

**CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CREOLIZED RELIGION IN SLIGOVILLE,
JAMAICA'S FIRST BAPTIST FREE VILLAGE**

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Ph.D Thesis in Social Anthropology

24th April 2004

ABSTRACT

Cultural Identity and Creolized religion in Sligoville, Jamaica's first Baptist free village

This thesis examines identity formation in Sligoville, Jamaica's first Baptist free village. It charts the complex social processes that Sligovillians utilise in order to shape cultural identity. It also shows how these processes are characterised by notions grounded in the construction of place, the sustaining of history and a particular sense of community.

This study explores how, for the ex-slaves, Sligoville in the post-emancipation era represented a place where they could belong, hold citizenship and establish autonomy. It also explores how these freed settlers drew on their lived experiences, before and after emancipation, to adapt and create new ways of being. These ways of being were often forged in response to socio-economic and cultural forces that marginalised them and militated against their hope for dignity and security. Whilst evolving new ways of being, the Sligovillians established processes of community formation that were central to the development of free villages on the Caribbean island of Jamaica.

The process of creolization provided the framework within which cultural identity and changes to identity could evolve. Specifically, we see how Revivalism, an indigenous creolized religion, enabled Sligovillians to maintain elements of African cosmologies and religious practices within European Christian institutions.

However, Sligovillians continue to draw upon the process of creolization in order to create new modes of cultural and religious practice. For example, the emergence of New Revival Pentecostalism from within the Pentecostal churches in Sligoville reveals

that indigenous religious practices persist. Additionally, it shows that Sligovillians use the Pentecostal churches to validate and authenticate Revivalism, a creolized religion.

An exploration of the process of creolization is, therefore, fundamental to this research. Creolization plays a major role in Caribbean ethnography. As such, I use it here to consider how the Sligoville's socio-economic and cultural processes are adapted and transformed through time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have received much assistance in undertaking this research project. My former tutors, Professors David McKnight, Joanna Overing and especially, the late Alfred Gell at the London School Of Economics and Political Science (LSE), were instrumental in my arrival at Goldsmiths, University of London.

The Anthropology Department at Goldsmiths College, provided support over the six years of postgraduate study. I thank Dr Jean Besson, my main supervisor, for her advice throughout this research. I also thank other members of staff who read early drafts and offered advice. I am appreciative too of the contribution made by fellow PhD students, Alberto Groiseman, John McNeish, Palo Mendez and Seemin Quayum during writing-up seminars. I especially thank Jason Hart, Matt Hodges and Cecilia Rivera for their friendship and support, particularly in the first year.

To the villagers of Sligoville and its surrounding communities, I offer my gratitude for they were helpful, warm and generous. Special thanks also go to Sylvester Ayre, George Bailey, Philemon Brown, Bishop Uriel Burke, Zedikaih Cooper, Aston Talbott, Byron Knibbs and Carlton Knibbs.

During fieldwork Coolie Ramsey and Alma Talbott gave me tremendous maternal support and I am thankful for the accommodation provided by Carlton Perrin. However, Mr. Perrin also contributed valuably to my fieldwork with his outsider perspective. Gloria Williams' insight into village life was most helpful too. To the late Bernice Bryan, caretaker of Bogle's monument, I offer my gratitude. To Cannon Thomas of the Spanish Town Cathedral and Reverend McKenzie of Phillippo Baptist Church I send my thanks for the time and assistance given. I gratefully acknowledge the teachers and children of Sligoville All-Age School who made me feel welcomed. There are many other villagers who have been extremely helpful and supportive too. They know who they are, and to them, I also show gratitude.

I would like to send words of appreciation to all my friends especially to Lyn McKenzie and Joy Miles. I particularly thank Alfred Lobban, for his kind words of encouragement and for the advice given over the years. I would also like to extend my appreciation to family members, especially to my brothers Edward and Donald Davis and to their wives Hyacinth and Melrose. In view of the time it takes to complete an academic journey such as this, I thank Owen Palmer and my daughters, Tanya, Sheree, Saundre and Gemma for their enduring patience, love and support throughout.

Words cannot express my gratitude to my parents, Daisy and Winston Davis. To my mother, who died just six months after my arrival in the field, I say you have instilled in me perseverance. To my late father, who inspired and nurtured in me a pride in my society, I owe you a very special debt of love and thanks.

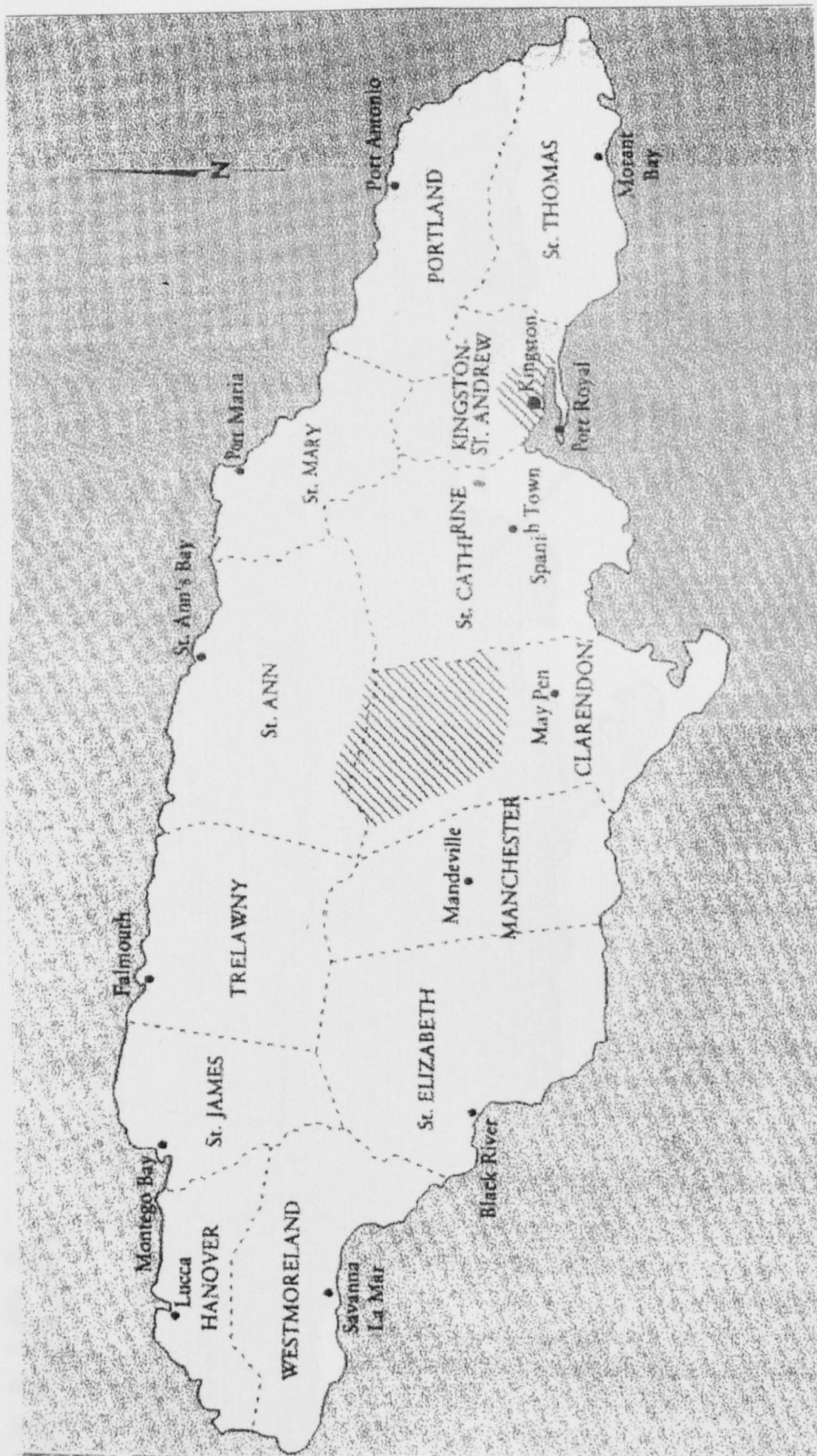
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Map 1 - Jamaica: All Parishes



Map 2 - Spanish Town: Parish of St. Catherine

JAMAICA

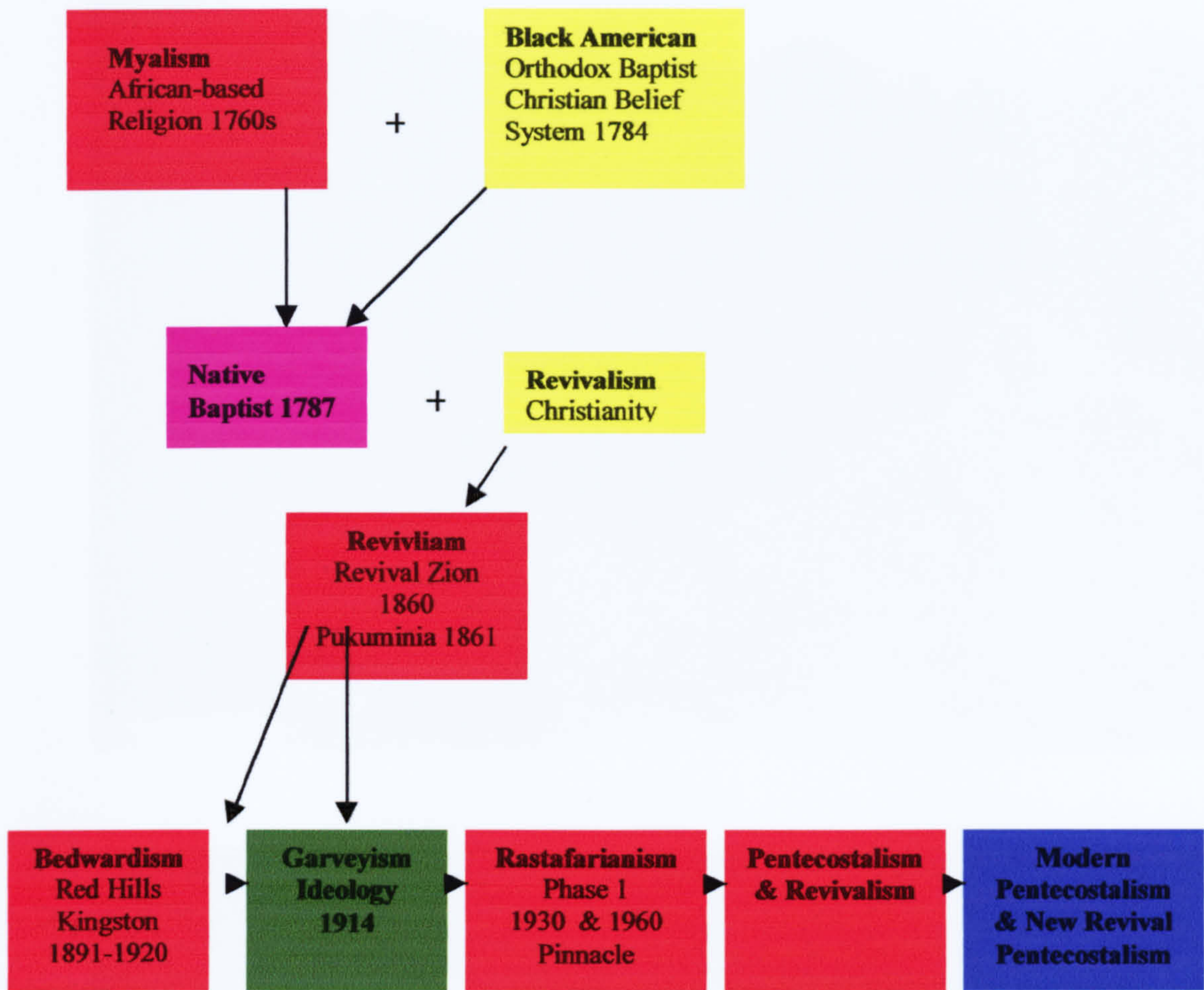


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Map 3 - Sligoville and Surrounding Villages



Illustration 1 - The Evolution of Creolized Religion in Jamaica



Key

- | | |
|---|---|
| Creole religion | Philosophy |
| Christian | Evolving Creole |
| Creole & Christian | |

