

# Obeah to Rastafari: Jamaica as a Colony of Ridicule, Oppression and Violence, 1865-1939

by

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## Abstract

The colonial state of Jamaica and its attending institutions has given free passes for how it has ridiculed, suppressed and violently attacked *Revivalism*, *Pocomania*, *Obeah* and *Rastafari*. This paper provides a stream of correctives for the practice of shielding the colonial state and its institutions from criticism. Exposing colonialism's contempt for Black Spiritualism and *Ethiopianism* is demonstrated through interrogating Leonard P. Howell, Alexander Bedward and Paul Bogle. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, corridor, Bogle, Bedward and Howell suffered severe persecution and owing to ways they articulated liberation through Black spiritualism and *Ethiopianism* as the elites branded *Obeah*, *Revivalism*, *Pocomania* and *Rastafari* as seditious and pathways to lunacy. Labeling Jamaica's Black spiritual traditions as criminal and madness served as justifications to terrorize, imprison and murder Obeah workers, *Revivalists* and *Rastas*. Addressing this theater of ridicule and violence shifts attention towards Jamaica's harsh racial milieu were the consequences Afro-Jamaicans suffered for clinging to African spiritual ways and seeking redemption through Ethiopian paradigms that included, but were not limited to beatings, imprisonment and mockery.

## Introduction

*Obeah* and *Rastafari* theologically directed attention to different sources, the former manipulated immaterial forces, objects and plants to influence people and events whereas *Rastafari's* mysticism rejects magical rites and retools Judeo Christianity's messianic emphasis to articulate a version of *Ethiopianism* where Haile Selassie is the godhead.<sup>1</sup>

The ontological extremities between *Obeah* and *Rastafari* embodies Black peoples cultural metamorphosis in the Americas, a process, jumpstarted with enslavements' curtailing African peoples practices and post-emancipations' continued socio-political assaults on surviving traditions. This cultural transformation, noted in several studies, gave rise to Black cultures specific to the "new world" experiences, a transition Michael Gomez refers to as *Exchanging Our Country Marks*.<sup>2</sup> While Gomez's text largely reports on Black cultural transformations In North America the situations, episodes, and other occurrences he highlights parallels the Afro-Caribbean cultural shifts. Similarly Afro-Caribbean peoples cultural spectrum, which for Afro-Americans Gomez indirectly indicates as having three distinct segments is also in many Caribbean societies a three part continuum composed of an early period where Africa was the cultural and spiritual site of reference, in the second leg Christianity and African culture amalgamates as conversion spreads and lastly since the early twentieth century is the growing rejection of Christianity and search for African cultural identity. Reading *Obeah* and *Rastafari* through this view I locate *Obeah* towards the spectrum's beginnings as *Obeah* symbolizes the struggles to root Africa in the "New World" and *Rastafari* occupies the spectrum's opposite end when Black people questioned Christianity's usefulness in the voyage to reclaim African ideals. And crawling from beneath this oppression often meant borrowing the Bible and other ideologies obtained as oppressed people to write redemption stories.

Throughout the African Diaspora several movements exist in the same vein as *Rastafari*, the Nation of Islam for instance likewise mushroomed as Christianity's critics and ex-believers sought new religious homes and how *Rastafari* and the Nation of Islam accommodated former churchgoers is a subject Michael Barnett explored in great details.<sup>3</sup> For this paper how Michael Barnett discusses *Rastafari* theology is used to explain the movements redemptive purpose where redemption for *Rastas* is linked either to physical repatriation or psychological alignment to Africa. *Rastas*, however shun *Obeah* and the dismissive attitudes towards *Obeah* causes us to question what Africa *Rastas* hope to spiritually reconnect to as *Obeah* like activities intersect with everyday life throughout the African continent.

I explore why *Rastas* underrate *Obeah*'s value as it symbolizes the ways ancestors navigated their universe and its functionality as a guide to read how many African people still negotiate for place and power. Other than addressing *Rastafari*'s problematic relationship with *Obeah* this paper investigates how colonial elites with control of the state and the press turned people against *Obeah* and *Rasta*. The elites agenda to suppress *Obeah* and *Rastafari* is discussed, below, in a broader context where the elite opposed the wide spectrum of Afro-folk cultures; this includes *Revivalism* and *Pocomania*. Both traditions blended African and Christian spiritualisms, doctrines and deities-a common practice in the African Diaspora following massive Christian conversion in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The state objected *Revivalism*'s and *Pocomania*'s strong African orientations and frowned its biblical usage as a text of liberation.

This alternative way to view the Bible brought the state into direct confrontation with Paul Bogle, Alexander Bedward and Leonard P Howell, the first in a series of *Rastafari* preachers. With the violence met when either returning to an African centered *livity*<sup>5</sup> or practicing Afro-Folk culture the work discusses Babylon's brutality which adversely impacted on *Revivalists*, *Obeah* workers and *Rastafari* brethren as they frequently were ostracized, imprisoned and murdered. And writing the African Diaspora, highlighting the establishment's deliberate usage of violence provides crucial exposure of the injustices Black peoples encountered in the Americas as violence is all too commonly used to beat Black people into submission as it is found with recent and past police killings in the United States where the parallels between Baton Rouge's Alton Sterling, St. Paul's Philando Castile, Tulsa's Terence Crutcher, New York's Amadou Diallo, Chicago's Fred Hampton, and Money's Emmett Till are all too familiar to the witch-hunts Jamaican authorities pursued to eliminate *Rastas*, *Revivalists* and in the early period *Obeah* workers were hounded and slaughtered by the state.

### **“Deproblematizing” Obeah: The Shaming and The Shunning**

Addressing the legacy of state violence in Jamaica is fraught with several problems, the most significant is how *Rastafari's* intellectuals and creative class ignores *Obeah's* persecution while they petition the State to recognize and apologized for how *Rastas* were systematically attacked, abused and denied opportunities in Jamaica. At several recent rallies, forums and conferences where *Rastas* assembled in numbers to draw attention to numerous hostile encounters between their communities and the state as with the 1940's raids and the 1954 subsequent destruction of Pinnacle<sup>6</sup> and the 1963 Coral Garden affair where *Rastas* were savagely beaten, killed and had their locks “forcibly trimmed” while informative were aggressively silent on parallels between *Rastafari's* suffering and ways *Obeah* workers likewise were crushed with state power.<sup>7</sup> And failure to connect violence towards *Rastafari* with the unpleasant experiences *Obeah* workers met in their dealings with colonial authorities the various gatherings wasted key opportunities to frame their protest in larger historical paradigms which rather than suggesting state violence as endemic towards *Rastafari* explains it as an activity trained to eliminate movements or peoples, irrespective of their beliefs, who challenges Eurocentric thinking and the status quo.<sup>8</sup> Being extremely disturbed with *Rastas'* narrow demands to collect apologies, from the state, I ask why these *Rasta* centered gatherings squander opportunities to expose state violence in Jamaica as an issue with deep historical roots. And what seemingly discourages many *Rastas* from demanding apologies as well for *Obeah* workers, in their petitions, are the negative attitudes harbored towards *Obeah*.

