of recommendations are then offered designed to mitigate the identified issues and play a role in improving the town's economy and the lives of its residents, creating a more equitable and sustainable tourism industry and, in the end, aiding in the widespread preservation of the town's historic resources.
DEDICATION

To my wife, Hope Strode, who came to Falmouth with me during the summer of 2012 and who inspired the initial idea and research that led to this project. To my parents, Greg and Ulrike Watts, whose endless support, encouragement and editing assistance was profoundly helpful during the most trying hours of the writing process. To the amazing staff at Falmouth Heritage Renewal who tirelessly answered my unending questions and helped to ease the process of performing research from afar.
This thesis would not have been possible without the help of a number of generous and exceedingly helpful people along the way. I would first like to thank Ivor Conolley and KeVaughn Harding of Falmouth Heritage Renewal for teaching me about Falmouth's rich history, its value as an historic site and the threats it faces today. I would also like to thank the people of Falmouth for their willingness to engage with me as I researched this project. Particular thanks goes out to the Custos Rotulorum of Trelawny Parish Paul Muschett, Falmouth Mayor Garth Wilkinson, LaVerne Morris of the Trelawny Parish Council, Marina Delfos and Rona Sterling. Without their assistance this document would not have been possible.
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INTRODUCTION

Falmouth, Jamaica has been economically stagnant for generations. The town, founded in 1769, was built around industrialized agriculture and the industry supported and enriched the town for the first decades of its existence. Refined sugar and the by-products of its production – rum and molasses – were shipped out of the town that, by the early nineteenth century, was said to be Jamaica's second largest sugar exporter behind Kingston.¹ However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Falmouth's economy had begun to fail. The abolition of slavery in the 1830s combined with a downturn in the sugar industry and a harbor that was considered to be inadequate for larger, modern ships resulted in a reduction of the town's wealth and prominence and gradually transformed it into an economic backwater.

Falmouth never really recovered, despite efforts to reverse the decline. As a result, the effects of the town's

economic doldrums are still being felt today. Limited economic opportunity had broad results including high unemployment rates for working age adults, stagnant population growth and a decaying physical environment. In recent years, resources that should have been invested in the town were instead directed to its outskirts as housing developments and plans for new commercial establishments were made in areas that were thought of as safer investments. Even Falmouth’s significant collection of historic assets was threatened, despite legal protections from the national government and substantial efforts by non-profit organizations, because available resources were insufficient. Historic preservation efforts within the town were unable to keep up with the deterioration of the old building stock and Falmouth’s invaluable collection of intact Georgian and colonial-era buildings, has continued to slowly deteriorate.

In 2007, Falmouth’s days of economic woe seemed to be ending. Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines had just finished negotiations on the construction of a cruise terminal - located on the town’s historic waterfront and capable of handling two of the world’s largest cruise vessels simultaneously – that was projected to bring an estimated 700,000 tourists annually.\(^2\) In general, most parties were pleased with the arrangement. Royal Caribbean would have its cruise facility, the town would reap the benefits of a massive influx of free spending tourists and the national government would enrich itself through various taxes and fees charge to the cruise industry. Many thought that, at long last, Falmouth would emerge from generations of economic weakness and regain its former position of vitality and strength.

However, by 2012, the initial predictions of broad economic benefit seemed unrealistic and unattainable. The tourist trade never developed as hoped and passengers tended to avoid the town, leaving residents disappointed and trying to understand what went wrong.

During a summer fellowship in Falmouth made possible by the United States National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS), the author began research into factors hampering economic growth and the effect on efforts to preserve the town’s historic

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assets. Initial research was broad and included working with residents, interviewing government officials and local leaders and performing research and fieldwork. Toward the end of the investigation it became clear that, while there were many factors contributing to the town's economic weakness, it was the state of the town's urban environment that was having the most significant effect. In turn, the town's economic prospects and vitality were greatly diminished and ongoing historic preservation efforts were stunted.

The current state of Falmouth's urban environment has made life harder for residents and generally unappealing to visitors. Open drains in place of sidewalks, heavy traffic and limited public parks, gathering places and amenities have made an environment in which residents sit on curbs instead of benches and walk in the street instead of on sidewalks. Many visitors – especially those arriving by cruise ship – take a quick glance at the town and then quickly leave. The effect on Falmouth has been a continuation of the town's historically weak economy and a reduction in the expected benefits of the cruise terminal. Residents who can continue to leave; historic structures continue to decay; and few tourists spend time and money in the town. Hopes for the widespread preservation of Falmouth's historic resources and the town's ability to adjust to future conditions continue to dim.

It is the opinion of this thesis that historic preservation efforts in Falmouth will continue to fall short without improvements to the town's urban environment that will, in turn, help to improve its economic situation. This idea will be explored in the following sequence. First, the roots of Falmouth's weak economic position will be studied along with the seemingly great potential of a cruise industry presence and the eventual disappointment when reality failed to meet expectations. Next the method of interviews, research and fieldwork used to identify the town's physical state as a major barrier to economic vitality will be reviewed. In order to reinforce the case for using environmental and infrastructural improvements as a catalyst for change, the World Bank's methods for carrying out infrastructure and public space upgrade projects in historic urban areas will be examined. Next, specific aspects of Falmouth's urban environment that contribute significantly to the town's
failings will be identified and their effects described. Finally, specific recommendations and designs, as well as potential funding options, will be proposed that will help to mitigate Falmouth’s worst infrastructural and environmental problems while aiding in the long term preservation of its historic assets through the establishment of a sustainable economic base.
Falmouth’s founding was based on the huge profits resulting from the industrial scale production and export of refined sugar and its by-products. From its inception, Falmouth seemed destined to become one of Jamaica’s leading port towns and its early years saw that expectation play out. However, after a significant downturn in the Jamaican sugar industry in the mid-nineteenth century, the town’s fortunes changed. What followed was a period of protracted decline, shifting the town’s fortune from one of actual success to one of extended decline. It is important to look back at the economic history of Falmouth in order to gain an understanding of the present nature of the town and its historic assets and the forces that lie behind both its unique qualities and failure to recover. What follows is a brief history of the town from an economic perspective that will help to explain the sequence of events and forces that shaped the town’s past, continue to affect the present and will, unless changes are made, adversely influence its future.
FOUNDING AND EARLY SUCCESS

Falmouth is located on the northern edge of Trelawny Parish on Jamaica’s northwest coast. The parish was created on December 29, 1770 through the division of the neighboring parish of St. James. At the time, St. James was agriculturally rich and already dotted with sugar plantations. During the late eighteenth century, the port city of Montego Bay - located 40 kilometers to the west of Falmouth - served as the parish capital and was the primary point for the export of locally grown or produced goods. For those wishing to export products produced on the eastern side of St. James the journey to Montego Bay was long and arduous. Eventually, displeased planters residing in the eastern reaches of the parish began to call for the creation of a separate parish made up of the eastern half of St. James with its own primary port and capital. The idea was to reduce the distance between plantation and port as well as to give residents more autonomy. Successful agitation eventually led to division and the creation of a new parish that was named in honor of the then governor of Jamaica, William Trelawny. Trelawny Parish, which is roughly 535 square kilometers, ranges geographically from a narrow, flat coastal plain to the hills and low mountains of the southern interior (Fig. 1.1). Shortly after the division, the hamlet of Martha Brae became the provisional capital and primary port for the new parish despite the fact that its location was not ideal. Martha Brae was located four kilometers up the Martha Brae River from the coast. Rock, a tiny settlement with a few small wharfs, was located near the mouth of the Martha Brae River and served as the port for the capital; but its shallow harbor detracted from its overall usefulness.

5 Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
7 Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
FIG. 1.1 FALMOUTH AND TRELAWNY PARISH IN CONTEXT
By 1769, limited development had begun to take place just to the west of the mouth of the Martha Brae River on a jut of land known as Martha Brae Point or Palmetto Point. By 1770, the area was already being referred to as Falmouth. Readily identified as having an ideal harbor and with plenty of buildable land available the new settlement grew rapidly. In 1774 the area had only one house. Less than twenty years later there were 150. Buildings constructed during the early period were built from a variety of materials with wealthier residents choosing stone and bricks while those of lesser means used imported lumber.

The town’s urban form began to take shape during the same period. An early dispute between two landowners resulted in the town’s unique street layout, which consists of two distinct grid patterns. The grid in the town’s earliest and easternmost area of development was oriented on a northeast/southwest axis. The streets in the larger, later development to the west were oriented parallel to the coastline on a gridded layout of six by six streets (Fig. 1.2).

From the beginning, there was a defined hierarchy within the street system and, as such, certain streets stood out in importance because of their use or position within the town. Market Street, which was Falmouth’s “social and economic heart”, ran in a north/south orientation and served as the dividing line between the two grids. Duke and Tharpe streets were also commercially oriented, although they played a less central role. The areas along the waterfront naturally were reserved for wharfs, warehouses and buildings that served as the offices and townhouses of merchants and planters. Residential districts began to form to the west of Market Street.

By the late 1780s, the decision had been made to move

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9 Falmouth, Jamaica was named for Falmouth, England, the birthplace of Governor William Trelawny. Ibid.
12 Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
FIG. 1.2 PHASES OF EARLY DEVELOPMENT
the parish capital from Martha Brae to Falmouth primarily because of the larger town’s deeper harbor and its location on the coast. During the same period, some of Falmouth’s most significant buildings and features were constructed. In 1795, a parish church was constructed on Duke Street at an estimated cost of £10,000, on land donated by one of the town’s wealthiest citizens. In 1815, the parish courthouse, which had been temporarily located in a tavern, was given a permanent location in the town’s heart yet close enough to the harbor’s edge that it could be clearly seen from the water. Close to the courthouse was the town’s reservoir. Located in what came to be known as Water Square, the reservoir stored water that had been conveyed to Falmouth through a piped water system from the Martha Brae River over a distance of 1.5 kilometers. The town’s fort which had, in earlier days, occupied the area roughly between the courthouse and the reservoir, was moved out of the center of town in the early years of the nineteenth century and rebuilt on a site 0.5 kilometers west.

The foundation of the economy and source of wealth in both Trelawny Parish and the new capital of Falmouth was the sugar industry. By the time Falmouth became the parish capital, Trelawny had close to one hundred sugar producing plantations and the number of slaves owned by parish planters was the greatest on the island. Falmouth’s role, and the source of its growth and success during its earliest years, was as the chief point of export for the sugar plantations occupying the interior of the parish. By 1832, the population of the once miniscule town had climbed to approximately 3,600 people. The following year, with Falmouth reaching its apex as a center of commerce, goods worth £471,350 sterling were shipped out of the port equaling over twelve percent of Jamaica’s total exports. Daniel Ogilvie, in his history of Falmouth and Trelawny Parish described the rather commonplace experience

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16 Robinson, The Rise and Fall of Falmouth Jamaica, 3.
17 Ibid., 14.
19 Falmouth’s water system was a technological marvel of its day and was one of the earliest systems of its kind in the western hemisphere. Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
21 Ibid., 4.
22 Knight and Liss, Atlantic Port Cities, 122.
23 Ibid., 121.
problems began to plague Falmouth’s economy. First, the town’s harbor was never considered to be wide or deep enough for the larger steamships that began to appear in the late nineteenth century. Attempts were made over time to deepen the harbor through dredging or the blasting of rocks contributing to its inadequacies. Such efforts were, however, never successful enough to make much of a difference. Another blow was the extension of the island’s railroad system directly to Montego Bay, bypassing Falmouth altogether. Montego Bay also pulled ahead as a port of prominence because of its larger harbor and more technologically advanced port facility, which allowed for the faster loading and unloading of cargo vessels.

Even though commercial trade in Falmouth had slowed considerably, shipping remained an important part of the town’s economy well past the end of the nineteenth century as is evidenced in the numerous warehouses built along the town’s waterfront in the early twentieth century. By 1861, however, the population

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24 Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
26 Ibid.
27 Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
28 Robinson, The Rise and Fall of Falmouth Jamaica, 142–143.
29 Nelson et al., Falmouth, Jamaica Field Guide, 12.
of the town had already slipped to 3,127.\textsuperscript{30} Population loss continued and by 1942, Falmouth's population was at 2,500, a more than twenty percent decline from 1861 levels.\textsuperscript{31}

Falmouth's days of wealth and power had passed by the beginning of the twentieth century, resulting in a position that was quite different than it had been just one hundred years before. Falmouth no longer buzzed with the energy of economic activity and its harbor sheltered fewer and fewer commercial vessels. The town's future seemed fixed as one in which population growth would stagnate, economic activity would be inconsequential and changes to the town's built environment and urban form would be minimal.

**FALMOUTH AT PRESENT**

Present day Falmouth has, in many ways, not changed very much from the town of 200 years ago. Despite its weak economy and small population, it still plays an important role in the life of Trelawny Parish. Interestingly, the population of the town's core is not far off from its peak nineteenth century numbers. The same cannot be said for the outlying areas outside of the town's boundaries. The 1982 census of greater Falmouth – which includes the town itself and several surrounding suburbs – listed the total population as slightly more than 6,700.\textsuperscript{32} By 2009, census data revealed that greater Falmouth's population had increased to 8,169 with the population of the town itself at 3,542.\textsuperscript{33} However, between 2001 and 2009, growth within the town's historic core was limited to little more than 700 people.\textsuperscript{34}

The primary reason for Falmouth's continued importance within Trelawny is less related to economics but rather to its function as the parish capital. The town is a government center and the location of many essential services including the parish courts, public hospital, educational institutions and the offices of various government agencies, both local and national. The town also serves as a business and social center for the parish.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{30} Ogilvie, *History of the Parish of Trelawny.*
\textsuperscript{31} Nelson et al., *Falmouth, Jamaica Field Guide,* 13.
\textsuperscript{33} Social Development Commission, “Community Profile: Falmouth, Trelawny” (Social Development Commission, April 2010), 6.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{35} KeVaughn Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I., October 31, 2012.
The various districts and patterns of use that were established very early in the town's history still exist. The areas to the west of Market Street have remained primarily residential—containing a large portion of the town's roughly 1,100 dwellings—although other residential areas have begun to develop south of Tharpe Street and in the area south of George Street traditionally known as Cave Island Pen. Market, Duke and Tharpe streets have maintained their historically commercial functions with Market Street still serving as the commercial spine of the town (Fig. 1.3). Water Square remains both a social gathering place and a center of commercial activity with businesses lining its edges and itinerant merchants selling goods from pushcarts in its center. The core of the town also plays a key role as an informal transport center. Taxis and minibuses fill the streets or idle along the edges while the vehicles fill up with passengers. The public market, moved from its original location in Water Square to an area 0.5 kilometers southeast, is as busy as ever and attracts buyers and sellers from all over the island. While there are many aspects of Falmouth that have remained the same, the most glaring change is the quiet nature of the town's harbor. Aside from cruise ships, commercial shipping is nonexistent while the local maritime activity that does still exist is confined, almost completely, to small scale, locally owned commercial fishing vessels.

Today, Falmouth's economy is still in a weakened state. Almost eleven percent of the population is unemployed and thirty percent of those have been unemployed for more than five years. Falmouth's status as the parish capital does, as noted previously, provide a limited boost to the town's economy. In addition to essential services, people come to Falmouth from all over Trelawny to buy food, pay bills and for educational and health care opportunities. The town's primary economic activities are the “informal commercial sector, wholesale and retail traders [and the] banking... industry.” Falmouth’s “informal commercial sector” is primarily based in the town's public, open-air market and is considered by many to be of

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37 Besson, Martha Brae’s Two Histories, 208.
39 Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
FIG. 1.3 FALMOUTH AT PRESENT
questionable benefit to the town’s economy.41 The majority of the market’s merchants, known as “higglers,” live outside of Trelawny and sell products purchased outside of the country.42 As a result, much of the economic activity in the informal sector benefits those who live outside of the town and parish.

A 1967 study of population movement in Jamaica revealed the effect that Falmouth’s weak economy has had on the town over time. Though somewhat dated, the results of the study are telling. The conditions that prompted the departure of many of Falmouth’s residents were most likely to be a “lack of suitable economic opportunities and a high rate of unemployment.”43 Most migrants had a relatively high level of education and resettled in urban areas like Kingston because of the perception of increased opportunity.44 Since the depression of the town’s economy began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Falmouth has struggled to find its economic niche and a substitute for the wealth and prosperity produced by the sugar industry. While the economic base of Falmouth and much of Trelawny had been based primarily on agriculture, the present economy of both parish and town has begun to shift, like so many other places on the island, towards tourism.

The impact of Falmouth’s economic woes affected the town’s built environment in both positive and negative ways. Without a robust tax base to finance large-scale projects, much of the town’s infrastructure and its public spaces were allowed to deteriorate over time. The situation was compounded by the failure to update or modernize outdated systems. As a result, the town has very little in the way of sidewalks, public gathering places or parks. The town’s entire pedestrian infrastructure system consisted, until recently, of a single narrow stretch of sidewalk running down the south side of Duke Street. Water Square and a small space adjacent to the courthouse serve as the town’s only urban gathering areas. Park space, or green infrastructure, within the town is limited to Victoria Park on Rodney Street. The failure to keep up with infrastructural improvements is also evident in the quantity of open drains that line many of the town’s streets. Acknowledged as a problem by the parish

42 Besson, Martha Brae’s Two Histories, 207.
44 Ibid.
study of the town’s core found 113 historic resources including both buildings and landscapes. Most of the resources were located within a 150-acre area that comprises the majority of the town’s historic area. Market and Duke Streets and the areas immediately adjacent to them contain the highest concentration of historic buildings. The presence of Falmouth’s prosperous past can still be felt in countless places throughout the town’s historic core. Just a glimpse of the columned parish courthouse or the stylized post office with its complex hipped roof system and quoins of cut limestone serve as a vivid reminder of the glory of the town’s formative period (Fig. 1.4–1.5).