Illustration 2 - Sligoville Village Square



Illustration 3 - Mount Zion Baptist Church

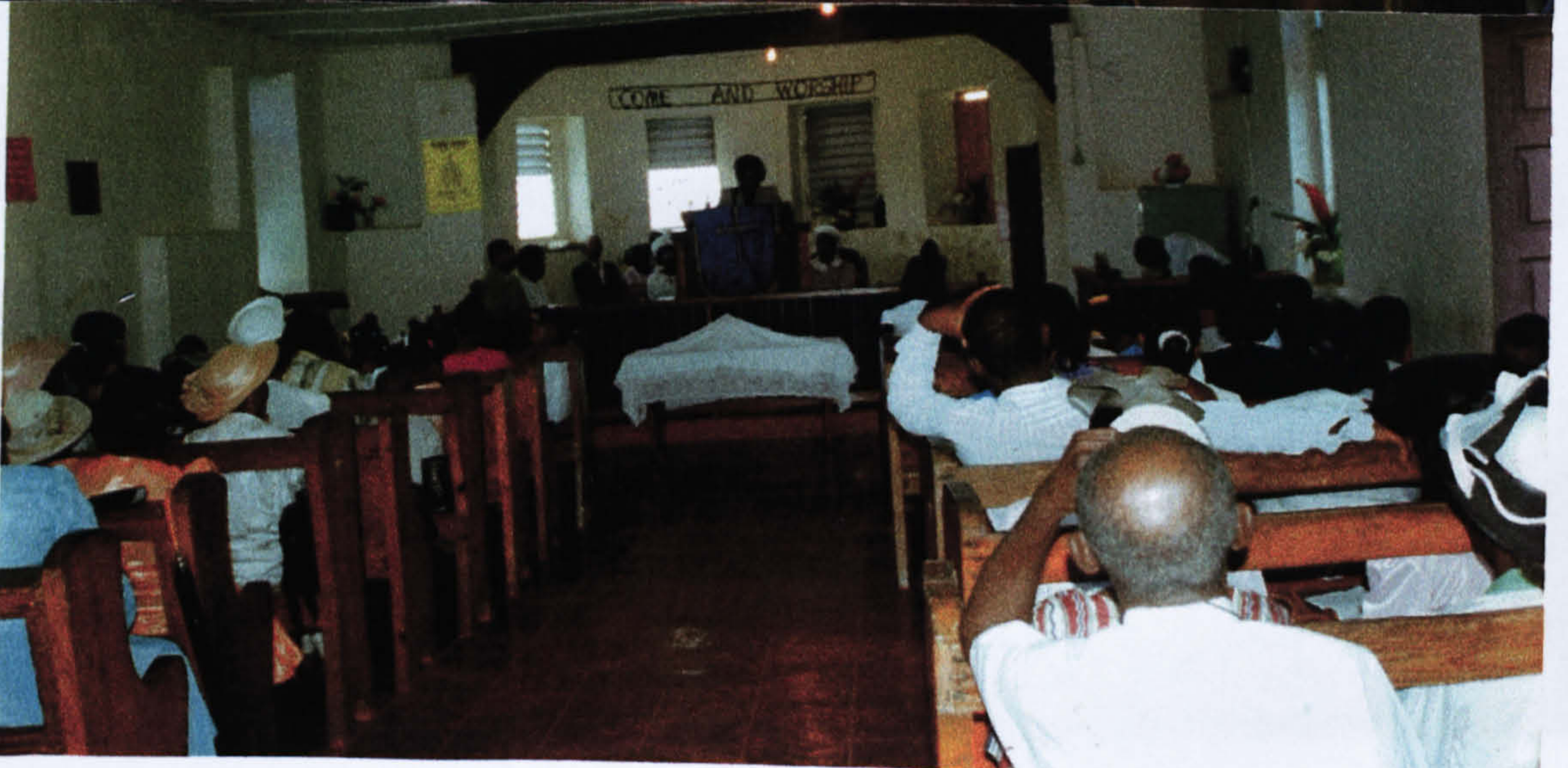


Illustration 4 - Phillippo Baptist Church



Illustration 5 - Faith Standing Church



Illustration 6 - Foursquare Church of God



Fellowship Tabernacle



Illustration 7 - James Mountain Revivalist Church



Illustration 8 - Sligoville All Age School



Illustration 9 - Descendants

Mr Talbot & Sister Alma

Mr Cooper

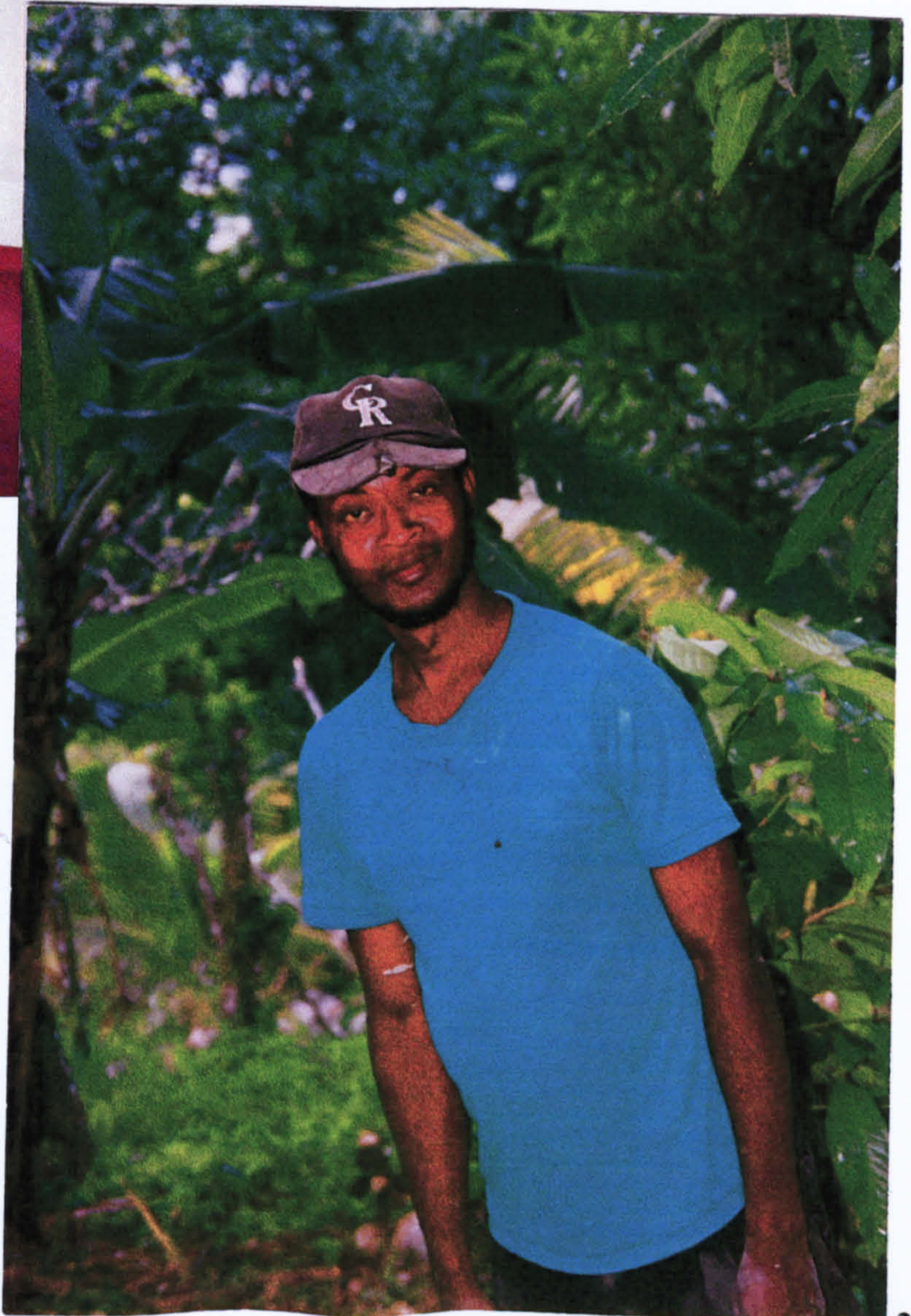
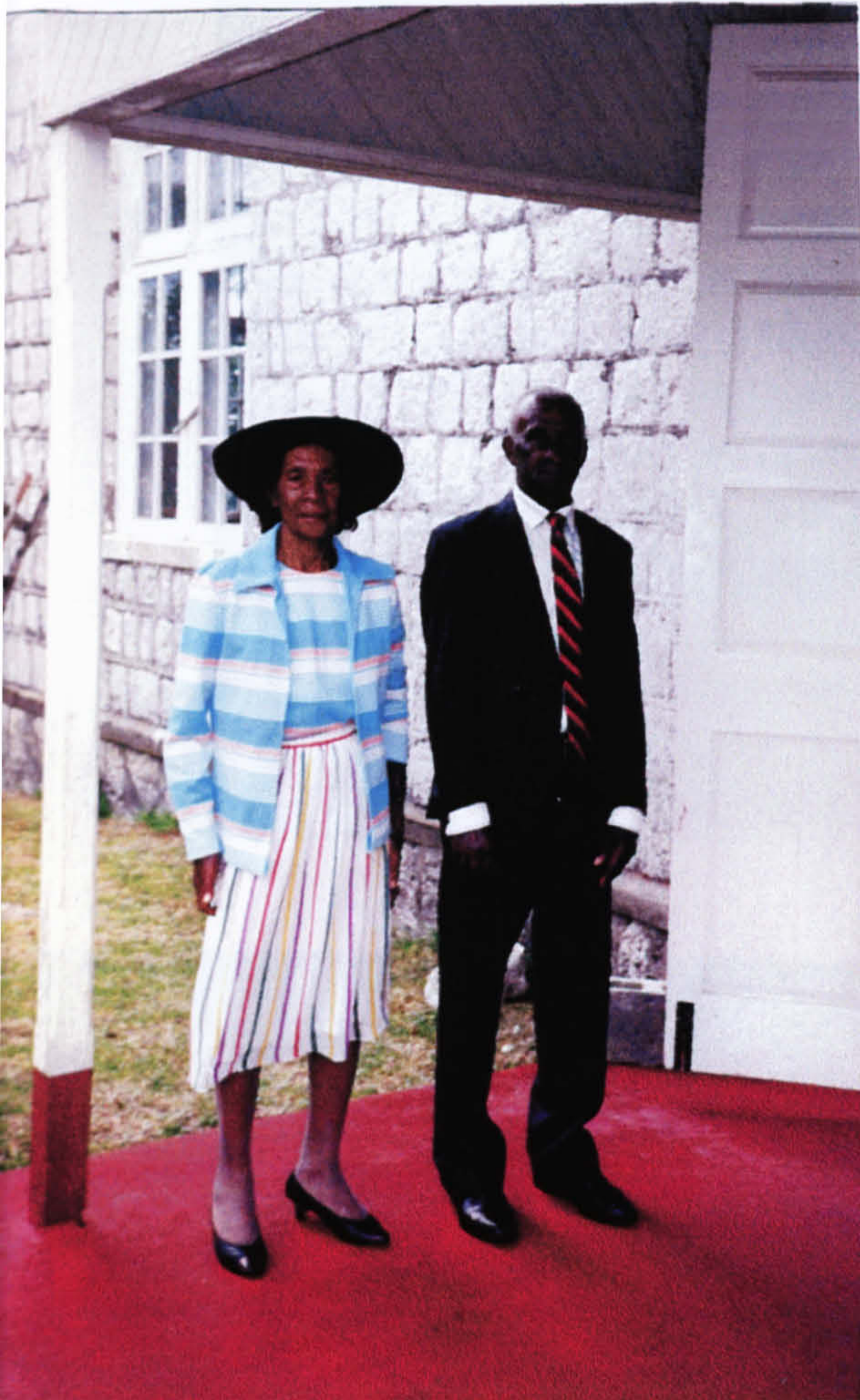


Illustration 10 - Mr Ayre, Son & Grandson and Mrs Ayre



Illustration 11 - Reverend Phillippo and his family graves



CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Area

This thesis examines identity formation in Sligoville, Jamaica's first Baptist free village founded in 1838. Thus, the area with which this thesis is concerned is cultural identity. Cultural identity is considered within a socio-cultural anthropological framework that encourages inquiry into human culture and poses that question so essential in my thesis, how are the norms, values and standards by which people act are transmitted from one generation to the next. Socio-cultural anthropological investigations include studies of kinship (Goodenough 1955), religion and ritual, socio-political organisation, subsistence practices and economic relationships and oral accounts such as folk tales and legends. There are also studies on colonial and post-colonial experiences, the intersection between natural and cultural systems and gender, sexuality and emotions.

It is, within this socio-anthropological framework that I give consideration to ways in which the lives of Sligovillians have changed since the founding of their village through to contemporary times. I examine those activities that characterise culture building (Besson 1987a, 1993, 2002). In this inquiry I focus on the acquisition of land (Besson 1987, 1993, 2002), the establishment of a community of belonging, the development of descent and kinship relations (Besson 1987, 1993, 2002) and the historical context within which cultural patterns emerge (Besson 1987, 1993, 2002; Mintz 1989).

With the acquisition of land the ex-slaves built their homes and used some of the land for agricultural purposes. This secured their right of abode in the locale and through their individual and co-operative activities created the conditions for the emergence of the village as a free community (Paget and Farley 1964; Besson 1984 and 2002; Hall

1978, 1973; Marshall 1985; Mintz 1985; 1989).

However, in the continuing hostile environment after emancipation, the ex-slaves' position remained tenuous and they had to find creative ways of sustaining their new status as landowners. Land, though used as an economic asset and a means of sustaining autonomy, also held social and symbolic status (Besson 1979, 1987, 1984a, 1984b, 2000, 2002; Clarke 1953, 1957). Land supported subsistence and established locality. As such it became an anchor for grounding self and in turn it forged specific identity and a sense of belonging.

I draw on Besson's studies on family land, kinship and culture building in the Baptist free villages of Martha Brae, Trelawny, in Jamaica to consider how family land and its use contributes to the sustaining of identity, in Sligoville. Besson conducted her study over a period of some thirty years and her evidencing that family land is a central institution in culture building is of importance and influential in my thesis.

Besson's studies also have significance for the development of community belonging as her concept of family land (Clarke 1957; Besson 1984a, 1984b, 2002) is of central importance in this activity. Sligoville was created under the auspices of the Reverend Phillippo, an English Baptist Preacher of the British Baptist Mission who purchased the land, subdivided it and sold it on to ex-slaves. In time the first free villagers/*first timers*¹ through their aggregated individual experiences, interrelationships and collective activities established a connectedness to the area and to each other. Together they determined their rights, forged an identity and established institutions, based on

¹ Original settlers are those who established Sligoville and created forms of belonging through fields of relations shaped by lived experiences, material causes and the use of narratives. 'First timers' is a term that refers to a select number of specific families who can trace their descendant to first settlers. These families are also referred to as insiders.

commonly held values and lived experiences that encouraged integration and facilitated the development of a unified community driven by the need for their own individual location and the continuity of the collectivity.

However, there is evidence of the impact of Revivalism (Chevannes 1995; Besson 1995d; Besson and Chevannes 1996; Bisnauth 1996; Austin-Broos 1997; Erskine 1998) an indigenous creolized religion, which enabled Sligovillians to maintain elements of African cosmologies and religious practices within European Christian institutions. I draw on the works of Chevannes (1995), Besson (1995), and Besson and Chevannes (1996) on religion and on the continuity and creativity of the Revival worldview in the process of identity formation and culture building. I do this to substantiate the impact Revivalism has in this area in present times by providing evidence of new indigenised religious forms that have emerged in Sligoville. This can be seen for example within Pentecostalism (Austin-Broos 1987; Wedenoja 1980). I also consider the applicability of Mintz's sociological characteristics (see chapter 4) of religiously founded villages.

Further, I draw on villagers' experiences to provide explanations of how indigenous models of reality are used to recall shared experiences, and to validate attachment to the community, despite the socio-economic and cultural forces that marginalised them and militated against their hope for dignity and security. However, it was the villagers drive for securing their right of abode, together with their shared experiences which assisted in their unifying and encouraged their sense of belonging in place, an identity (Sligoville) as a community and the emergence of family and kinship patterns.

Kinship, as Fox (1967:16) demonstrates, is a principle around which most societies

make provision to transfer property and social position after death. Family land as Besson (1992, 2002) has shown is a symbol for identity of family lines, village history, community and national identity. Therefore, I draw on the studies of Fox and Besson to give consideration to issues related to descent, kinship and burial in Sligoville

The original settlers who established Sligoville created forms of belonging through fields of relations shaped by their lived experiences. They used the term 'first timers' for a select number of specific families who could trace their descendants to the first settlers. These 'first timers' are 'insiders'. Other 'insiders' would include those individuals that are born within the village or have descent and kinship connections to the village. It is a fictive term for outsiders who have been socialised within the village. 'Outsiders' are those individuals who have settled or are residing in the village but have no real biological connection to the villagers or may have chosen not to become socialised in the body of community practices.

History portrays who Sligovillians are, how they maintain who they are, and how who they are is sustained through the generations in their individual and collective memories of the past. As past experiences lay the foundation and reinforce the right to belong to a place and to be identified with a specific space(s), historical experiences confirm those who belong in the village and help to reinforce the ties of allegiance in the community.

Hence, Sligovillians narrate a history that predates emancipation but which roots them in the present and is continuing with their focus on the future. Although it is more than one hundred and sixty-five years since emancipation, it is in the narratives derived from this history that Sligovillians offer interpretations and give meaning to belonging to their individual and collective location.

The area in which Sligoville was established is Highgate. Highgate marked the geographical boundaries within which the ex-slaves shaped their ways of being. It is an area which is historically significant, not only in relation to developments in Highgate, but also in relation to the wider Jamaican community. Sligovillians use this history to demonstrate their connectedness to the area and to show that their history is of great significance to the nation.

Thus for Sligovillians history is a reference point which enable them to relay and reconstruct specific events, bringing them into the present. This supports both the individual and collective sense of belonging. However, Sligovillians conceptualise their belonging in terms of being located in, or having a connection with Sligoville, and also in terms of seeing their village as Jamaica's first Baptist free village. They proffer their own historic role as nation builders on the basis that the bounded space they occupy is the place where new forms of autonomy and citizenship emerged.

By considering the sociological and historical framework within which Sligoville is held I assess the significance of the village's establishment within the wider national history and evidence how Sligoville's past has contemporary meaning through examination of emerging cultural patterns.

In the examination of emerging cultural patterns in Sligoville I argue that it is the process of creolization (Brathwaite 1971; Balutansky; K. & M. Sourieau (1998) that shapes the village's distinct character. However, I acknowledge that within academia the concept of creolization remains ill defined and that the terms 'syncretism' and 'hybridisation' are often used as substitutes for creolization.

I argue though that syncretism and hybridity focus on elements that give meaning to blending or coping within a space. However, the process of creolization is not merely about the blending or borrowing of fragments or elements of differing cultures. Instead creolization preserves or reformulates and creates new cultural forms due to differing events and forces within the society. Thus, the theory of creolization offers new ways of interpreting change in activities, relationships and the formation of identities local to the communities in which they are evidenced. In essence, it is a process of continuing indigenisation, making globalised ideas or beliefs local or indigenous to the society.

Hence, I give consideration to the localised perspectives of Sligovillians related to their lived experiences, indigenised models of reality and cultural experiences and offer interpretations and explanations of cultural and social change in Sligoville. This I consider affords the purposeful understanding and appreciation of Sligovillians' cultural values and history through their own eyes.

Thus, the process of creolization and the theory of creolization are used as an expansive framework within which to situate my ethnographic research and ground my inquiry within an anthropological perspective. Further, it enables me to highlight the diversity of Sligoville, through their lived experiences of its members and to provide an analysis of how those members draw on religion and their past and present environment to structure and authenticate new religious modes, whilst developing a "black identity".

Aims and Objectives

The main aim of this thesis is show that the ex-slaves were central to culture building in Sligoville and that Revivalism and its Revival worldview held much importance in their construction of a Sligovillian identity and community of belonging.

To do this I undertake a theoretical overview of the models used for interpreting and explaining social structures in Jamaican society, together with models for inquiry into cultural changes. In this context I examine the process of creolization giving attention to its meaning and its usefulness in my inquiry in relation to culture change in Sligoville.

The theory of creolization is used to interpret, explain and give meaning to the changes that are occurring in Sligoville. It plays a major role in Caribbean ethnography and allows for a dynamic analysis of the adaptation, reinterpretation and transformation of Sligovillian cultural processes through time.

I also explore literature relating to cultural identity from Caribbean perspectives and give consideration to the theoretical discourse on the creolization of religion in Jamaica. I outline a number of theoretical perspectives that are used to explore the issues of cultural identity. These varying models illustrate the complexities of bringing the past into the present in order to represent and position subjectivity within modern societies. I take a thematic approach, developing an argument that articulates the dynamics of ideology and history and analyse how these two forces interrelate with notions of difference, representation and exclusion.

The literature overview provides the backdrop for the assessment of how land acquisition, community formation, and kinship patterns, important features in the process of identity formation within an historical context, is influenced by indigenised religions. I chart the development of religion in Jamaica and describe the history and sociological characteristics of Sligoville, giving emphasis to the evolution of Revivalism.

Therefore, I explore how land is used as a space and a place for sustaining individual rights and maintaining community freedom (Besson 1992, 1995a). I investigate how land is used as a stabilising force that initiated a sense of belonging and sustained identity. Furthermore, as Sligovillians attached much importance to the acquisition of the land as it offered them some measure of security I give an account of its implication for descent and kinship relations and the development of their community.

My interest is in situating Besson's finding, relating to land especially family land and its use in sustaining identity, in Sligoville, Jamaica's first Baptist free village.

I also explore how communal identity is derived from a specific history influenced by the Revival worldview² (Chevannes 1995) that frames Sligovillian values and lifestyles. I also draw on the works of Chevannes (1995), Besson (1995), and Besson and Chevannes (1996) on religion and the continuity and creativity of the Revival worldview in the process of identity formation and culture building. These issues are given further substantiation and made more contemporary through evidencing the emergence of new indigenised religious forms in Sligoville. Further, I consider the applicability of Mintz's (1987) sociological characteristics of religiously founded villages (see chapter 4) and assess whether Sligoville is an atypical religiously founded village.

In this emphasis on Revivalism I explore the concept of power and the morality of black identity, the historic and spatial markers of identity and the implications of death on identity formation. I argue that creolized religion especially Revivalism with its indigenised religious worldview constitute an important means by which Sligovillians negotiate their position. Therefore, provided is an ethnographic study on the

² See Chevannes 1995:xvi; Besson 2002 and Thoden van Velzen (1995:200-201) on ideology.

construction of cultural identity in Sligoville, in which history is recalled and articulated to reflect on relationships and explore how qualities such as a sense of oneness, continuity and empowerment can be evidenced within the community.

Geographical location

The location of my of field research is of great significance. However, views as to the boundaries of Sligoville are fluid and open to change, because of some dependence on oral history (Brodber 1983) for the determining of its parameters. Hence, in my attempt to outline the scope of the village I have to acknowledged that there are some difficulties in stating exactly where the boundaries of Sligoville begin and end (See maps 2 and 3). There is variation according to circumstance and to official or unofficial boundary shifts. Here, the original bounded area (village) of twenty-five acres, as founded by Phillippo, is the official boundary. The much wider district of Sligoville comprises a number of additional villages, where lines of demarcation represent Sligoville's postal district borders.

However, parishioners say that the village begins in Greendale Park, Spanish Town and encompasses Thompson Pen, Waterloo, Three Miles, Mount Dawson, Kensington and Stanberry Grove. They also claim that the village extends to the crossroads, runs down to Upper and Lower Jackson through to Mary village and James Mountain and finally ends in Burke Mountain. Over time too, political activities and further land acquisition have served to shape Sligoville's administrative area. The size of the original village has increased.

Thus, with these challenges in establishing Sligoville's exact boundary a bounded field has to be created for the purposes of this study. In doing this I have incorporated

selected villages that lie on the periphery of the original village. Hence, the area of research comprises the original village and additional parcels of land that are now regarded as part of the village. I also incorporate sections of Cedar Valley, Mary Village and James Mountain due to their close proximity to the original bounded land space. James Mountain is a significant area of reference because the first Revivalist church led by Harold Bogle³ was located there and a Revivalist church remains in James Mountain today. I also include Waugh Hill in Burke Mountain in my research as it has historical connections with Sligoville and is Bogle's place of internment. I look at all these villages to highlight the historical links that exist and to show that these villages cooperate with, yet they have differences to Sligoville. As part of the Highgate estate, Sligoville's boundaries extend to Montpellier, Llangibby, Fulham Park and Hampstead estates.

Why Sligoville?