Fear, fright, hatred, shame and other disturbing emotions *Obeah* conjures in *Rastas* and other Afro-Jamaicans is driven through social elites' manipulating media and other platforms to control how people perceive history, culture and Black bodies. Skin bleaching, for example, while it is popular for various reasons, preferentially featuring lighter black skin tones in many advertisements definitely contributes to bleaching creams' high usage in Jamaica and other Black societies where economic value is attached to lighter skin as fairer skin tones are perceived to guarantee financial success.<sup>9</sup> The media without question shares culpability for spreading this misnomer and several Black analysts attest to medias' role in the devaluation of darker skin; Ronald E. Hall, Debora Gabriel, Yaba Blay and others criticize the media for perpetuating the myth that "light skin is more attractive than darker skin".<sup>10</sup> Participating as architects of the color caste syndrome-imprisoning Black communities in centuries of self-hatred- is part of a wider media assault on the Black community. Anything too Black/African is targeted for destruction and in ways black skin is reproached *Obeah* confronts similar onslaughts of bad coverage.

The campaign swaying public opinion against *Obeah* is managed mainly through the *Gleaner*, Jamaica's premier newspaper. Part of its popularity is its social position as the elites' mouthpiece and in its one hundred plus fifty years existence the elites' unflattering opinions on *Obeah* reflects in the *Gleaner* reports on this very African spiritual system.<sup>11</sup> There is a clear bias towards dressing *Obeah* in dark rhetoric and donning *Obeah* in unsavory clothing is on display in the very recent October 2, 2016 headline reading "Satanic Scammers - Pastor Says Mobay Gangsters Drinking Blood, Among Other Protection Rituals". The article juxtaposes Satanism and other western occult practices with *Obeah* and suggesting Satanic associations with *Obeah*, in a Bible driven country, achieves the goal to further alienate Afro-Jamaicans from their heritage.<sup>12</sup> And there is little evidence to refute that the *Gleaner's* underlying motive, behind this article, was to sully *Obeah's* name as this news medium has from its inception generally vilified *Obeah*. Space is limited so I recall only a few articles, in the *Gleaner's* archive, showing its reports, on *Obeah*, were written with malicious intent as read in each of the following titles "Our Witchcraft", "Witchcraft in Jamaica: The Obeah Man as a professional Man", and "They pay me One Quattie for a Curse" appearing respectively in 1936, 1938, and 1945.

Equally damning *Obeah's* reputation were the nightmarish cartoons that at times accompanied the articles. The aforementioned 1945 example illustrates how images in the *Gleaner's* arsenal were as destructive as words and the cited 1945 article features two images the first is a grotesque Black male figure supposedly dressed in African garb beating a drum.<sup>13</sup> The second is also male, to emphasize his blackness his skin is obscenely darkened; the mouth, the lips and the nose were disproportionately enlarged, awkward and protruding emphasizing scary, unintelligent, criminal and other stereotypical connotations liken to Black men in white run societies.<sup>14</sup>

Revisiting how the press caricature, prosecuted, and invalidated *Obeah* is telling of a psychological warfare where the Gleaner as an instrument of the colonial order persuaded Afro-Jamaicans to hate their blackness, ancestry and culture. And the choir of persons acknowledging that the Gleaner upheld white supremacy is growing with strong condemnation of their tactics as revealed in Colin Palmer's recent statements where he presents the Gleaner as the "recognized voice of the elite groups in society" and Palmer also was correct when he further admonished the Gleaner for its "conservative political philosophy".<sup>15</sup> The Gleaner on a whole as Palmer noted "looked askance at any fundamental change in the political status quo".<sup>16</sup> And the Atlantic World's twentieth century teamed with newspapers that defended white supremacy and its attendant systems whether it was Jim Crow, Apartheid or Colonialism. To boost their credentials as bonafide backers of the racial order, newspapers within this stream belittled, criminalized and sensationalized Black people and their culture.<sup>17</sup> Observing how newspapers handled *Hoodoo* in Jim Crow America allows us to view the Gleaner's behavior towards *Obeah* as belonging to an extremely hyper-racist tradition where newspapers popularized twisted perceptions of blackness and Black culture.

The captions, commentary and cartoons, between the Gleaner and American newspapers, pursued similar themes with the major difference the United States as a larger society published far more newspapers. The vast majority dabbled in the business of distorting Black cultural motifs and a good visualization of this are the comics. Appearing weekly and syndicated in several newspapers the series "The Hoodoo Coon and the black Cat" offers tremendous access to the ways the American press casted Black people. Mistah Jones the main character, along with the other cast, blackness was exaggerated using the tar black complexion typical to how most whites portrayed Black people. This series with its overemphasis on docility, comicalness and unsophisticatedness buttress the national and international white supremacists' opinion regarding Black people to be unserious, idle and intellectually inferior.<sup>18</sup> Other comic strips specialized in the savage stereotype, where Black men attack and cannibalistically consume white people. And this perception is the leading theme in the "Handsome Hawtrey and Faithful Friz" edition "They Hoodoo the Cannibals and are Hailed by a Hurricane". The illustrators went to great extremes to promote Black people as unusually dangerous, Hawtrey and Fritz the main characters of the series fall from an aircraft and land on the shoreline of an island seemingly inhabited by Black people.<sup>19</sup> The island's Black people from the onset of the encounter immediately are eroticized as they are dressed in grass skirts, accessorized with bone necklaces and spears in their hands. The artist rendition for the natives physical appearance assigns the stereotypical protruding mouth and elongated head as signature features. These supposed Black savages marches Hawtrey and Fritz before an obese Black chief; at this point in the narrative the white men are bounded with ropes and eventually the constraints are removed where then a hurricane swoops down and whirls Hawtrey and Fritz away from the island in turn rescuing them from Black barbarism.

The political undertones deliberately imply Black people are untamed, and the hurricane empathized the need for strong measures to protect white civilization from Black savagery a subtle endorsement for Jim Crow segregation and the associated Klan violence. Other than asking for segregationists to tightened oppression, the author and artist while assassinating Black personhood delivered irreversible damage to *Hoodoo* as using it as the caption's title was a convenient ploy to stage blackness and Black spirituality as buffoonery.

The othering of Black people, in white owned newspapers, was a vital pipeline pumping the myth of Black inferiority and many key twentieth century Black radicals, intellectuals and other Black elites measuring how white people accepted the stereotypes distanced themselves from anything white society used as fodder in their campaign to justify colonizing, Jim crowing, and lynching Black peoples. This underlines Richard Wright's and Ralph Ellison's antagonism towards Zora Neale Hurston as her writings in vernacular and on *Hoodoo* they believed such "minstrel techniques" encouraged white derision of Black people.<sup>20</sup> Reacting similarly was E. Franklyn Frazier, how he downplayed African cultures continued presence in Afro—American life showed he was adversely affected with ways white people ridiculed and misappropriated Black cultural expressions, symbols and spirituality. For Frazier, as James Lance Taylor summarizes "slavery...obliterated all African Cultural remnants".<sup>21</sup> Frazier's willingness to detach African roots in Afro-American identity provoked Melville Herskovits to refute any suggestions of the Afro-American as a "new world" creation in oppose to an African that merely retooled its culture for survival.<sup>22</sup> Herskovits ironically a white anthropologist believed there remained plenty enough African in the Afro-American and this view informed his positions in *The Myth of The Negro Past* a statement in protest to Fraizers apologetic views. How leading Afro- American intellectuals reacted to the damaging ways their folk culture was twisted mirrors in ways to how many Afro-Caribbean radical elites shamed and discarded *Obeah*, Black speech, and other African traits as these Afro- folk cultures were inverted for white audiences to mock, jeer and oppress blackness. Suggesting cultural suicide as an antidote for white acceptability was voiced in the most radical Caribbean circles.