While Falmouth’s infrastructure, public spaces and appearance may have suffered as a result of the town’s economic weakness there were also some benefits. The weak economy, which resulted in low population growth and limited development, left the core of the town – containing scores of eighteenth and nineteenth-century buildings – relatively intact and unchanged. According to Ivor Conolley, Executive Director of the local historic preservation non-profit organization Falmouth Heritage Renewal and an expert on Falmouth’s history, economic conditions were bad enough that many people could not “keep up with new construction, so [they] continued with the same old buildings and just maintained them.”

A 1998 government, the most problematic and disruptive open drains line the sides of Market, Tharpe and Lower Parade streets, which are also among the town’s most active areas. Efforts to beautify the urban environment have also lapsed. Today, Falmouth is almost totally lacking in shade trees, benches or other amenities that might soften the appearance of the town’s core.

47 Social Development Commission, “Community Profile: Falmouth, Trelawny,” 82.
49 Built in 1832, the building that now houses the Falmouth Post Office was originally built as a home for parish magistrate, Thomas Robert Vermont. Nelson et al., Falmouth, Jamaica Field Guide, 62.

Fig. 1.4 Trelawny Parish courthouse, North Facade. Photo by author.
Fig. 1.5 Falmouth Post Office, East Facade. Photo by author.
CONCLUSION

The intervening years have, however, not been kind to Falmouth and the physical effects of the town’s weak economy are clearly visible throughout the town. High unemployment, limited opportunity, a decaying built environment – both in terms of buildings and infrastructure - and stagnant population growth have long plagued the town and hampered improvement and progress. But even though the town’s economic troubles made a significant impact there were, in the end, some positive effects as well. The general lack of financial means, while leading to the slow decay of the town’s physical form, also played a part in the inadvertent preservation of a large portion of the town’s eighteenth and nineteenth-century buildings. Over time, the sheer number of historic buildings within Falmouth’s central core were recognized for their value and would lead to historic preservation efforts, the town’s designation as an important historic site as well as attract the attention of those who wished to turn Falmouth into a tourist destination.
Throughout the twentieth century Falmouth was the quiet capital of an equally quiet parish. Few outsiders ventured into the town unless drawn there for reasons related to local business or government. A nascent re-recognition of Falmouth’s value began in the early to mid-twentieth century as the realization spread that the town contained a strikingly large number of intact historic structures. The ensuing years brought further recognition, acclaim, statutes and protections as well as numerous plans to preserve the town’s extraordinary historic fabric. Concurrently, creative minds began to envision the town as an ideal place to develop a small-scale tourism industry based on the town’s rich history and collection of heritage assets. But by the early years of the twenty first century, despite efforts to preserve the town’s historic assets and develop of some form of tourism economy, Falmouth was still struggling. Then, in 2007, Royal Caribbean Cruise Line and the Port Authority of Jamaica announced plans to construct a massive cruise terminal right in the heart of the town’s historic district. The terminal held the
possibility of changing everything. Excitement and anticipation mixed with hope that the terminal was the answer to the town’s economic problems. At the same time, an improved economy would certainly provide some help for ongoing preservation efforts. However, just two years later, the expected benefits of the terminal’s presence had still not materialized. Instead of changing the town’s economic outlook, the terminal was instead seen by many as a useless appendage, attached to the town but operating in such a way that provided few, if any, benefits.

PRESERVATION EFFORTS

In 1969, a UNESCO report on Jamaican heritage stated that, “with the exception of Spanish Town, there is no other community [outside of Falmouth] which retains as much architectural flavor.” As a result of its collection of intact historic structures, Falmouth today presents an accurate and unique representation of the form of an urban community in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Jamaica. While other historic sites in Jamaica have collections of monumental buildings, Falmouth contains a wide range of different building typologies, including mixed use and commercial buildings, as well as a variety of residential buildings built by people of differing incomes and social statuses. Shortly after the UNESCO report was issued, momentum began to build behind the idea of preserving Falmouth’s wealth of heritage resources. In 1970, in what would be one of the first, the Georgian Society of Jamaica published a document intended to highlight Falmouth’s history and wealth of Georgian and colonial era architecture. The document also served as a plea for the commencement of preservation efforts within the town’s historic core. Just over a

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51 Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.


decade later two more plans were completed with 1991’s *Jamaica’s Heritage: An Untapped Resource* and 1998’s *Pre-Feasibility Study for the Restoration of Greater Falmouth*. All three plans, while focusing primarily on the preservation or rehabilitation of the town’s historic buildings and resources, also examined the possibility of and made strong recommendations for utilizing Falmouth’s wealth of historic resources as a tourist attraction and means to speed Falmouth on a path towards the establishment of a sustainable local economy.

In 1985, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust Act established the Jamaica National Heritage Trust - the oversight body for significant historic sites in Jamaica - as well as regulations for the protection, treatment and use of historic sites. In the same year, Falmouth was declared a Protected National Heritage Site. Eleven years later, in 1996, the Jamaican government went even further and declared the town a National Monument and established the Falmouth Historic District (Fig 2.1). The historic district, at roughly 1.5 kilometers wide and slightly more than 0.5 kilometers deep, encompassed the town’s most significant features including all of the original colonial-era street grid, its most significant historic buildings, important aspects of the shoreline and the “old” or public cemetery, which, while outside of the boundaries of the main district, is still protected as an important piece of Falmouth’s history (Fig. 2.2).

The historic district is monitored and regulated by the Historic Architecture Review Board – a body affiliated with the Jamaica National Heritage Trust – and the Trelawny Parish Council. Both the Board and the Parish Council work off of a set of administrative guidelines for the treatment of the district. The guidelines cover site design, new construction, additions, rehabilitations and infill within the historic district. There is an approval process for work performed within the district and, in theory, fines or imprisonment serve as penalties for work done outside of that process.

Outside of the protections provided by the parish and national governments, private organizations also have

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56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
FIG. 2.2 LOCATION OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

18th and 19th Century Historic Resources
building owners have for assistance in performing historically sensitive and accurate maintenance or improvements.\textsuperscript{60}

Despite the regulations of the national and local government and the determined efforts of Falmouth Heritage Renewal, historic structures within the district have remained at risk. Several hurdles exist which reduce the overall effectiveness of preservation efforts in Falmouth. First, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, whose main office is located in Kingston, has a limited presence in Falmouth. The Trust’s geographic separation from Falmouth and the lack of local representation results in a lengthy approval process. The most common result of the limited presence and slow response time is that inappropriate projects often proceed with little or no review. The Trelawny Parish Council, which cannot proceed with permitting construction projects in the district until the Historic Architecture Review Board has signed off, is frequently held up to the point of pushing projects through out of necessity.\textsuperscript{61} As result of the Trust’s lack of engagement, much of the work done in the

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\textsuperscript{58} Conolley, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
\textsuperscript{60} Conolley, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
\textsuperscript{61} Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
The historic district does not conform to the established design guidelines and is often both inappropriate and out of character. There are also larger and more systemic issues that cause much of the deterioration of historic buildings and landscapes within the historic district. While the government’s slow response time and or inattention to matters in Falmouth has caused problems, the biggest barriers to widespread maintenance of historic buildings are the economic problems of many residents and their financial inability to perform necessary maintenance or appropriate improvements. Often, historically accurate materials are too expensive for residents to afford which causes them to resort to the use of cheaper – and usually historically inappropriate – materials. For example, in recent years, many property owners, particularly those owning small board houses, have expanded their properties and, for cost and durability reasons, have resorted to concrete block instead of frame and clapboard. The financial cost of historically appropriate work is also a problem for both government agencies and private preservation groups operating in the district. The Jamaica National Heritage Trust does not have the funds available to put incentive or encouragement programs into place and Falmouth Heritage Renewal, with its current list of projects, is already working close to the limits of its budget. The end result has been a steady loss of historic fabric due to the inability of the government and individual building owners to afford appropriate work or, in the worst cases, any work at all.

Despite the widespread recognition of Falmouth as a site with extraordinary historic value the town’s heritage assets remain at risk. The last forty years saw a wide range of well meaning and diligently applied preservation efforts including the drafting of several well thought-out preservation plans, the creation of legal structures designed to protect the town’s

62 Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.

63 The use of modern materials for building upgrades does not always lead to a loss of historic fabric or authenticity. However, if residents do choose to use modern materials such as concrete block, extra care must be taken during design and construction to avoid damage to or loss of historic fabric. Ibid.

64 Ibid.
built environment and the direct efforts of a local non-profit organization to play a central role in the town's preservation. But those efforts have not been enough to stem the inexorable and accelerating loss of historic buildings caused in large part by a lack of resources and a weak economy. Early on, schemes were developed in which the town's heritage assets could be used as a base for a local tourism industry and a foundation for an economic revival. In 2007, the idea surfaced again but in a form much different than anyone would have previously thought.

**FALMOUTH’S SHIP COMES IN**

Tourism has been a major part of the Jamaican economy for decades. Popularized in part by Errol Flynn’s enthusiastic mid-twentieth century endorsements of the island as a vacation paradise, Jamaica has, over the years, become a top tourism destination. Today, it is a critical part of the Jamaican economy with tourism related businesses making up thirty two percent of the nation’s total employment and roughly thirty six percent of its total gross domestic product. Jamaica’s north coast in particular has become one of the island’s busiest tourist areas with Ocho Rios and Montego Bay attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors each year with most arriving by cruise ship. Falmouth, located roughly halfway between the two tourist cities, had long been considered to have excellent tourism potential, in part, because of its unique collection of historic resources. But the types of tourism facilities that had been traditionally envisioned for Falmouth were much different than those in Montego Bay or Ocho Rios. Previous ideas for tourism facilities in Falmouth had always been of a much smaller scale, focusing primarily on a limited tourism industry that revolved around a mix of local historic and cultural attractions. Despite being widely written about, previous efforts to promote and develop Falmouth as

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68 Both the *Falmouth Restoration Plan* and the *Pre-Feasibility Study for Greater Falmouth* suggested a limited and unobtrusive form of tourism development and the use of existing historic buildings as well as limited new construction to facilitate a tourism presence in Falmouth.
a tourist destination never advanced past the planning stage.

In 2007, the tourism industry swept into Falmouth in a much different form than was previously anticipated. That year, Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines (RCCL) signed a contract with the Port Authority of Jamaica (PAJ) to make Falmouth the cruise line’s newest port-of-call.\(^{69}\) The project was to be a joint venture between the PAJ and RCCL. As such, the costs were split between the two organizations. The initial phase of the project cost the PAJ approximately US$167 million while RCCL’s share came to US$107 million.\(^{70}\) The PAJ, unable to finance the project with existing funds, secured a loan from the Danish government to pay for their portion.\(^{71}\) Despite the joint financing arrangement, the terminal facility remained the property of the Jamaican government under the management of the PAJ. RCCL, the primary user of the facility, was given “preferential user” status meaning that one berth space was reserved strictly for the cruise line’s use.\(^{72}\)

Aside from historic resources, one of the other primary reasons that Falmouth was chosen as a location for a new cruise port was its geographic location between the north coast tourist destinations of Montego Bay and Ocho Rios. The location allowed for “tour product” delivery at destinations in the vicinity of both cities.\(^{73}\) In other words, Falmouth’s central location would allow for passengers disembarking at the terminal to access the attractions of both Montego Bay and Ocho Rios. Falmouth’s natural harbor was also a draw. RCCL’s original designs for the Falmouth facility called for a finger pier reaching out into the harbor with the facility’s service buildings being placed on the land directly behind.\(^{74}\) The final design, however, was much different. A wedge shaped, peninsula like, wharf of man-made land was decided upon, which was affixed to the mainland with its base running along the town’s historic waterfront (Fig. 2.3). Falmouth’s harbor was neither deep nor

\(^{69}\) Louis Nelson et al., “The Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for Development” (University of Virginia, May 2010), 9; Royal Caribbean Cruise Line is the world’s 2\(^{nd}\) largest cruise ship company with thirty eight ships, 425 destinations, four million passengers annually and 50,000 employees. John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation,” 2.


\(^{71}\) John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation,” 44.

\(^{72}\) Ibid., 45.

\(^{73}\) Ibid., 40.

FIG. 2.3 A CHANGING COASTLINE

The RCCL “Historic Falmouth” cruise ship terminal radically changed the town's historic coastline and its relationship to the sea.
wide enough to accommodate modern cruise ships, so harbor dredging operations were undertaken. Happily for RCCL, much of the 1,500,000 cubic meters of fill required to create the wharf came from fill dredged from the harbor and coral reef beyond. (Fig. 2.4)\textsuperscript{75} The wedge design allowed for several things. First, the wedge was long enough to accommodate the world’s largest cruise ships to date.\textsuperscript{76} Secondly, it was efficient, with the capability to berth two cruise ships simultaneously. Thirdly, it allowed for the terminal’s primary service buildings to be located on the wharf itself and as close to the berthed ships as possible.

International Design and Entertainment Associates (IDEA), a Florida-based company specializing in the design of destination resorts, was hired to create the design and theme for the terminal’s buildings and their relationship to the town.\textsuperscript{77} The concept decided upon was called “Historic Falmouth” and was intended to take advantage of the town’s history and architecture through the design aesthetics of the terminal’s buildings and streetscapes (Fig. 2.5).\textsuperscript{78} The buildings, which incorporated some stylized aspects of the Georgian architectural aesthetic, provided a total of 38,000 square meters of space (Fig. 2.6).\textsuperscript{79} The terminal’s buildings were arranged around a specific series of streets and were meant to mimic the urban environment of the town while aligning with its street grid. Original designs called for the integration of the facility into the town and for the free flow of people between the two. In the project’s preliminary design phase much was made of “opening

\textsuperscript{75} John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation,” 43.
\textsuperscript{76} The pier was designed around requirements necessary for berthing Oasis Class cruise ships, of which two exist. The Oasis of the Seas and the Allure of the Seas carry a maximum of 6,300 passengers and 2,400 crew, cost an estimated 1.3 billion dollars each, are 214 feet tall and over 1,100 feet long. Michael Behar, “Can the Cruise Industry Clean Up Its Act?,” Onearth Magazine, accessed September 12, 2012, http://www.onearth.org/article/dreamboat.
\textsuperscript{78} Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd., “Historic Falmouth Area Development: Preliminary Submission Diagrams.”
\textsuperscript{79} John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation,” 51; The designs of the terminal buildings were enough of a departure from the town’s overall architectural style that the Jamaica National Heritage Trust was not pleased with what it deemed an inaccurate representation of the town’s Jamaican Georgian style. Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
Fig. 2.4 The terminal midway through the construction process. Photo courtesy of Falmouth Heritage Renewal.
Fig. 2.5: Completed “Historic Falmouth” cruise terminal with Oasis of the Seas occupying the western berth. Photo courtesy of Falmouth Heritage Renewal.
Fig. 2.6 Buildings within the “Historic Falmouth” terminal are very loosely modeled on existing wharf buildings that line part of Falmouth’s waterfront. Photo by author.
residential and hotel space. Plans also called for the limited improvement of select roadways, both within the historic district and on its outskirts, to improve traffic flow for vehicles, such as tour buses, accessing the terminal facilities.

The opening of the cruise terminal in Falmouth physically changed the town. The town’s harbor, once filled with commercial shipping from all over the world, would now shelter the world’s largest cruise ships. The town itself was also expected to change with the anticipated influx of tourists and related facilities. The mood in the town was mixed with uncertainty and anticipation that the terminal might be the long anticipated key to Falmouth’s economic recovery and the beginning of a renewed period of prosperity.