There are a number of factors that have influenced my decision to choose Sligoville as my place of academic research. As Jamaica's first religiously founded free community, but as yet, anthropologically undocumented⁴, it provided a great opportunity for original anthropological research. I was positive that research undertaken here would unearth vital data that would be of considerable interest to academic scholars. The village is an appropriate space in which to study cultural identity and examine issues pertaining to the flight from the estate and the continuing development of the free village system (Besson 1992, 1984, 2002; Paget and Farley 1964; Hall 1978 and 1993; Marshall 1985; Mintz 1989) following emancipation.

³ Bogle was the spiritual leader of the first Revivalist church in James Mountain (Zion Revival Church). Bogle and his followers moved to Waugh Hill and at his death his body was interred with a memorial built around his grave as a living monument next to a Revivalist church.

Further, Sligoville, as a religiously founded Baptist free village, also provides an ideal environment in which to examine the role of religion in identity formation. In the village of Sligoville, Mintz's (1987:10-11) typology⁵ of religiously founded free communities can be tested and the forces and processes that affect cultural change, particularly in contemporary times, can be explored.

Positioned Subjectivity

The reasons for undertaking this intensive piece of fieldwork in my country of origin are multiple and complex. However, they are located within past and more recent experiences. Indeed, I have an historical association with Jamaica as my birthplace, but just as important in my desire to research Jamaica has been the encouragement of two native anthropologists and luminaries. They are Dr. Loizos, one of my undergraduate tutors who is of Greek Cypriot and Scottish descent, and Dr. Besson, my post-graduate supervisor, who is a creole Jamaican. Their work and enthusiasm convinced me of the benefits to be gained by carrying out the research in my original home and Besson's studies on Jamaica in particular influenced the areas that I give decided attention in my study on Sligoville. The decision-making though also involved consideration of my own conceptual processes, financial resources and opportunities that would be accessible to me.

However, as I ventured into the field, I wondered how I would meet my goals and ensure that I fulfil my research aims and objectives. By undertaking research in the country of my birth I understood that subjectivity would be an issue and that the work undertaken in Jamaica would reveal as much about myself as it would about the society

⁴ I use undocumented in this context to explain that although Sligoville has been mentioned in numerous works the village had not been previously documented anthropologically.

⁵ Mintz's typology refers to a number of characteristics that he felt might typify religiously founded free villages (see also page 144: footnote 28 of this thesis).

where the research would be conducted.

Two questions came to mind. The first was how would I react when faced with the vision of my '*true self*' as reflected by this particular community? The second was how would I be able to achieve cultural and scientific detachment (Okely 1992: 8) in a professional way? In responding to these questions I acknowledged awareness that anthropology is traditionally concerned with 'other', that is, the notion of difference. The need to leave home and immerse oneself in a strange and unknown culture. However, I also acknowledged that there was the growing debate as to the contrasting benefits of anthropological research carried out at home and in familiar settings (Ellen 1984: 129-132, Amit: 2000). This gave me much encouragement as I sought to commence my fieldwork.

Initially though I felt compelled to show that the members of my chosen research site were and are spatially and socially different from me, particularly as a former resident and native-born, it could be said, that I, at least on some level, shared some similarities with Sligovillians. However, several factors separate me from Sligovillians.

Firstly, my academic training as an anthropologist enables me to maintain distance. Secondly, I was neither born nor raised in Sligoville which has a distinctly unique sense of identity and I was unfamiliar with this area. Thirdly, my status as an adult expatriate of over thirty-five years further positions me as an outsider in a Sligovillian context. Further, with my place of residence or present home being in the United Kingdom amplifies my outsider status.

Thus, though there are some similarities that I could claim in relation to nationality, my

field site is in an area away from my place of birth and a location with which I was unfamiliar. The field is also different, unusual, or even unknown. On this basis the field is away. It is challenging and external to me. Therefore, I considered that within this framework of difference, together with my professionalism, distance would be created between the researcher (me) and the field in the undertaking of this study on Sligoville.

My lifetime experience of over thirty years at home in England compared to seventeen years-lived in Jamaica supersedes my native status. It frames my experiences within I find my location. I am located as a positioned observer derived from within a position of difference or otherness. Therefore, the place of location for me is that of a transnational anthropologist with native experience from the past.

I consider that my location is useful in the field (Wulff: 1992) of multilocal sites for prior knowledge of the society and its culture neither distorts my anthropological perspective nor disqualifies me from anthropological theorising. Indeed, my past knowledge is now analysed through an anthropological lens. Rather than seeing myself as native, I am an anthropologist whose native experience from the past proves invaluable in this field (Wulff 2000: 153-154).

In this context I am aware of the discourse concerned with objectivity and native anthropologists and I am of the view that there is a place in anthropology, especially within the post-modern discourse, to change and redefine the ethnographer (Said 1978). Thus, I have an understanding of the changing definition of anthropology in the wider field of human social and cultural life. My undergraduate training in anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) introduced me to the history of the discipline as framed within a colonialist past. Further, the new post-modern

debate and contemporary discourse on the 'positioned observer' (Asad 1973; Bourdieu 1976: 425; Harker 1990:79; Rosaldo 1993[1989] 46-54) anthropological study carried out 'at home'⁶ and 'native versus anthropology' (Hastrup 1992, 1993, 1997; Amit 2000) was and is certainly of interest to me.

My position is that of a Jamaican female born in the village of Darling Spring in the Parish of St Catherine. However, I grew up in a neighbouring village within the district of Harewood. Harewood an established community, much like Sligoville, was once part of a sugar plantation that had adjacent far larger sugar plantations, particularly the estate of Baron Harewood, in the district of Williamsfield, formerly the parish of St Thomas-ye-Vale. In 1836, Lord Harewood donated thirty-six acres of land for the building of a school, church (St Saviour's Anglican) and vicarage, with the remaining land to be used for the upkeep of the church and school.

I am similar to members of the Sligoville community in that I grew up in a rural village of small-scale agricultural landholders. I have strong links to Harewood School and St Saviour's Anglican Church due to my education and religious attendance. Like Sligoville, Harewood was founded through the auspices of a land-owning benefactor. A member of my father's maternal family owns a large percentage of the land within Harewood village so, I grew up knowing the familial links with, and the meanings attached to ownership of large land parcels.

Whilst ideas of land ownership, education and religion structured my perceptions and social actions, my sense of belonging was informed by my knowledge of familial connections within the district. My paternal and maternal grandparents were

⁶ Here, home is used to denote the original country of birth, or place with which the individual has emotional, physical and symbolic

landowners. Factors such as this determined how I was perceived within my community and beyond. They defined my otherness and difference within a Jamaican cultural context. However, Sligoville's cultural identity, its social and religious evolution and its continuing agrarian development are a part of my national heritage.

As the villagers define my position, I am able to stand back and observe actions and the consequences of these actions. I am an observer who participates within the community. Therefore, my approach is to be conscious of the native me and the spectator or ethnographer me who are interpreting activities ethnographically (Barnard 1990). As Trouillot (1992:24) so eloquently states 'who is to bestow nativeness?' From this standpoint, I argue that the ethnographic study I offer in my work does bring an added scientific dimension to this research.

My desire to research at home was also triggered by the fact that the Caribbean region is a marginalised site of anthropological research and that there is much debate surrounding the ethnography of native anthropologists, especially scholars from developing nations. The notion that only the Western 'I'⁷ (Okely 1996a: 5) as opposed to the Third World 'Other' can objectively study Third World societies creates a considerable challenge for contemporary ethnography. The implication that one is either a native or anthropologist because each has a 'different knowledge project,' means that the former is seen as operating on a practical level while the latter possesses theoretical understanding (Hastrup 1993: 154). This questions the role of ethnography, particularly as anthropology and its ethnographic perspective is the marriage of the practical and the theoretical.

ties. Home can at times refer to location and space of residence.

Strathern (1987b: 16) informs us that it is not at all straightforward how we go about deciding who is at home or when one is at home. She stresses that there are a multiplicity of boundaries and these impact on how individuals feel they belong or not belong. It is imperative therefore, to conceptualise new kinds of natives and get to grips with the notion of a range of natives who will differ. More importantly, natives are others within their society and their relationships to each other will differ. Liebow (1967: 232-256) shows it is possible to seek the unfamiliar at home. Whilst Ahmed and Shore (1995) suggest there are theoretical and ethical reasons for anthropologists to reject research based on the exotic other. Anthropologists should study their own societies.

These changes in the theoretical and ethical approach of ethnographic writing from the objective to a more reflexive approach with the ethnographer as a positioned observer (Rosaldo 1993), Judith Okely (1992) also called for autobiographical reflexivity and commitment to social immersion. As Bourdieu (1990:58) has shown the reflexive approach to ethnography need not be narcissistic or uncritical. Instead it is about the attention to interpretation and representation.

However in questioning the privileged status of the outside observer and the so-called privileged position (Breinburgh 2001:32-39; Price 2001: 29-31) of the native observer and their relationship between their subject, the question that further arises is what interest does the researcher have when they take either position? Bourdieu perceives that there are no privileged positions. Thus both positions must be understood within the context of the state of the field at particular moments and are both strategies adopted in the field. It is the discipline that places one in a privileged position as a researcher and

⁷ Western 'I' refers to European's and Euro-American's individuality/self.

forces the researcher to adopt strategies rather than rely on cultural similarities or previous knowledge.

At times prior knowledge of the structure and function of a native culture will serve to locate the researcher as a privileged observer. However, this status is ever shifting. The relationship between the subject, the academic work, the institution and the country with which the researcher is connected might play a part in altering their privileged position. Thus, multiple identities are produced.

Further, not only do researchers who go into the field possess multiple shifting identities (Narayan 1993) but they must undergo separation into native or non-native anthropologist. Again, contemporary anthropological discourse recognises the difficulties of working within one's society, raising ethnographic issues of representation and presentation.

As such, ethnographic representation relies on the use of a textual language that readily conveys an understanding of the subject. As a native anthropologist, you can gain greater insight into your subject because prior knowledge affords cross referencing of received information. This means an insider can provide a more insightful view. My positioned subjectivity enables me to interpret from the inside out. Similarly, I can interpret outside in. However, the views of the collective must take precedence over the views of the researcher.

Research Methodology

It is at this point that I give evidence of my research methodology for this thesis which is a direct outcome of over eighteen months of intensive field-based research and short-

term visits up until 2001. These research methods are tools designed to overcome the politics of interpretation and representation (Bourdieu 1979, 1983; Harker 1990; Hammersley 1993; Davies 2002; Geertz 1975, 1988; Hess 1990). During the first six months, I resided at my brother's home which is situated on the outskirts of Sligoville, in the hills overlooking Waterloo. Due to my non-resident status this initial period of study comprised observational research, taking the form of daily trips to Sligoville. For the remaining nine months I lived in the village itself where I not only watched but also participated in village life.

Fieldwork had begun in earnest in May 1997, commencing with four visits to the Jamaican archives in Spanish Town. These visits to the archives provided much needed information for example, in the form of maps and official documents about past colonial governments and the establishment of Sligoville. These first few trips to Spanish Town granted me access to townsfolk such as taxis drivers, Sligovillians and to people living in neighbouring villages. More importantly, it enabled me to observe how Sligovillians interact with each other and with strangers when outside of their village. As a result of these excursions, I succeeded in familiarising myself with the area.

Observational methods and personal interviews characterised much of my initial fieldwork and as I lived initially outside of Sligoville I had to make frequent visits to the village in pursuit of gathering information. The number of visits was dictated by the availability of informants or on the timing of village activities. This was also the case with observations and interviews in neighbouring villages.

On my first trip from Spanish Town to my area of research, I travelled along the road to Sligoville towards the centre of the village. I passed through the lowlands of Thompson

Pen, Greendale, Tredegar Park, Keystone and Waterloo. The Highland Mountains of St Jago Heights, Montequ Heights, St Jago Hills and St Jago Meadows surround these villages. St Jago Meadows, formerly known as Pinnacle, was the first Rastafarian settlement (Barrett 1997) and is currently being developed into a private housing estate. My journey also took me into the villages of Richard Hall otherwise know as Mount Moreland and into Kensington, Cedar Valley and lastly into Sligoville.

Upon my arrival I immediately visited the Sligoville All-Age School. There I met Miss James, one of the senior teachers, who is also a deacon of the Mount Zion Baptist church. She passed on the first vital piece of information which was the name of the local historian and 'gatekeeper' Mr Ayre. Meetings with locals meant I could enter into general conversation and forge relationships that would enable interviews.

The first few trips into Sligoville enabled me to familiarise myself with the village's location in relation to Spanish Town, the nearest town, and to villages on the periphery of Sligoville. It also enabled me to set up meetings with key community members for the purpose of interview.

My permanent residency in the United Kingdom, and the fact that I had only taken irregular trips to the island prior to research meant that as far as the Sligovillians were concerned I had severed links with *'home'*. Therefore, I needed to renegotiate my Jamaican identity and my sense of locale. Firstly, I had to demonstrate that I possessed national and local knowledge and indigenous values too. I was often referred to as the 'mad English woman'. My identity and position were indeed ambiguous. Villagers though accorded me visiting rights with the opportunity to learn about village life. This provided an opportunity for me to serve an apprenticeship and demonstrate awareness

of the community, its history and values. They wanted to know what my intentions were regarding the information I received. Additionally, they questioned the value of my project. As my identity was unclear, I entered into the scheme of legitimate transferral learning.⁸ I had to be socialised into the community in order to be granted access to them and the information they held about the village.

Visits made to different churches were perceived as a desire on my part to willingly acquire greater community knowledge and by choosing not to align myself with one particular church, over and above the rest, my individuality and autonomy were assured. I conducted interviews amongst various congregations as well as amongst the officiating clergy themselves. Not only did I observe worship, but I also participated in religious services. This level of access afforded an even greater appreciation of community identity. I discovered that the first site of reference in identity formation is to gain “acceptance”. Once I gained their trust many of the villagers would speak more freely to me.

In order to bring a holistic approach to the research the life histories of two descendants of first free settlers are recorded. However, compiling a community oral history (Brodber 1983) proved more successful than information regarding present Revival churches and particular practices. Although, the first seven months of daily observational visits provided a vast amount of data and information, these resources might be viewed as limiting⁹. Debate concerning oral history that questions the validity of the information, as quality is dependent on the informant’s ability to recall situations

⁸ Legitimate transferral learning as I use it refers to the ways in which a new comer is received within a community or group and the process of socialisation that takes place. This might include the newcomers expressing their wish to learn community knowledge as well as the community transferral of their body of knowledge to the individual. Within this process the newcomer is situated within the community through active participation and demonstration of community loyalty and understanding of received knowledge.

⁹My use of the term limiting is to highlight the discourse within the discipline regarding the recall of oral history, memory and reminiscences. The debate centres on those which individuals choose to remember/recall or even to impart to an individual. The

is recognised. However, I make no excuse for the use of oral history. I draw directly on villagers' definitions and localised knowledge. More importantly, villagers consider their experiences and those of their descendants to be of primary significance in asserting their individuality and the history of their community.

Regular travel taken by way of public transport afforded me the opportunity to ask outsiders questions about Sligovillians and the village itself. As an outsider some members of neighbouring villagers also felt able to speak more freely to me. Taxi rides made it possible to communicate with a wider cross section of residents. I was able to gather sensitive information that might not necessarily be imparted within the confines of the community. Outsiders also provided snippets of local knowledge that gave additional insight into the history and lives of Sligovillians.

Research practices such as visits to individual's homes and small-scale farms provided further insight into individual and community action. Daily field notes and a field diary were used to collect copious amounts of information that enabled a systematic recording of village life.

Thus, the primary research method used was that of participant observation. Secondary research methods included structured and unstructured interviews and open and closed questionnaires. Audio and visual recordings captured conversation, ceremonies, functions and rituals that I could analyse outside of the field.

Multiple research strategies were implemented where, for example, data elicited from different individuals needed to be cross-referenced. I was therefore careful to evaluate

discussion widens further with interest on whether individuals have any or very little knowledge of the past or whether they are

conversations held with members of the community. I was also careful to review discussions held with insiders and outsiders about their role within, and perspectives on creolized religions, specifically Revivalism. I also cross-referenced narratives of oral and life histories by separating them into either identifiable or observable features. These features were then subdivided and researched as objects or space, which for example could include the identification of physical elements. Particular attention was paid to events, activities, actors, time, and goals. Additionally, the rapport built up with particular taxi drivers for example, not only generated supporting information but also provided the means to check information for accuracy.

The research methodology also included case studies on the Sligoville Community Group and the Police Youth Group. Further, I observed and actively participated in community meetings and events. These activities provided greater insights into how groups within the community are either empowered or dis-empowered.

‘Action research’ was also utilised, particularly where the research process became inextricably linked with religion in practice. This is how I could ascertain whether creolized practices were empowering or not, and also how Revivalism was and is validated and legitimised.

The fact that I lived within the village and resided in the home of a village outsider¹⁰ for the later half of my fieldwork aided my research. It enabled a more in-depth village study. The constant comings and goings of the villagers could be observed from my abode which was situated at the crossroads, near the village square.

selective in whom they impart this knowledge to and when.

¹⁰ Village outsider refers to any individual who resides within the village, but is not considered an insider. Such individual have chosen not been fully socialised within village life.

Participation in numerous village activities provided insight into the community's lifestyle and perceptions. Visits to local rum bars and grocery shops coupled with day to day socialising were an integral part of my research methodology. Observing villagers on a daily basis generated valuable information, but living with, and participating in their activities gave me an even broader perspective. For example, the village comes to life at night, especially at weekends when the music and dominoes are played and local delicacies are sold. Individuals and groups of people are seen immersed in discussion about local and external affairs. To visit and observe the village and then depart from it each evening would be to miss a vital part of village life. The methods employed in my research, which include participant observation, case studies and life histories, were qualitatively analysed. Nothing was assumed or taken for granted.

Academic Benefits of this Research

There are a range of academic benefits to be gained from this socio-cultural anthropological research on Sligoville and the first stems from the character of study itself, in that there is much anthropological value in studying small-scale communities. This is particularly so in relation to notions of belonging and location in the global landscape of identity formation and cultural change, which is the subject matter of this thesis. I consider the sociological and historical patterns that provided for the construction of cultural identities in a small-scale community.

My thesis contributes generally to the anthropological area with which my thesis is concerned and complements specifically Besson's studies pertaining to culture building by ex-slaves in the Martha Brae free villages in Trelawny, Jamaica (Besson 1993, 1995, 2002). The thesis also builds on this existing body of knowledge by providing an ethnographic account of Jamaica's first free village following emancipation and first

religiously founded Baptist free village in 1838.