For this time period Garvey was perhaps the most vocal and visible of Afro-Caribbean radicals and his own Pan-Africanist rhetoric proved too weak to restrain him from telling Afro-Jamaicans that "Some religions are foolish, and we have a lot of them in Jamaica".<sup>23</sup> His comments were in criticism of the gauntlet of Afro Jamaican folk expressions, *Obeah*, *Revivalism*, *Pocomania*, *Kummina* and *Burru* in particular which Garvey felt were "running the people crazy".<sup>24</sup> Sharing in Garvey's heavily Eurocentric punctuated opinions were *Rastas* that like Garvey digested heavy dosages of media inundated with distorted interpretations of *Obeah*. Side effects from this medicine led Garvey to dissociate himself from Afro-Folk expressions and following his lead *Rastas* likewise distanced themselves as well from *Obeah*.

Knowing their aversion for Afro-folk culture pinning *Obeah* to *Rastafari* is sacrilegious to *Rastas*, and they have self-consciously identified as distinct from Afro-Folk traditions as *Obeah*, *Revivalism*, *Pocomania* and *Kummina* represents. Secondly they have voiced protest to suppositions of sameness between *Rastafari* and Afro-folkloric traditions. With reggae's late 1960's formation, a *Rasta* centered platform, the music retaliated against misconstruing *Rastafari* for an Afro-folkloric expression. Aggressive repudiation towards categorizing *Rastas* as Afro-folk is heard in the song *Obeah Book*, 'The Ethiopians' [the group responsible for the tune] summarizes the *Rasta* struggle for distinction from the Afro-folk label in the opening lines

I am not an Obeah man I am a Rasta Man the  
Righteous One.<sup>25</sup>

Poetic as the Ethiopians were they as most *Rastas* fail to convince that *Rastafari* lacked authentic Afro-folkloric credentials for in *Rastafari* culture Afro- Jamaican folkloric ways were instrumental in *Rastafari's* cultural formation and remain very persistent from its inception to current times. Lines connecting *Rastas* to the Afro-folk experience exits in the drums and drumming patterns, a cultural transfer transmitted from *Burru* drummers; and other Afro-folk drumming styles are repeated in *Rasta* sacred music especially those rhythms common to *Kummina* societies.<sup>26</sup> Other folk expressions *Rastas* retained are linked to *Revivalism* and its transference to *Rastafari* occurred organically since several of the first *Rastas* were previously *Revivalist* before converting.<sup>27</sup> And the *Revivalists'* imprint on *Rastafari* is present in the usage of robes, the Nyabinghi tabernacle structure, strong references to Zion and further tangible and intangible cultural properties Barry Chevannes , George Simpson, Joseph Owens and others discusses regrading *Rastafari's* *Revivalist* roots. The heavily accentuated *Revivalist* streak in *Rastafari* coupled with other visible Afro-folkloric traits guided the elite to interpret *Rastafari* as an Afro-folk product and lumping *Rastafari* within the Afro-Folk umbrella, derogatorily seen as cults, led to the " Revivalism and Ras Tafari must go" campaigns.<sup>28</sup> *Rastafari* was branded as a militant *Revivalist* offshoot and the press deployed the same methodologies to discredit *Rastafari* that it used to foster public scorn, ridicule and hatred for *Obeah*, *Revivalism*, *Pocomania* and other Afro-folk based traditions.

## **The Gleaner: Afro-Folk Vilification and the Press**

I mentioned, above, how the Gleaner's stigmatizing *Obeah* as witchcraft wrongly colored *Obeah* as satanic, ungodly and sheer wickedness; the Gleaner's strategy towards discrediting *Revivalism*, *Pocomania* and *Rastafarai* was to misrepresent these Afro-Folk experiences and revelations as branches of mental illness. And this Gleaner based psychological evaluation of *Revivalism* and other Afro-folk expressions lacked scientific support.

The diagnosis were grounded in racism and enjoyed the full backing of an elite class that shared in the press racial contempt for Afro-Jamaicans. Suggesting the Gleaner and the elites colluded in doctoring *Revivalism* as disturbed religious phenomena and *Revivalists* as deranged individuals are based on several reports the paper published in its first century. Telling of the Gleaner and the elites plot to discredit *Revivalism* is the 1888 article “Revivalism and Lunacy where both the Gleaner and their elite informants spewed bias and racist rants. For the Gleaner “Revivalist (were) usually an idle worthless immoral person” and upholding this malicious judgment stood a number of luminary colonial figures. A resident magistrate when interviewed “stated that in all the parishes he has been in he does not recollect a single case of insanity brought before him which had not been directly attributable to revivalism”.<sup>29</sup> This comment attests to the court’s contentious relationship with *Revivalism* and Jamaica’s colonial setting boosted numerous institutions opposed to *Revivalism’s* existence, together they banded as a quasi-anti- Afro-folk culture gang.<sup>30</sup> The other important source the Gleaner mined for statements- also an important faction in the anti Afro-folk clique- was the clergy. Like the legal system the church designated *Revivalism* as a gateway to psychotic problems.

The Rev C Chapman, who contributed to the aforementioned Gleaner study, showed how many pastors harbored prejudices towards Afro- Jamaican folk culture, for him as with many pastors he believed Revivalists’ “night orgies (religious ceremonies) produces evils and excitement among the people which finally ended in madness”.<sup>31</sup> His comments delivered in very condescending tones was an effort to dismiss the Afro-folk experience of spiritual possession where similarly to other African Diaspora religions *Revivalists* communicated with otherworldly beings through drum, dance and trance to strengthen, advise, and purifying its believers. While *Rastafarians* shuns spiritual possession the fact that other elements in *Rastafari* mimic *Revivalism* the Gleaner and their cohort of elite supporters also assigned the label of madness to *Rastas*. Associating *Revivalism* or its extreme variant *Pocomania* with *Rastafari* occurred at the onset of the movement. Of the many reports indicating the elite recognized the Afro-folk in *Rastafari* the Wednesday March 10, 1937 article, “To Cultivate Wide Outlook In Jamaica”, affirms the elite belief that anything connecting Afro-Jamaicans to Africa whether through spiritualism or *Ethiopianism* was Afro-Folk. This 1937 article laments the waning of British civilization in the island and then goes on to write “pauperism encourages ignorance, including Rastafari, Pocomania and other evils”.<sup>32</sup> In this context the other evils is a reference to *Obeah*, *Kummina* and *Myal*.

Lumping *Rastafari* within the Afro-Folk spectrum while indicative of how elite society interpreted *Rastafari* it was intentional as the stigmas long attached to the broader Afro-Folk universe would be read into *Rastafari*. And to further control the narrative surrounding *Rastafari’s* interpretation in the public space the Gleaner produced numerous articles where *Rastafari* played the role of lunatic, criminal, rabble-rouser and militant extremist. Fitting *Rastafari* into these stereotypes occurs from the moment they received publicity for their peculiar message regarding *Ras Tafari Makonnen’s* divinity, renouncement of Jamaican identity and an Ethiopia return.