EFFECT OF THE CRUISE TERMINAL

Unfortunately, the ships came in but the expected benefits didn’t. Since the opening of the terminal in early 2011 Falmouth has become Jamaica’s busiest cruise port. Within the first three months of opening, Falmouth had surpassed Ocho
Rios—previously the nation’s busiest cruise port—with passenger arrivals topping 100,000.\footnote{Steven Jackson, “Falmouth Overtakes Ocho Rios as Busiest Cruise Pier,” The Gleaner [Kingston], June 17, 2011.} During 2011 and 2012, over 240 cruise ships made Falmouth a port-of-call bringing over 1.3 million passengers and crew.\footnote{Port Authority of Jamaica, “Statistical Publication 2012” (Port Authority of Jamaica, December 2012), www.portjam.com/docs/MonthlyStatisticalReport.pdf.} Furthermore, RCCL pledged to bring as many as eight million passengers to Falmouth within ten years.\footnote{Jackson, “Falmouth Overtakes Ocho Rios as Busiest Cruise Pier.”} The cruise terminal and the expected presence of so many passengers naturally caused many people to think that Falmouth’s days of economic woe were over. The Social Development Commission, in a 2009 profile of the town, reported that “the development of the pier in Falmouth is expected to provide much needed jobs both during its development phase and on completion.”\footnote{Social Development Commission, “Community Profile: Falmouth, Trelawny,” 17.} In 2010, the belief among Falmouth residents that the pier would have positive economic impacts was widespread.\footnote{Nelson et al., “The Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for Development.”} As if to reinforce the idea of opportunity, roughly 500 people were employed on the terminal during its initial construction phase.\footnote{Janet Silvera, “Cruise Line Pledges Millions of Passengers for Falmouth,” The Gleaner [Kingston], January 4, 2009.} Likewise, from the first stages of planning the port facility, representatives from the PAJ and RCCL promised that hundreds of jobs would be available after the port opened.\footnote{John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation,” 65.} But perhaps the biggest expectation was of economic benefit for the town at large as a result of tourists exploring the historic district and spending money in locally owned businesses. A 2010 survey of Falmouth residents revealed that the overwhelming majority of respondents thought that tourists would want to see and experience the historic district.\footnote{Nelson et al., “The Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for Development,” 92.}

More than two years after the arrival of the first cruise ship, the actual economic benefits of the terminal have not matched original expectations. Some forms of employment on the terminal did materialize but were primarily menial and in the form of security, food service or janitorial personnel.\footnote{Natawah Dixon, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.} In general, however, the expected benefits failed
to occur, causing many to reject the idea that the terminal had been beneficial for the town.\textsuperscript{92} Some even believed that economic conditions in Falmouth had worsened.\textsuperscript{93}

While the lack of well-paying employment opportunities was disappointing, it seemed to many as if the true reason behind the limited economic impact of the terminal was due, in large part, to the fact that there were too few tourists out exploring and enjoying the town and patronizing local businesses in the process. Some people, both outside observers and residents of the town, blamed cruise industry policy. The argument went that the cruise industry itself encouraged passengers to stay either onboard the ship or within a facility operated by the cruise line so as to capture as much of the passenger’s money as possible.\textsuperscript{94} In fact, one of the captains of the \textit{Oasis of the Seas} was quoted as saying “our hope…is that people don’t get off [the ship], because the ship is the destination.”\textsuperscript{95}

Richard Bourke, former president of the Trelawny Parish Chamber of Commerce blamed the structure of the “entire cruise-ship operation” which failed to encourage “visitors to enter the town.”\textsuperscript{96}

However, despite the reality of the cruise industry’s desire to capture the majority of each dollar spent in country, the general appearance and feel of the town may, itself, be the biggest problem. The walkout rate – the number of people who leave the gates of the terminal on their own – at the Falmouth terminal has not been particularly low. In 2011, of the roughly 500,000 passengers who arrived at the terminal, approximately thirty percent walked out of the gates. However, as one employee of RCCL stated, most of the passengers only “walk five meters from the gate and then turn back (Fig. 2.7).”\textsuperscript{97}

Many blame the failure to attract more tourists into the historic district on the town’s physical state. LaVerne Morris, the Deputy Superintendent of the Trelawny Parish Council, in an interview with the author, lamented the fact that the response that the town has received from tourists has not been

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\textsuperscript{92} Mark Titus, “No Traffic, No Commercial Benefits For Falmouth Town Centre,” \textit{The Gleaner (Kingston)}, September 16, 2011.
\textsuperscript{93} Rona Sterling, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I., November 1, 2012.
\textsuperscript{94} Behar, “Can the Cruise Industry Clean Up Its Act?”
\textsuperscript{96} Shellion Rhoden, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I., November 16, 2012.
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Fig. 2.7 View from the terminal’s main pedestrian gate looking down Falmouth Street. Photo by author.
better. In her estimation Falmouth “wasn’t quite ready for the
inflow of [tourists] in terms of infrastructure [or] attractions.”

The issue of the town’s lack of preparation for the
influx of tourists had been brought up before. In 2010, faculty
and students at the University of Virginia produced a report
identifying the town’s lack of preparedness for and the potentially
negative effects of a cruise industry presence within the historic
district. The report, entitled Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for
Development, presented a number of recommendations designed
to both prepare the town for new visitors while preserving its
historic assets and making life better for residents. From an
economic development perspective, proposals were put forth
with recommendations ranging from the creation of a “Water
Square Business Association” to the institution of protections
for businesses catering to local needs in the Water Square
area. Additionally, the document also made recommendations
pertaining to the built environment. Water Square was

focused on as an improvement zone that should serve as a
“hinge” feature between the town and cruise terminal and
function as a “center of social and economic exchange [while]
meeting [the] needs of both tourists and locals.” Few of the
document’s recommendations were acted upon, however.

Nevertheless, a few limited steps were undertaken
by elements of the local and national government to prepare
the urban environment. In 2010, in preparation for the
opening of the terminal, Water Square and a limited number
of surrounding streets were pedestrianized with the goal
of improving functionality, pedestrian comfort and general
aesthetics. Additionally, amenities such as trees, benches
and sitting walls were added in Water Square’s center as well
as along Lower Parade Street. The number of police officers
stationed in the town were also increased to deal with any
issues of “visitor harassment.” The changes certainly made
some difference but were so limited in scale as to have very
little impact on the town’s larger problems. Like many interview

98 LaVerne Morris, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I., November 2,
2012.
99 Nelson et al., “The Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for
Development.”
100 Ibid., 1.
101 Ruddy Mathison, “Stepping Up Police Presence In Falmouth,” The Gleaner
[Kingston], April 5, 2011.
subjects, however, LaVerne Morris, of the Trelawny Parish Council, expressed the feeling that the town was “caught off guard” by the terminal development and as a result was unprepared to adequately handle the ensuing changes.\textsuperscript{102}

CONCLUSION

The initial failure of the cruise terminal to more fully benefit Falmouth was a blow to many residents. In the end, the widely anticipated economic changes never materialized. Even though the cruise ships brought the promised hoards of passengers, most ended up congregating inside of the cruise terminal. If venturing out of the terminal, passengers did not spend enough time in the town to stimulate its economy in an appreciable way or travelled to destinations outside of the town and parish on pre-arranged tours. Town residents, business owners and government officials were surprised and disappointed that what had been billed as the end to the town’s economic woes seemed to have so little impact, despite assurances to the contrary. After so much hype and anticipation,

\textsuperscript{102} Morris, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
Gaining an understanding of the factors behind Falmouth’s nineteenth century economic decline was a clear process. Determining the reasons behind Falmouth’s failure to economically prosper in the present or benefit more fully from opportunities such as the opening of the cruise terminal was more difficult. Research into factors constraining Falmouth’s economic growth began in the summer of 2012 when the author was selected to work in Falmouth for three months as part of a US/ICOMOS international exchange program. The purpose of the exchange was to develop a project that could be helpful in some way to the preservation of the town’s historic built environment. While working with Falmouth Heritage Renewal, the author identified the town’s economic weakness as a factor affecting the widespread preservation of the town’s historic assets. Later research revealed that many of the town’s economic problems stemmed from the state of its urban environment. As a result, much of the work performed that summer was a process of surveying the town’s urban core to better understand
the interviews were based in part on information gathered on the previous trip to Falmouth many of the questions asked were focused on the town’s economy, the impact of the cruise terminal and the state of its urban environment.

Officials of the parish government and representatives from national level agencies were interviewed to get an official perspective on the roots of Falmouth’s economic situation and what could be done to correct it. The Honorable Paul Muschett, the Custos Rotulorum of Trelawny Parish, was interviewed at the offices of Falmouth Heritage Renewal. Matthew McGill, Falmouth’s assistant town planner was interviewed at the Parish Courthouse. LaVerne Morris, the Deputy Superintendent of the Trelawny Parish Council was interviewed at the Parish Council’s offices. Contact was also made with representatives from the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) and the Social Development Corporation (SDC). The UDC’s mission is to make “development happen through the planning and implementation of comprehensive development projects and programs” and is the national level agency primarily responsible for its function and to identify problematic factors. A large-scale documentation of the historic district was started in June 2012 and included the mapping of the historic district and immediate outlying areas as well as the distribution of uses – residential, commercial, civic, religious, recreational and educational - within the district. Maps were produced to better understand the effect of the cruise terminal on the town’s form and detailed drawings were created of the town’s most heavily visited public spaces, including Water Square and Market and Seaboard streets.

Documentation was also gathered on the town’s history, previous economic development efforts as well as information pertaining to the coming of the cruise industry. A number of initial meetings were held with Falmouth’s Mayor, members of the Parish Council, town planner and preservationists to discuss urban scale problems affecting the town.

Having begun the process of identifying problematic factors within town’s urban environment, a return research trip to Falmouth was organized in the fall of 2012 with the intention of performing a more structured series of interviews and the administration of a voluntary survey. As
for the improvement of Falmouth’s infrastructure and public spaces.103 The SDC is a national community development agency that, in part, gathers data on communities throughout Jamaica’s fourteen parishes ranging from population rates to local employment figures. Omar Simpson, the regional representative of the UDC kindly answered questions via email. Paula Barrett of the SDC was interviewed at the organization’s Falmouth offices.

Representatives from preservation organizations were interviewed in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the economy, cruise terminal and related changes on Falmouth’s historic district. Ivor Conolley and KeVaughn Harding, the Executive Director and Architectural Resources Director, respectively, of Falmouth Heritage Renewal, were interviewed at the organization’s offices. Additionally, Marina Delfos, a local historian and owner of a company that provides walking tours of the historic district, was interviewed at her home in Falmouth.

In order to get the perspective of the cruise industry, representatives from the PAJ and RCCL were interviewed. William Tatham, Vice President of Cruise Shipping for the PAJ answered questions via email. Natawah Dixon, Port Security Officer for the Falmouth terminal facility was interviewed at his office in the terminal’s main building. Shellion Rhoden, of RCCL was interviewed via telephone.

Members of the community were also interviewed. Rona Sterling, a teacher at the Falmouth All Age School was interviewed at her home in Falmouth. Patrick Scott, owner of a bakery in Water Square and Micheal Thorpe, a tailor with a shop on King Street, were interviewed at their respective businesses.

At the end of the second research trip a voluntary survey was administered to twenty one participants in Falmouth’s public market and Water Square. Participants were asked to respond to a series of five statements pertaining to the current function and necessity of performing upgrades to the town’s urban environment as well as the perceived economic effects of the cruise terminal. Responses were based on a five-point Likert Scale and ranged from “disagree strongly” to “strongly agree”. The information was used to broadly gauge public opinion.104

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104 For full survey results see Appendix.
As the interviews were performed on the author’s second research trip to Falmouth, the questions asked were informed by information gathered during summer work. Research and informal meetings during that period had reinforced the idea that Falmouth’s urban environment was to blame for at least some of the town’s difficulties. As a result, interview subjects were asked a series of questions designed to give the author a better understanding of the effect of urban conditions on economics, quality of life and the success of the cruise terminal. During the interview process a multitude of urban environmental factors were blamed for the town’s lack of economic success as well as the terminal’s limited economic impact. Some blamed the dilapidated state of many of the town’s buildings, while others blamed the chaotic nature and dirtiness of the urban environment or excessive harassment of tourists by vendors. But one constant among the interview subjects was the focus on what was perceived as the town’s inadequate and dysfunctional urban environment and its contribution to and effect on other problems that the town currently grapples with. Specific areas of concern were as varied as the lack of sidewalks, open drains,
non-existent traffic controls, a dearth of park and public spaces, limited transportation options and a loss of authenticity and local vitality within the historic district. The general consensus on Falmouth’s urban core was that it is not a welcoming or comfortable place from an infrastructure, public space or connectivity perspective which then contributes to tourists either avoiding or limiting time spent in the historic district.

Interview subjects were also concerned about the effect of the town’s state on residents, most of whom have adapted to current conditions. There was general approval of the limited pedestrianization and beautification work performed in Water Square and the surrounding streets in 2010 and hope that similar projects will be undertaken in other parts of the historic district. Most interview subjects also expressed concern for how the town’s historic core will change in response to pressure from the cruise terminal and how commercial and residential growth beyond the town’s original boundaries will affect life within the town.

The results of the voluntary survey administered at Bend Down Market and Water Square, in many ways, mirrored the information collected during the interview process. As described previously, volunteers responded to a series of statements regarding the economic impact of the cruise terminal and the state or adequacy of the town’s infrastructure and public spaces. When responding to a statement intimating that the cruise terminal had been good for Falmouth, sixty-five percent either agreed or strongly agreed. Follow up statements, which focused on the need for additional sidewalks and public gathering places were also overwhelmingly supported. There were, of course, also some respondents who did not respond favorably. Concerns were expressed over issues both large and small. Some respondents worried that sidewalks or other improvements would change the status quo. Others expressed doubt that the town had any more room for additional park or public spaces.

Much like the other phases of research, both the interviews and survey confirmed that there is a widespread belief the state of the town’s urban environment has a significant effect on the town’s inability to economically thrive. As such there was a recognized need and widespread support for efforts to improve conditions and the hope that positive changes will play a successful role in strengthening the town’s economy through the
creation of a more welcoming and functional environment that attracts tourists and creates a better quality of life for residents.

RESEARCH

Of equal importance to the interview and survey process was the examination of documentation pertaining to preservation, revitalization or economic development efforts aimed at the historic district. Much like the interview process, the review of key documents identified a number of issues within the historic district – ranging from historic preservation shortfalls to social development issues - that need to be addressed in the interest of improving the town's economic situation. But while there were variations within each document’s recommendations there was one constant between all of them: the need for the targeted improvement of Falmouth’s urban environment.

Historic preservation and rehabilitation plans for Falmouth produced in the 1980s and 1990s clearly recognized the necessity of performing improvements in the interest of attracting visitors. Both the Falmouth Restoration Plan and the Pre-Feasibility Study for the Restoration of Greater Falmouth dedicated significant space to proposals for the improvement of the town’s roads, drainage and sewer systems, public gathering spaces and recreational facilities. Jamaica’s Heritage: An Untapped Resource also recommended the use of street cleaning, landscaping, tree planting and the beautification of public spaces in the interest of improving Falmouth’s economy via tourism.

Documentation produced by government agencies provided evidence of the government’s interest and commitment to improving Falmouth’s urban environment. In 2010, a preliminary presentation by the UDC on the agency’s Falmouth Redevelopment Plan – which is still in development - identified multiple problem areas but clearly focused on the importance of a pedestrian friendly core that prioritizes functional public spaces, adequate pedestrian facilities and traffic management.

The same presentation highlighted the town’s status as a “designated area” which committed the UDC to a “collaborative/multi agency” approach to “fast track” improvements in

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105 Richard Morais, “Falmouth Wharf Construction Now Under Way After Five Years,” The Gleaner [Kingston], February 9, 2009. and in Chapter 4 of Pre-Feasibility Study for the Restoration of Greater Falmouth
preparation for the opening of the terminal. By 2010, the recognition of the need to do something about the town’s situation prompted the PAJ, UDC and other agencies including the Tourism Product Development Company to carry out the pedestrianization of Water Square and other related projects.

Outside groups also recognized the need for infrastructure improvements in Falmouth. As mentioned earlier, *Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for Development*, was written in the interest of readying the town for the opening of the cruise terminal. While some elements of the study focused on the importance of highlighting Falmouth’s history as well as engaging in social and economic development initiatives it was dedicated, in large part, to highlighting the importance of the improvement of the town’s built environment; especially key public gathering spaces. The improvements were suggested as a means of improving the lives of residents, maintaining Falmouth’s cultural and historical authenticity and creating an inviting environment for tourists.

Naturally, the cruise industry also maintained an interest in infrastructure and public space improvements. Two presentations given by RCCL officials in the lead up to the construction of the terminal provided a detailed look at the cruise line’s interests within the town. While both presentations concentrated primarily on the design and construction of the terminal itself there was also a focus on upgrading the town’s urban environment so as to create a more appealing environment for cruise passengers. In addition to the changes in Water Square and some of the surrounding streets, RCCL’s plans also called for the Trelawny Parish Council to continue to upgrade specific areas of the town such as Seaboard and Market streets and for a greater focus on the preservation of the town’s most important historic structures.

**OBSERVATIONS, DOCUMENTATION AND MAPPING**

Performing fieldwork and actively documenting activity in Falmouth was key to developing insights into the function of the town and how the state of its urban environment affects the economy and patterns of life. Documentation activity such as mapping, photography, measured drawings and usage

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106 Urban Development Corporation, “Historic Falmouth Town Center Upgrading Programme” (Friends of Trelawny Association, May 29, 2010), 30.
it would have been difficult to understand such things as the ways in which the town changes on days when a cruise ship is in port, the effect on activity within Water Square on the evening after a market day, or how residents maneuver through a town with almost no pedestrian infrastructure. Research performed in Falmouth led to the conclusion that, while there are many contributing factors, the state of the town’s urban environment significantly limits its economic prosperity. Existing conditions also have a major effect on the quality of life of residents and appear to prevent the town from taking full advantage of the economic opportunity presented by either its historic resources or the tourism industry.

**CONCLUSION**

Researching the primary barriers standing in the way of Falmouth’s economy recovery was a crucial step towards developing an understanding of the challenges and issues that the town faces. The process of interviews, research and fieldwork revealed that, while the town faces a multitude of economic barriers and limitations, there is a broad realization that the

diagrams enabled the author to gain an understanding of how the town is currently used by both residents and visitors and the effect that the town’s physical state has on both groups.

Detailed mapping of the historic district was performed in order to understand the town’s historic form and how it had changed both over time and as a result of the construction of the cruise terminal. Additional information was gathered in the interest of developing an understanding of current land use patterns, the distribution of services throughout the district and the location of existing or planned infrastructure improvements. Patterns of use in the town’s public spaces were documented through a city life study that focused particularly on activity in Water Square and on Market Street. Measured drawings of Market Street and Water Square were also completed in order to illustrate current conditions and to better judge potential feasibility for changes or future improvements.