In providing this ethnographic account of Sligoville there is academic benefit too in that the central argument of this thesis relates to how land is held, a sense of community formed and descent and kinship relations created, stimulated by the process of creolization within an historical context. The thesis complements studies on land acquisition and substantiates Besson's argument of the centrality of family land¹¹ in culture building. It also attends to issues related to the amount of land acquired and the social background of the individuals selling parcels of land. Within this context the importance of owning land is emphasised materially and symbolically (Besson 1998).

Further, my thesis is also of academic benefit in providing an anthropological study of ethnogenesis whilst demonstrating the richness of indigenous religions and their ability to evolve and adapt in order to determine identity and cultural values. Besson and Chevannes' studies have much importance here and I draw on their influential studies (Chevannes 1995; Besson 1993, 1995, 2002; Besson and Chevannes 1996) on creolization and the continuing creativity of the Revival worldview in evidencing the impact of creolized religions on identity formation in Sligoville.

However, whilst I draw on and concur with many aspects of Besson's and Chevannes' (1996) studies, especially in terms of culture building and the link between the Revival worldview and new religious forms, my thesis both complement and extend their studies through identifying further links between the Revival worldview and the development of new religious forms in Sligoville. My thesis contributes to the study of

¹¹ Family land refers to land, which passes on undivided to a group of heirs collectively, regardless of their gender or legal status. These parcels of land might be bought land which has been transformed through kinship, traditional systems or through the use of land law. See also Besson (1988)

new religious movements and takes ethnographic accounting related to the formation of cultural identity in Jamaica to a new area.

The thesis provides an historical account of the emergence of creolized religion in Jamaica's first Baptist free village, emphasising its significance as a force of resistance and empowerment. The thesis also identifies a cloaking mechanism that has been adopted by the followers of the different churches so as to continue the Revival worldview and as a result of such activities, the creation of new religious forms. Hence, in identifying Revival-Pentecostalism (Chevannes 1995, 1996) in Sligoville (1997) and Church of God¹² in the parishes of St. Catherine and St. Mary (1930s) as new religious forms coming out of Revivalism (Besson 1995d, 1996 and 2002) there are further academic benefits for studies into the creolization of religion are given further substantiation.

The studies of Wedenoja (1980) and Austin-Broos (1987) on the indigenisation of Pentecostalism also have importance here, for their work is too given further substantiation in my original evidencing of two new religious forms (Seventh-Day Adventism and New Revival/Pentecostalism) with links to Revivalism.

Furthermore, in critiquing the work of Austin-Broos and Toulis I am able to draw parallels where possible through exploring different theories and ideas on identity formation and cultural and religious change so as to evidence the continuing evolution or indigenisation of religion and its significance in the maintenance of a Jamaican identity.

¹² 'Seventh Day Church of God' evolved from Adventism and Revivalism during the 1950s (oral history).

My thesis on the construction of a Jamaican identity complement and develops Schuler's, Besson's and Chevannes' studies. My thesis also concurs with Stewart's work (1992) on the liberatory aspect of Caribbean religions and the importance of 'Black religions' being studied from black perspectives within a localised framework. Hence, my thesis illuminates how sections of the community though marginalised are utilising their creativity in refashioning new cultural identities and argues that Sligoville's new religious movements can be represented as a search for the authentication of black religious modes within the context of localised value systems. This is the context within which I have sought to situate my thesis and offer an explanation of identity formation by utilising the 'creolization' theory.

Hitherto, debate surrounding the dialectical analysis of creolization theory has served to reorganise the framework and thus, the understanding of pre-emancipation and post-emancipation societies. Therefore, whilst the social systems of communities such as Sligoville are combinations of conflicts and oppositions; it is these contradictions, which give rise to cultural change. The thesis utilises Brathwaite's model of the creolization process to show its impact on the black religious modes ('little tradition') of ex-slaves in effecting cultural change, whilst supporting the development of new parochial wholeness and creole authenticity that is reflected in the emergence of New Revival Pentecostalism and Adventism.

There is also utilisation of the ideas of Bolland relating to the dialectical relationship that effect creative developments in the processes of cultural change. My thesis concurs with the view of Bolland that this dialectical relationship is an important element in the understanding of cultural development in the Caribbean in general and in Sligoville as a community in particular. Hence, rather than viewing these societies as divisive and

copying other cultural norms it is imperative to appreciate their ability to make constructive decisions regarding their needs and value systems which shape their environs and cultural lifestyles.

Furthermore, the notion of difference in sameness¹³, another element of creolization theory gives credence to the desire for autonomy which allows the individual to freely be a part of a unified whole, be accepting of difference whilst retaining the right to be different or to exercise an independent nature. In fact this thesis demonstrates the independent nature of many of the inhabitants of free communities to the religious institutions through which they were founded. As such this study in highlighting the factors which enable the formation of cultural identity in this bounded community shed light on the mechanism through which individuals and groups adopt to local and global change. Likewise it demonstrates the ability of people whilst under the structures of dominant power structures and institutions to resist, draw on specific elements of common experiences to unify and create appropriate structures that have meaning to their lifestyles and belonging.

Other themes in the thesis are also of academic benefit and central is the emergence of new forms of “acceptability” in Sligoville as a result of the creolization of Wilson’s models for “reputation and respectability”. I present a continuum of “Acceptability” (see chapter 6) that challenges Wilson’s (1969, 1973) constructs on “Reputation and Respectability” that is derived from a localised or creolized perspective that offer new ways of understanding emergent values relating to that which is acceptable on either the individual or community level. The continuum is a construct for evaluating local

¹³ In this context I use ‘difference in sameness’ to demonstrate that whilst there are similarities in the other free villages to Sligoville there is also (a) significant difference(s). Difference lies in its unique history and the community’s desire in occupying a specific place in the nation history through the development of a specific social identity.

knowledge and value systems, but more importantly it is a tool for ascribing status and mobility. This concept has potential for furthering the critique of Wilson's work (Besson 1993) and for providing insight into localised ways of determining ethical and moral values.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter one serves as an introduction to the thesis. It outlines the subject area, (cultural identity and creolized religion) informs on my aims and objectives and provides a synopsis of the thesis. In this chapter I also consider the academic reasons for choosing Sligoville as a site of study, my "positioned subjectivity" and the research methods used.

Chapter Two offers a theoretical introduction to the primary (creolization¹⁴) and secondary theories used in my analysis. There is a synopsis of the plural¹⁵ (Smith 1965), plantation society¹⁶ (Beckford 1976) and dialectical models¹⁷ (Brathwaite 1971; Bolland, 2002), coupled with a literature review on identity and cultural identity formation from within Caribbean perspectives. This is followed by a brief discussion on religious syncretism (Bastides 1978) that provides a theoretical perspective on the early religious changes that has significance for developments within the Caribbean.

¹⁴This theory identifies changes within society, especially within the Caribbean region. It seeks to explain how in response to the environment received knowledge is reinterpreted and transformed in order to influence and create new cultural forms. These cultural forms are creolized cultural values that are localised to those communities/societies. They enable groups or communities to develop specific cultural practices and emerge as distinctive societies.

¹⁵This theory is attributed to M.G. Smith's (1965) study among Caribbean societies. He stresses the persistence of social segmentation and conflict between racial and ethnic groups (African and European) arguing that these groups lack a consensus of cultural values. However, he identifies cultural pluralism among the people of the Caribbean, whilst, focusing on institutions such as kinship, education, religion, economy and property as the essence of people's culture and the model of their social structure.

¹⁶Beckford (1972, 1976) identifies the plantation system and the legacy of slavery as the core of Caribbean social life. The theory identifies the following features. The demographic structure of a mixed population of European coloniser, indigenous and imported labour. A specific social structure of closed classification based on colour and class stratification with economic divisions. The white elites holds economic, political power and authority. A Plural society consisting of racial groups with separate cultures brought together through the domination and power of the elites. A weak local community ties or organization followed by dependency and underdevelopment created by the social system.

¹⁷This model draws on conflict as the chief source or reason for social change, whilst looking at the different relationships of, mutuality and nature of the individual, as well as culture and society.

I have also drawn on a number of Caribbean works that presents a more liberatory approach to the understanding of how religious changes have influenced and continues to influence culture change (Erskine 1998, Bisnauth 1996). Further, I consider works on creolized religions in the Caribbean, particularly Revivalism in Jamaica (Besson 1995d, 2002; Besson and Chevannes 1996; Chevannes 1995; Austin-Broos 1997; Toulis 1997; Stewart 1992; Schuler 1980 and Erskine 1998).

I conclude this section with a discussion on how the subject matter adds to, and complements the existing body of knowledge on cultural identity, religion, land, kinship and descent.

Chapter three presents a history of the development of religion in Jamaica. It gives an account of the arrival and introduction of Christianity to the African slaves and outlines religious development from a black perspective. This development is traced from the earliest recorded religion, Myal, through to Native Baptist, Revival Zion and Pukumina, Bedwardism (Chevannes 1995; Erskine 1998; Austin-Broos 1997) and Garveyism (Lewis and Bryan 1994). The chapter provides the background needed to understand the key issues surrounding cultural identity and the impact that creolized religion has on a free community. A brief discussion highlighting the links between Rastafarianism and Sligoville is also presented. This chapter lays the foundation for an appreciation of the creolization process and an understanding of the evolution of Jamaica's creolized religions.

Chapter four is an historic account of Sligoville from its founding in 1838, giving consideration to descent and kinship patterns and social and community organisations.

An appreciation of the oral history of the Sligoville is also undertaken so as to assess

how members of this community create a sense of belonging. Here, the memories and reminiscences (Connerton 1998) of elders are used to uncover the cultural influences and foundations on which this first Baptist free village was constructed. Excerpts of the life histories of two direct descendants of first free villagers are presented.

An ethnographic account of the ‘Son-et-Lumiere’¹⁸ emancipation celebration that was held in Spanish Town on August 1st, 1997 pulls together concepts of space, place and sociality and this theatrical display that reinforces links to the past and thereby, reaffirms cultural identity, completes this chapter.

Chapter five presents the different religious institutions in Sligoville. It examines the occurrence of dual membership¹⁹ through the simultaneous adherence to Christian and indigenous religious practices. Ethnographic evidence is used to show how elements of Revivalism are cloaked within Pentecostalism and are given emphasis in the emergence of New Revival Pentecostalism, a new religious movement derived from within Pentecostal churches.

Chapter six is concerned with morality (Howell 1997), power (Cheater 1999), identity and religiosity. It addresses the idea of sin and the relationship that sin appears to have with identity. Here, I consider the notion of a black identity based on indigenised norms of “Acceptability”. I demonstrate that there are links between religion and the development of local values and norms through the achieving of “acceptance”. In this

¹⁸ ‘Son-et-lumiere’ a celebration held by night in an historic monument, building, etc. using lighting effects and recorded sound to give a dramatic narrative of its history. [See Oxford Dictionary]

¹⁹Duality of religion refers to the practice of two or more religious attendance and/or practices by individuals within Jamaica. In such cases an individual will attend and practice creolized religion whilst being a member of a non-conformist or established church. Thus, creolized religion meets different needs for different individuals.

chapter, I also examine the dualist concept of 'Reputation' and 'Respectability'²⁰ developed by Wilson (1969, 1973) for explanations of Caribbean societies social and cultural systems. In turn it allows me to introduce my own alternative concept of 'Acceptability'²¹ (see chapter 6 for full discussion of Wilson's model and my model of Acceptability).

I also argue that freedom and identity are interrelated and that this relationship is evidenced in the indigenous religious beliefs and practices that surround misfortune and crisis. Ideas surrounding sin, including representations such as, as 'black' as 'sin' and Garvey's (Lewis and Bryan 1994) discourse on identity based upon sin, are linked to a wider discourse on identity. This brings to the fore the importance that creolized religions have, especially Obeah, and this is examined in the context of enabling individuals and community to cope with misfortune.

Chapter seven looks at how identity is achieved through historical and spatial markers and details how, through a process of socialisation, outsiders become insiders. It covers notions of communal identity whilst also illuminating how individuals are marginalised. It seems somewhat contradictory that Sligovillians look to the past in the present to forge identity, but yet seek closure on the past in order to create difference.

Chapter eight addresses the issues of death, burial rites and rituals. The chapter

²⁰This is a concept that Wilson applies to the Caribbean. He identifies and places social relationships as a dialectic of two social structures namely, 'Reputation and Respectability'. 'Reputation' is attributed to the sphere of men, and 'Respectability' primarily to women. Hence, for Wilson, 'Respectability' is based on colonial powers and social and cultural systems, which include the social stratification of race, class, colour, wealth and gender. Respectability is connected with Euro-centric cultural values, lifestyle and education. This is maintained through European ideals of marriage and orthodox religions. Reputation is, on the other hand, firmly established in terms of personal worth rather than in terms of social status. It is defined as an indigenous counter culture based on equality. Wilson perceives 'Reputation' to be an alternative to 'Respectability', which he identifies as a scarcity. Further, he suggests that in the Caribbean there is a clear division of social life for men and women. Male reputation is linked to an egalitarian value system and is earned through virility, verbal skills, illegal activities and expertise in particular tasks. However, respectability is gained for women through marriage and religious affiliation. See also Wilson (1969, 1995; Besson 1993, 2002). See also Chapter 5 for full discussion.

²¹ "Acceptability" is a concept I developed during fieldwork. It is a tool for the explanation of contemporary values, actions and knowledge system that is an outcome of the creolization process of reputation and respectability.

considers how death is used to reaffirm identity based on land, history and religion and is a key factor in the creation of the village and in sustaining a sense of belonging by drawing on the Revival worldview.

In chapter nine I conclude my research by bringing together the body of information contained within this thesis. Here, I place my findings into a wider context by demonstrating how my work supports existing research. I also recommend areas of additional research.

Conclusion

I began this chapter with an introduction to the subject matter of the thesis, cultural identity and argued that the continuing influence of Creolized religion, especially Revivalism and the Revival worldview on cultural changes in Sligoville Jamaica had importance for identity formation. Within this context I outlined the aims and objectives of this research and why Sligoville, Jamaica's First Baptist Free village following emancipation, is a site from which I can add to and advance previous anthropological work on culture building in free village communities. Within the creativity - continuity debate I situate Sligoville in an original ethnographic context and locate its geographical area.

I then discuss my transnational identity (native anthropologist), my research perspective and the methods of research that I have utilised in this thesis. These factors all have meaning for the ethnographic account. I also show how this research complements other works in this area and identify the academic benefit of this thesis.

Following the literature review and my positioned subjectivity I provide an outline of

the methodology applied in this research to achieve my aims, fulfil the objectives of this thesis and the final outcome on the influence of creolized religion on cultural identity in Sligoville, Jamaica's first Baptist free village. This section is concluded with a brief outline of a summary of each chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, the literature sources considered relevant to this thesis are reviewed. An overview of the theories on creolization, identity formation and indigenised religion, which are integral to this study, give insight into the premise, structure and content of the thesis.

The intention is to explore the theoretical perspectives that give meaning to the creative and cultural processes of change, which enable identity formation and significantly, the evolution and continuity of creolized religions within the Caribbean generally and Jamaica in particular. However, being attentive to the Euro-centric views that give credence to acculturation, borrowing and adaptation of diverse traditional values within the Caribbean, focus is given to the perspectives that account for the diasporic experiences of the people in the region.

Not surprisingly, there are a range of differing theoretical models that have been applied to conditions in the region, from which a variety of descriptions and explanations have been offered as to societal relationships and the processes of change.

On creolization, there is also a growing body of literature that is directed at Caribbean ethnography. The anthropological literature on identity is substantial. So too is the literature on religion in the Caribbean generally and Jamaica in particular. However, the definitions proffered for creolization, identity and religion are not without problems in anthropology.

The primary theoretical framework, on which this thesis is focused, is derived from the concept of 'creolization'. However, consideration is given to globalisation (Appadurai 1995, 2004; Robertson 2004) which effect changes in the Caribbean and encourages a shared common world understanding, culture and consciousness.

Focus is also given to localised changes that brought about the syncretism of religious ideologies (Schuler 1979; Herskovits 1990; Bastide 1978; Hess 1990). Therefore, a theoretical analysis of the syncretism of religions in the Caribbean provides a basis for cultural change from the global to the level of the local (Olwig 1993; Esteva and Prakash 2004) through indigenisation.

These theories that give consideration to societal relationships and processes of cultural change are used to analyse and explain the formation of cultural identity and the development of indigenised religions. Creolization though is at the centre of this literature review.

Syncretism, Hybridity and Creolization in a Caribbean Context

The theory of creolization, which has played a major role in Caribbean ethnography, allows for a dynamic analysis of the importance of adaptation, reinterpretation and transformation in Caribbean cultural processes through time. Thus, it is pivotal in the examination of the cultural identity of Sligovillians and their religious beliefs and practices.

However, we find variation within academia relating to the definition of creolization and differences in the views and theoretical frameworks presented for understanding societal relationships and the processes of change that influence the formation of

identity.

For example, the terms syncretism²² (Bastide 1978; Herskovits 1990) and hybridisation are often used as substitutes for creolization, causing confusion in getting to grips with the subtle difference in meaning that exists for linked, yet different concepts. Hence, it is necessary to give meaning to the syncretic and hybridisation models of change.

The syncretic model, which is most frequently used for the explanation of cultural changes within the Caribbean, is the amalgamation or blending of one or more elements from different traditions, in the creating of new cultural modes. However, to describe the complex and at times subtle on-going cultural changes, which have occurred within the Caribbean, or more specifically, changes in Jamaica's indigenous religions from the emergence of Myalism through to contemporary times, as syncretic, I would argue is inaccurate.

Syncretism with its focus on amalgamation does not address the tensions and conflicts arising out of divisions within the society and the complexities of how Christian doctrine is reinterpreted within the context of localised beliefs and practices. It describes only a 'rudimentary level' change, the result of bricolage occurring in the early years of colonisation.

Hybridisation (Rutherford 1990; Bhabha 1994, 1996; Werbner 1997, 2001) is considered as the deliberate, intentional or conscious attempt to merge specific cultural

²² The original use of the term syncretism is located within the discourse of religion. It is used primarily to explain the mixing or blending of religions. However of the complexities that exist between religion and culture, it has been appropriated and used to theorise cultural changes.

elements in the creation of new modes in a 'third space'²³. In that 'third space' (Rutherford 1990:211; Bhabha 1994a, 1994b, 1996), whilst individuals and at times groups or communities might and do consciously make a deliberate attempt to create new modes, it should be noted that creativity is influenced (sometimes spontaneously) by social and economic factors within the society. Furthermore, experience shows that the situation is far more complex, for changes occur because individuals as social beings act for their own individual interest within society.