Their teachings were considered heresy, such is revealed in the 1933 Christmas season report, “Blatant Swindle Being Carried on In Parish of St. Thomas”, that criticized the then Rasta leader, Leonard P Howell, at a gathering in St Thomas for using “seditious language and blasphemous language”.<sup>33</sup> The tone illustrates that the elites found it offensive that Leonard P Howell, a first Rasta, was peddling Ras Tafari Makonnen as a divinity. Stamping incendiary language on the young movement cemented *Rastafari* in the public space as rabble-rousers and beyond the Gleaner’s unsettling portrayal its unbalance reports manufactured the assumption that *Rastas* were conmen as it likened Howell’s selling portraits of Ras Tafari Makonnen to a scam<sup>34</sup>. Shaking this image proved difficult for *Rastas* as the Gleaner churned out articles reinforcing how the elites negatively measured *Rastas*; the paper had hoped Afro-Jamaicans at large would consent to the elites distorted perception so as to halt Howell’s disbursement of *Ethiopianism*.<sup>35</sup>

Howells talk of *Ras Tafari Makonnen’s* divinity as with other Afro-folk utterings were assigned to flights of madness and *Rastafari* with its Revival feel fell into the same quandary.<sup>36</sup> The Gleaner went to great extremes to show *Rastas* like Revivalists and other Afro-Folk practitioners were mentally unstable. This view promulgated in several issues as with the 1959’s edition on August 9<sup>th</sup> where the press denounced *Rastafari’s* ideology as the mere musing of lunatics the common insult hurled at *Revivalists*.<sup>37</sup> Why was the Gleaner hell-bent on writing away *Obeah*, *Revivalism* and *Rastafari* as madness? The Gleaner’s acrimonious relationship with Afro-Folk culture was tied to how the paper styled itself as defenders of British Colonial values in the island. In this period where *Revivalism*, *Rastafari* and *Obeah* offered counter hegemonic paradigms, the wider colonial systems as seen in Africa was also experiencing spikes in populist movements led by spiritualists.<sup>38</sup> The Gleaner failed to publish reports on African Spiritualists, apparently the paper feared circulating such news as it perhaps would embolden Jamaica’s home grown brand of fiery spiritual warriors. Africa at this twentieth century space where Jamaica teamed with radical *Revivalism*, *Pocomania* and *Rastafari* boasted of Black men like Simon Kimbangu that worked his Kimbnagui philosophy against Belgium’s exploits in the Congo as well as countless others in the continent’s South, East and West corridors.<sup>39</sup> Aside from perhaps minute differences as with *Rastafari’s* Ethiopian monarch as its god head, the Gleaner recognized spiritualists in Africa and Jamaica shared in the same awaken with how they read colonialism as evil using biblical text and indigenous forms of healing to liberate oppressed Black bodies. Howell, other *Rastafari* teachers and *Revivalism’s* militant preachers - with Alexander Bedward as its most visible representative in the early twentieth century-troubled Afro-Jamaicans to question colonialism as inherently evil.

The Afro-Folk emphasis on spiritual mediation and elevating the consciousness disturbed the Gleaner and other elites. The Afro-Folk reliance on mysticism was detested as much as if they had located solutions in militant struggle; and metaphysical upliftment weakened the colonial machinery, as the Gleaner correctly read, such actions were tussles for the minds of Jamaica’s Black majority.

In winning converts colonialism's grip was softened and it brought into question the Gleaner's effectiveness, to safe guard colonialism, as the paper was expected to keep Afro-Jamaicans inline through its pages praising colonial values, advertisements celebrating whiteness and other misleading information. Interrupting this process *Revivalism*, *Rastafari* and other Afro-Folk spiritualisms injected into Jamaican society modalities whereby Afro-Jamaicans could extricate the yoke of colonialism as *Revivalists* offered spiritual possession as a way for Afro-Jamaicans to connect with higher spiritual powers and *Rastafari* opened the possibility of physically leaving Jamaica for Ethiopia, the earthly Zion.<sup>40</sup> Both options were seditious as they displaced the colonial order, the threat was real, and the Gleaner dismissive articles on Afro-Folk culture were written out of frustration from the inability to crush *Revivalism*, "to bring to an end the activities of those who preach Ras Tafari" and to stop colonialism's erosion.<sup>41</sup> While the Gleaner was tasked with serving as an ideological buffer for colonialism, other ways *Revivalism*, *Rastafari*, *Pocomania*, *Obeah* and other Afro-Folk cultures were suppressed was through state sponsored violence. In discussing state violence, in Jamaica's colonial era, it's important to frame the conversation in a larger context to dismantle the perspective that it was centered solely to annihilate *Rasta* when in fact the military and police, as aforementioned and illustrated below, were deployed against whoever threatened the colonial regime.

### **State Violence: Jamaica a Colony of Suppression and Atrocities**

Violence towards *Revivalism*, *Pocomania*, and *Rastafari* –in the early twentieth Century- is telling of a British Colonial system accustomed to employing militaristic might to beat Black people into docility. For Jamaica, the British has practiced this methodology of violence from the late seventeenth century where certain enslaved African captives refused to accept the British as masters. It was common for many to run into the backlands, gullies and hills where they organized autonomous states, the British following the Spanish custom used the term Maroons for these communities and this description is accepted by a wide cross-section of persons-scholars, activists and the creative class included.<sup>42</sup> In truth, however, they were African polities and depending on which West or Central African ethnic group that ruled over a particular town the laws, customs, and systems of governance at that site mimicked closely to its leaders ethnic practices;<sup>43</sup> and such early fights for autonomy laid the blueprint for ways *Revival*, *Rastafari* and *Pocomania* organized its communes, tabernacles and balm yards. While it seems as if we are overstretching connections between radicals in the seventeenth and twentieth century the fact that other scholars have detected the similarities in how rebels presented themselves in the Jamaican space its within reason to argue *marronage* as a philosophical way of thinking more than a static identity only valuable in reference to the seventeenth century rebels that deserted plantations.<sup>44</sup> Viewing *marronage* broadly I use additionally to Afro-Folk the term twentieth century *marronage* as descriptive for *Revivalists* and *Rastafari* as its orientation and the violence met is largely more similar than dissimilar across Jamaica's historical landscape.

The colonial elites consistently across successive generations regarded *marronage* as a menace in its seventeenth to twentieth century variations. And as they drew little distinction between *Revivalism*, *Rastafari* and *Pocomania* they saw sameness in the seventeenth century *marronage*. For the British regardless if they were *Kikongo*, *Fanti*, *Tchamba*, *Popo*, *Madagascar* or from any of the other African ethnicities in Jamaica, at the time, they posed a serious danger to white settlers, their plantation economy, and to the use of enslaved laborers.<sup>45</sup> The maroon towns catastrophic impact on white civilization in Jamaica was understood in elite circles of those perilous times as a threat to be suppressed or else as Governor Nicolas Law speculated if the maroon towns continued to expand that whites would have to surrender Jamaica to Black rule.<sup>46</sup> Fearing that option white settlers and the colonial elites pursued an aggressive military campaign to disband the Black states. And white violence towards African peoples overall is propelled with a strong current of fear. This strong emotion is active in most cases where Black people have suffered racial violence. And without digressing too much from white/state violence towards African peoples in Jamaica I want to point out in the aftermath following the American Civil war poor whites unaccustomed to competing for jobs with Black people and wealthy whites accustomed to running plantations with enslaved people both feared how emancipation would alter the racial caste system and the dread of the unknown contributed to the Ku Klux Klan's formation- the organization whites across class lines felt would restrict the ambition of the freedmen and women.<sup>47</sup> The scenarios motivating Post-Civil war whites to create the Klan and Jamaica's late seventeenth century whites to crush maroons is driven by the same factors. White settlers in Jamaica as the later post-civil war whites found Black people operating outside of the reach of the white power system repulsive. Unfavorable attitudes towards Black people extended across time and space whenever and wherever Black people undermined white authority and such defiance twentieth century colonial elites observed, felt and heard in *Pocomania*, *Revivalism*, and *Rastafari*.