The fieldwork performed in Falmouth was uniquely informative. It allowed the author to witness, for an extended period of time, the actual function and pace of life within the historic district. Without the fieldwork aspect of the project
state of the town's urban environment contributes to existing economic stagnation by creating an environment that does not meet the needs of residents and, in many ways, repels visitors. The work performed in Falmouth also revealed that broad support exists for efforts to revitalize the town's urban core and in the process aid in its transformation into an economically vital area that continues to play a central role in the community while meeting the needs of both residents and visitors.
The recognition of a connection between dysfunctional urban environments and limited economic opportunity is not limited solely to the people of Falmouth or those with knowledge of Falmouth’s situation. The World Bank has long recognized the importance and effect that quality of life, livability and functionality have on the economic vitality of urban communities. Over the past forty years, the World Bank has engaged in the financing of hundreds of projects designed to make life better in urban areas around the world. Since the year 2000, the Bank has begun targeted efforts to utilize infrastructure, connectivity and livability improvements to benefit cities with significant heritage assets. The Bank’s view is that often the most significant barrier between cities with significant historic assets and sustainable economic development are issues that are related to the state of the urban environment at large.  

The World Bank’s motto is “working for a world free of poverty” which primarily manifests itself through lending and information sharing programs benefitting developing countries. The World Bank funds a diverse range of projects including those related to education, economics, agriculture, the environment and urban development issues. Within the sphere of urban development projects, the World Bank has, over time, gradually increased its focus on the protection of cultural heritage assets. Since the early 1970s, the Bank has financed 272 projects with cultural heritage components with an estimated total investment of US$4.75 billion. The organization’s approach to such projects has evolved through three distinct phases.

The policy of the Bank during the 1970s was to “do no harm” to cultural heritage assets during the course of infrastructural projects or other interventions. That approach changed during the 1980s and 1990s and brought a focus on “specific interventions” in which the bank invested resources in specific heritage assets in the interest of tourism development. The Bank’s current method, which has existed since 2000, has been dubbed the “integrated approach.” The approach “integrate[s] cultural heritage in local economic development… with a specific focus on historic cities rehabilitation, considering them both as service hubs for residents and ‘sustainable tourism destinations.’”

Integrated approach projects that have cultural heritage components typically tie together the protection or preservation of heritage assets through urban infrastructure upgrades and a focus on poverty reduction through the development of a sustainable economic base, often through tourism. The World Bank views such projects as “aim[ing] to creat[e] a symbiotic relation[ship] between local economic development and historic city regeneration, with the overall

111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
objective of leveraging historic cities as service hubs for local
users and sustainable tourism destinations for external users.\textsuperscript{113}

“Historic city regeneration projects” following the
integrated approach usually have four components: urban
infrastructure upgrades or improvements; preservation of
key heritage assets; economic support for relevant local
businesses or organizations and; efforts to train government
officials and planners to effectively manage and sustain
regeneration projects.\textsuperscript{114} Such projects can, however, take
radically different forms and vary from standard infrastructural
projects such as the rebuilding of a sewer main system or sea
wall to those with a transportation or environmental focus.

The ultimate goal of a successful integrated approach
projects is the creation of an historic urban area that functions
well for everyone. Quality of life standards for residents are
increased through improved urban environmental conditions
and increased economic opportunities. Historic urban
environments that have undergone such changes tend to
attract tourists and outside investment leading to both a more
sustainable economy and increased efforts to maintain existing
historic assets. Two case studies illustrate the breadth of Bank
projects and their varying effects on historic urban areas.

\textbf{XI’AN SUSTAINABLE URBAN TRANSPORT PROJECT}

Xi’an is the capital of Shaanxi Province and is northwest
China’s largest city.\textsuperscript{115} It is also an important historic site and,
as the eastern terminus of the Great Silk Road, is home to
both the Qin Terracotta Warriors and the Ming Walled City.\textsuperscript{116}
Xi’an is a thriving center for commerce, industry and higher
education and projections estimate that the city’s population

\textsuperscript{113} Guido Licciardi, “Supporting Sustainable Development in Heritage
Cities and Cultural Heritage Sites” (presented at the Eastern European
Heritage Forum, Istanbul, Turkey), 26, accessed December 18, 2012,
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/ehd/3eforum/
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{115} International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Project
Information Document (PID) Concept Stage, Xi’an Urban Transport Project”
(The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development/ The World
external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2006/02/16/000104615_2006
0217093426/Rendered/PDF/Post0PCN0Meeting0PID.pdf.
\textsuperscript{116} Katrinka Ebbe, Guido Licciardi, and Axel Baeumler, “Conserving the Past
as a Foundation for the Future: China-World Bank Partnership on Cultural
Heritage Conservation” (The International Bank of Reconstruction and
Development/ The World Bank, September 2011), 16.
As a result of a rapidly growing population and a busy urban core, the city’s existing transportation infrastructure, especially within the confines of the Walled City, had rapidly become overburdened and unable to handle the ever-increasing demands placed upon it. At the same time, efforts to provide additional public transportation options to new development or improved facilities for pedestrians or bicyclists had almost ceased. The result was an untenable situation within the city’s historic core involving ever-increasing levels of congestion, frequent conflicts between pedestrians and motorists, mounting air pollution levels and a reduction in quality of life standards.

In 2008, the World Bank, in conjunction with the Chinese government, provided funding for a project designed to improve the city’s transportation infrastructure, reduce congestion and provide additional facilities for pedestrians, bicyclists and other non-motorized transportation options. The US$414 million project was focused specifically on plans to divert motorized traffic away from the Walled City on improved roadways, the construction of a series of bicycle paths as connections into the historic core, increasing the availability of public transportation options and streetscape improvements combined with traffic calming measures to promote pedestrian activity. Bicycle paths within the historic core were designed to serve as both utilitarian connections between different parts of the city and as access routes to its most important historic sites. The ultimate goals of the project were to increase quality of life standards for residents, protect the Walled City’s historic assets through a reduction in traffic and pollution levels, as well as directly benefit the city’s economy by creating a more welcoming environment for visitors and tourists.

The decision to begin to manage Xi’an’s transportation related problems was an important step forward in terms of the city’s livability and the conservation of its significant historic assets.

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120 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Project Information Document (PID) Concept Stage, Xi’an Urban Transport Project.”
LIMON INTEGRATED INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECT

Located on Costa Rica’s Caribbean coast, the city of Limon is home to the country’s largest cargo port facility as well as a substantial cruise terminal. The city, and its population of 61,000, has struggled in modern times with high poverty and unemployment rates despite the presence of both the shipping and tourism industries. As a result Limon’s urban core has decayed, resulting in unsuitable living conditions for residents and the steady loss of heritage assets. In a situation eerily similar to Falmouth’s, the state of the city’s urban environment serves to convince most arriving cruise passengers to avoid the city’s core areas and instead opt for tours outside of Limon.

The World Bank, in conjunction with the government of Costa Rica, took an interest in the city’s situation in 2003. The goal of the project was to “improve [Limon’s] business environment… revitalize the urban environment… and leverage the interface historic assets. The project should also serve as an example of a successful heritage conservation plan that positively affects heritage resources while also solving larger, systemic issues such as transportation and the overall condition of the urban environment. As of the mid-project review in October 2012, moderate progress had been made towards project completion. Planning, procurement and limited construction had begun on aspects of the project including roadways, bus terminals and bicycle facilities. With twenty four percent of funds dispersed the project is well underway and is on track to be completed on time in December 2015.


I24 Ibid.
between the town and the port. The majority of allocated funds, however, were earmarked for “urban and cultural revitalization projects” and included efforts to “improve [Limon’s] livability and attractiveness” through the improvement of significant cultural or historical monuments, the creation of tourist attractions and the extension of basic services to the city’s poorest inhabitants. The urban revitalization project component also seeks to encourage economic development based on local entrepreneurship and the benefits of a thriving tourism sector.

The issues being addressed by the World Bank’s work in Limon bear a striking resemblance to those facing Falmouth; a crumbling historic city center, a cruise industry presence and a government that cannot adequately address pressing issues of livability and economic stability. To date, progress on the Limon project has been limited. As of October 2012, three years after the project began, only five percent of the project had been implemented although some progress has been made in the form planning studies, the installation of recreational facilities and limited streetscape improvements such as street lighting and signage. If the project is completed according to plan in mid-2014, progress will have been made towards improving Limon’s physical fabric and economy. Both the Bank and the government of Costa Rica view the mix of urban upgrades, economic improvements and an increase in local governmental capacity as a necessity for Limon’s long-term vitality both as a center of business and as a site with valuable historic assets.

CONCLUSION

The identification of a decaying or dysfunctional urban environment as the primary barrier standing in the way of Falmouth’s economic development, improved quality of life standards for residents and a sustainable tourism industry has many parallels in a number of World Bank funded historic city regeneration projects. The successful use of such projects

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125 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Project Information Document (PID) Concept Stage, Port-City of Limon Integrated Infrastructure Project.”

126 The urban and cultural revitalization project phase received US$55 million while the other project phases received no more than US$6 million.

127 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Implementation Status & Results Xi’an Sustainable Urban Transport Project.”
to improve urban environments, protect heritage assets, encourage economic development and create sustainable tourism industries should serve as positive precedents for Falmouth. The Bank’s broad-based approach to cultural heritage conservation and economic development should also serve as an example of how the use of a variety of specifically targeted projects within an historic urban area can be used to mitigate a range of complex and seemingly unrelated issues.
The identification of the state of Falmouth’s urban environment as a major barrier to economic vitality led to the investigation and discovery of specific problems or issues affecting the town’s historic core. The issues identified have had or will have a major impact on economic prosperity, quality of life, the development of a sustainable and equitable tourism industry and, in the end, widespread historic preservation efforts. The issues range in both scale and scope and are attributable to a variety of sources. The construction and operation of the cruise terminal plays a direct part in many of the larger scale issues identified such as the isolation of the historic district from the sea and the movement of traditional uses out of the town’s core. Other problems, both large and small, can be blamed on either governmental oversight and mismanagement or, most commonly, the town’s long-term economic weakness. Inadequate or non-existent sidewalk systems, few public gathering spaces, heavy traffic and limited efforts to improve the functionality or aesthetic qualities of the town’s urban
environment came together to create circumstances which contribute, in part, to the ongoing weakness of the town’s economic prospects and created a number of other related problems. The cause and effect of each identified issue – and its relation to economics, preservation, social issues, transportation or the environment - is described, in detail, through a combination of text and graphic illustrations in the following chapter.

**ISOLATION FROM THE SEA**

The design of the cruise terminal worked out very well for RCCL but it greatly altered the physical form and long-established patterns of use within the historic district. Perhaps the terminal’s greatest impact was the alteration of the town’s relationship with the sea. Throughout its history, that relationship had been one of interconnectedness; the sea was a primary reason for Falmouth’s founding and had played an integral part in the development of both its economy and culture. Falmouth’s port had traditionally been centered on Seaboard Street, which was also the edge of the town’s harbor. Private wharfs capped both east and west ends of the street. Seaboard Street had also been home to the town’s public wharf, which existed from 1848 until it was destroyed by a hurricane in 1903. After commercial activity in the port slowed down, the area became home to the town’s principal fishing community (Fig. 5.1).

The construction of the terminal facility altered everything (Fig. 5.2). Before the terminal’s construction the edge of the Caribbean was just yards away from Water Square and the Parish Courthouse. Today, the base of the cruise terminal is centered on Seaboard Street. The street no longer interfaces with the sea and is instead the location of the terminal’s main pedestrian gates. Furthermore, Falmouth’s isolation from the sea continues past the edges of Seaboard Street and the width of the terminal wedge. The port facility extends across the entire width of what had been the town’s harbor, which is now completely enclosed by the facility’s security fence. Access to the terminal is only permitted for employees and cruise passengers. All others must obtain prior authorization and go through a screening process.

The security fence is a permanent fixture of the development.

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128 Ogilvie, *History of the Parish of Trelawny.*
129 Natawah Dixon, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
Fig. 5.1 Seaboard Street before cruise terminal development. Note proximity of parish courthouse to the waterfront and the presence of fishing vessels. Photo courtesy of Falmouth Heritage Renewal.
FIG. 5.2 PRE-TERMINAL SEA ACCESS
When terminal construction began in Falmouth’s harbor all existing functions were shifted out of the project area. The fishing community previously located on Seaboard Street was relocated west and was combined with an existing fishing community located near the All-Age School on Rodney Street. As compensation for the move, new facilities for the fishermen were built at the site.\textsuperscript{131} Recreational activities for residents were also curtailed as part of the terminal project. Easy access to the sea from the historic district is now no longer possible, as the closest beach access is almost five kilometers to the east. Evidencing the continued desire to access the sea, the author did, however, on occasion witness local children climbing over the terminal’s security fence and swimming off of the excursion wharf on the terminal facility’s west end.

**LIMITED CONNECTIONS**

In its current state Falmouth has virtually no pedestrian connectivity system. Sidewalks, where they do exist, are disconnected, narrow and frequently interrupted by utility poles and curb cuts. As a result, getting around the town can be a challenging and sometimes disorienting task. For residents, the process of getting from one place to the next within the historic district can be a slow and inconvenient process. For visitors, the lack of any intelligible pedestrian infrastructure or even street signs can be disquieting and at times dangerous. For residents, connections are limited between the town’s residential areas and its most important commercial and civic districts. For visitors, obvious connections between the cruise terminal and the town’s historic sites and other attractions are nonexistent (Fig. 5.3).

Market Street, as previously acknowledged, has perhaps the town’s most egregious example of inadequate pedestrian facilities. As the town’s busiest commercial area, Market Street teems with people – mostly residents of the town or parish - from early in the morning until well past sunset (Fig. 5.4). The street also serves as the primary connection between the North Coast Highway, Martha Brae and new residential subdivisions to the south of town. Throughout its history Market Street had always bustled with traffic and commercial activity. Despite its longstanding role as a busy thoroughfare, the design of

\textsuperscript{131} Morais, “Falmouth Wharf Construction Now Under Way After Five Years.”
FIG. 5.3 EXISTING SIDEWALK INFRASTRUCTURE AND OPEN DRAINS
example of a lack of sidewalk facilities, the majority of the town’s other primary streets are in no better shape. Tharpe Street, Seaboard Street as well as parts of Lower Harbor Street all have high levels of activity with no protected facilities for pedestrians. As noted in previous sections, government at a variety of levels has begun to make limited efforts to improve the situation. The Water Square improvements started in 2010 included the addition of sidewalks on a small number of streets in-between Water Square and Seaboard Street but their impact was limited because, as part of the overall project, the streets themselves were closed to automobile traffic. Most recently, in the fall of 2012 a resurfacing project was begun on Cornwall Street, which included the addition of sidewalks along the majority of its length.\footnote{Matthew McGill, “Email Message to Author,” January 16, 2013.}

The recent pedestrian infrastructure improvements within the historic district, while appreciated, have been far from adequate. The current situation is an inconvenient, dangerous and increasingly intolerable situation for the town’s residents and a situation that serves, in part, to dissuade tourists from spending significant time within the historic district.\footnote{Yolanda Mittoo, Falmouth of My Childhood (Kingston, Jamaica W.I.: Yolanda N. Mittoo, 2010), 57.}

The arrangement allowed for a designated place for pedestrian activity that was out of the way of the flow of traffic on the street and the open gutter at its edge (Fig. 5.5). Over time, however, building owners began to treat the area under the colonnade as private space and some began to restrict public access. The result was a loss of the majority of the street’s protected pedestrian space. Today, pedestrians primarily navigate Market Street through the gutter along the edge of the roadway but, where possible, still use the few remaining open colonnaded walkways (Fig. 5.6-5.7).

While Market Street represents perhaps the town’s worst example of a lack of sidewalk facilities, the majority of the town’s other primary streets are in no better shape. Tharpe Street, Seaboard Street as well as parts of Lower Harbor Street all have high levels of activity with no protected facilities for pedestrians. As noted in previous sections, government at a variety of levels has begun to make limited efforts to improve the situation. The Water Square improvements started in 2010 included the addition of sidewalks on a small number of streets in-between Water Square and Seaboard Street but their impact was limited because, as part of the overall project, the streets themselves were closed to automobile traffic. Most recently, in the fall of 2012 a resurfacing project was begun on Cornwall Street, which included the addition of sidewalks along the majority of its length.\footnote{Matthew McGill, “Email Message to Author,” January 16, 2013.}
Iquat iriureet, vel et lumsandigna corpercin vel irillutat. Putpat venismo luptat. Ed Fig. 5.5 Remains of the Market Street colonnade. Photo by author.
FIG. 5.6 MARKET STREET SECTION: EXISTING CONDITIONS

1. Closed colonnade force pedestrians out onto street
2. Entire roadway dedicated to automobile traffic
3. Pedestrians share space with automobiles
4. Open drains on street edge
Fig. 5.7 Gutter on Market Street’s edge being used for parking, socializing and informal business transactions. Photo by author.
LACK OF PARKS AND PUBLIC SPACES

Falmouth’s historic district is distinctly lacking in public spaces dedicated to gatherings, events, relaxation and play (Fig. 5.8). Historically, Falmouth’s only dedicated public space was Water Square. The Square itself was created during the years 1799 through 1805 and was originally the site of the town’s fresh water reservoir - which resulted in its name – as well as a detention facility for drunken sailors and other rowdies.134 By 1800, the first iteration of Falmouth’s Sunday market was operating on the Square’s southeast side. In time, the detention facility was demolished and in 1894 a building was constructed to permanently house the public market. In 1954, after 150 years of existence the original reservoir was demolished and replaced with an ornamental fountain.135 In more recent years, the Square has served as both an informal transportation center and as the location of ceremonies and special events (Fig. 5.9).136

During the 2010 pedestrianization and improvement of the Square, the 1950s era fountain was significantly changed through the addition of a base made from local limestone. A limited number of palm trees and benches were installed around the fountain and down both sides of Lower Parade Street (Fig. 5.10). Ostensibly, the goal of the improvements was to provide a public space with amenities that could be utilized by both residents and tourists. However, due to the limited number of tourists staying outside of the terminal’s security fence for more than a few moments, the revitalized Square has failed to live up to its expectations as a place for interactions between visitors and residents.