So, even though hybridity implies that conscious steps are taken in the creation of new forms, the concept of hybridisation does not take full account of the structures of power, societal tension, conflict, opposition and resistance, characteristic of the dialectical forces at play in the society. Yet, it is as a direct result of these factors that qualitative societal change takes place and new cultural modes emerge. It is these qualitative changes that creolization addresses and in turn, which characterises the creolization process. Creolization is the process through which both intentional and unintentional hybridity gives rise to new cultural developments.

Therefore, I argue that the processes of syncretism and hybridity enabled the transforming of Christianity and Africanism that led to the emergence of Myalism in the third space of the Caribbean. Creolization is not seen as a vehicle for the transformation of Christianity or Africanism, nor for the emergence of Myalism, but as the creative force for indigenisation of Myalism.

I contend that the development of myalism was a conscious decision to create a cultural

²³Third space, a form of liminal or in-between space, where the cutting edge of translation and negotiation occurs (Bhabha 1996) is used in this work to refer to the space, place and environment that is the meeting point for two or more cultures and within which

worldview local to Jamaica within the third space of the plantation system. It is derived from a process of syncretism and hybridisation, which encouraged and created new conditions and new processes. It is within the changed conditions and as a result of experiences through processes created by hybridisation that the context for creolization to take place is shaped. Hybridity assisted in the development of an environment or space for creole identity to evolve and the classification of the differing groups based on skin colour and class. This space produced the environment for opposition, play, resistance and creativity to advance and for the specific outcome (creolization). New elements surfaced, rising from the conflicts, tensions, oppositions and development of previous experiences. A creole identity is responsible for the Jamaican motto and its sense of differences: “Out of many, one people”.

Plural and Plantation Society Models

The Plural society model of M.G. Smith (1965) and Beckford’s Plantation Society model (1976) provided early explanations of Caribbean societies, through analysis of structural relationship and processes of change.

M.G. Smith’s plural society model focuses primarily on culture, social segregation and conflict between differing groups. In his analysis of Jamaican society, he utilised a colour-based classification of white, brown and black to identify three distinctive social levels. Focusing on the distribution of power between the groups, in the presentation of his plural society theory, Smith gave emphasis to racial and cultural divisions. He viewed cultural pluralism and plural society as inherent elements in Jamaican society.

The plantation society model highlights the centrality of the socio-economic structure in

change occurs (see also Bhabha 1996; Rutherford 1990).

the exploitative and coercive plantation system. It stresses the suppression of local structures and the aggregation of dependent and weak institutions, which are bound to the metropolis. In this model both social and cultural organisations are perceived merely as smaller elements of the wider system. Like the plural society model the plantation society model identifies a dichotomy between two groups within the system, planters and slaves. The emphasis though, is on the existence of a racial and class hierarchy in which the peasantry is marginal and the community structure is weak. From this perspective, Jamaican slave society is portrayed as a loosely integrated collective of autonomous plantations with their own power base.

However, neither the plural nor the plantation society model fully considers the wider issues that trigger conflict, tension and opposition. Neither model explains adequately the ongoing changes occurring in the Caribbean. Smith's model, given the existence of a plurality of cultures in Jamaican society during slavery and in the early decades following emancipation, proves useful in classifying differing groups within Jamaican society and the wider Caribbean. However, it is contended that in contemporary Jamaican society, now founded upon a hierarchical class division rather than a racial hierarchy, that the plural society model does not explain the changes and development that have taken place within the region. Whilst Jamaican society continues to be divided along political, economic and class lines, it is less stratified on the basis of colour, as depicted by Smith's cultural pluralism or plural society model. Divisions still exist, but they are due to the perpetuation of difference in economics, education and politics. It is purported that stratification along racial lines has been minimised, due to the process of creolization, which has instead created a sense of being Jamaican.

Furthermore, whilst the plantation model lays bare particular structures within

Caribbean societies, it too does not provide an adequate analysis of the changes occurring within these societies. Little attention is given to the forces impacting and influencing changes in the socio-economic structure.

Both the plural and plantation models with respect to cultural change and development within the region and globally, have been rendered inappropriate investigative tools. However, they assist in situating the context within which the theoretical model of creolization can be analysed. It is theories of creolization that enable an assessment of the societal relationships and the processes of change.

Creolization: The concept

Brathwaite (1971) has defined creole in a way, which seems to accurately capture what it is. He refers to it as "a committed settler, one identified with the area of settlement, one native to the settlement though not ancestrally indigenous to it" (Brathwaite, 1971:xiv-xv). It is Brathwaite's definition of creole that provides an opening for consideration of the concept of creolization, which he suggests involves the elimination of particular aspects of an indigenous culture and the simultaneous adoption of new cultural norms in specific host contexts.

In giving consideration to the concept of creolization, attention is directed to the influential perspectives of Mintz's - *A Global Approach* (1996), Olwig's - *Historical Approach* (1993), Brathwaite's - *Creole Model Society* (1971), Bolland's - *Creolization: A Dialectical View* (1987, 1992), and Burton's - *Creolization As A Cultural Continuum* (1997). This allows for the assessment of a range of perspectives and the appropriateness of their application in the context of Jamaican society, in general and the Sligoville community in particular. I begin with Mintz's global

approach.

Mintz: A Global Approach

Mintz's work gives consideration to the definition and use of creolization as understood from its Roman roots, to its rediscovery by globalisation theorists, to its linguistic usage and its present day usage in anthropology. His work provides stimulus to new models of theorising that focus on the process of globalisation.

Mintz presents a creolization model that is global in its utilisation and has relevance for explaining the changing definitions of contemporary issues, such as border and boundary, cultural history, nationhood, power, race and state. He attaches much importance on this quality of the creolization model to assess change and its authentic applicability in a universal context.

The grounding of creolization globally by Mintz enables the adoption of a holistic approach to the consideration of change in space and time, and significantly, psychologically and spiritually. Creolization for Mintz is not about the marriage of two or more cultures. Neither is it about disappearance or negation of cultural form. On the contrary, it is about indigenisation and the creation and construction of culture out of fragmented, violent and disjunctive pasts. In the context of the Caribbean, Mintz (1996; 301-302) is concerned with how a mimicking of the past can be discerned through cultural processes of movement, change and rooting anew.

Mintz and Price (1992: 64) also argue that "neither social nor cultural traditions alone can explain an African-American institutional form, and that the development of institutions must be seen in historical settings". This is of much import, not only in a

theoretical context, but also in interpreting and understanding practical events in communities.

This has been the direction of my investigations in Jamaica and there is evidence that in Sligoville, villagers are engaged in creating and constructing new identities and religious modes out of fragmentation, oppositions and disjunctive pasts. Mintz's analysis highlights the practical activities of Sligovillians during times of tension to adapt, reinterpret and re-invent in order to create new cultural forms. I concur with his presentation that conflict and tension are primary elements in the process of cultural change. However, I now give my attention to the work of Olwig, who like Mintz offers an historical approach to the analysis of Caribbean cultural change.

Olwig's Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Analysis: A Historical Approach

Olwig (1993:1-14) highlights a dualism in the models used for the explanation of Caribbean cultural development. Those models, she argues, often include combining the pluralist and integrationalist perspectives. Olwig cites Mintz's (1974) 'cultural adaptation' and 'resistance approach' of the peasantry in the region to demonstrate dualism. She also cites Wilson's (1973) analysis of "respectability" and "reputation" that presents a dualism between the powerful external culturally dominant group and the local dominated and economically powerless.

However, Olwig in highlighting that the core of Caribbean cultural evolution, is that of change and continuity, focuses not only on strategies for adaptation and integration, but also resistance and autonomy. She informs that Caribbean culture is presented as a collective of shared ideas and practices. Yet, the display of this culture, within a wider social context, is not common to all. Hence, it gives the appearance of different cultures

coexisting and unable to merge. She contends that to understand this feature from a wholly dualist perspective would encourage the perception of viewing Caribbean people as victims of cultural schizophrenia, and quoting Price (1985:24-26), helpless victims of colonial history and lacking historical consciousness (Olwig 1993: 11).

Thus, whilst the integrative approach is helpful, as Olwig accedes, the use of dualism as a way of explaining the development of cultural change remains unsatisfactory. This approach tends to perceive Caribbean societies as operating within and between western cultures and others (African). More importantly, the region is often defined as not having a primary culture due to the presence of and the fragmentation of differing cultures, which cannot merge (Olwig 1993). Olwig's analysis demonstrates that the use of fragments of western cultural forms does not imply the use of western cultural meanings and notions, but includes the comprehensive or inclusive nature of local cultural processes and the diverse geographical origin (1993: 5).

The region considered in this context clearly poses problems for researchers within the western intellectual tradition, for as Olwig informs, the experiences of accommodation, manipulation, incorporation and appropriation of other cultural elements within the local context, have to be interpreted within that context. Olwig notes that to simply apply western interpretation of concepts of democracy and equality based on equal worth and equal right, implying a sameness, cannot be applied to Caribbean societies, because these societies are classified as others and different. Olwig suggests that it is these differences within the societies that are the very essence of their socio-cultural constituting (1993: 6). Olwig's further suggests that there is a danger in the utilisation of dualistic approaches, for the process of creolization occurs in a much more complex series of relationships in a historical context.

Moreover, Olwig's viewpoint that the absence of global cultural homogenisation is due to the process of heterogenisation occurring as global culture that is indigenized is of importance, for it is the process of creolization that enables indigenisation and heterogeneity. Olwig gives attention to how global culture informs cultural change and impact on identity formation. However, she states, that the predominance of western cultural forms does not imply acceptance of those values and norms (Olwig 1993:5). Instead, the driving force behind global cultural processes is the tension between global cultural homogenisation and the process of heterogenisation that occurs with the localisation of global culture (indigenisation of western culture into local context). As such Caribbean cultural forms are the direct outcome of the critical assessment of western culture and society (Olwig 1993: 5).

In making this statement, Olwig, like Mintz and other writers, Bolland, Burton and Brathwaite, identifies tension and conflict as the driving force for change. However, it is the presentation of her homogenous and heterogeneous model that offers a different perspective for understanding the process of creolization. Olwig argues that the complexity of identity formation within Caribbean societies is based upon the manipulation of a variety of resources and that the very essence of being is dependent on a variety of cultural elements successfully operating within a field. Hence, Caribbean societies in differing historical contexts have had to be adaptive in expressing their cultural identities. Therefore, analysis must take account of local indigenised cultural forms and historicity.

Hence, in the context of this study, it is the lived experiences of peoples in the various islands of the Caribbean that creates the cultural values on which they are founded. Cultural development in the region is due to conscious self-awareness, contemporary

political changes and new meaning accorded to values and functions related to the environment and past experiences. Therefore, Caribbean cultural forms should be understood from the premise of autonomy, control and heterogeneity rather than homogenisation, in a Caribbean context.

It is Brathwaite (1971), with development of the 'creole-society' model that an early understanding of the cultural forms in the Caribbean is provided. He offers a theoretical framework for situating creolization within the specificity of the thesis

Brathwaite's Creole Society Model

Brathwaite's model of creolization is of importance, especially his ideas on 'unification' (the evolving cultural unity), 'division' and 'intercultural creolization' or 'cultural nationalism' (Brathwaite 1971:58). His creole society model gives emphasis to the development of a distinctive 'cultural unity and parochial wholeness' that is derived from his core construct of 'social and cultural change' (1971: 311).

Brathwaite suggests that the process of creolization began with 'seasoning'²⁴ and continued throughout slavery regardless of the measures taken by the planters and colonial governments. In his analysis, he advances an aspect of creolization that is substantive, for he recognised the ability of the slave population both during and following slavery to construct a 'living wholeness'.

Brathwaite, like M.G. Smith, identified division within the plantation society. However, he acknowledged how, as a result of the responsiveness of individuals to their

²⁴ 'Seasoning' refers to a process through which slaves were prepared for the task of plantation life and identification with the work process. It included a period of about three years and commenced with branding, naming and placing slaves under the apprenticeship of creole slaves. This time included learning work routines, socialisation within the work gang, group identification and finally, imitations of the 'masters' culture.

environment within the society, integration was being effected. Brathwaite identified the 'Euro-creole' and 'Afro-creole' in Jamaican folk culture as variants of developing differences from the early eighteenth century, as well as an unfulfilled unity.

In Brathwaite's model creolization is concerned with the contributions of the differing groups that comprised the society. Thus, although there is acknowledgement of societal dichotomies, such as the dominant and the dominated, it is the awareness of the dichotomy, segregation and opposition between the differing groups (Brathwaite 1975) that provides the basis for change within the then prevailing system.

Brathwaite presents this dichotomy as the 'little tradition' of the dominated in opposition to the dominant group and their 'great traditions'. However, within this dichotomy, specific events, the result of opposition and resistance, introduce new ways of being. It is this opposition that is the driving force for change, identity formation and new religious modes. Brathwaite does not take class into consideration.

Brathwaite defined the theory of creolization as a way of viewing Jamaican society as parts of a whole, rather than as separate nuclear units. He indicated that unrestricted interaction of cultures originates from the liberating process of creolization. It is creolization that has created the changes that have led to the development of authentic local institutions such as the 'Afro-Creole little tradition'. Brathwaite states that cultural autonomy demands a norm and residential correspondence between the 'great' and 'little' traditions within the society (Brathwaite 1971:309). In this sense, his analysis is a move away from the plantation society model of discrete units.

Brathwaite's creole society model has been useful in my investigation, in that it offers a

way in which to understand changes within Sligoville. In Sligoville the changes that have taken place relating to the new ways of being are due to various factors, notably the movements towards freedom and an increasing sense of individuality. However, change should not be viewed wholly from oppositional perspectives within the community and the Caribbean, for the societal conditions also provide an environment within which the 'Acceptance'²⁵ of the ways of being of both groups enables unification.

Furthermore, Brathwaite's creole society model has proven useful in my ethnographic investigation, in that it offers a way in which to understand the continuity and development of a new religious mode and identity within Sligoville. The creole society model also allows for the analysis and appreciation of the creativity of the first villagers and their descendants, in their creating and maintaining within their religiously founded village, of a black identity and religiosity that was constantly challenged and redefined by the church.

However, I consider that there is a problem with Brathwaite's reference to the development of local traditions as a 'little tradition', for it is noticeable that the societal elite through the absorption of elements of that 'little tradition' have made those cultural forms their own. Significantly, it is the majority population and their 'little tradition' that have, over time, evolved and creolized into a great tradition – the 'Revival worldview' (Besson and Chevannes 1996). In communities such as Sligoville, the 'little tradition' of the majority population is merging with the former great traditions and creating new cultural modes, which serve to further boost already developing Jamaican cultural norms, identity and independence.

²⁵ See my discussion of 'Acceptability' in chapter 6.

Another contention with Brathwaite's analysis is that although he identifies that during slavery a plurality did not exist, he fails to discuss what might have existed in the first three decades following emancipation. I argue that a plural society existed, at least from the early 1800s to the late 1950s or early 1960s and that a form of cultural pluralism still exists, even though contemporary Jamaican society is no longer perceived as a plural society (Out Of Many, One People).

Jamaica today is considered a culturally diverse society with one national culture. Yet, within this emerging national identity (homogenisation) there exist cultural autonomy, individual autonomy and identity formation (heterogenisation). It is in this sense that a form of cultural pluralism still does exist which is institutional in character. Furthermore, Jamaica demonstrates that the process of creolization is not simply a homogenisation process in a heterogeneous society, but that it also enables groups or communities to create and shape their own society.

Brathwaite's model on its own would present difficulties given the parameters of this study, particularly as his contribution is seen as the first attempt to utilise the concept of creolization in order to analyse cultural events in the Caribbean. I consider that Brathwaite's work provides a wider referencing for the work of Mintz and Olwig, and that the works of Bolland and Burton seeks to advance some of the ideas that Brathwaite formulated. They present a more contemporary perspective on experiences within the Caribbean. However, Brathwaite's work remains central. In the next section, I focus on the work of Bolland and Burton, who have sought to build on the Brathwaite's foundation and Besson who advanced the work of Mintz and Price (1992).

Bolland: A Dialectical Approach

Bolland considers that Brathwaite's creole society model represents a significant ideological moment in the decolonisation process of the Caribbean (Bolland 1992:53).

In assessing the creole society model, he argues that it reflects and enhances an emerging Caribbean nationalism, which has at its core a distinctive ideology and a common culture that is the basis for national unity. However, Bolland in suggesting that the essence of the creole society model is the process of unification and national integration of diverse groups, argues that Brathwaite presents creolization as a blending process. Bolland takes issue with this; for him, while the process integrates and unifies the differing groups, it is not so much through blending as through their own recognition and creativity in cultural development (Bolland 1992: 64).

Thus, Bolland is as explicit in his assessment of the contribution of the creole society model as he is of its shortcomings. Rather than homogenising, it is a process of contention. He argues that it is the cultural response of individuals to their environment and to each other, in contention, which creates societal change. He is critical of Brathwaite's simplistic definition of creolization as the blending together of two or more older traditions to create new forms, for it obscures existing tension and conflict (1992: 64).

The creole society model fails to address class structure. This omission prevents analysis of how and why a system of domination characterised by status inequalities changed to one of class inequalities. For Bolland, in post emancipation and post independence Jamaica (1992:73), it is the emergence of 'class' that has been responsible for societal conflicts and tensions. His interest is in the societal relations derived from holding power, being dominated, experiencing subordination and class, and how they

effect political and social change.

In Bolland's view the creole society model is ill defined, ambiguous and inadequately conceptualised and there is need for an alternative or more consistent theoretical basis (1992: 53-64). He argues for a dialectical model of creolization that is a defined or clearly located theoretical model of culture change.

This dialectical approach emphasises conflict in social systems as the primary source of change and provides a view of social dynamics and cultural change where there is a dichotomy and a contentious conception of the individual and society. This model is based on the idea that the individual is a unit within society. Society is a collective made up of individuals within a social arena, and culture is a collective of various individual ideas, beliefs and actions. However, within this principle there exists a contention between the individual and society, where the cultural is separated from the social, and social dynamics is portrayed in mechanical terms (1992: 64). Bolland's view is essentially that people are social beings who conceive social life as consisting of practical activities, and as such, analysis of social and cultural change needs to be grounded within a dialectical theoretical framework.

Bolland recognises that the very tensions and conflicts that exist in the process of social and cultural change, with which he is concerned, is in evidence in the creole society model. However, in its portraying of creolization as a blending or mixture of cultures, it does so without reference to structural contradictions and social conflicts.