Drums, songs and chants echoed in *Rastafari*, *Pocomania*, and *Revivalism* reincarnated Africa in Jamaica's early twentieth century space and these vibrations tauntingly reminded colonial elites of an earlier time when whites failed to easily assert control. Returning to seventeenth century's *marronage* it was vibrations of these Black states later harnessed in *Revivalism*, *Rastafari* and *Pocomania* that was responsible for carrying British colonialism to the brink of extinction in Jamaica.<sup>48</sup> These maroon movements captured land, limited the growth in white settlements and weakened the British militia's offensive attacks.<sup>49</sup> This struggle between bands of alleged Black savages and a purported world superpower is a subject addressed at length in Mavis Campbell, Richard Hart, Carey Robinson and Alvin Thompson's respective studies investigating Black resistance and state repression in Jamaica's early years. Between their investigations there is the general consensus that Africans marooning in Jamaica's hills developed highly sophisticated warfare tactics that the British military found difficult to dismantle.<sup>50</sup>

The ways in which they fought impressed on the British that other methods must be found to subdue the maroon states and while marron studies acknowledges that the 1739 and 1740 treaties signed between the British and the Black states ended their conflicts the maroon studies are disturbingly reluctant to interpret the treaties as more of a contract that structured how the British would confront future Black militancy in the island rather than a document signifying British militaristic shortcomings in their failed arm struggle against early maroon manifestations.<sup>51</sup>

The treaties do suggest that the British had run out of options as military might had failed them on more than one occasion however the larger narrative the treaties tell is the British realizing Jamaica's colonization would depend heavily on internal garrison towns loyal to state objectives as they foresaw *marronage* as a perpetual problem - for colonizing and enslaving Black people on an island, as Jamaica, with natural fortresses in its gullies, caves and mountains would be a difficult undertaking.<sup>52</sup> And the treaties provide the leverage the colonial elites needed to rule Jamaica while simultaneously having the power to crush Black insurgency as both 1739 and 1740 treaties offered concessions to pre-1740 maroon polities such as land, control of their internal affairs and amnesty from being returned to slavery in exchange that they would provide the colonial militia with support when the state faced threats from within and without.<sup>53</sup> For Jamaica's anti-colonial struggle this was a serious setback and maroon studies failure to highlight the treaties disastrous blow to Black freedom in the island hampers understanding complex racial dynamics to state violence in Jamaica where whites contracted loyal Black people (largely treaty maroons) to suppress rebellions. And for much of Jamaica's colonial history from 1740 onwards the maroons with treaties played divisive roles in stifling revolution on the island and their role only diminished at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>54</sup> Factors leading to their removal from frontline fighting have more to do with the development of a modern police force in Jamaica. Prior to a police force the treaty maroons enjoyed high visibility in militaristic operations against rebels, a significant departure as they were the forerunners in discovering an identity wherein twentieth century maroons found great significance.

For the enslavement period numerous examples abound where treaty-maroons alliance with colonial elites strengthened the state's ability to deliver violence towards Black rebels and in crediting treaty-maroons for improving how colonial elites' quelled Black rebellion its instructive to recall a few episodes. And for this purpose I begin with Tacky, he was a *Coromantee* - the British descriptive for captive African people with origins in present day Ghana then the Gold Coast- and this group, rightfully so, had a reputation for planning revolts throughout the Americas. Caribbeanist lacking understanding of African history such as Michael Craton, Richard Hart, Trevor Burnard, Edward Long and others marvel at the *Coromantees* fighting ways. Whereas Eurocentric leaning historians in Caribbean studies sees exceptionality in the *Coromantees* this view is without support from African minded Caribbeanist as its understood that *Coromantees* militaristic culture radiates through *Asafo* companies that prepares and organize women and men for fighting duties.<sup>55</sup>

Thus many *Coromantees* transported to the Americas landed with military skills and were prepared to fight, this view is echoed in Kwasi Konadu and Walter Rucker's recent writings. . And Tacky, pursuing the footsteps of several *Coromantees* throughout the Americas, in 1760 launched a rebellion in April which had been planned months in advance with objectives to replace white rule with African power and this meant whites had to be killed or forced to evacuate Jamaica.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, whites in 1760 Jamaica were better positioned to answer such threats as the alliance with the treaty-marrons allowed the colonials to fight African insurgents with similar war tactics as the treaty-maroons remained culturally yoked to Africa and warfare for African peoples involved spiritual practices where insurgents drummed, possessed, divined, consumed special concoctions, bathed in various herbs, recruited ancestors and other spirits with animal sacrifices.<sup>57</sup> All these rituals were performed with the hopes of influencing the outcome. And forging alliances with treaty-maroon fighters indirectly appended these practices to the colonial regiments as the treaty-maroons' martial culture attached great significance to African spirituality.<sup>58</sup> This placed Tacky at a disadvantage for whereas prior to the treaties African rebels only contended with having to fight the colonial elites for whom warfare was essentially secular. In Tacky times, however, African rebels fought both whites lacking comparatively complex spiritual ways and treaty-maroons with worldviews grounded in the African school of military science.

Other than competing on equal spiritual platforms the treaty-maroons possessed extensive knowledge of Jamaica's wood lands- an advantage over Tacky, as this was their fighting grounds long before colluding with the state. And after five months of impressive fighting Tacky was killed and beheaded by a treaty-maroon named Davy, for saving colonialism the treaty-maroons were paid £450.<sup>59</sup> The number of Afro-Jamaicans the treaty-Maroons murdered for the Jamaican state is extensive and of the many that were cut-down I give special mention to Three Finger Jack. In the 1780's as leader of a roving maroon band in St. Thomas he plundered, murdered and terrified whites across that parish and the state unable to halt his activities instructed the treaty-maroons to capture Three Finger Jack.<sup>60</sup> On November 11, 1780 Three Finger Jack was savagely murdered and John Reader, the treaty-maroon, responsible for this act severed Three finger Jack's head and limbs. The last example I cite in the enslavement period is the 1824 destruction of We nuh send you nuh come, this was a post-treaty maroon site where both Africans and Afro-Creoles, having escaped slavery, built an impressive community where they farmed "over two hundred acres of very fine provision, in full bearing, with abundance of hogs and poultry" and they had constructed buildings "of considerable magnitude, well-built shingled, and floored".<sup>61</sup> Both architectural and landscaping evidence suggest this town was in existence over a decade. The town's location became known to the whites when Sambo, an Afro-Creole, told Mr. Sutherland, the overseer on Pembroke plantation. Thereafter the whites in the parish drafted a plan to destroy this "bush city".