Despite initial fears to the contrary, the pedestrianized version of Water Square has been highly successful as a public gathering space for residents. During daylight hours, when the sun is brightest, the Square is sparsely used but during the evenings it becomes a place for socializing, relaxation and informal business. On Wednesday and Saturday evenings, after the market closes, the area becomes especially busy as “market people push their carts up [Lower] Parade Street… to sell their product to the people who didn’t make it to the market

135 Ogilvie, *History of the Parish of Trelawny*.
136 Marina Delfos, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I., November 1, 2012.
FIG. 5.8 EXISTING PARKS AND PUBLIC GATHERING SPACES
Fig. 5.9 Water Square before the 2010 pedestrianization. Photo courtesy of Falmouth Heritage Renewal.
Fig. 5.10 Water Square post-pedestrianization. Note new fountain base and sitting walls. Photo by author.
The evening hours also see the emergence of pushcart vendors selling fruit, beverages and cooked food. The Square, however, is not as successful as it could be. The shortcomings, while primarily related to program and design, have had a major effect on the use of the space. The center of the Square is empty during daylight hours primarily because of a lack of shade, which makes the area an uncomfortable place to gather or relax during the day’s hottest hours. Respondents to the voluntary survey complained about the lack of shade and the results can be seen in the number of people who retreat to the cover of buildings along the edge of the Square when the sun becomes too bright (Fig. 5.11). Many others move to a small, heavily shaded area that adjoins the western side of the courthouse to wait out the hottest and brightest hours in a shady place.

Water Square is still Falmouth’s only officially designated public gathering space. In some ways the Square’s status as the sole public space in the historic district is positive because it has contributed to its vibrancy and centrality in the life of the community. It attracts a wide variety of users and activities, which gives the Square and the town’s historic core a lively and active feel. However, if the number of future users increases dramatically – whether residents or tourists – the Square will become insufficient, necessitating the dedication of more public space. (Fig. 5.12).

Falmouth is in a similar position in terms of public park space. The town’s only maintained park is located to the west of Water Square on Rodney Street near the All Age School and Fort Balcarres. The park is located on the former site of the Fort’s old parade ground and is adjacent to the town’s now defunct and unmaintained cricket pitch. In 1854, the former parade ground was transformed into a park and named after the Queen of England. At the time of its creation, Victoria Park was equipped with a bandstand and benches set amongst decorative plantings. Overtime, however, usage rates dropped, maintenance efforts lagged and the

137 Sterling, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
138 See survey results in Appendix
139 Ogilvie, History of the Parish of Trelawny.
140 Victoria Park is also called Uriah Rowe Park, after Falmouth’s first mayor.
Fig. 5.11 Residents seek shade on Water Square's west side. Photo by author.
Fig. 5.12 Pushcart vendors on Lower Parade Street just outside of Water Square. Photo by author.
the opportunity to spend time outside, the lack of public gathering places and parks further contributes to the sense of the historic district as lacking in the most basic comforts and amenities outside of the realm of commercial activity.

TRAFFIC CONGESTION

Automobile traffic and congestion has been a problem in Falmouth for some time. Falmouth’s colonial street grid is neither wide nor extensive enough to handle the volume of traffic that flows through the town every day. In response, several major projects designed to alleviate the town’s traffic problems have been carried out in recent years but have had little effect. Projects included the rerouting of the North Coast Highway 1.5 kilometers south of Falmouth, the pedestrianization of Water Square as well as the institution of a series of one-way streets in areas of the historic district with particularly heavy traffic. Attempts were also made to deal with taxi traffic, which is considered to be one of the major

park gradually sank into a state of disrepair. In 2008, Falmouth Heritage Renewal embarked on a successful campaign to restore the park. During the restoration, the park’s bandstand was reconstructed along with much of the decorative planting and a children’s play area was added. The park was reopened in early 2012 and responsibility for the park was passed over to the Trelawny Parish Council. Sadly, since the council assumed control the park has been closed to the public.

Because of limited park access, Falmouth residents have gone elsewhere for outdoor recreation and other areas have begun to serve park-like functions. The former cricket pitch adjacent to Victoria Park is currently used as an informal football field and exercise area while much of the Elliston Wakeland Center further down Rodney Street is also used for informal play activities.

In addition to denying residents and visitors suitable or sufficient places to relax and gather as a community or

142 Ibid.
143 Muschett, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
144 The Elliston Wakeland Center is the official home of the Jamaican Premier League soccer club Village United and is the largest open space within the historic district. The fields at the Elliston Wakeland Center were resurfaced in 2008. Paul Reid, “Elliston Wakeland Center Should Be Ready by November,” Jamaica Observer [Kingston], August 28, 2008.

remaining causes of traffic congestion in the district (Fig. 5.13). 146

Parked cars, combined with idling taxis along the street edges contribute to the overall level of congestion and feeling of chaos. Efforts to deal with the town’s parking problem resulted in the creation of a municipal parking lot near the courthouse but the lot has had a negligible effect on parking problems.

Still, while the congestion situation in Falmouth is bad for drivers it is worse for pedestrians. In interviews conducted by the author in November 2012, the traffic situation was described on more than one occasion as being unsafe. Pedestrians, in most cases, are forced to fend for themselves. Marina Delfos, owner of a tour company that gives walking tours of the historic district, said that just “getting my guests across [Market Street] is a challenge.” 147 Ivor Conolley, described the experience of “almost being run over” crossing Market Street “by a car....that just came out of nowhere”. 148 Despite the high volume of vehicles on the town’s major streets, there are no traffic calming measures within the historic district and most drivers ignore the few designated crosswalks that do exist.

Current levels of traffic and congestion within the historic district combined with the lack of traffic calming measures and protected crosswalks have created a situation that is unsafe and unpleasant for residents and tourists. As a result, the safety of all is endangered, quality of life standards for residents are lowered and yet another reason for visitors to avoid leaving tourist facilities to spend time in the historic district is created.

MOVING THE MARKET AND TRANSIT CENTER

Falmouth’s open-air market has shifted its location several times over the course of the town’s history. Originally serving as a provisions market for slaves in the pre-emancipation era, the market’s original site was located on open ground in Water Square until the late nineteenth century. In 1894, the Albert George Market building was constructed to serve as a more permanent location for the market. 149 Several decades ago, due in part to its expansion, the market was moved out of Albert George to a location near the intersection of Tharpe

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146 Delfos, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
147 Ibid.
148 Conolley, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
FIG. 5.13 TRAFFIC AND CONGESTION
The market is now called “Bend Down” because many of the vendors display their wares spread out on tarps on the ground requiring buyers to bend down to examine goods before purchase. The market operates primarily on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, although Wednesdays have become its busiest day. Wednesdays are primarily dedicated to the sale of goods such as clothing, toiletries, household items and small appliances. Fridays and Saturdays are “food market” days where a “variety of ground provisions” are sold such as “plantains and bananas, tree crops, vegetables…scallions, thyme and other herbs and spices.”

The market has continued to grow in popularity in recent years and has, over time, become more crowded and congested. Concerns and complaints have arisen over the traffic generated by the flow of vendors and customers as well as the effect that the market’s general air of disorder and chaos has on the town’s center. Concern has also been expressed that the market’s location adjacent to the town center acts as limiter for development in the area. As a result, many have advocated for the market’s relocation. During the design and development of the cruise terminal, planning and preparation for the relocation of the market actually began to take shape. According to RCCL’s development plans, the area currently occupied by Bend Down will eventually become a parking facility for the terminal. Bend Down will be moved to a new location on south Market Street about 1 kilometer from its present location (Fig. 5.14). During the cruise terminal’s design phase, IDEA created preliminary plans for the new market site including its layout and organization. According to IDEA’s plans, vendor types and locations will be highly regulated and very different from the organic yet chaotic nature of the current market. The final decision to move the market was made in 2009 and work on clearing the market’s new site began in 2010. A date for completion of the project and the actual move of the market has not yet been determined.

Plans also exist for moving another important use out...
FIG. 5.14 MOVING BEND DOWN AND THE TRANSIT CENTER
of the center of the historic district. The center of Falmouth’s transportation network has, for many years, operated out of the Water Square area and played an important part in the function of the town. In Jamaica, as in many other countries, the automobile is the most common form of transportation. However, the rate of individual car ownership is relatively low. According to World Bank data, automobile ownership rates in Jamaica are approximately 188 per 1,000 people.\textsuperscript{157} As a result, Falmouth residents rely heavily on privately owned taxis or minibuses. A 2009 study found that seventy nine percent of Falmouth residents use private taxis as their primary mode of transportation.\textsuperscript{158} Taxis are used not only for longer trips between major cities but also for shorter trips within the town and immediate region.\textsuperscript{159}

The local reliance on taxis has, overtime, turned the center of many Jamaican communities into informal transit centers and the results in Falmouth have been no different. Gradually, Water Square was transformed from a gathering and market space for town and parish residents into a transportation center teeming with taxis and minibuses.\textsuperscript{160} The problem was compounded by the fact that taxi drivers traditionally wait until their vehicles are completely full before leaving for their destination. As a result, large numbers of idling, half full vehicles crowd the edges of the Square and surrounding streets while drivers soliciting potential passengers mill about the edges of the roadway. In early 2010, traffic congestion in the Square had reached intolerable levels. In response, a series of decisions were made to attempt to alleviate the problem, culminating in the pedestrianization of Water Square as well as the establishment of a temporary transit center set up in an empty lot on Tharpe Street near the existing site of Bend Down Market.\textsuperscript{161} Current plans now call for the relocation of the temporary transit center to a site adjacent to Bend Down’s new location on south Market Street.

Public reaction to relocating the market and transit

\textsuperscript{157} The World Bank Group, “Motor Vehicles (per 1,000 People);” Motor Vehicles (per 1,000 People), accessed January 6, 2013, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IS.VEH.NVEH.P3.
\textsuperscript{158} Social Development Commission, “Community Profile: Falmouth, Trelawny,” 49.
\textsuperscript{159} Sterling, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
center has been mixed. As mentioned previously, there are many who feel that the relocations will produce positive results in the reduction of traffic and congestion as well as the general level of disorder and chaos in the historic district. But there are also mixed feelings about the move. In 2010, shortly after information was released detailing the relocation, a survey was performed in which respondents were asked how they felt about the market move and the response was one of ambivalence with a noted absence of strong feelings either for or against. In interviews and surveys taken over two years later, the response was also mixed. Those in favor cited the need to reduce traffic congestion, that the current market is too crowded and that it will have to move eventually so that development can occur. Those against the move were concerned about the new location being inconveniently located and too far from town.

The effect of the movement of incompatible yet important uses out of the historic district remains to be seen. One known effect will be the problem of accessing the new site. The difficulty lies in its distance both from Falmouth’s center and its primary residential districts. The new site of the market and transit center will be roughly one kilometer from their current locations and the main access route from the center of Falmouth will be via Market Street. As described previously, Market Street is completely lacking in pedestrian infrastructure and room to walk on the edge of the street, well away from the flow of vehicular traffic, is minimal. On prime market days the flow of shoppers and vendors transiting between the town and the new market site will be heavy. Additionally, a constant, yet somewhat lower, flow of people should be expected as residents and visitors travel between the town and the transit center.

It is quite likely that the move will aid in the reduction of congestion within the historic district, both in terms of automobiles and people. But the full effect of the movement of such vital sources of activity on the town’s urban core remains to be seen. The taxis that congregate around Water Square and Tharpe Street bring a steady flow of people into the center of

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162 The survey, published as part of the Oasis study, asked 207 people how they felt about “the possibility of Bend Down moving.” Respondents answered on a five point Likert Scale with 1 equaling “very bad” and 5 equaling “very good.” The average of the responses was 3.32. Nelson et al., “The Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for Development,” 90.

163 See Appendix for full survey results.
the historic district. On market days the center of Falmouth swarms with people going to and from Bend Down. After the market closes in the evening, vendors roll their pushcarts, laden with wares, up Lower Parade Street to Water Square to continue selling.\textsuperscript{164} Whatever the result, when the market and transit centers are finally moved, the center of the historic district will have lost two generators of local vitality and activity.

**MIGRATING CIVIC USES**

The center of gravity is shifting for other important town functions as well. Almost since the time of Falmouth’s founding the town’s center has had an important function as a locus of government activity. That activity was centered on the Courthouse, built in 1815, which served as the “legal and legislative” center of the parish.\textsuperscript{165} During its early years the Courthouse also played an important social function with its upper chambers serving as venues for social events and celebrations.\textsuperscript{166} Today, the courthouse still functions as the center of government activity in the parish but in recent years the location of many government functions has begun to shift to the historic district’s western side. In 2005, on an undeveloped portion of Falmouth’s original eighteenth century street grid, ground was broken for a new town police station and barracks.\textsuperscript{167} The area, bordered by Victoria, Pitt, Cornwall and Rodney Street is roughly 0.5 kilometers from the town’s center and is located in close proximity to other government functions such as the Falmouth Public Hospital, Trelawny Infirmary, Vehicle Examination Depot, Parish Library and the offices of the UDC (Fig. 5.15). Some government offices have, however, stayed within the town’s core including the Social Development Corporation on Market Street, the offices of the National Works Agency on east Seaboard Street and the Trelawny Parish Council offices on Lower Parade Street.

While government facilities have long been located on the town’s western edge, the continued construction of new facilities outside of the town’s core presents two problems.

\textsuperscript{164} Sterling, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.

\textsuperscript{165} Nelson et al., *Falmouth, Jamaica Field Guide*, 50.

\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.

FIG. 5.15 MIGRATING CIVIC USES

Existing Civic Cluster
New Civic Cluster
Civic Buildings
Primary Access Route
Secondary Access Route

Public Hospital Complex
Examination Depot and Trelawny Infirmary
New Police Station and Barracks
Parish Courthouse
First, the further movement of civic uses to the west may create fewer reasons for town and parish residents to come to the historic district’s center and further reduce its role as a hub of local activity.\(^{168}\) Secondly, there is the issue of access to the new site. Currently, many people access the western half of the historic district by taxi, even when travelling from Water Square or Market Street.\(^{169}\) But for many, the primary access route to the area is by walking down Rodney Street, which, like many streets within the historic district, does not have sidewalk facilities. The result is a steady stream of people walking down the edges of Rodney Street during all hours of the day. The shoulders of Rodney Street, for the most part, consist of a mix of drainage ditches and grass banks which makes pedestrian travel unsafe and convinces many to resort to the use of taxis even for a trip that is often under 0.5 kilometers in length.

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\(^{168}\) The lot on which the new police station and barracks was built is only half occupied, leaving open the possibility of moving additional government services to the site.

\(^{169}\) Conolley, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.

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**COMPETITION FOR FALMOUTH’S COMMERCIAL CORE**

Water Square and Market Street have served as the center of commercial activity within the town for most, if not all, of its existence. During the mid-twentieth century Falmouth’s business district consisted of Water Square and its surrounds as well as along both sides of Market Street, specifically the area in between Cornwall and George Streets.\(^{170}\) Today, Water Square and Market Street serve the same purpose but on a wider scale, providing space for businesses that cater to everyday needs. Market Street is much the same but over time has transitioned from a mix of residential and commercial uses to one that is almost purely commercial. Businesses line the street from White Bridge at the historic district’s southern end all the way to street’s northern terminus. Both Water Square and Market Street serve the local population as well as visitors. In June 2012, North Trelawny’s representative in Parliament, Patrick Atkinson, announced plans to “relocate the commercial center” of Falmouth to a point along south

\(^{170}\) Mittoo, *Falmouth of My Childhood*, 57.
Market Street (Fig. 5.16). However, RCCL and PAJ planning documents confirm the intent of Atkinson’s announcement. However, William Tatham, Vice President for Cruise Shipping for the PAJ, confirmed that neither organization has any concrete plans for the area. “We have not made any decisions” said Tatham in an email correspondence with the author, “and are really just exploring ideas as well as listening to proposals. Some of the ideas we’ve talked about are Big Box retail (hardware stores, supermarkets, etc. To serve [the] surrounding community as well as preserve the town for smaller enterprises).”

If commercial activity does begin to move south, the effect on the historic district will be similar to that of moving other uses out of the core. The most likely effect will be to further drain vitality out of the historic district by encouraging consumers to patronize newer businesses instead of those in the traditional commercial areas. If “big box retail” is attracted to the site as the PAJ suggests than the effect on the locally owned businesses of the town’s traditional commercial sectors could be withering. The PAJ’s desire to preserve the town for “smaller enterprises” by going through with the new commercial area could, however, have the opposite effect and further stifle commercial activity in the town’s core.