Bolland highlights this point in his exemplification of Kenneth Bilby's ideas on the creolization of music in the Caribbean. Bilby notes that the mixing of traditions in the

new environment (the Caribbean) has resulted in a broad spectrum of musical forms (1992: 64). However, Bolland stresses that it is important not to obscure the significance or tensions and conflicts that have existed and still exists between the bearers of the two traditions, over and above blending or mixing.

Bolland's view is that the society has "to be seen through the interrelated and mutually constitutive nature of the individual, society, and culture..." (1992: 65). He argues that a dialectical approach to creolization theory would enable greater understanding of Caribbean culture, its continuing transformation, the relations of individuals and confrontations with the dominant economic, cultural, social and political forces in their societies (1992: 74).

Bolland, identifies that there is no advantage in looking for external manifestations that suggest assimilation, and opposition, because the modes of action and contributions to the formation of culture of those whose status is subordinate, is often concealed (1992:67). Often within relations of domination, bricolage enables the oppressed to avert their oppression, by transforming within, and external to the dominant cultural economy, through adaptations and the making of rules in their own interest. De Certeau's analysis of the historical process of cultural formation that cultural resistance in the social context of domination is often not externally manifested further substantiates the usefulness of Bolland's dialectical model.

Bolland considers that the changes in social structure and culture are shaped by ideas, traditions, customs and languages, and all these activities are the primary components of society.

Burton: Creolization as a Cultural Continuum

Burton (1997) introduces another perspective that is of value. Burton perceives creolization as a cultural continuum with oppositional forces stemming from within the system. He argues that there are three hypotheses comprising creolization theory. They are Afrogenetic, Eurogenetic and an overlap of these two hypotheses. However, these hypotheses have to be understood as a continuum of creole cultures, within which creativity, opposition and the relations of power are integral. Burton offers a “segmentary” creolization that is shaped by what he considers as the essential factors in the process: continuity and creativity. These two factors must be present for creolization to take place, whether within the group or between any two groups or forms.

Burton argues that evidence of a continuum of overlapping and competing cultural forms shows that continuity is present. Burton’s creolization model provides a framework within which resistance, play, opposition and power become significant elements in the whole process responsible for continuity and creativity. In his analysis of Afro-Christianity and its derivatives, he argues that they are firstly, a phenomenon of creolization, and secondly, a focus of cultural opposition to slavery. As a phenomenon of creolization, it is the cultural response of individuals comprising the different societal groups, to the environment and each other in the form of ‘play’ or expressions of ‘masquerade’. As a form of cultural opposition, it challenges the prevailing political power relations, religious activities and secular culture. For Burton, power and counter power (that is, power, control and resistance) have relevance for continuity and creativity.

Burton’s analysis portrays a dichotomous social structure within which there is a continuum of activity that he describes as the process of creolization. For Burton,

creolization presents a mosaic of themes, images and ideas that he conceptualises as a 'culture of opposition' or of 'resistance'. He provides an analysis of a 'plurality of resistances' that is linked to M.G. Smith's concept of 'Plural society'. However, Burton in explaining his plurality of cultures considers that it is hybridisation that has engendered the development of national culture and ideas on individualism. It is liberty though that has reinforced and encouraged the formation of ethnic identity. Burton argues that during the later stages of slavery, through to emancipation and now in the present, it was the creolization process that shaped Jamaica's cultural substructure and many of its religions (Revival, Pukumina, Bedwardism, Rastafarianism and Pentecostalism).

Besson - Culture building

In completing this overview the work of Chevannes (1995) and Besson (1995, 2002), and Besson and Chevannes (1996) on creolized religions especially Revivalism or Revival worldview and its influence on culture in Jamaica is of central importance. Besson and Chevannes presents an analysis of the Revival worldview and ideology (Van Velzen 1995) and focus on the influence of Revivalism on identity formation and culture building (Besson 2002). Both Chevannes and Besson are in agreement that the Revival worldview is still striving within Jamaican peasant communities and that it is responsible for continuity and the ongoing creative process. Besson and Chevannes (1996) Revival worldview (see also Besson 1995d; Chevannes 1995) and Besson's (2002) extensive study on free villages in Trelawny focus on the history of peasant subcultures and give accounts of similarities and differences with those communities. Free village communities (Paget 1964) and peasantisation (Mintz 1984, 1989; Besson 1984a, 1984b) is at the forefront of my research.

Besson's comparative study of five Trelawny villages illuminates Jamaican rural life, particularly her evidencing of the impact of the system of customary land tenures on relationships in these villages. Besson argues that the existence of land tenures are a reflection of the development of kinship and community patterns of interaction, which have as their underpinning creole cosmology that is sustained by an oral tradition rooted in Jamaica's slavery, and post slavery past (Besson 2002).

Central to Besson's analysis is that customary kin-based tenure of family land is an institution central to Jamaica and other Caribbean islands that depicts the characteristics of Caribbean culture building. Besson (2002:8) findings reinforce Mintz and Price's (1992) work on African American institution building. Besson's analysis of 'Martha Braes' Two Histories' and its customary land tenures are a modification of Mintz and Price's (1992) creolization thesis that the birth of African American culture is an outcome of slaves creating institutions 'within the parameters of the masters' monopoly of power, but separate to the masters' institutions' (Mintz 1992:39). More importantly it gives recognition to the finding that overlapping, nonexclusive cognatic descent groups could not function for land holding in the post-slavery Caribbean.

Besson in identifying that culture building had occurred in the Trelawny villages as a result of the appropriation and overturning of European institutions by ex-slaves to create family land institutions rooted in customary system of tenure use and land transmission within the unrestricted unilineal cognatic descent system is a critical point of departure from previous studies. As such, this character of customary land tenureship is posited as a modification of Mintz and Price's creolization thesis as land-holding systems are widespread in the Caribbean societies where they articulate join or have extinguishable parts with inclusive common tenures, with circulatory migration and

transnational identities.

Besson's study of free communities in Martha Brae Trelawny provides a comprehensive account of the integration of Euro-Caribbean history and illuminates African-Caribbean cultural history through analysis of peasant lifestyles. It presents Trelawny free village subcultures as having similarities and differences that give insight into rural life, customary land, kinship and community as they interweave with cosmologies and oral tradition.

Besson's (2002) comprehensive study identifies a number of elements in the construction of identity in the region. However it is the role of slavery, land, kinship, culture and religion that has most significance for my study. The role of culture in shaping landholding systems rooted in and reflecting kin groups and communities; and the role of kinship in framing the structure of landholding systems that mirror descent groups and communities in Martha Brae is typical of Sligoville.

It is within this arena of land that we see the symbolism of the unrestricted descent groups, the importance of land and family land institutions among post-emancipation communities. However it is through death and mortuary rituals that land as a symbolic means of regeneration of life demonstrates the interplay of corporate burial grounds based on kinship patterns, religion and community. Besson's culture building and Besson and Chevannes' (1996) creativity and continuity perspective is an insightful approach to the creolization perspective. Yet unlike other academics Besson (2002:319) argues for engagement, with appropriation for overturning and the reversal of colonial culture.

The utility of creolization theory

In the application of creolization theory to this research, though I utilise aspects of the models highlighted above, I also present localised perspectives on the lived experiences of Sligovillians. I give consideration to the indigenised models of reality derived from subjective meanings and cultural experiences shared by the community, so as to offer interpretations and explanations of cultural and social change in Sligoville. This allows for the purposeful understanding and appreciation of Sligovillians' cultural values and history through their own eyes.

For example, I use Burton's invocation of 'segmentary creolization'²⁶, as conceptualised by Patterson (1967) to show that Sligovillians not only have an evolved culture, but have also created their own local identity. Thus, within the realm of religion and identity, especially cultural identity, I demonstrate that creolization brings about change within the community of a particular quality.

I have also used creolization theory to analyse the past and present experiences and events of villagers to construct a theoretical overview of creolized religion and cultural identity formation within Sligoville. This has enabled the consideration of ideas in opposition, difference and fragmentation in global culture, as well as the reinterpretation of culture and how it is reinvented to produce constructive elements, which in turn influence cultural change. The creolization model has been used to examine the experiences of peoples in the wider Jamaican society too, and the processes through which significant concepts, such as power and creativity, can be analysed and shown in

²⁶ 'Segmentary creolization' is the processes whereby differing dominated and subjugated groups develop their own social institutions and culture. Segmentary creolization resist unification instead it reinterprets, transforms and creates anew-cultural norms and traditional values. However, segmentary creolization enabled two types of creole culture a) Afro-West Indian, which was primarily among peasant group, and Euro-West Indian among the middle and upper class. See Patterson (1967) and Bolland (1992:63).

their development.

Mintz offers a historical perspective that situates creolization theories globally. Olwig concurring with the global orientation and historical perspective as presented by Mintz focuses on the heterogeneous character of Caribbean societies. It is Brathwaite though, who situates the theory within a parochial context. Brathwaite's creole society model introduces the dynamic concept of creolization into the Caribbean and brings into focus the specific Jamaican experience. He provides the foundation that has led to a vibrant consideration of a range of issues that includes societal division and the tension, conflict and opposition within the society. These issues are the results of competing economic, cultural, social and political forces which in turn propel cultural change. One must also consider homogeneity, heterogeneity, autonomy, continuity and creativity as factors of creolization. We can also bring dualism, dialectical processes and continuum to bear on the creolization process. Such rich debate presents us with a complex framework within which to consider Jamaica's history, pre- and post slavery.

Thus the theory of creolization has enabled an approach, through which I am able to ground my ethnographic research within an anthropological perspective and highlight the diversity of a community, through their lived experiences. I am also able, through creolization, to provide an analysis of how the community draws on religion and its past and present environment to structure and authenticate new religious modes, whilst developing a specific identity.

Hence, I argue that creolization is not merely the blending or borrowing of fragments or elements of differing cultures. That definition is reserved for syncretism and hybridity. Instead creolization preserves or reformulates and creates new cultural forms due to a

variety of differing events and their component forces within the society to bring about changes to create new versions within its locality. Thus, creolization offers new meaning and distinct developments in religious activities, societal relationships and the formation of ethnic identities. In essence, it is a process of continuing indigenisation, making ideas or beliefs local or indigenous to the society.

It is my view that creolization theory and how it fits into the wider argument of this thesis are grounded in an approach that give meaning to the visible development of local culture. Whilst hybridity is the process whereby the dominant construct the identity of the dominated Creolization is the process that enable the less powerful to construct their culture (localised cultural values) and identity whilst participating in global culture.

Hence rather than focusing on elements that give meaning to blending or coping, inclusions and survivals within a space, I situate my approach in terms of outcome, whereby culture is the visible development of localised change. I argue that creolization theory has enabled the development of national identity within a continually changing society where the majority culture is dominant. This dynamic process has enabled a black identity nationally rather than syncretic identity. This sense of black identity provides the stimulus to forge new cultural forms.

Cultural Identity – A Caribbean Perspective

In this section, definitions of identity are explored, so as to lay the foundation for the analysis of identity formation in Sligoville. Anthropological perspectives provide explanations and raise questions regarding the usefulness, purpose and formation of the concept of identity (Cohen 1994; Amit-Talai 1996). The analysis also centres on the

essential features of cultural identity and demonstrates the relevance of representation or as Hall (1990: 222) states 'the positions of enunciation' and the mechanism that drives this representation within a specific historical context. At the heart of this analysis is whether difference represented socially through idioms of power and language is an appropriate way of defining the changing identities of societies/communities in the Caribbean today. This involves consideration of belonging²⁷ and coming into being²⁸. Attention is also given to issues such as shared culture, difference, opposition and marginalization, whilst addressing the relationship between demands and autonomy (free will/choice).

Identity is viewed as the psychological self-conception of the person. However, in the social sciences, the term has been extended to encompass cultural identity, social identity and ethnic identity, terms that refer to the identification of self (Cohen 1994; Morris 1998) within a specific social position, cultural tradition, or place. There is also consideration given to group identity, in the sense of the identification or self-conception held in common by a group of people.

Even with this wide-ranging use of the term though, its use is still questioned, particularly as it can imply a fixed or stable quality of a person or group, rather than changing qualities in the character of the individual or group. The questioning of its then, rather than the focusing on fixed 'identities', focuses on the process of identification. This thesis is concerned with the process of identification.

²⁷ Belonging describes physical and psychological forms of affiliations and connections that people develop and sustain both individually and collectively. These connections and affiliations are the basis for identification, representations, rights and citizenship in the form of a nation state, community or group and family.

²⁸ The use of this terminology within the context given above provides an explanation of how individuals embody representations, which make them into subjects. This subjectification is then stylised and transformed into a collective identity providing shared cultural codes.

Abner Cohen (1974) suggests that it is the situation or environment within which experiences take place that is of importance in determining the particular actions and relations that bind individuals as a group. He further suggests that it is through the individual or group focusing on their particular ways of being that identity is asserted and maintained. Hence, there are a variety of reasons and strategies that are responsible for and assist in the formation and maintenance of identity.

Not surprisingly then, anthropologists differ on what is identity and hold different perspectives on the processes at work in identity formation. Tensions exist as to where emphasis is placed and importance attached in the shaping of identity. The framework contrasting the differing approaches of anthropologists for the understanding of identity, individual²⁹ versus the group³⁰, the primordial³¹ versus the instrumental/circumstantial³² and the situational versus the boundary in the determining of identity is useful in exploring some of the differences.

Anderson (1983) presents the view that changes in the world impact on identity and challenges the assertion, held by primordialists, that identity is static. Circumstantialists argue that identity is not fixed. It is flexible and as such, it changes according to context or situation.

Barth (1969b), Epstein (1978), and Eriksen (1993) view identity as culture or lifestyle and give emphasis to situation in the determining of identity, rather than boundary or being bounded. Barth argues that it is self-perpetuating ideals, shared cultural values,

²⁹ *Individual* conveys how each person sees him or herself whether within or in the group or in the wider context.

³⁰ *Group*, is the accepted ideas and beliefs of those individuals as practised for some common purpose. However, ethnicity is not always dependent on common culture but on external features (e.g. language, religion descent).

³¹ *Primordial* refers to the innate aspect of human identity, a given identity used to bolster and support a group's or an individual's social position.

³² *Circumstantialists* argue that people can move from one identity to another by selecting the appropriate according to the situation or context.

and a consciousness of identity that is recognised by others that are of importance. He gives emphasis to the similarities and distinguishing features of groups in their communication and interaction.

However, the boundary maintenance approach cannot simply be dismissed, for it has importance in examining differences that exist between groups, and their distinctiveness. Gluckman's (1958) analysis is important here, for he highlights the differences that exist between groups and show how boundaries are used to maintain identity. Gluckman using external signifiers, such as tradition and race, also stresses the cultural differences between groups.

Bourdieu (1977), in his theory of "*Praxis*", views the unconscious aspects of culture as powerful and suggests that negative stereotypes created by a dominant group may become part of the group's cultural identity. Cultural identity under this umbrella is used to bolster and support a group or individual's social condition. It can be remoulded to a particular ethno-social organism or habitus. Bourdieu explains habitus as the locus of cultural identification through which individuals identify themselves as having a common identity and shared experience.

Hall (1990: 223) sees two different ways of thinking about cultural identity, the first is positioned within a shared culture, similar selves within the many other imposed selves which people with a shared history have in common. From this definition cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes, which provides stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning beneath the shifts and changes of actual history.

The second is where cultural identity is positioned within the context of difference, which is what individuals really are and what they have become (Hall 1990: 225). Yet there is a problem in coming to terms with identity and how the subject is constituted. How do the symbolic and the social articulate in the formation of the subject? The rupture of history, the break from slavery with the creation of community and the denial of economic and political advantages place individuals and or communities within a ruptured and disconnected past. It is this past that enable groups to reposition how they are represented and create a sense of belonging and being. It is in this instance that Besson's (2002: 24) work on Martha Brae brings to light the symbolic process of appropriation of the past. Here the symbolism of Euro-centric names appropriated as titles of cognatic descent groups is a form of empowerment, autonomy, retention, the transmission of land titles and forging of new identities (Besson 2002).

However, the transformation of cultural identities constituted out of difference, representation and positioning is dependent on the historical developments and practices that are affecting the character of populations and communities in relation to nationalism (Jamaica) and globalisation. Within this context cultural identity can be assessed in relation to autonomy, marginalization and underdevelopment, which it can be argued is also linked to globalisation. From a historical analysis the construction of identities within contemporary societies (especially 'Third World societies') are multiply constructed across different scapes, within different discourses, representations and positions.

Although positions, representations and belonging are key factors in the formation of cultural identity, it is the concept of marginalization and sociality, elements of being or belonging, which must be understood as relational. Moreover, analysis may also focus

on subjectivity and the different practices and techniques that produce 'the self' and collective identity. The concern is that the factors that drive the differing practices and techniques forces individuals to articulate differences. Yet, significance lies also in the way through which marginalization informs elements, such as, displacement or movement and attachment.

Hall (1996:2) also highlights the importance of identity as a signifier of agency and politics, giving emphasis to location and the difficulties and instabilities that affect all forms of identity in modern political movements. For Hall, it is in the attempt to re-articulate the relationship between the subject and the discursive practices that identity occurs and allows for the reconceptualisation of the subject in a new, displaced or decentred position. He presents identity as emerging at the 'suture'³³ - the third space – the meeting point between discourse and practice, which call into place the subject of a particular discourse, and on the other hand the processes which produce subjectivities which construct the subjects that are called (Hall 1996: 5-6).

This approach showcases the ways in which the subject is constituted within the modalities of enunciation (Hall 1990, 1996) and power relations. In keeping with the dialectical debate identity functions both as a collective or as points of identification. Yet, it has the capacity to exclude or mark off, and to represent as different. Hall's analysis of power and exclusion as agencies that constitute the unities within social identity has importance. So too has the philosophy of consciousness (Foucault 1970; 1972; 1977) and power focused on the subject and identity.

³³ Suture is the meeting point between discourses and practices, which attempt to articulate or call into place the subject of particular discourse, and on the other hand the processes which produce subjectivities which construct the subjects which are articulated (See Hall 1996:6).

Cultural identity as Hall (1990: 226) so eloquently states is positioned between rupture, continuity, similarity and difference. But if the aforementioned principles are shared collectively, what factors lead to 'a repositioning or a cut of identity' (Hall 1990: 229). It could be argued that the process of repositioning meaning and the ways in which these meanings are represented are activated by desires to control resources. Therefore differences are continually repositioned and different points of reference are shaped by power structures that are constantly shifting. Thus, identity is embodied in the concrete ways in which becoming is effected by constant change and transformation. Identity becomes the product whereby sets of lived relationships and the dynamics of inequalities and new meanings by which people find themselves, highlight their differences (Eriksen 1991) and similarities. In turn differences are represented and positioned as other, whilst similarity is politicised as a collective. This then becomes a source of reference and affords a specific identity. It is from this perspective that cultural identity is strategic and positional, and it can be broken down into three levels: active³⁴, passive³⁵ and politicised³⁶.