The treaty-maroons were a major factor in the attack on the town, the crops were rooted up, buildings were burnt and of the towns "citizenry" several were killed, whereas others were sent to the Parish workhouse (jail) for future punishment determined in what were then slave courts.<sup>62</sup> White power again was preserved and instrumental in the state's violence were the treaty-maroons without whom, snuffing out Black resistance would prove difficult for colonial elites.

In slavery, state violence proved effective following the treaties and after emancipation little changes occurred in how colonial elites responded to Black resistance. The treaty-maroons continued to enjoy state favoritism, friendship, protection and other privileges whereby treaty-maroons' exceptionalism was preserved for the good of the state as whites feared emancipation threatened their existence given their numerical weakness in Jamaica. And the Morant Bay rebellion exposed Anglo-Jamaica's demographic insecurities and being outnumbered by Blacks it was important- for the state- to exalt treaty-maroons above Afro-Jamaicans as such divisive favoritism suggested treaty-maroons had as much social standings as whites to safeguard. This episode associated with Paul Bogle -an outspoken mid-nineteenth century Native Baptist preacher, in St. Thomas ( a Parish) unafraid to question post-emancipation's mountainous failures- embodied the frustration Afro-Jamaicans experienced in the years following 1838's emancipation and on October 11, 1865 following clashes between Paul Bogle and the state after a few of his followers were rescued from the courthouse a rebellion engulfed the parish of St Thomas.<sup>63</sup> Formal fighting between the State and Bogle's followers lasted a short span however, the suppression of the rebellion was much longer, it stretched over a month. In extinguishing the uprising the atrocities the treaty-maroons committed were as numerous as the state and Afro-Jamaicans assigned equal blame to treaty-maroons as they did to white soldiers for destruction of properties, indiscriminate beatings and shootings. Both parties also killed numerous Afro-Jamaicans in unprovoked attacks as with the murders on October 11, 1865 where apparently after holding an informal trial the treaty-maroons restoring order on Leith Hall plantation in the parish murdered five men four of whom were killed with bullets and the other hanged.<sup>64</sup> Included in the carnage were some very gruesome deaths as Sara Ann Robinson recalled when explaining that the soldiers hung her children by their feet and "knock their heads and dashed out their brains" she went further to recount a pregnant woman's murder as Robinson narrated to the Royal Commission that "the midwife was about delivering her and the soldiers would come and shoot the midwife, and shoot the woman and shoot the child".<sup>65</sup> While both white soldiers and treaty maroons participated equally in the bloodletting evidence suggests treaty-maroons' used their status as state agents to resolve preexisting grudges with Afro-Jamaicans. Underlying several deaths are questionable circumstances showing treaty-maroons motivations to kill went beyond state duties as discovered in James Williams murder.

He and the treaty-maroons previous to Morant Bay's war knew each other. It was learnt in the lengthy investigations James Williams, an *Obeah* man, frequently visited Moore Town, a Maroon community, where he peddled his services as healer, herbalist and diviner.<sup>66</sup> Such specializations possibly was the source of his downfall, as Kenneth Bibly and other anthropologist rightfully observed spiritualism in Jamaica was laden with jealous feuds between *Obeah* workers in treaty-maroon and Afro-Jamaican communities.

And treaty-maroons, deputized with the power to kill Afro-Jamaicans, exploited Morant Bay's conflict to eliminate Afro-Creole *Obeah* workers and on October 14, 1865 treaty-maroons murdered James Williams.<sup>67</sup> Other *Obeah* workers similarly with preexisting interactions with treaty-maroons were also killed during the suppression and colonial elites ignored these unjustified killings as *Obeah* workers were branded by the state as undesirable and deserving of death, this belief was driven by the colonials disgust for all things African. And the fact that many other Afro-Jamaicans were killed, savagely beaten, and inhumanely treated in other ways for the sake of treaty-maroons wanting to settle grudges, white soldiers with racialized notions of Black inferiority and a state obsessed with churning out model Christianized and colonized Black people scarred Afro-Jamaicans and scared many away from violently uprising against the state as Morant Bay's legacy ghostly reminded Afro-Jamaicans the possible consequences suffered for openly revolting.

Morant Bay's aftershock continued to rock Jamaica well after the nineteenth century as it cultivated silence and blind obedience to colonial religion, politics and culture. As either unusual quietness or politeness towards colonialism prevailed, the bulk of ultra-radical ideas and African expressions were housed in *Rastafari*, *Revivalism* and *Pocomania*. To these twentieth century radical religious movements there is an indebtedness owed for preserving maroon consciousness that the aforementioned Tacky, Three Finger Jack, We Nuh Send You Nuh Come, Paul Bogle and the unmentioned others salvaged and redeemed following the treaty-maroons backpedaling on their former stance. Similarly, to how the state responded to *marronage*, in previous generations, big guns were summoned.

In this twentieth century period a standing police force, the JCF<sup>68</sup>, replaced treaty-maroons as the state's henchmen.<sup>69</sup> While the colonial elites found other attack dogs they lauded treaty-maroons for service to the state, in 1939, when the treaties reached two hundred years old. The Gleaner articles capturing this moment highlighted the treaty maroons invaluable contributions to colonialism.<sup>70</sup> Eulogizing their value inadvertently is telling of how colonial elites felt unsecured in Jamaica and this feeling lasted right into the nineteenth century where thereafter the Morant Bay beating having tamed many Afro-Jamaicans the state established a modern police force. This organization entered the twentieth century with an explicit mission to prevent episodes similar to Morant Bay.

The slightest indication that Afro-Jamaicans were moving towards imitating Paul Bogle the JCF responded and this is what ultimately brought the *Revivalist*, Alexander Bedward to the attention of the state in the immediate years before the turn of the twentieth century and thereafter. It is important to discuss Bedward as his experience explains how resistance and state violence is much larger than *Rastafari* in the twentieth century. Bedward, a rather interesting character, preached at August Town around the Hope River's banks and treated various ailments with the river's water -hydrotherapy is a heavy African retention as water plays pivotal roles in Afro-Jamaican spirituality.<sup>71</sup> The state while they found Alexander Bedward's healing to be odd they were more concerned with his rhetoric. And the sermon he delivered on January 16, 1865 inspired the first major attack on his church and his subsequent arrest.<sup>72</sup> The state was concerned that he made reference to Morant Bay's 1865 war and how he highlighted this struggle Bedward without question was inciting the people to rise up against the state as he stated:

Brethren Hell will be your portion if you do not rise up and crush the white men. The Time is coming, I tell you the time is coming. There is a white wall and a black wall and the white wall has been closing around the black wall, but now the black wall is becoming bigger than the white and they must knock the white wall down ... I have a sign that the black people must rise. Remember the Morant War....<sup>73</sup>

Telling Black people to attack the white minority rankled the colonial elites as Morant Bay's war was still fresh with only thirty years having passed between the war and Bedward's speech. To quarantine the threat, the state directed the police to detain, imprisoned and put Bedward before the courts. On January 21, 1895 a force of over thirty men under the command of Inspectors Wedderburn and James were sent to August Town.<sup>74</sup> All the police in this party had "side arms and the majority with rifles".<sup>75</sup> The raid occurred early in the morning, the cover of darkness prevented Bedward from mounting any resistance and when the police arrived, at 3:00 am, at Bedward's chapel only women folks were there who according to police reports "called down the judgment of heaven upon the constables and their officers" and without any serious resistance the police arrested Bedward with reports claiming the *Revivalist* stated "You take me like a thief in the night".<sup>76</sup> The truth however may be that Bedward was silent and his alleged response was concocted by the police to dramatize the arrest and overemphasize Bedward's religious zeal. The way Bedward was detained in 1895 and at other times in the early twentieth century, following numerous stints in the asylum, is the fashion whereby other *Revivalists* and *Rastas* were attacked throughout the twentieth century. And it is safe to summarize that the police were deployed heavily in offensive attacks and as such they basically disrupted meetings, destroyed communes, and yards were *Revivalists* spiritualized or *Rastas* reasoned.