Maintaining a connection between the historic district and new commercial development on south Market Street will also be difficult for the same reasons affecting the site of the new market and transit center. Without proper pedestrian facilities on Market Street - which will be the primary road link - making the trip between the historic district and new commercial development will be a dangerous and difficult process.

RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE OUTSKIRTS

Historically, Falmouth’s residential core was located in the town’s center in an area roughly bound by Market, Lower Harbor, Pitt and Duke streets. Over time residential growth spread within the historic district to areas clustered around

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172 John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation.”
173 Tatham, “Email Message to Author.”
174 Trelawny, Cornwall, Lower Harbor, King, Queen, Princess, Newton and Pitt Streets made up the “residential core of historic Falmouth.” Nelson et al., Falmouth, Jamaica Field Guide.
FIG. 5.16 COMMERCIAL MOVEMENT TO THE SOUTH
the south side of Tharpe Street, west Cornwall Street and west Duke Street. In the 1970s, residential development started to occur south of the historic district’s border. By 2009, the developments immediately south of Falmouth known as Race Course, Vanzi Land and Falmouth Gardens had grown into substantial communities containing 712 dwellings. Eventually, additional residential developments such as Hague, located approximately three kilometers south, spread farther outside of the historic district and within the last two years, ever more substantial residential development has begun to take place. Just 1.5 kilometers west of Hague, in the vicinity of the Trelawny Multipurpose Stadium, the housing developments of Florence Hall, Stonebrook Estates and Stonebrook Vista were recently constructed and together contain close to 1,800 dwellings. In 2010, construction began on the most substantial new development in the Falmouth area. The Holland Estates subdivision, located two kilometers south of Falmouth and directly adjacent to Martha Brae, will have upwards of 1,300 dwellings when completed in 2016. The developers designed the housing for the “low to middle income real estate market” which will be geared towards “hotel and other tourism related workers whose numbers are expected to swell (Fig. 5.17).”

While the population of Falmouth proper – roughly the area bound by the historic district – has essentially remained constant for decades, the size of the population living on the town’s outskirts continues to grow. When the Holland Estates project is completed the four most recent developments on the town’s fringe will contain almost three times the number of dwellings that exist within the perimeter of the historic district. The outward migration or resettlement of the population outside of the historic district puts pressure on Falmouth’s core in two ways. First, it works against the town’s best interests by enabling those that are financially able to find inexpensive housing elsewhere. Usually the ability to have a choice of

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175 Ivor Conolley, “Email Message to Author,” January 25, 2013.
177 Ibid., 19.
179 Paula Barrett, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I., November 2, 2012.
FIG. 5.17 RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OUTSIDE OF THE HISTORIC DISTRICT
housing options is positive, but in Falmouth it contributes to a loss of vitality and pulls financial resources out of the town.\textsuperscript{180} Secondly, even though many people live outside of the historic district, its services, jobs and businesses still give reason for those that live on the outskirts to make the trip into the town. The journey, which at present can be safely made only by automobile, contributes, in part, to traffic generation and excessive automobile congestion within the historic district.

\textbf{ENCROACHMENT OF TOURIST FACILITIES}

When the cruise terminal opened in early 2011, it appeared to be a completed project. RCCL planning documents reveal, however, that the existing terminal is only the finish of the first phase. The entire project, as proposed in 2009 and apparently still on track for completion, calls for the terminal project to be completed in three distinct phases. Phase 1 of the project, also known as the “Marine and Upland Development” phase, included the construction of the eleven acre terminal and buildings as well as parking and staging areas.\textsuperscript{181} During Phase 1, use of land outside of the eleven acre terminal included the creation of a boardwalk running from Seaboard Street to Palmetto Point at Fort Balcarres and the eviction of an informal settlement near the town’s dragline drainage system for the creation of the facility’s water treatment plant.

The project’s second phase will focus on the development of “temporary parking and green field sites”.\textsuperscript{182} Parking lots built on the east and west sides of the wharf during Phase 1 will be converted into 61,000 square meters of mixed-use hotel and residential space. The parking areas displaced by Phase 2 will be relocated to the former site of Bend Down Market and the temporary transit center. The plans for Phase 3 are smaller scale and include the redevelopment of several historic warehouses into additional mixed-use residential and commercial space.\textsuperscript{183} The pedestrianization of Water Square, considered to be part of Phase 4 in the preliminary plans, was substantially

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{180} Social Development Commission, “Community Profile: Falmouth, Trelawny,” 18.
\item \textsuperscript{181} Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd., “Historic Falmouth Area Development: Preliminary Submission Diagrams,” 30.
\item \textsuperscript{182} Ibid., 31.
\item \textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 32.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
completed in 2010 during the construction of Phase 1. In addition to project phases under the control of the PAJ and RCCL, the Trelawny Parish Council is under pressure to redevelop empty lots on the south side of Seaboard Street that are directly across from the main pedestrian gates of the terminal. Development on Seaboard Street presents the possibility of having both positive and negative effects. On one hand, Seaboard Street is in desperate need of both infill development and the maintenance or reuse of existing buildings. However, continued tourism related development gives the tourism industry yet another stronghold in the center of the historic district. According to RCCL documents, Phases 2 and 3 are scheduled to be completed by 2014 (Fig. 5.18).

The completion of the terminal’s secondary and tertiary phases, while not occupying a significant amount of additional space within the historic district, will certainly affect the feel of the place and how residents and tourists use it. The biggest effect of Phases 2 and 3 will be to further reduce the historic district’s connection to the sea. In its current form, the level of development and placement of buildings on the terminal at least allows for a limited view of the sea from certain parts of town. After development, new buildings will further restrict views of the sea and the parish courthouse and Seaboard Street will feel even more landlocked (Fig. 5.19). The addition of hotels and residences will also change how the terminal functions. Today the terminal is sometimes referred to as a “pop-up port” because it is only busy on ship days; but the completion of additional phases of development will insure that tourists will occupy the terminal on a much more consistent basis in the future. In some ways the change could economically benefit the town with a more permanent population occupying residential and hotel spaces. However, a more permanent tourist population could have a major effect on the nature, use and authenticity of the core of the historic district by creating an environment that caters only to the needs and wants of visitors while excluding or marginalizing residents.

184 Ibid., 35.
185 John Tercek, “Historic Falmouth Port Project Presentation,” 51.
FIG. 5.18 CRUISE TERMINAL DEVELOPMENT PHASES

Water Square
Parish Courthouse

Development Phase 1
Development Phase 2
Development Phase 3
Terminal Security Fence
Fig. 5.19 View from parish courthouse steps over an area to be built up during Phase 2 of terminal development. Dashed line represents approximate height of a three to four story building. Photo by author.
CONCLUSION

Falmouth’s historic district is facing a number of complex issues that, when taken together, result in an urban environment that functions poorly for all users. As a result, the historic district’s current condition holds the town back from its true potential. Some of the problems Falmouth faces are due to the opening of the cruise terminal and the accompanying changes. The terminal also exposed or exacerbated existing issues. The town’s lack of sidewalks, parks, public gathering spaces and other amenities play a significant part in lowering quality of life standards for residents, discourages visitors from fully engaging with the historic district and, in part, encourages a lack of investment in the historic core. The state of the town’s urban environment must be modified promptly in order to keep the town from being further bypassed, forgotten and underappreciated by the local population or turned over to the cruise and tourism industries and transformed into something completely divorced from its historic past. What follows are a series of specific recommendations, based upon the identified issues, designed to improve the town’s urban environment, mitigate negative changes and enhance quality of life in the interest of revitalizing the town’s economy while opening the way to the widespread and long-term preservation of the town’s historic resources.
Based on the infrastructural, public space and connectivity issues identified in the previous chapter a series of proposed recommendations were developed to aid in the creation of conditions ideal for building a sustainable economy in Falmouth and, in turn, lead to greater efforts to preserve and maintain the town’s historic assets. The recommendations also help to improve quality of life standards for residents, enhance the town’s unique sense of place, mitigate negative changes occurring within the historic district as a result of the construction of the cruise terminal and create a welcoming and attractive environment for visitors.

The proposed recommendations are divided into roughly three categories: connectivity solutions; improvements and additions to the town’s public spaces and green infrastructure; and the softening of the urban environment through the use of targeted amenities. Proposed connectivity solutions include a wide range of ideas designed to provide for, or improve, non-motorized connections between the
between maximum functionality and the preservation of historic form wherever possible so as to give Falmouth the benefit of an urban core that is both user-friendly and historically appropriate.

In the end, the proposed recommendations for Falmouth's historic district were not meant to be ground breaking. They were, however, designed to effectively and realistically improve conditions that serve as barriers to economic vitality and livability. Because many of the recommendations are difficult to adequately explain through text alone, each recommendation is paired with diagrams or maps illustrating proposed solutions or mitigation strategies.

**REC. 1 | SIDEWALK INFRASTRUCTURE**

Of all of Falmouth's infrastructural deficiencies, the lack of a comprehensive sidewalk network within the historic district has the greatest effect both on the town's livability and its attraction to visitors. Jan Gehl, in his influential book *Cities for People*, wrote that the ideal distance for people to walk between destinations is approximately 500 meters and that the most successful cities are
scaled in such a way as to make that possible.\textsuperscript{187} Unsurprisingly, Falmouth’s historic district is scaled in a similar manner and most of the destinations within it are located less than 500 meters from its center. For example, the approximate distance from the cruise terminal’s pedestrian entrance on Seaboard Street to the parish church on Duke Street is roughly 550 meters, while the distance from the Water Square to Fort Balcarres is 490. Ideally, a comprehensive sidewalk network for the historic district should stretch from the edge of the cruise terminal on Seaboard Street to Half Moon Bay and from Fort Balcarres to the old cemetery on the historic district’s southern edge. It should enable residents and visitors to quickly and efficiently perambulate about the district while creating an environment that feels safe, comfortable and conducive to travelling on foot.

The network, in terms of its coverage, should line as many of the town’s streets as are wide enough to accommodate the addition of sidewalk infrastructure without unnecessarily impeding other functions. Prioritized connections should be established between prime commercial areas, residential districts and major historic sites. Other important features such as the new civic center and Public Hospital on Rodney Street should also be given highest priority. Given budgeting and time constraints the sidewalk network should be completed in phases, while maintaining an emphasis on connectivity. The initial phase of the project should include the town’s minor arterial and collector roads that are currently the least comfortable and dangerous for pedestrians to navigate.\textsuperscript{188} These include Market, Tharpe, Duke and Seaboard streets. Secondary and tertiary phases of the project should then focus on residential streets or areas with lower vehicular and pedestrian traffic (Fig. 6.1).

In an ideal situation, all of the sidewalks within the town’s historic district should follow commonly accepted sidewalk guidelines in terms of general width and placement to allow for maximum functionality. For example, sidewalks on the town’s minor arterial and collector roads should measure between 2 and

\begin{itemize}
  \item Jan Gehl, \textit{Cities for People}, 1st ed. (Island Press, 2010), 121.
  \item Minors arterials are defined as “continuous routes through urban areas… [which] contain most of a city’s commercial and institutional uses.” Collector streets are defined as “minor tributaries, gathering traffic from numerous smaller (local) streets and delivering it to and from minor arterials.” American Planning Association, Frederick R. Steiner, and Kent Butler, \textit{Planning and Urban Design Standards} (Wiley, 2006), 226.
\end{itemize}
FIG. 6.1 PROPOSED SIDEWALK NETWORK

Primary Phase
Secondary Phase
2.5 meters in width to account for a higher number of users and the variety of activities taking place in those areas. Conversely, sidewalk width on secondary streets or within residential districts should be no more than 1.5 meters. However, the idiosyncratic nature of the town’s streets, with their wide variation in widths, building types and level of usage, will require some creativity when considering sidewalk design. Additionally, a balance should be struck between creating facilities that are highly functional and attractive to users while minimizing the effect on the town’s historic streetscapes. For example, Market Street, as mentioned earlier, was originally developed in such a way as to provide some shelter for pedestrians through building typology and thus eliminating the necessity of sidewalks. Retroactively installing sidewalks on Market Street is critically important but their design should be as unobtrusive as possible to avoid reducing or detracting from the aesthetic and feel of the historic streetscape. As such, sidewalk materials should be unobtrusive or similar to other historic paving materials used in the district. Any additional amenities such as street furniture should blend well with the local aesthetic. If street trees are used on Market Street varieties should be chosen that provide some shade but are not so voluminous as to hide the façades and details of the street’s historic buildings. Additionally, in the interest of reducing the burden on Falmouth’s already low functioning drainage system, new sidewalk surfaces should, where possible, be made of a permeable or semi-permeable material.

The addition of infrastructural improvements to Falmouth’s streets should also be prioritized based on their historical value, economic importance to the town or level of use. Both Market Street and Seaboard Street are two areas with historic value, economic potential and high level of use. As mentioned previously, Market Street is both Falmouth’s busiest commercial area and home to one of the densest concentrations of historic buildings in the historic district. Naturally, the street is a major destination for locals and will be, in an ideal future, the same for tourists. Fieldwork performed over the summer

190 Maintaining adequate width is an important consideration when designing sidewalk facilities, as it is often a determiner of both functionality and eventual usage rates. American Planning Association, Steiner, and Butler, Planning and Urban Design Standards, 219.
of 2012 revealed that Market Street is between eleven and thirteen meters wide for its entire length within the historic district, which is more than wide enough for sidewalk facilities. The generous width of the street will allow for retaining two 3.5 meter travel lanes and one two meter parking lane while adding sidewalks on both sides of the street that vary in width from 1.5 to two meters (Fig. 6.2-6.3). To accommodate sidewalk infrastructure, it is strongly suggested that parking be removed from one side of the street. Any sidewalk improvements on Market Street should also be combined with efforts to bury or cover existing open drains that exist along the street edge. Seaboard Street should also receive immediate attention due to its historic importance, proximity to some of the town’s most important historic sites and its role as the gateway into the historic district from the cruise terminal. During the 2010 Water Square improvements, some attention was paid to portions of Seaboard Street. Sidewalks were installed along a section of the southern edge of the street as well as along a limited portion of its northern side flanking the terminal gates. However, most of the north side was left without pedestrian facilities. Based on the location and role that Seaboard Street plays, sidewalks should be extended along the entire northern edge of the street from Market all the way to Tharpe Street. Site measurements confirmed sufficient room for the installation of a 1.5 meter sidewalk while maintaining adequate widths for travel lanes. Sidewalk construction should be combined with efforts to repair and cover the open, stagnant drain that also runs along the street’s north side. The addition of a sidewalk that runs the length of Seaboard Street will provide a clear path into the historic district for visitors leaving the cruise terminal and walking either west to the Parish Courthouse, Baptist Manse and Barrett House attractions or east to the Phoenix Foundry. Residents will also be able to use the sidewalk to safely access the courthouse from Market Street.

The provision of a sidewalk network that provides adequate connectivity between different parts of the historic district will have an important effect on encouraging residents and visitors to connect to or explore different parts of town.
FIG. 6.2 MARKET STREET PROPOSED SIDEWALK DETAIL

1. Raised crosswalks at major intersections slow traffic and protect pedestrians
2. Street trees and benches provide opportunities for public repose
3. Two 3.5 meter travel lanes
4. 1.5 - 2 meter sidewalks, wider in places depending upon building edges
5. 2 meter parking lane
6. Curb extensions or bulbouts shorten crossing distance for pedestrians and slow traffic
FIG. 6.3 MARKET STREET SECTION: PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS

1. 1.5 - 2 meter sidewalks, wider in places depending upon building edges

2. Curb extensions reduce total street width to 7 meters at major intersections

3. Street trees and benches placed at intervals

4. Two 3.5 meter travel lanes

5. Sidewalk improvements cover formerly exposed drains
Considering the low level of individual car ownership in Jamaica as well as the relative proximity of new development, improved options for walking or bicycling are proposed as the ideal method for establishing or retaining connections between the historic district and new development on the outskirts. The creation of a network of multi-use paths will also be cost effective while reducing traffic congestion and carbon dioxide emissions. Additionally, the use of multi-use paths within the historic district will enhance the effectiveness of planned sidewalk and green infrastructure improvements.

The ideal multi-use path should be between 2.5 and 3.5 meters in width and, if paralleling a roadway, should be separated by a natural buffer such as a swale or other catchment facility designed to manage surface water runoff (Fig. 6.4).

The primary multi-use path within the proposed system will run parallel to Market Street from the southern border of the historic district all the way to the hamlet of Martha Brae. The

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193 The use of swales at the edge of a multi-use path addresses several goals simultaneously. They create an additional buffer between motorized and non-motorized traffic, manage surface water effectively and can be aesthetically pleasing. American Planning Association, Steiner, and Butler, *Planning and Urban Design Standards*, 261.
FIG. 6.4 TYPICAL MULTI-USE PATH SECTION

1. Path surface angled slightly to facilitate drainage
2. Path width between 2.5 and 3.5 meters
3. Ideal path surface either asphalt or concrete slab
4. Swale separates roadway and path and mitigates surface water runoff
5. Road surface
path will provide a connection for residents and visitors between the historic district, the relocated market, commercial center and transit center locations, as well as several communities beyond. Primary multi-use paths should be at least 3.5 meters wide to accommodate heavier pedestrian use, non-motorized vehicles and vendors hauling pushcarts between Water Square and the new market location. The path should be paved either with asphalt, concrete slab or similar product with a relatively low surface resistance. The Market Street path should ideally run along both sides of the road to accommodate north and southbound users. Residents of the historic district will be able to use the path to safely access new development outside of the district as well as transit between Falmouth and Martha Brae without having to resort to the use of taxis or other automobiles. Tourists will also have a clear route to the new market area, which is considered by RCCL to have the potential to be one of the town's primary tourist attractions. Additionally, future development in Martha Brae will only increase the need for the path as the major residential development at Holland Estates is completed and a satellite campus of the University of Technology, Jamaica opens in the area in the coming years.