Identity, a process of active choice framed within particular experiences of power and knowledge is representative of a specific identification, temporalities and difference³⁷. Yet, belonging must be positioned between a located boundary of similarity and difference. But representation cannot occur without relations of difference. At the same time difference is not primarily 'otherness' (Hall 1990: 229; Grossberg 1996) it is a play (Burton 1997; Derrida 1978; Hall 1990: 228) on the word implying different meanings

³⁴ Active identity refers to a consciousness state from which a base for actions may be provided.

³⁵ Passive identities are derived from sets of relationships such as class.

³⁶ Politicised identities are formed through political action and provide the base for collective action, where the individual or group thinks of himself or herself in terms of an identity and then they politicised themselves. Such identities are formed through political action and provide the base for collective action.

³⁷ See Hall, 1990:229) Hall drawing on Derrida uses difference to denote the idea of the changing notion of words as signs or signifiers and the play of signification (see Saussure 1974) whereby words and their meanings are constantly changing. Therefore according to time, place, and environment language takes on differing meaning and representations are therefore different. Hence identity will always undergo changes and will be deferred or be represented differently.

and representation and this is especially so in the Caribbean region (Minz1974: 18-324). Difference in or through representation can be a denial of culture, knowledge ideas and identity. Representing these elements within daily life it can be argued that in this sense difference represents that which should not be represented (Africanism, black and slavery³⁸).

This has subsequently become the model or stage upon which many of Jamaica's identities are created and dramatised. But as in most models it is the element of power, exploitation, consent, force and marginalisation that creates ambivalence, and hostility. Although these factors are important it is power which has become an embodied process in the making of identity. Even so it is the strategies that are adapted to deal with power, which take on a specific significance for Jamaica and the region. This strategy is the process of creolization within a defined space 'Third World' and peopled by diverse heterogeneous groups.

Cultural identity is therefore the outcome of particular representations which are temporally represented as new selves allowing groups/communities to recognise the past in themselves and in turn to empower and represent themselves anew in differing environs. Particular futures are therefore dependent on a specific environment constituted within similarities, difference, space and time. This is also furthered by ideas of socio-political rights, location and empowerment.

Hall's (1996:1) evaluation of identity as operating under 'erasure' in the interval between reversal and emergence locates its very essence and or agency. Hall supposes

³⁸ Africanism, Black and Slavery are used to denote elements of a black culture that provides a sense of identity. It is also used to denote the denial of a specific past for particular Sligovillian families, which acts as a levelling mechanism to locate them and exclude others or excludes them and locate others hierarchical.

that agency and politics are central to identity within modern forms of political movements. He stresses the significance of identity and its relationship to a politics of location, and concurs with Foucault's approach of the 'subject'.

It is within the politics of location that subjectification involves identification (Hall 1996:2). From this perspective a process of articulating common characteristics with other persons/group or with a constructed ideal, informs subjectivity (collective) and difference. However, identification always in flux is conditional and it is the material and symbolic resources that determine and sustain its existence.

According to Hall though, in modern times cultural identity is increasingly fragmented and fractured, it multiplies and is constructed across different antagonistic discourses, practices and positions and is never unified (1996: 4). Hall situates identity within differing discourses related to the historically specific developments and practices which affect many societies and cultures within the modern world. Within this context identity is also viewed in relation to the process of globalisation, modernity and migration.

In his discursive approach though, Hall, notes that whilst people are foremost, related to the utilising of resources,³⁹ in the process of becoming or creating cultural identity, they are also inventing tradition. This is based on coming to terms with their roots (history/circumstances) and utilising those roots to their advantage to construct an identity. From this perspective identity is about how people use particular resources of their past (history) in the process of becoming (Hall 1996:4). The result is that the identity of the individual or group is then validated and authenticated by specific

³⁹ Resources as used in this context by Hall refer to history, language and culture.

elements of history. This form of identity subjected to history and transformation is constantly in flux and presents cultural identity as a product of positioning, representation and identification located within a specific time frame and space. It is also a product of what people might become, how they are represented and how they might represent themselves.

Grossberg (1996) examines identity from within a continuum of images of spatiality or structures of temporality, which he defines as difference⁴⁰, fragmentation, hybridity, border and diaspora. Here, although identity as a structured representation is presented as temporary, it achieves positive focus through negative representation and positioning, by its construction within the here and now of the ongoing social world. As such, it is a structured representation whose temporary status might be made permanent or maintained by a process of adaptation and transformation.

Moving further towards a modern debate on difference we might consider cultural identity within the framework of history by examining how individuation is constructed temporally. It is the position from which people experience the world, which locates the self to others by creating a spatial subject from the past. From this perspective the past acts as an aid to construct the present and the future as an imagined subject. Identity constituted within history and through cultural relationships can be realised by interaction that responds to new experiences.

Yet it is fear and anxiety that lends themselves to the creation of differences and the need to recognise similarity in (otherness). In this sense otherness creates the base in

⁴⁰ Difference as used by Grossberg denotes or describes a relationship of negativity in which the marginalised other or subaltern is a force of destabilisation within the identity of the dominant term.

which new cultural identities are fashioned.

Bolland's (1992) theoretical appraisal of creolization situates the development process of cultural identity. However, we must examine it from the human perspective of the villagers and within a historical and socio-economic context. Yet the development of such an identity within Sligoville is located within time past and present. Thus, the significance of this identity lies in the historical products of globalisation, movement, socio-economic factors, time and representation.

The key to understanding the emergence of new cultural identities, constantly evolving within, rather than outside, is representation. Why are Sligovillians represented as backward descendants of slaves? This question can be best answered by examining not only occurrences of the past and the present, but by assessing what factors drive these changes and how they undergo constant transformation. One might argue that it is the way individuals are positioned within their environment, and how they position themselves within the narratives and actions of the past that informs how they are represented.

If contemporary cultural identity is about who or what people become and how they represent themselves and invent tradition, then uncertainty (change) and difference are also factors that contribute to new identities. As such modern identities are about representation, positioning and actively politicising the chosen representations. With this in mind the post-colonial subjectivity must be studied from this perspective.

Identities must be analysed by examining how people draw on the past, what elements have significance to creating and sustaining their subjectification and why? The

questions remain why have particular individuals (outsiders) chosen to represent others within the community negatively? More importantly what factors influence the new others (first timers) to choose this specific element of the past to reaffirm and represent themselves? The answer lies in the significance of particular resources of the past to influence the present. Thus, land, descent and kinship patterns not only constitute originality, sameness and difference, but it highlights specificity and exclusivity marking them off from others within (Besson 2002). Yet, as Hall demonstrates, the essence of Caribbean identity must be viewed and understood through representation.

It is this representation that Sligovillians draw on to present their specific cultural identity created out of the historic experience of their descendants buried in their past and bringing to light the hidden continuities expressing exclusivity. Crucially, it is the stigmatisation of being labelled backward, the position of marginalization and structures of power that drive them to refashion themselves within the past. This experience, which culminates in the representation of subjected families, is the exercise of community and cultural power. In this sense cultural identity in this village is constructed through and from historical experience.

Thus, it could be argued that once one moves beyond the psychological self-conception of the person, identity is a cultural construct that is dependent on common origin or shared characteristics with another person, group or ideal. It can also be argued that it is about who we think we are, who others think we are and who we think we are collectively. However, it has to be recognised that identity is also dependent on material or symbolic resources to sustain it, and it is conditioned and affected by changes in the socio-economic conditions within which the individual and the group interact. Furthermore, it is also a process of articulation signifying difference, for identities are

representations which individuals or groups embrace, knowing that they are representations constructed across divisions to create difference or otherness (Hall 1996:6).

This exploration of the varied definitions of identity is useful, in that it provides a backdrop in which to begin the focus on identity formation in the Caribbean, regionally and Jamaica, nationally. It is important that whatever perception one may have of identity, it is paramount that in approaches to Caribbean identities, distance is created from stereotypical definitions of phenotypical appearance as the underlying factor in the formation of cultural identities. From this perspective Caribbean people are different, as they are similar. Although difference is one of the primary factors driving the process of cultural identity, consideration must be given to other essential elements, which inform, legitimate and maintain such identities and consolidate a local consciousness.

In discussing the relevant literature on cultural identity demonstrating the links with creolization and ethnogenesis⁴¹ in Jamaica, I draw on a body of knowledge, concepts and models to explain and support my analysis of identity formation in Sligoville.

In Sligoville and most probably, throughout Jamaica, ethnogenesis came out of the desire for freedom, individualism, difference and change. The need to reinforce community identity, to overcome stigmatisation and maintain continuity appears also to be very significant factors. Therefore identity must be viewed from the premise that it is the struggle for human existence, especially for culture and an active role in its production and distribution.

⁴¹ Ethnogenesis is a conceptual tool for analysing and developing critical approaches to culture as a constant process of conflict and tension where people struggle to gain control and over resources within a dominated environment. See also Hill 1996.

Robotham (1988) highlighted that a black cultural identity had developed in Jamaica with the disintegration of traditional identities derived from the economic and political structures of colonialism and its plantation system. Identity during this early stage was racially structured. However, he demonstrates that new identities were due primarily to social stratification, a socio-ethnic hierarchy, occupation, domination, oppression and resistance (1988:27-38). However, For example, the maroon settlements maintained traditional identities, through maronage and treaties with the British colonial power. Identity amongst the maroons (1739) was organised around group loyalties.

Robotham also demonstrated that the environment and subjective processes (political experiences of revolts and resistances) played a specific role in the development of identity and he was able to pull together the differing historical, political, economic and social elements responsible for identity formation.

Furthermore, other cultural and socio-political forces at work in the society were responsible for the creation of new identities among the majority black population during this period. For example, early economic culture and plantation ties that effected the internal marketing and peasant slave market systems enabled solidarity and new ways of being to develop, which consolidated the slaves from differing peripheral plantations and pens. Significantly, the various revolts (Tacky's revolt -1760, and Sam Sharpe's revolt -1831) of the early eighteenth to the nineteenth century and their organisation also played a part in furthering these identities.

Bilby (1996:119) demonstrates that new identities emerge out of older identity categories through the redefinition of boundaries. It is a gradual process, which lends itself to the transformation or the shifting salience of pre-existing cultural identities as

they become politicised in new contexts. This analysis advanced the discourse of new identities and showed they were characteristic of rapid growth in small-scale societies, where differing factors (economic, religious ideology and cultural notions of kinship) generate ethnogenesis (Bilby 1984) in societies, such as the Caribbean.

One of the most significant periods in the creation of new identities emerged from the new political culture founded on the religious ideology of myalism and obeah. This period also highlights further developments that were the result of the arrival of black American style Christianity evolving into Native Baptist and Native Methodist religious sects (Chevannes 1995; Erskine 1998; Austin Broos 1997; Bisnauth 1996). The extent to which religious revivalism, the Baptist war in 1831 and other religious denominations assisted and furthered new identities is to be understood within the desire for equality and freedom. Yet, the period of emancipation and land ownership alongside waged labour also paved the way for the development of new identities from amongst community groups (Besson 1993, 1995, 2002).

The early political movements of Bogle, Gordon and Garvey (Chevannes 1995; Barrett 1997; Erskine 1998) based upon black religious ideologies promoted black consciousness and furthered the development of new identities. Bedward's religious cult following in the 1920s assisted in the further creolization of cultural identities and the development of Rastafarianism in 1934 (Chevannes 1995; Barrett 1997) furthered cultural identity formation. Religious Revivalism had created group identities at an early stage, but at emancipation and up until the late 1960s, the primary identities were the dominant whites, intermediate brown creoles or 'honorary whites' and the majority black population. The ruling white group though, was itself stratified, but as Jamaica emerged through its political changes, nationalism unified the society. Yet, there are

new stratifications within the society. These stratifications are organised on occupational lines, wealth, religion, colour, class hierarchy and education.

Cultural identity in the Caribbean developed within and out of the larger social division between white and other. It has in Sligoville evolved further to encompass other social divisions of class and slavery⁴². Banton's (1979) and Erskine's (1998) analysis regarding the distinct relation between contemporary race relations and the differing colonial experiences of slavery has some relevance. It is in this light that the different communities would be the embryo of different subcultures and produce distinct cultural identities (Besson 2002). However these identities might draw on specific historical and social events.

The writer's definition of cultural identity as applied in this work is primarily that of group identity based or founded upon ties or links that demonstrate affinities and attachments derived from birth and acquired or assigned to an individual following birth, through residence and sociality. Yet, in defining identity in this way, there are further complexities, for it also encompasses other forms or contexts whereby identity might be chosen. Such links might be acquired and reinforced through a variety of idioms. Cultural identity in the case of Sligoville is acquired or chosen and ascribed through the community and by specific individuals and families through the utilisation of descent, name, place, location, religion and historical ties (Besson 2002). Concomitantly members of the wider community and outsiders external to the local community further this ideal of difference and otherness.

⁴² Slavery in this sense denotes the difference between those individuals who cannot trace direct descent to first freed slaves and those who can.

In Caribbean societies cultural identity is posited as the outcome of competition for scarce resources. It is therefore documented from a socio-economic perspective, because it encompasses social, economic and political issues. However, the changes within the region can best be explained by applying the creole society model to the development of identities. This is especially so in Sligoville, for although it is primarily the cultural and historical factors that are applied for the determination of identity, both the situational and primordial models have meaning for the understanding of its formation. Thus, it could be argued that a group exists in Sligoville by virtue of the community/specific individuals' perception and notion.

Cultural identity is exemplified in the ideals of community and beliefs that similarities and differences of specific families are due to inherited common descent, history, stigmatisation and socialisation. I argue that the village's cultural identity has developed from three primary conditions that have encouraged the optimisation of interest in the creation of solidarity, cohesiveness and a sense of belonging among a specific number of families and the community. They are a) segmentation, b) opposition and c) conflict. Thus, when families are displaced socially within the community and as a consequence from the land, it is their identity derived from descent and history that provides the circumstance for their continued support. Identity, as it has evolved in Sligoville, is a direct outcome of segmentary creolization.

Whilst I have drawn on the cultural and social aspects in my definition and analysis of cultural identity, it is important to note that the concept requires a more dynamic and flexible approach. Hence, I have examined the patterns of socialisation and have given consideration to the functions and structure of the differing modes of socialisation for the individual families and the group. The ways in which the differing patterns of

socialisation are used to maintain the family, group and community cohesiveness is also explored.

Of significance too, are the ways in which individuals interact, their relationships, patterns of communication and how these elements interrelate with identity. For example, a strong local concern of opposition characterised by '*they*', '*us*' and '*we*' is used to heighten, create and strengthen communal allegiance. Thus, anti-Sligoville activities are examined in jocular communication and interactions, village quarrels and through a sense of aphony relating to aspects of the community's history. The basis of identity in Sligoville is due to the dynamics of opposition, history, religion, ancestry, class and boundary. Therefore, the stigmatisations of slavery, negative status, colour class classification, inadequacies and loss of opportunities trigger and maintain identity differentiation.

The foregoing theoretical debates lead me to the consideration of the relationship between religion and identity in a multicultural society. Firstly, the impact of enforced migration on the differing migrants to Jamaica provided formal and informal networks, institutions and protections within which identity could be formed. Secondly, religion provided a sense of belonging and a forum through which both individuals, groups, and or, communities could create a basis for identification and social location following emancipation and through the development of free communities (Besson 1995b; Besson and Chevannes 1996). Yet, it was the hierarchical divisions of wealth, colour and class that enabled the greatest division. Religion became an important way of constituting the individual as a subject and thus the defining and locating of their identity. Religious identification also defined groups/communities within the wider society. In Sligoville identity is not merely a continuity of traditional Revivalist ways, but a more dynamic

way of negotiating changes or new identities. Religion and kinship patterns enable villagers to legitimate their identity. Sligoville's identity is a form of localism⁴³.

The constant shifting of identity is important in the social relations, politics and economy of the community. The complex nature and the way in which the group transcends difficulties and differences to create local identity is evidence of their creativity. Theoretically, this identity is linked to and driven by cultural persistence, history, power and control. However, change, continuity and difference, differentiate and bind specific families together.

A Sligovillian identity appears as a direct outcome of the relationship between religion, status and the process of creolization. Whilst religious identification might assume less significance in a society with religious pluralism, a specific identity is prominent amongst members of the dominated group as a result of their position in the hierarchical social order. The form identity takes is dependent on the institutions the dominated group(s) have within their grasp. In the case of Sligoville identity formation took its form primarily from four sources land, religion, history and descent (Besson 1979, 1987, 2002). Many villagers identify with one of the main legitimate religious groups and at times assume membership of these groups as well as Revivalism. Being Sligovillian becomes more relevant when other forms of identity are loaded with specific criteria and status symbols or when they feel threatened and disempowered.

Disempowerment often leads to the development and fusion of the particular relationship between differing ideologies, models and concepts. Such relationships

⁴³ Localism as I use it, implies a broad network of social ties with orientation to local residence, community ties of socialisation, identifying with the community and attachments to families and local institutions.

produce new cultural modes based upon the social environment and its effect on the disempowered. Ethno-religious groups are known to withdraw from the society and create a subculture in order to preserve their distinctiveness. Withdrawal also serves as a form of resistance and a means of regrouping. Such groups might also utilise other religious groups as a host in order to redefine and re-establish themselves. However, they quite often reconstruct and evolve in order to create new religious modes that maintain continuity. It is the process of creolization that enables individuals and groups within the community to regroup and create new models or modes through which they may best deal with everyday life.

It is clear that cultural identity within the Caribbean is in a constant state of change. Therefore, it is a signifier of individual or group identity that is inter-changeable according to or dependent on the environment. As the boundaries (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983) of cultural identity change in response to conditions, the boundaries serve to provide individuals or groups with ways of interpreting their surroundings and (re)-locating themselves. They enable individuals and groups within an ever-changing modern society to cope. Thus, Sligoville's specific identity and social location are intertwined with its environment socially and politically. It is dependent on the individual's awareness of his or her location or belonging within the community, group or ethno-religious order.