As *Rastafari* oral history recounts, the police attacks were brutal and how *Rastafari* communities recall the assaults corresponds with official reports. Police raids on *Rastafari* settlements were frequent towards the end of the 1930's and in Kingston's west end where there was a major infestation of *Ethiopianism* the *Rastafari* community captured land where they marooned. The shack-town they built the *Rastas'* called it *Addis Ababa* in honor of Ethiopia's capitol and using an African name reintroduces in the twentieth century a tradition practiced during slavery and in the immediate years after to honor African homelands. Such African consciousness enraged the system and Jamaica's *Addis Ababa* - after a police force of "20 sub-officers and men" dispersed the ghetto dwellers- was burnt to the ground on February 24, 1939.<sup>77</sup>

To rein police terror down on twentieth century spiritualists and African minded persons the state invented numerous laws whereby security forces harassed twentieth century maroons. Seditious rhetoric is the most common offence violated and laws illegalizing seditious speech were often preemptively used to prevent gatherings or meetings as Leonard P Howell encountered when Governor Richards blocked Howell from staging a meeting for his Ethiopian Salvation Society on February 11, 1940. Howell from the early 1930's was scrutinized, criticize and rebuked by the state for peddling *Ethiopianism*, to curtail the disbursement of his ideologies it is apparent that the state legislated the Jamaican Defense Regulations act of 1939.<sup>78</sup> This law authorized the Governor to ban meetings "likely to cause a disturbance of public order or to promote disaffection".<sup>79</sup> Howell's meetings, other *Rasta* gatherings and *Revivalists* services fitted into this category. Other laws whereupon the state harassed twentieth century maroons includes the various Noisy Assemblies Laws and then there was the Central Boral of Health Ordinances that condemned Balms Yards and other spaces where *Rastas* and *Revivalist* assembled unsanitary.<sup>80</sup> The unproven assumption that Afro-Folk spaces were breeding grounds for diseases offered the police another layer of excuses to pounce on the twentieth century maroons.<sup>81</sup>

## Conclusion and Reflection

Suppressing *Revivalism*, *Rastafari*, *Pocomania* and other Afro-Folk expressions was an ideological campaign waged broadly through the Gleaner and it was also a physical arm struggle. For many when Jamaica's decolonization struggle is discussed they largely ignore the militant strains in this exercise and doing so allows the JCF to avoid criticism for its role as an arm of the colonial machinery established for the purpose of confronting ultra-radicals namely *Rastafari* and *Revivalist*. It is informative as explained in this discussion that the JCF operates with the same mandate that the treaty-maroons were given in its 1739 and 1740 treaties. This highlights the continuity of state violence as it flowed between the various political stages in Jamaica's transition as it moved from slave state to a "free society". With the violence, its understood that ridicule was linked to the process as the objective was to delegitimize *Rastafari*, *Pocomania* and *Revivalism*.

It is important to highlight the state objections towards Afro-Folk culture was broad as the intent was social control and the various movements, covered in this study, as its allegiance was trained towards either *Ethiopianism* or *Spiritualism* led to conflict with the state. What occurs in Jamaica in the twentieth century space coincides with occurrences at other points in the African Diaspora and Africa where *Ethiopianism* and Black Spiritualism were viewed as authentic avenues to challenge white supremacy. The conflict in Jamaica is part of a broader Afro-Atlantic assault on white supremacy and how the state responded followed global ways to treat Black insurgency so the baton blows, gun shots, and boots stomping *Rastas*, *Revivalists* and others received mimics how Black people throughout the twentieth century world was mishandled when asserting their culture, agitating for more rights and rejecting Eurocentric value systems. It is important to frame oppression in Jamaica in this context so as to avoid exceptional categories whereby the struggle for freedom is segmented into parts rather than being viewed as a whole.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Dianne M. Stewart *Three Eyes For the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience* ( Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 35-78 and Horace Campbell *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney* ( Trenton: Africa World Press, 1985) pp. 69-88

<sup>2</sup> Michael A Gomez *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* ( Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998) pp. 6-16

<sup>3</sup> Michael Barnett “Differences and Similarities Between the Rastafari Movement and the nation of Islam in *Journal of Black Studies* Vol. 36 No. 6, July 2006 pp. 874-881

<sup>4</sup> Mary Turner *Slave and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787 - 1834* ( Mona: University of the West Indies Press , 1982 ) pp. 65-95 and Albert Raboteau *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Updated Edition 2004) pp. 43-100

<sup>5</sup> Livity is a term Rastas have coined and its definition is way of life.

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<sup>6</sup> Pinnacle is a community Leonard Howell established in the parish of St. Catherine in 1941 . As one of the founder figures of the Rasta movement Howell had envisioned Pinnacle as the sight for various self-reliance activities around farming, manufacturing various items particular clothes and bio degradable products. There are several studies that explore Pinnacle's rise and fall. Horace Campbell's *Rasta to Resistance* and Helene Lee's *The First Rasta* are critical starting points to understand Pinnacle's importance to Rastafari and Afro-Jamaicans as a whole.

<sup>7</sup> From 2010 through 2015 Rastafari intellectuals and its creative class seeking recognition and apologies for past injustices have staged conventions and rallies which were covered by the press. "Rastas Mark 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Bloody Coral Garden Incident" in *Jamaica Observer* Wednesday April 3, 2013, "Rastas Beaten, Forcibly Trimmed of their Locks After Coral Gardens" in *Jamaica Observer* Thursday December 17, 2015 , and "Second Rastafari Conference in Coral Gardens 50<sup>th</sup> Year" in *Jamaica Gleaner* Sunday March 31, 2013

<sup>8</sup> Cedric J Robinson *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* ( Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press , 2000) pp.73, 175-299

<sup>9</sup> Robert Entman *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America* ( Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) pp. 177- 180

<sup>10</sup> Ronald E. Hall *Racism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: An Empirical Analysis of Skin Color* ( New York: Springer, 2008) p.52

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Kopkind *The Thirty Years' Wars: Dispatches and Diversions of a Radical Journalist, 1965-1994* ( London: Verso, 1995) pp. 344-346

<sup>12</sup> "Satanic Scammers-Pastor Says Mobay Gangsters Drinking Blood, Among Other Protection Rituals" in the *Sunday Gleaner* October 2, 2016

<sup>13</sup> "They Pay One "Quattie" For A Curse" in *The Sunday Gleaner* November 4, 1945

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., and Laura Green "Stereotypes: Negative Racial Stereotypes and Their Effect on Attitudes Toward African-Americans" in *Perspectives on Multiculturalism and Cultural Diversity* Vol, XI , No. 1 Winter 1998-99

<sup>15</sup> Colin A. Palmer *Freedom's Children: The 1938 Labor Rebellion and The Birth of Modern Jamaica* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014) p. 247,

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>17</sup> Laura Green “Stereotypes: Negative Racial Stereotypes and Their Effect on Attitudes Toward African-Americans”

<sup>18</sup> “The Hoodoo Coon and The Black Cat” in *Crittenden Press* (Marion, KY) November 29, 1906. This particularly cartoon was syndicated in several Newspapers across the United States in the early twentieth century.