Many segments of the proposed path system are designed to mesh with and enhance the recommended ribbon parks. One such path is proposed to run parallel to the dragline, bordered by the ribbon park and extending from Half Moon Bay to Upper Harbor Street. As a secondary path, its width should be between 2.5 and three meters. The proposed path will provide an alternative east-west connection for residents living in informal settlements along the dragline as well as for residents of the neighborhoods to the south. The path's connections to the cruise terminal, Market Street and natural amenities and attractions such as Half Moon Bay and the mangrove swamps will ideally create a connectivity option that is attractive to a wide variety of users (Fig. 6.5).

194 Materials used to pave multi-use paths in Falmouth, especially those paralleling Market Street should be surfaced with as smooth a material as possible so as to facilitate the easy movement of heavy, small-wheeled vehicles such as pushcarts. Pushcarts typically have a wheel diameter of fifteen centimeters or less and when heavily loaded are difficult to push over rough or uneven surfaces.

FIG. 6.5 MULTI-USE PATH NETWORK WITHIN THE HISTORIC DISTRICT
The longest segment of the proposed multi-use path system runs along the coastline from Half Moon Bay to the community of Rock. At almost five kilometers in length, the path serves several important purposes. First, it provides much needed connections and opportunities for access to the sea and new park facilities. Secondly, the path opens up a primary, safe and direct access route to new civic development taking place on the western side of the historic district. The extension of the coastline path to Rock will allow another protected connection for area residents travelling from the east into Falmouth as well as providing for connections to tourist attractions such as the bioluminescent lagoon near Rock. In an ideal situation, the path should extend through the cruise terminal without interruption. As one of several barriers standing in the way of the coastline path, the feasibility of that segment of the path will depend on the opening of the terminal to the public.196 Another barrier to this segment is the current state of the bridge over the Martha Brae River. Preliminary terminal plans brought into question the suitability of the current bridge for tour bus and other traffic heading to the cruise terminal.197 If the bridge does have to be rebuilt or significantly upgraded then specifications should require sufficient widening for the inclusion of a dedicated lane for use by pedestrians or non-motorized users.

When completed, the multi-use path system will form a ring around the historic district and provide connections to points within the district as well as to outlying communities and developments beyond (Fig. 6.6). The system will provide access to historic sites, natural amenities, residential areas and tourist facilities while enabling a variety of users to access the historic district quickly, safely and without the use of the automobile.

REC. 3 | PUBLIC TRANSIT SYSTEM

As Falmouth spreads out and grows it will become increasingly necessary to find transportation solutions that are faster than walking or riding a bicycle, can transport a high

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196 According to RCCL representatives, the goal is to eventually open the cruise terminal up to the public and have a "smooth transition from port to town" but at the moment no definite plans exist for opening the terminal. Rhoden, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.

FIG. 6.6 REGIONAL MULTI-USE PATH NETWORK
volume of passengers and yet exist outside of the realm of taxis and minibuses. The proposed solution is the institution of a looped public transit system that provides a fast, direct and inexpensive connection between new development on south Market Street and the rest of the historic district. The proposed system will also provide connections to destinations within the historic district such as major historic sites, the Public Hospital and civic complex as well as the cruise terminal. Both residents and tourists should be encouraged to use the system for activities as varied as shopping at Bend Down Market, travelling to a doctor’s appointment at the Public Hospital or for tourists seeking connections to historic sites from the terminal. (Fig. 6.7)

The planned transit system should run on a continuous loop with a set number of established stops. Fares should be kept at the lowest rate possible so that the system can compete with the already low fares charged by taxis for trips of a similar length. In its initial phases, due to the need for a low-cost and efficient implementation, the transit system should be based on buses or small trolleys that run on traditional fuels such as diesel, gasoline or compressed natural gas. However, later iterations of the system should focus on reducing environmental impacts by switching, if possible, to vehicles powered by electricity either from batteries or overhead electric wires. The transit system is not designed to compete with existing trolley tours operated by RCCL. Instead it will allow for potential passengers to have multiple options when choosing how to get around the town and will further encourage free form use of the historic district by tourists.

Though not part of the historic urban infrastructure, the introduction of a transit system will have a positive affect on the historic district by helping to further mitigate the negative effects of the movement of uses outside of the town center while further reducing traffic congestion. Residents and visitors will be provided with a low-cost and convenient way to travel between disparate points.

**REC. 4 | TRAFFIC CONTROLS AND PARKING**

Some of the traffic problems in the historic district will certainly be mitigated by the relocation of the transit center to south Market Street and the enforcement of regulations banning taxis from congregating in the urban core. However, congestion
FIG. 6.7 PUBLIC TRANSIT SYSTEM
issues within the district are unlikely to be completely solved by the removal of transportation services. In the interest of creating an environment that is pedestrian friendly, a variety of traffic calming measures should be employed within the historic district to insure pedestrian safety and reduce disruptions caused by automobiles (Fig. 6.8). Measures should include raised crosswalks, speed bumps or a variety of textured surfaces such as have already been used in some of the pedestrianization improvements in the Water Square area. In busier areas, raised crosswalks are particularly effective for both traffic control and the protection of pedestrians. Raising a crosswalk by as little as fifteen centimeters increases the pedestrian’s visibility and transforms the crosswalk into something akin to a speed bump. Curb extensions or bulbouts can also be used at busier intersections to narrow travel lanes, which effectively slows traffic, and reduces distances at pedestrian crossings. At intersections with lower levels of automobile and pedestrian use, painted crosswalks can be an effective and low cost solution. The installation of traffic calming devices should proceed in tandem with the construction of sidewalk infrastructure. Initially the town’s most heavily used streets - Market, Duke, Tharpe and Seaboard - should be the primary focus. Raised crosswalks are recommended for use at major intersections along the length of Market Street and on Seaboard Street in front of the Parish Courthouse. Less invasive measures such as speed bumps, textured pavement or painted crosswalks are recommended for use on Duke and Tharpe Streets.

Another method for calming traffic in the historic district is to further reduce the number of automobiles coming into the center of the district. As mentioned in the previous chapter, on-street parking options are available on most of Falmouth’s streets and a municipal parking lot is located across Seaboard Street from the courthouse. As a result, parked cars add to the confusion and clutter of much of the historic district and take space away from areas that could be dedicated to pedestrian uses. In a further effort to reduce the negative presence and effect of automobile congestion, two additional municipal parking lots or structures should be established at the new

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198 American Planning Association, Steiner, and Butler, Planning and Urban Design Standards, 239.
199 Sucher, City Comforts, 141.
FIG. 6.8 TRAFFIC CONTROLS AND PARKING SOLUTIONS

- Expanded Parking Facilities
- Raised Crosswalks
- Proposed Sidewalk Network
- Proposed Multi-Use Path Network
transit center on Market Street and on a portion of the lot occupied by the new police station and barracks. At the same time, parking options in the Water Square area should be cut back and use of the existing municipal lot should be restricted to those with business at the courthouse. Users of the new parking lots will retain easy access to Water Square, Market Street and other parts of the historic district through the use of sidewalks, multi-use paths or through the proposed looped transit system.

The introduction and use of traffic calming measures and changes in parking options will go a long way towards creating an environment in which pedestrians feel both comfortable and safe and will create the necessary conditions for increased use of the town’s historic district at the slower rate of travel afforded by walking. Consolidating parked cars in strategically located parking facilities will further lower traffic levels on Falmouth’s narrow streets as well enhancing view’s of the town’s historic streetscapes by reducing visual clutter.

REC. 5 | PUBLIC SPACE IMPROVEMENTS AND ADDITIONS

Public space in Falmouth has traditionally served as a place for commercial activity, special events and socializing. Today it serves roughly the same purpose. Historically, Water Square was the town’s only public gathering space and the situation has remained the same even after the opening of the cruise terminal and the expected influx of tourists. Today, the lack of public gathering spaces contributes to the oft-heard complaint that Falmouth lacks “attractions” or destinations either for residents or tourists. As Falmouth continues to change, whether as a result of a rapidly expanding tourism industry or through increased local use, the current situation will quickly become untenable. In the interest of creating an environment in which the town’s core remains a key destination and center of the community, existing public spaces should be improved or expanded and additional spaces created. Three specific areas were identified as ideal additional public spaces within the historic district. Descriptions of their design, function and location follow.

When Water Square was pedestrianized in 2010, only the northern half of the Square was significantly altered while the southern half was left virtually unchanged. The unfinished half of the Square presents perhaps the easiest and least expensive
option Falmouth has for effectively doubling its dedicated public space. When designing improvements for Water Square’s southern half, several factors need to be taken into account. First, as the area’s primary use is as the town’s primary location for large events, ceremonies and performances, a large open space, free of obstructions, needs to be maintained in its center while allowing for clear access from Market and Duke streets. Secondly, the area’s currently unimproved edges should be softened with a variety of shade trees and benches that provide users of the space – whether pedestrians or pushcart vendors - with the opportunity to avoid direct sunlight in the hot climate and places to sit. Additionally, a low profile water feature or fountain – roughly following the same path as the original pipe carrying fresh water from Martha Brae – is suggested as a permanent focal point for the middle of the open space. The water feature could serve both as an attraction and as a method to further interpret the important history of Falmouth’s revolutionary piped water system and the important place that it occupies in the town’s history.\textsuperscript{200} Completing the changes to Water Square, while designing around the area’s varying uses, will result in a dynamic and welcoming space and enable the Square to continue serving as the town’s most significant public space and center of activity (Fig. 6.9).

The area surrounding the parish courthouse should also be considered for upgrades or redesigned to expand its capabilities as a public space. On its western side, a small, park-like space currently exists with shade trees and small tables. On the building’s eastern side there is additional green space, which is not currently configured for public use. The courthouse itself has a rich history as the center of civic life in Falmouth and an important social outlet for the town. Today it is still a center of activity. However, as a result of changes to the town’s traffic pattern and increased taxi and tour bus traffic stemming from the cruise terminal, traffic has increased significantly on the streets that ring the building. Recommendations for improving the area in the vicinity of the courthouse include the use of

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\textsuperscript{200} The water feature should be flush with grade so as to further minimize any obstructions that could disrupt the area’s use as a location for large events and celebrations.
FIG. 6.9 COMPLETING THE WATER SQUARE IMPROVEMENTS

1. Provision of additional seating areas encourages greater use of public spaces.

2. Water feature provides a focal point and an opportunity to creatively interpret the Square’s history.

3. Large deciduous trees provide additional shade along the Square’s edges.

4. Addition of street trees along the run up to Duke Street will provide shelter to vendors and users passing between the Square and Market Street.
controls to slow traffic on the streets around the building, the replacement of select parking spaces with dedicated pedestrian space, the improvement of the small open space on the building’s east side and the careful use of shade trees and seating options that will provide comfort without significantly detracting from the building’s iconic façades (Fig. 6.10). Transforming the building’s surrounds into dedicated public space will enhance its status as the center of the town’s civic life and maintain its position as a place of social significance.

Seaboard Street, which is both historically rich and the primary gateway into the town for most visitors, is, in many ways, in terrible condition. Buildings in varying states of decay, open drains, vacant lots and the town’s public bathroom are the first sites that greet visitors as they emerge from the gates of the cruise terminal for an excursion into town. One potential solution to many of Seaboard Street’s ills could be the construction of a “gateway” space that welcomes visitors and aids in the interpretation of Falmouth’s maritime history. A possible location for the proposed space could be the empty lot in front of the town’s sanitary convenience, which is also directly across from the terminal’s primary pedestrian gate (Fig. 6.11). The transformation of the lot into a public space would be relatively simple. Ideally, an unobtrusive screen wall should be erected between the sanitary convenience and the space. The use of low walls around the lot’s perimeter will serve to delineate the space and provide additional seating options for users. Abundant shade from large deciduous trees combined with benches will make for an inviting destination and should be combined with signage or displays interpreting the site’s history (Fig. 6.12). The end result of a public space on Seaboard Street will be to provide an area that both residents and visitors can enjoy, further interpret the town’s history, beautify the entry sequence into the historic district and provide an initial destination for visitors.

The key role of public spaces in Falmouth should be to encourage the continued use of the historic district and contribute to the maintenance of its central role in the life of the town. Public spaces should be clean and attractive while avoiding sterilization or removal of the character that makes Falmouth unique. For residents, public spaces often serve as a “physical articulation of [the] community” because of the
FIG. 6.10 COURTHOUSE AS PUBLIC GATHERING SPACE

1. Raised crosswalk in front of courthouse to slow traffic and create a safer environment for pedestrians. Additional raised crosswalks on Market Street in approach to the courthouse.

2. Improvement and addition of seating areas within popular existing public space.

3. Removal of nine parking spots and replacement with public space. Shade trees optional although care should be taken not to detract from the building’s facade.

4. Functionality improvements to space on the building’s southeast side.
Fig. 6.11 Empty lot in front of the Seaboard Street sanitary convenience. Photo by author.
1. Screen wall between sanitary convenience and the space separates incompatible uses and allows for the option of an interpretive display on Seaboard Street’s history.

2. Benches organized along the south wall and under the trees allow for relaxed public gatherings.

3. Deciduous trees provide abundant shade.

4. Low sitting walls delineate the edge of the space and provide opportunities for repose.
role that they play in maintaining personal and professional bonds.\textsuperscript{201} One interview subject stated that “in Jamaica [people] are very liberal about where they socialize. In other places, it could be considered loitering but in Jamaica [public places are] an extension of our living rooms.”\textsuperscript{202} Additional public spaces will serve as added destinations within the historic district and as a catalyst for attracting higher numbers of tourists and residents who live outside of the district. A higher number of users, whether residents or visitors, will have an impact on both the historic district’s economy and the maintenance of its central and authentic role even during periods of major change.

**REC. 6 | GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE**

Despite its pristine location sandwiched between the Caribbean Sea to the north and lush tropical forests and mangrove swamps to the south, Falmouth lacks significant public green space or opportunities for residents or visitors to easily access and appreciate the natural environment. In order to provide a connection to nearby natural amenities and create opportunities for outdoor recreation, efforts should be made to develop a system of green infrastructure within the historic district. Green infrastructure is defined as “an interconnected green space network that is planned and managed for its natural resource values and the associated benefits it confers to human populations.”\textsuperscript{203} A wide-ranging and well-designed green infrastructure network in Falmouth will be dynamically beneficial by re-establishing the town's connection to the Caribbean at multiple locations, providing additional park spaces and enabling access to the bordering mangrove swamps just south of the historic district’s borders (Fig. 6.13).

As with many of the recommendations included in this document, the creation of the various elements that will make up the town’s green infrastructure network should be prioritized according to importance. Holding top priority should be the refurbishment of existing open or park space within the historic district. The Trelawny Parish Council should immediately open Victoria Park to the public and utilize it as an additional historical

\textsuperscript{202} Harding, interview by author, Falmouth, Jamaica, W.I.
\textsuperscript{203} Benedict and McMahon, *Green Infrastructure*, 3.
Fig. 6.13 Green Infrastructure Network

- Elliston Wakeland Center
- Palmetto Point
- Halfmoon Bay
- Dragline Path
- Existing Park Space
- Green Infrastructure Network
- Activity Symbols

FIG. 6.13 GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE NETWORK
The system should be expanded further through the use of ribbon parks or green corridors. Ribbon parks will provide natural connections between established park locations as well as expanded access to natural amenities bordering the historic district. The proposed seaside ribbon park would extend from Half Moon Bay in the west to the current site of the Trelawny Examination Depot. At approximately one kilometer in length, the park could be utilized for swimming, exercise or relaxation and provide an additional environmental buffer between Rodney Street and the sea. The second proposed ribbon park location would parallel the town's dragline or earth drain system that follows the southern edge of the historic district. The process of creating a ribbon park in this area would be much more challenging than the seaside park but would be equally beneficial for the town. The proposed ribbon park along the dragline, at just over 1.5 kilometers in length, would cut across the base of the historic district from the dragline's western terminus at Half Moon Bay to its eastern terminus at Upper Harbor Street. Before the park can be constructed the dragline will need to be substantially improved because of its consistent malfunction.
Efforts will require the removal of trash and excessive mangrove growth as well as the dredging of the drain's channel to reestablish a proper rate of flow. Additional work will be required to manage contamination flowing into the dragline from the informal communities that line a large portion of its banks (Fig. 6.14).

The establishment of a green infrastructure system in Falmouth will provide substantial benefits for the historic district, its residents and visitors. Seaside parks will reintroduce opportunities for residents to access the sea. The creation of green corridors will tie the park system together, envelope the historic district and aid in the creation of a better quality of life through easier access to the natural world. Efforts to create a better quality of life in the town will also play a part in attracting new residents and foster a greater level of appreciation for the historic district. For visitors, a green infrastructure system will provide a number of additional recreational attractions and serve as another reason to venture out of the cruise terminal and into the historic district.

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**REC. 7 | PUBLIC SPACE BEAUTIFICATION**

Public space beautification initiatives should be undertaken in conjunction with many of the other proposed recommendations. The steady loss of trees in the historic district, a near total lack of options for public repose, exposed drains and the chaotic placement of utilities have, over time, adulterated many of the more pleasant aspects of the historic district’s aesthetic and aided in the creation a harsh urban environment. When French artist Adolphe Duperly produced a series of lithographs of Falmouth in the 1840s his images showed a town with an intact and flourishing collection of urban trees (Fig. 6.15). Duperly’s image of Duke Street in particular illustrated the sheer number of trees growing right in the town’s core. Over time, however, the majority of the trees within the historic district have disappeared leaving few outside of the handful of palms gracing the center of the recently improved Water Square. The great landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted called urban trees the “lungs

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Fig. 6.14: The dragline drainage system running along the south side of the historic district is, in its current state, stagnant and contaminated. Photo by author.
Fig. 6.15 Adolphe Duperly’s 1844 lithograph of Falmouth showing Duke Street and the former proliferation of urban trees. Image courtesy of Falmouth Heritage Renewal.
the historic district should focus on electrical utilities and the town's malfunctioning drainage system. The issues of unsightly electrical utilities and low functioning and unsightly drainage systems were brought up many times during interviews and surveys as well as in previous preservation and redevelopment plans. In addition to making many of the town's streets more visually appealing, the efforts, at least in terms of electrical utilities, will also help make possible a return to the aesthetic of a more traditional or historic streetscape. The town has several options for dealing with electrical utilities and drainage systems including burying or consolidating overhead wires and covering exposed drainage facilities during sidewalk improvements.

IDENTIFICATION OF POTENTIAL FUNDING MECHANISMS

One of the primary keys to implementing any of the recommendations contained in this document will be obtaining sufficient funding. Because of issues of cost and scale, the implementation of the proposed recommendations will most likely require the creative assembly of a variety of different funding mechanisms. The funding mechanisms

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207 David Sucher, *City Comforts: How to Build an Urban Village*, Revised (City Comforts Inc., 2003), 40.
proposed in this document are, for the most part, conservative, feasible and based on programs that are already in existence. Nevertheless, the recommendations do in some cases advocate changes to existing programs or revenue streams to either increase their scope or make them more effective. If the goal of the Jamaican government is to make “Falmouth a world class destination and beacon of urban and regional planning” then there should be little opposition to redirecting additional funds towards the town, which is rapidly becoming one of the island’s premier tourist destinations.  

One of the most promising funding sources, and one which has already been used to fund pre-cruise terminal beautification and pedestrianization projects in Falmouth, is the PetroCaribe Development Fund. The Fund was made possible through the establishment of the PetroCaribe Agreement, of which Jamaica became a signatory in 2005. The agreement joins thirteen Caribbean nations and the state of Venezuela together in an alliance based on the petroleum resources market.

Signatory nations are given the opportunity to buy Venezuelan oil at market rates but pay only a small portion of the product’s total cost up front. Signatory nations are then given the option to repay the difference over a period of twenty five years at an interest rate of one percent. The agreement, however, specifies that the money saved must be used on initiatives and projects that, among other things, “upgrade the social and physical infrastructure of Jamaica” and “stimulate economic expansion directly, through modernization and retooling of sectors which either earn or save foreign currency.” In Jamaica, funds saved as a result of the agreement are directed into and dispersed through the country’s PetroCaribe Development Fund, which, by 2012, had amassed roughly US$1.5 billion, or J$920 billion.

In 2012, north Trelawny’s representative in Parliament Patrick Atkinson announced that J$500 million from the Development Fund would be dedicated to beautifying Falmouth.


211 Arthur Hall, “PetroCaribe Fund To Be Used For Development,” The Gleaner [Kingston], April 28, 2011; As of March 2013, the exchange rate between Jamaican and U.S. dollars was 95.28 to 1.
in the interest of “cleaning up the town… for its citizens and for the new influx of visitors.”212 Some of the dedicated funds are marked for use in beautification efforts, drainage improvements and the construction of the market and transport center on south Market Street.213 The funding of a limited number of projects in Falmouth is laudable and will certainly help to improve the town’s urban environment. But, in the end, the current level of funding, which equals just over US$5 million at current exchange rates, will not be enough to accomplish all of the projects suggested here. If the national government is serious about creating conditions in which Falmouth is truly able to prosper as a tourist destination while maintaining its authenticity, character and some vestige of its history, then a much larger financial commitment should be made. To make matters more uncertain, the death of the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez, in March 2013 cast doubt on how much longer the PetroCaribe Agreement could be counted on as a future source of funding for projects in Falmouth in particular and in Jamaica as a whole.214

Nevertheless, there are other potential sources of funding outside of the PetroCaribe Fund. With total cruise passenger arrivals approaching 1.5 million a year, the Jamaican government is in a position to drastically increase available funds by raising the existing “head tax” on incoming tourists.215 While the tax is already imposed on each arriving visitor – whether by cruise ship or airplane – it has been kept artificially low for cruise passengers. At US$2, the rate for cruise passengers is strikingly low especially when compared to the US$20 imposed on visitors arriving by air. Despite this preferential treatment, the cruise industry has refused to pay even such a minimal head tax and, as a result, now reportedly owes the Jamaican government roughly US$12 million in unpaid taxes.216 The head taxes collected from both the airline and cruise industries are supposed to provide funds for the Tourism Enhancement

212 “Multimillion-Dollar Facelift for Falmouth.”
213 Ibid.
215 Port Authority of Jamaica, “Statistical Publication 2012.”
Fund which in turn provides funding for projects that help to improve the nation’s tourism industry and destinations.\textsuperscript{217}

In the interest of funding improvement projects in major tourism destinations like Falmouth, the head tax for cruise passengers should be increased to something comparable to the rate paid by the airline industry. The government is, however, in a difficult position. Any increase in the head tax is likely to incur the wrath of the cruise industry, which holds a position of power in Jamaica as in many other Caribbean countries. In 1999, an effort by the government of Grenada to impose a US$1.50 head tax to fund the construction of a regional waste management facility ended with Carnival Cruise Lines boycotting the island as a destination.\textsuperscript{218} The power held by the cruise industry should not deter the government from seeking to raise head tax rates as even a minimal increase could provide a drastic rise in funds available to communities in need. Furthermore, the government should leverage Jamaica’s popularity as a port-of-call to collect past due head taxes from the industry.

Higher head taxes on cruise passengers or increased use of PetroCaribe funds present large, national scale funding solutions but there are smaller, local options as well. A prime example of a successful local funding source is the town’s parking fee program, which was started in 2011. The program, which is in effect on the town’s busiest streets, sets street parking fees at J$50 an hour. The fees were instituted both as a measure to attempt to control congestion in the town’s core as well as a way to generate additional revenue. By January 2012, little less than a year after the imposition of parking fees, the program was generating J$1 million a month.\textsuperscript{219} The amount generated, while relatively inconsequential in the grand scheme of the town’s budget and needs, is large enough that notice should be taken. In the future, fees collected by the parking program should be used to further the goals of creating smaller scale pedestrian facilities and traffic calming measures that will open the town’s historic district to greater pedestrian use. If the decision is made to reduce on-street parking and switch to dedicated parking lots or structures, then the same pricing structure for

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{217} Ibid.  \\
\textsuperscript{219} Morais, “Falmouth Parking Pays Dividends.”
\end{flushleft}
parking fees should be maintained at any new parking facilities. Other traditional infrastructural financing options include the issuance of bonds and securities. Funding through traditional sources for a variety of infrastructure, public space or transportation related projects in Falmouth should be within the realm of possibility for the town given its emerging status as a tourism hub and showcase of Jamaican culture and history.

Funding options for the improvement of Falmouth's historic district are numerous and precedents show that it is possible to fund large-scale infrastructural improvements in Jamaica. The process of identifying viable funding sources should begin with the identification of previously successful finance models as well as through the exploration of slight changes to existing programs that are underperforming, underutilized or both.

**IMPLEMENTATION AND GAUGING PERFORMANCE**

The schedule of implementation for the proposed recommendations will be a crucial part of their initial effectiveness and impact. As a result, the recommendations should be prioritized by factors such as project scale, impact...
and immediate need. Because of the overall effect on the town’s urban environment, the various connectivity and pedestrian prioritization proposals should be given top priority. The construction of sidewalks, multi-use paths, traffic calming measures such as raised crosswalks as well as the institution of a public transit system will do the most to enhance the historic district through the provision of connections and transportation options for residents and tourists. It will also allow for the full utilization of both the district and new development occurring on its edge. Next, the improvement and addition of public spaces as well as beautification activities within the urban core should be started. The final phase of implementation should focus on the development of the proposed green infrastructure system. Equal in importance to the sequence of implementation is the issue of the total time allotted for project completion. Time is not on Falmouth’s side. The longer the town remains in its current situation the worse it will get and the loss of both historic fabric and authenticity will only escalate. Therefore, every effort should be made to begin the improvement of Falmouth’s urban environment with prudent haste.

As the various recommendations are implemented it will also be necessary to develop metrics to measure each project’s effectiveness. The success of some of the recommendations will be easier to gauge than others. For example, gauging the impact or success of the proposed pedestrian infrastructure improvements or the creation of a mass transit system will be as simple as observing and documenting user rates. Determining the success of recommendations like beautification efforts or aesthetic improvements that produce less measurable results will be more difficult. However, the ultimate metric of the effectiveness of the recommendations will be the strengthening of the town’s economy and, in the end, the number of historic assets preserved.

Because the full implementation of the plan will likely take years, the Trelawny Parish Council, the Urban Development Corporation and all other parties responsible for Falmouth’s infrastructure and built environment should periodically revisit the recommendations to insure their continued applicability as the town and region continue to change and grow over time. At this point, with a rate of change that is only accelerating, the proposed recommendations should be revisited in
and more traditional financing methods, such as multi-lateral and bilateral agency partnerships, are also explored. Existing programs, while providing some benefit for Falmouth, are obviously not performing in a manner that is sufficiently beneficial considering the town’s importance. As a result, changes in existing funding structures will have to be made.

The physical state of Falmouth’s historic district is not improving. As such, every effort should be made to implement the proposed recommendations in the near term. They should, however, only be the start of a broad based initiative to transform Falmouth. Because the state of the town’s urban environment and infrastructure are believed to have been a major barrier to progress for so long, even minor efforts made to correct the situation will have positive effects and will, in part, help to build a strong foundation upon which Falmouth’s economy can be revitalized.

CONCLUSION

The proposed recommendations contained in this document are not ground breaking. They are instead realistic and eminently feasible. Their purpose is not to push the limits of the role that design solutions play in the improvement of urban or economic conditions or the protection of heritage assets. They do, however, seek to positively change the historic district in a manner that is cost effective, implementable and effective while meshing with and detracting minimally from the town’s historic fabric.

In addition to considering realism and feasibility, the potential for viable funding sources is central. Considering Falmouth’s unique situation as both a recognized repository of Jamaican heritage and as one of the country’s fastest growing tourist destinations, several realistic potential funding options are identified. These options include the use of existing funding sources geared specifically towards lower income or tourism focused communities such as the PetroCaribe Development Fund and the Tourism Enhancement Fund. Local programs

the early stages every two years and after that every five.
At its heart, this thesis is a practical study of a community that is seeking to improve its current situation while preserving its past. In truth, it would be hard to find another community in Jamaica that has more potential than Falmouth, but the town’s history of economic weakness has long stood in its way. After more than a century of economic weakness the town’s urban environment has, in many ways, remained virtually unchanged since the mid-nineteenth century. Most notably, the town’s core still contains scores of eighteenth and nineteenth-century buildings, giving it the largest collection of extant Georgian and colonial-era structures in Jamaica and, some say, the entire Caribbean region.

Over time, the significance of the town’s wealth of historic buildings was recognized and efforts began to preserve the hundreds of historic assets within the town’s urban core. Beginning in the third quarter of the twentieth century, preservation plans were created, the town was declared a national monument and, with the emergence of Falmouth
Unlike many of Jamaican communities in the same situation, there existed a slender ray of economic hope. In January 2011, Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines and the Port Authority of Jamaica opened a cruise terminal in the heart of the town’s historic district. With the promise of hundreds of thousands of cruise passengers coming to the town each year and a drastic increase in the number of available jobs, residents were convinced that the town’s days of economic stagnation were over. But almost two years later the cruise terminal, while meeting or exceeding its projected number of incoming passengers, was having little economic impact on the town. Disappointed residents and government officials were left wondering why.

In the summer of 2012 the author began work researching the factors behind Falmouth’s long-term economic weakness and the effect on historic preservation efforts within the historic district. The author also explored the terminal’s limited impact and what, if any, changes could be made to reverse the situation and allow the town to take advantage of the opportunity presented to it, however imperfect. Through a process of research, interviews and field work the author...
identified the state of the town’s urban environment as one of the prime factors hampering economic progress. It was true that the existing conditions made life more difficult and unpleasant for everyone. Limited sidewalk facilities - with gutters and open drains often taking their place - heavy automobile traffic, few opportunities for public repose, and the spread of commercial, civic and other uses out of the town’s historic core created a place that residents grudgingly dealt with and visitors, with other options available, mostly avoided.

Based on the identification of the state of the town’s urban environment as a major barrier to Falmouth’s economic vitality, this thesis seeks to develop a series of recommendations that will improve the town’s position. While designed specifically to have a positive impact on the town’s economic climate, the recommendations also serve to mitigate changes taking place within the urban environment as a result of the construction of the cruise terminal. Additionally, the recommendations seek to increase the use of the historic district by both residents and tourists as well as provide connections between the district and new development taking place outside of it. While many of the recommendations were created in the interest of making the town more inviting for visitors and livable for residents, there were other factors to consider as well such as the reduction of impacts on the town’s historic fabric and unique aesthetic. Other considerations included efforts to maintain the town’s authenticity by making changes designed to help the historic district maintain its position as a hub of local use in addition to its new role as tourist destination.

The transformation of Falmouth’s moribund economy will help to remove many of the existing barriers that have long stood in the way of the widespread preservation of the town’s historic assets. Increased job opportunities through the more equitable spread of tourism related dollars will enable residents to perform repairs and property upgrades that conform to the Jamaican National Heritage Trust’s guidelines for the treatment of buildings within the historic district. A strengthened tax base will give the parish council added funds that can be directed towards assisting property owners with appropriate projects and enable the council to better maintain its own stock of historic buildings. The improvement
of the town’s economy may also lead to greater attention by the Jamaican National Heritage Trust leading to greater oversight of the historic district and the actual use of existing incentive programs designed to aid individual building owners with historically accurate upgrades and maintenance work. While some of the issues that the town is facing are long term and will take years to correct, the improvement of the town’s urban environment through targeted infrastructure, public space and connectivity improvements is something that can be started immediately and will have real and immediate effects. Such improvements will positively transform Falmouth’s historic district and better enable it to take advantage of the tourism industry, boost local use and appreciation of the historic core and insure that the historic district’s authenticity, priceless historic fabric and local vitality is maintained for future generations.

Changes to Falmouth’s urban environment need to begin immediately. Written before the terminal opened in early 2010, the University of Virginia’s *Oasis on the Horizon: Preparing Falmouth for Development* described the situation then as “a narrow window of opportunity to mold Falmouth as an attractive destination in the minds of tourists, and convince local residents that [Falmouth] is beneficial for them, too.” That statement holds true today yet time constraints may now be even more pressing. Elements of the local and national government should act as soon as possible before more of the town’s historic fabric is lost, the town’s authenticity is further diminished and residents and tourists lose faith in the historic district as both a home and destination.

In the end, there are many things that need to be done within Falmouth’s historic district to improve economic conditions and preserve the town’s historic assets. While some of the issues that the town is facing are long term and will take years to correct, the improvement of the town’s urban environment through targeted infrastructure, public space and connectivity improvements is something that can be started immediately and will have real and immediate effects. Such improvements will positively transform Falmouth’s historic district and better enable it to take advantage of the tourism industry, boost local use and appreciation of the historic core and insure that the historic district’s authenticity, priceless historic fabric and local vitality is maintained for future generations.

A voluntary survey was administered on the morning of November 3, 2012 to twenty one participants who responded to six statements regarding the town’s infrastructure and changes resulting from the opening of the cruise terminal. Their answers were based on a 5-point Likert Scale with 1 = Strongly Agree and 5 = Disagree Strongly.

APPENDIX

![Bar chart for Falmouth has changed for the better since the opening of the cruise terminal.](chart1)

![Bar chart for Market, Duke and Tharpe streets need sidewalks to make them safer and easier to use for pedestrians.](chart2)

![Bar chart for Moving Bend Down Market and the Transit Center will make me less likely to come to the city center.](chart3)

![Bar chart for The changes to Water Square were successful and should be repeated elsewhere in Falmouth.](chart4)

![Bar chart for I use Water Square Frequently for business or socializing.](chart5)

![Bar chart for Falmouth Needs More Public Gathering Spaces.](chart6)


Spencer, Nekeisha. “Financing Road Infrastructure in Jamaica.” 49. St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago: The University of the West Indies, 2007.