<sup>19</sup> “Handsome Hawtrey and Faithful Fritz: They Hoodoo The Cannibals and are Hailed by a Hurricane” in *The Washington Times* Sunday 8, 1907

<sup>20</sup> Henry Louis Gate “A Negro Way of Saying” in *The New York Times* April 21, 1965 and Barbara Johnson “A World of Difference” in *The Novel: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory 1900-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006) p. 266

<sup>21</sup> James Lance Taylor “The Black Church: Sacred Cosmos Meets Sacred Ground” in Barbara McGraw *Taking Religious Pluralism Seriously* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2005) p. 159

<sup>22</sup> Melville J. Herskovits *The Myth of The Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990) pp. 3-5.

<sup>23</sup> Rupert Lewis “Marcus Garvey and The Early Rastafarians: Continuity and Discontinuity” in Nathaniel Samuel Murrell *The Rastafari Reader: Chanting Down Babylon* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998) p. 157

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>25</sup> The Ethiopians “Obeah Book” in *Slave Call* (Kingston: Niney The Observer, 1977)

<sup>26</sup> Ennis Barrington Edmonds *Rastafari From Outcasts to Culture Bearers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) pp. 100-120

<sup>27</sup> Kevin O’Brien Chang *Reggae Routes: The Story of Jamaican Music* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998) pp. 242-244

<sup>28</sup> “Cult Leaders Will Soon Feel The Strong Arm of The Law” in *The Daily Gleaner* Friday November 10, 1939

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- <sup>29</sup> “Revivalism and Lunacy” in *The Daily Gleaner* Monday June 26, 1889
- <sup>30</sup> Linda E. Thomas “Religion and Poverty: Ritual and Empowerment in Africa and the African Diaspora” in Peter J Paris *Religion and Poverty: Pan-African Perspectives* (Durham: Duke University Press) pp. 141-142
- <sup>31</sup> Revivalism and Lunacy” in *The Daily Gleaner* Monday June 26, 1889
- <sup>32</sup> “To Cultivate Wide Outlook in Jamaica” in *The Daily Gleaner* Wednesday March 10, 1937
- <sup>33</sup> “Blatant Swindle Being Carried On In Parish of St. Thomas: Young Man Said To Be talking Seditious To Sell King Ras Tafari’s Photo” in *The Daily Gleaner* Saturday December 16, 1933
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.,
- <sup>35</sup> “It Is Not A Joke” in *The Daily Gleaner* Wednesday, December 27, 1933
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.,
- <sup>37</sup> “Jamaica’s Beat Generation” in *The Sunday Gleaner* August 9, 1959
- <sup>38</sup> Allan Anderson *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Trenton: African World Press, 2001) pp 51-64
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 125-132
- <sup>40</sup> Brian Morris *Religion and Anthropology: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp. 206-212 and Ennis B. Edmonds *Rastafar: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.79
- <sup>41</sup> “It Is Not A Joke” in *The Daily Gleaner* Wednesday, December 27, 1933
- <sup>42</sup> Mavis Campbell *The Maroons of Jamaica* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1988)
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.,
- <sup>44</sup> Susan Love Brown “Rastafarianism” in Thomas M Leonard *Encyclopedia of the Developing World* (London: Routledge Press, 2006) pp. 1350-1351

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<sup>45</sup> Kofi Barima “Without Treaty: Runaways and Maroons in Jamaica, The Foundation of Opposition to the State” ( Washington, DC: Howard University, 2009) pp. pp. 1-13

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph W. Scott *The Black Revolts: Racial Stratification In The U.S.A: The Politics of Estate, Caste and Class in the American Society* ( Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1976) pp.40-45

<sup>48</sup> Mavis Campbell *The Maroons of Jamaica* p. 57

<sup>49</sup> *Jamaican Courant* Wednesday June 20, 1722

<sup>50</sup> Mavis Campbell *The Maroons of Jamaica* p. 55

<sup>51</sup> Alvin Thompson *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas* ( Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 213

<sup>52</sup> Carey Robinson *The Iron Thorn: The Defeat of the British by the Jamaican Maroons* ( Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1993)

<sup>53</sup> Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, pp. 127, 136

<sup>54</sup> Barry Chevannes *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994) pp. 11-14

<sup>55</sup> Kwasi Konadu *The Akan Diaspora in the Americas* ( Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) pp.60-61, 211

<sup>56</sup> Michael Craton *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) pp. 125-136

<sup>57</sup> Carolyn Fick *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1990) pp.92-93

<sup>58</sup> Kenneth M. Bilby *True-Born Maroons* (Gainesville University Press of Florida, 2005)

<sup>59</sup> Craton *Testing the Chains* p. 136

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<sup>60</sup> *Royal Gazette* (Kingston, Jamaica) November 11, 1780

<sup>61</sup> *Account of A Shooting Excursion on the Mountains near Dromilly Estate, In The Parish of Trelawny and Island of Jamaica* ( London: Harvey and Darton, 1825) p. 8

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.6-7

<sup>63</sup> Robert J Stewart *Religion and Society in Post- Emancipation Jamaica* ( Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992) pp. 153-174

<sup>64</sup> John Collins Examination at The Royal Commission February 10, 1866 in *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866* pp. 257-258

<sup>65</sup> Sara Ann Robinson Examination at The Royal Commission February 14, 1866 in *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866* p.334

<sup>66</sup> Rev. Edwin Palmer Examination at The Royal Commission February 13, 1866 in Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission 1866 pp. 305-308

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>68</sup> Jamaica Constabulary Force

<sup>69</sup> Wayne F. Cooper *Claude McKay, Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987) p.28

<sup>70</sup> “Maroons Celebrate: Bicentenary of Freedom” in *The Daily Gleaner Monday March 7, 1938*

<sup>71</sup> Richard D Burton *Afro-Creole: Power Opposition and Play in the Caribbean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997) p. 116

<sup>72</sup> “The Arrest of Bedward” in *The Daily Gleaner Wednesday January 23, 1895*

<sup>73</sup> “ Bedward’s Trial the Evidence Detailed” in *The Daily Gleaner Tuesday April 30 1865*

<sup>74</sup> The Arrest of Bedward” in *The Daily Gleaner Wednesday January 23, 1895*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> “Appearance of Armed Policemen Caused Dungle Squatters To Flee” in *The Daily Gleaner* Friday February 24, 1939

<sup>78</sup> “Governor Puts Ban on Rastafari Meeting” in *The Daily Gleaner* Friday 9, 1940

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>80</sup> “Cult Leaders Will Soon Feel The Strong Arm of The Law” in *The Daily Gleaner* Friday November 10, 1939

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.