History also plays a part, for elements of the past are incorporated in the present to construct and to legitimise identity by individuals/groups. They offer conflicting ways in which those specific elements of history are appropriated or denied. History then becomes a commodity with specific value marketed for the benefit of individuals or groups, and consequently creates a relationship between individuals within the group or

community. Yet, it might be argued that the value of specific elements of the past has different significance for various group(s). The groups legitimise their identification through locating the past temporally within their space. There are of course though, other reasons for legitimising their identity and this is demonstrated by reaffirming their position, rights and autonomy within the space and place. Identity is not merely about positioning and representation it is also about demonstrating the right to share resources and the will to freedom of choice.

Although I draw on creolization theory to situate identity formation, I take a historical materialist (Mintz 1985) approach to investigate its impact. The historical materialist approach considers the interaction between history and material forces (socio-economic and political) and their influence on processes of change, social formations/transformations or culture building.

The approach I adopt to the formation of cultural identity takes its principal consideration as the marginalization and disempowerment of specific families and situates them within a historical context. By far a most interesting aspect is the way in which the past is used to both disempower and empower people within the social and local context. To further a historical approach local discourse on migration and fragmented communities are examined to reveal (contradictory) ideas of power, and self-identification. I take this approach one step further by unearthing and arguing for the development of an understanding of local issues regarding cultural struggle, opposition, oppression and Acceptance (see chapter 6). This approach allows for an appreciation of the factors that impact on the lives of these communities and an understanding of the strategies people adopt to construct identity and belonging. In this context how it is maintained, why and how this mobilises exclusivity, local

consciousness and autonomy among specific individuals outlines the continuing process of differences within similarity or diversity.

Concern with the way changes influence new identity and the implication for cultural and local meanings and practices of the past on the present, and how these might influence the future, indicates that elements resourced from the past have specific meaning in constructing the future.

Whilst Hall's theoretical emphasis on cultural identity of third world people in the diaspora brings greater understanding to the production of new kinds of subjects through the techniques and practices of (cinematic) representation and migration, it is also useful for an understanding of displacement within free communities in the region.

Now Wardle's (2002) cognitive approach of cultural identity in an urban space (Kingston, Jamaica) explores ideas whereby the experience of 'adventure' within a temporal and spatial modality provides autonomy and frames subjectivity. It is the element of autonomy, which I seek to elicit the meaning of. Much like creolization, cultural identity involves a process of actively interpreting, creating and stressing continuity and consciousness. These elements aid the process of uncovering coherent systems, and models of structural coherence reveal new value and consolidates specific identities

It is the process of identification and ideas to exclude which drives the desire to construct a subject using links to an abandoned object, which is aided by the politics of remembering. Identity dependency on the play of power, difference and exclusion involves groups utilising resources of particular elements of the past to create, sustain and represent specifics in the present.

Towards the Indigenisation of Religion in the Caribbean

Religion is often spoken of as unifying and it is nowhere more explicit than in Jamaica and the village of Sligoville. However, there exists a paradox within this context, for religion has served as liberatory force for those individuals or groups under subjugation or as a force for subjugation by the dominant groups. Thus, it has been utilised as a force of resistance and opposition against institutions and dominant groups by the dominated and as a pacifying and institutional force by the dominant in opposition to the dominated. I argue for the role of religion in enabling cultural changes (Durkheim 1976; Weber 1978; Morris 1991; and McGuire 1992). Religion in colonised societies, such as the Caribbean, has been used not only for resistance but also as a creative force (Comaroff 1985), and as means of obtaining or holding on to independence, liberation, control, power, identity and individuality. Despite the homogenising efforts of education, politics and the social elements of non-conformist and established religions in Jamaica, creolized religion is continuing to evolve new forms, in differing guises, which maintains heterogeneity whilst enabling a sense of belonging and at times specific identity.

In this section the seminal works of Bastide and Hess on African based (syncretic) religions in Brazil is considered and I draw attention to their significance in understanding religious change in the Caribbean, together with the works of Herskovits, Brandon, Erskine and Austin-Broos.

This study on identity in Sligoville focuses primarily on the interplay of diverse Caribbean cultural traditions and the differing factors that influence those traditions. Hence, it is crucial for the understanding of identity formation and cultural change to situate the indigenisation of Caribbean religions in regard to cultural changes. This

places the relationship between religion and the individual and provides an understanding of the links between the conceptual and the social. It is here that the significance of received knowledge and how that knowledge is used have importance in illuminating the activities and sociality of people. Yet importance must also be attached to the environmental factors that are also influential in the determining of cultural change.

In this assessment of the creolization of religions in the Caribbean consideration is given to the diverse religious beliefs, the early models of investigation, such as syncretism (Herskovits: 1990), together with indigenisation. An assessment of the new religious movements is also undertaken giving consideration to the influence of socio-economic and political factors within its specific historical context. From this perspective how the past is experienced,⁴⁴ remembered and what elements are utilised, are indicators of a kind of imagined future.

Concerns about how the past influences the present, and how changes impact on cultural meanings and social functions indicate that, what is resourced from the past provides concrete meaning for the understanding of the present (reconstruction of new cultural forms) and the future (continuity). Continuity a primary element within any society is inextricably linked to the past, but religion's ability to construct a symbolic world determines its centrality to the retention of cultural beliefs and practices.

(1) Herskovits' Notion of Survival

Herskovits, in his study, 'The Myth of the Negro Past' (1990), on Afro-Brazilian religious syncretism juxtaposed the cultural traits of the two cultures (African and

⁴⁴ Experienced is used in this instance to indicate the process of socialisation within the community/society.

European) and argued that retention, survival and reinterpretation allowed for a continuity of African traditions in Brazil. In his use of syncretism to explain religious changes Herskovits in his discovery of 'coherent systems' of cultural practice utilised historical methods to explain the social forms evidenced. Herskovits viewed religion as a means for aiding the transformation of the social and economic relationships of the individual within specific religious groups/cults of displaced people(s) in the Americas. Herskovits, although he suggests that Candomble must be studied in its totality and not merely as a religion, viewed the continuing influence of African patterns and traditions in the New World as primarily survivals with retentions and re-interpretations as merely mimicking European and African cultures. He presented a static rather than a creative/dynamic interpretation of religious change in Brazil, and his methodology would afford the same for religious change in contemporary Caribbean societies.

(2) Bastide's syncretic perspective

Bastide (1978) focuses on religious beliefs and activities, giving emphasis to the importance of wider societal links, especially the relationship between religious ideologies and practices and the issues derived from domination and subordination. He offers a dialectical approach that identifies the importance of understanding the decisions and activities of individuals, how they are located in institutions and differentiated by power. Thus, it is within the reality of the wider society that Bastide (1978) conducted his comprehensive examination of the structures and the dialectical relations of religions which enabled his unveiling of religious changes in Brazil and the Americas.

Bastide (1978) presented religious syncretism as the meeting and mingling of African and Christian ideologies and belief practices. In his presentation he offered the

following differentiated categories: 1) Morphological or mosaic syncretism which highlighted the juxtaposition and co-existence of African derived elements and Catholic symbols such as altars, crosses, statues of saints, and pots containing souls of the dead. 2) Institutional syncretism which includes religious observance of Catholic and African religious calendars and 3) Syncretism where the African deity and Christian saint becomes one through myths or and symbolic similarities.

In Bastide's (1978) triadic classificatory scheme the intellectuals and professionals of the upper class were placed at the top, the white middle class who were predominantly evangelicals in the middle, and working class (mulattoes and blacks) as drawn to 'Umbanda' at the lower level.

Bastide's (1978) interpretation of syncretism was from the perspective of the individual as the carrier of culture within a complex web of interrelationships characterised by the communication of domination, subordination and or of egalitarian exchange. These individuals are part of a wider society with rules, norms and organizations.

Bastide (1978) also identified that it was of importance to understand cultural changes not as the breakdown of cultures, but as the conscious decisions and activities of individuals to create new forms. Bastide's dialectical approach serves as a template from which the process of creolization of African-Caribbean religions can be better understood. It is within this context that the role of religion within highly stratified and complex societies might become clearer.

(3) Hess's Interdisciplinary Approach

Hess's (1990) syncretic approach to Spiritism or Espiritismo/Kardecismo⁴⁵ is also a process of adaptation. However, it is differentiated through an institutionalised intellectual elitism⁴⁶ (of middle class followers and religious movements). Hess, like Bastide interpreted religious syncretism along class lines. In his examining of alienation, continuities and the creation of a Brazilian consciousness, he asserted the significance of the diverse diasporic peoples coping strategies.

Hess' utilises a dialectical approach to understand the complexities and sophistication through which dialogue occurs between the sciences and traditions in the conceptualising and meeting of diverse ideas, located in a local consciousness. He looks at the historical as well as the social and cultural forces behind the Brazilianisation of religion. He provides an explanation of the bringing together of the different worldviews of the healing traditions from Western and non-western biomedicine, which is articulated in terms of western science and contemporary political ideologies.

Hess reinterpreted western parapsychology, alternative medicine, science and political ideology, and sought to understand how non-western and traditional practices and discourses are dialogued within localised spaces/arenas. Notably, he was concerned with how such dialogues, located within the third space, where middle class intellectuals provided a specific role as mediators between popular religions and the universities, the state and the medical professions. In this concern Hess was able to assess the relationship between the dominant institutions in the society and those that

⁴⁵ Kardecismo (Hess: 1990) is a syncretic religious doctrine of science, philosophy and Christian morality. It includes a number of beliefs that have a historical origin in hermetic and esoteric traditions steeped in beliefs of spirit communications through mediums, the astral bodies and vital fluids. Included is the belief of Indic philosophy of incarnation and karma as well as reformed Protestant theology, a Unitarian doctrine, the reinterpretation of heaven and hell as psychological states, Catholicism (spiritual hierarchies and the role of mediators through biblical doctrine), social reformism (emphasis on equality, progress, freedom of thought and education) and modern science (parapsychology or psychical research).

⁴⁶ Hess defines intellectual elitism as middle class individuals who are followers of religious movements.

were more popular through engagement in discourses on representations and boundary-work⁴⁷.

Hess' syncretic interpretation whilst it sheds light on the hierarchical structure of spiritism amongst religious groups and offers an insight into the complex environment within which they operate. His model fails to address of the wider issues relating to the development of new religious movements within Brazil. Hence, though his model has usefulness within the cultural social and historical context it would be inadequate for assessing religious cultural change in the wider Caribbean region especially Jamaica.

(4) Brandon's Cultural Continuum

Brandon's (1997: 2-3) insightful approach to change in the Caribbean is set within the global, New World and the local-national geographical landscape. Within this context he takes an historical view of religions from a triadic perspective incorporating Africans, Europeans and Caribbeans with dual heritage. Brandon demonstrates that Halbwach (1950), writing on collective memory, influences not only his theoretical approach but also Bastide (1978), Connerton (1989) and Laguerre (1987). However, Brandon chooses to focus on cultural continuum or intersystem (Drummond 1980) as a temporal and historical process.

This view of religion focuses on economic and social forms and gives consideration to the particular positions and or activities of some individuals as well as internal developments that generate conflict, which may bring about changes.

⁴⁷ Boundaries or Boundary-work as used by Hess (1990:6) represents the variety or different issues that might affect an individual or group within a social interest and includes the articulation of cultural and social drama, where different values and worldviews clash. From the boundary-work this involves the intellectual discourse that defend the social and might challenge or preserve social hierarchies.

Brandon defines the changes as alternatives that survive and assume a recognisable form that can be successfully and consistently reproduced. From this process continuity aids the creation of new forms within a range of variation that is unique and coherent. Brandon surmises three stages of change a formative, transformative and continuity.

For Brandon (1997:7) syncretism focuses on the organisation of cultural diversity in multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-racial societies. However, though recognising the influence of conflict and contradiction., he suggests that his concept of syncretism in its pursuit for unity does so at the expense of truth.

Whilst Brandon's analysis incorporate a Caribbean perspective in the attention he gives to the dualist heritage (Yoruba Orisha and Spanish Catholicism) of religion rather than that of a distinctive and unique indigenised form, there is much with which I would concur relating to his criticism of syncretism and its inability to explain fully contemporary changes in the Caribbean.

(5) Erskine's Liberative Approach

Erskine's (1998) analysis expresses a socio-historical approach to religion and how it brings about change in the Caribbean. He focuses on domination and subjugation, its links to colonialism and the present economic policies that continue to maintain dependency, negate African religious ideologies and practices and undermine black consciousness.

Erskine posits a liberative theology where marginalised people liberate themselves from dominant ideologies and carve their own consciousness in the context of their circumstances and theologies. In arguing for liberation he suggests it can only be

achieved from below, with change occurring from among the people. Erskine (1998) suggests that 'it is within the community that the self experienced itself in harmony'. In this context, the self-experience, unity, freedom and destiny; and the search for identity and meaning are more fully realised in the community. As such Erskine equates the survival of African religious ideologies, their environment, circumstances, freedom and sense of community to the meeting of a number of religious and cultural ideas.

He illuminates the changes that enabled the hope for freedom and provides an indigenised perspective of a black religion evolving because of shared common religious experiences and black consciousness. His approach to the decolonisation of religion departs from the colonialist perspective of Christianity as the redeeming religion for Africans in the Caribbean.

Erskine (1998: 140) shares an ideology of cultural continuum where the struggle for black identity especially in Jamaica (through Revivalism and Rastafarianism) enabled not only a black religious identity but also an identity of their own.

(6) Austin-Broos: Indigenised Approach

Austin-Broos (1997:4) dismisses Brathwaite's dualistic approach to change as a product of two people's cultures meeting, adapting to their circumstances, the environment and to each other as an oversight. She is clear in stating that seeing continuum as an outcome of two cultures can lead to some observers overlook the creativeness of Caribbean people to mimic other cultures while developing their own powerful folk cultures. Instead Austin-Broos argues for a triadic approach with a juxtaposition of Africa, Europe (America) and the Caribbean that enables a cultural creativity and the genesis of a Jamaican self.

Here cultural creativity is presented as the new use of practices and knowledge that has been re-contextualised and might be perceived as hegemonic (Austin-Broos 1997: 4). Moreover Austin-Broos outlines a constructive argument for consideration of power, domination and subordination, where opposition and performance in the form of mimicry produces cultural creativity.

Austin-Broos (1997:5) perceives change as occurring from within an indigenous discourse negotiated through the powers of the region as they are encountered in Jamaica. What is more and somewhat crucial is her view of change and identity formation occurring through negotiation of values (1997:11). Thus she focuses on the relation between religion and the creation of self through a process of negotiation.

Religious Groups and Ideologies

De Barros (2001) views Afro-Guyanese Congregationalists as placing themselves in positions of conflict to the social order. Religious groups and their ideologies are signifiers of various forms of identities. Such approaches raise ideological views of my own regarding particular religious cult groups or mediators, mediating between differing sections of the society. In this respect the early syncretic or indigenised religions are intermediate between Christianity and African based religions as well between differing economic and power structures. At this level I argue that particular religious denominations are used as means of mediating between differing status/class and identities.

However there is a wider discourse which situates these intermediate religious cults as strategies to achieving autonomy, rights and validation. For example the region and its cultural developments when viewed from a triadic class stratified (Bastide 1960)

dualistic or hierarchical (Wilson 1969, 1973, 1995, Smith 1965, Hess 1990) perspective, it loses sight of the dynamism of these societies. For Hess the broader ideological and cross-cultural perspective with creolization as the process that consolidates the differing elements enable new cultural forms to develop, and coexist together even in times of schism and opposition. However conflict provides some explanation of the processes of rapid change. Whilst Hess's mediation occurs primarily as a strategy to achieve particular outcome, which might be economic, political and social, it does not take account of the effect of class.

However from a perspective of political ideology, consideration of how non-western and traditional practices and discourses are dialogued within a localised space/arena, is somewhat closer to my theoretical approach. Hess's mediating approach is useful in analysing the resourceful and creative ways in which such communities/societies through dance (Taylor 2001), play or dramatisation (Burton 1997) make use of diverse cultural worldviews and traditions (socio-economic and political values) within a localised space to develop relations.

It is through the ideas of alienation, disempowerment and interrelationship that the construction of local otherness emerges. At the centre of this debate is the discussion regarding what factors drive local otherness, and are they dependent on hierarchical behaviour to stimulate actions of difference or a localised consciousness? It appears that the genesis and evolution of cultural forms and new religions among diverse cultural groups are creative developments of local knowledge over a long period of time. The interplay of religious differences, ethnic and cultural values often inform new value systems whilst retaining and renewing former ones. Therefore, the theoretical approach to explaining regional changes must now move beyond the process of syncretism

whereby difference is adapted and acculturated into adaptation and or symbiosis⁴⁸ (Desmangles 1992:8) to fully embrace the process of Caribbeanisation.

Although the Caribbean region was composed of fragmented societies whose cultures and religions were also segmented and diasporic have through a variety of processes developed new cultures and complete societies. Yet it is religion itself which provided the means through which these diverse diasporic groups have been able to reconstruct individual, cultural and national identity distinctive to each island. Contemporary Caribbean societies articulate themselves as people with an exclusive privileged position⁴⁹. This position is arguably the outcome of various factors. Yet the primary process contributing to the changes which afforded this privileged position is creolization. Such a process promotes diasporic links to African culture, and forges inter-relationship that informs on the source of becoming and developing a Caribbean identity. Thus the social reality and or social situation of Caribbean people in establishing authentic religions, validated by religious ideology and creolized practices, produced discrete autonomous cultures.

Myalism formulated the earliest schema for slave resistance, black institutions and eventual freedom (Schuler 1979). Through specific cognitive ideologies religious practices were developed for the continuity of particular institutions and a black identity, framed upon the ideal of liberty, autonomy and control. African slaves applied

⁴⁸ Symbiosis another theory used to theorise on the developmental changes within the region implies that there is a juxtaposition of diverse traditions between two continents that coexist without fusing with one another (See Taylor 2001:3). Whilst this theoretical approach is useful it is a process I consider prior to the creative process of syncretism and in some situations post creolization.

⁴⁹ Privileged position as used in this context refers to the specific position or location of Caribbean societies, from the perspective of their unique history, within a specific period of time (400years). These societies have the advantage of belonging to a specific geographical group of islands, whose agricultural development was specifically created within a plantation system. It is the creative responses of differing groups of people from diverse societies and cultures who have [risen like a phoenix out of the ashes of slavery] within a time period of just over 164 years (more or less in some cases) to develop a Caribbean consciousness. This provides the freedom of membership of an exclusive assembly of nation states. Both the individual, the national and the regional consciousness enable these societies to participate as nation states within a regional and global context and to sustain a culturally distinct and privileged position.

self-knowledge to bring about a change from the earliest times through creating a religion. This first religious form enabled the enslaved population to draw on their previous knowledge, to provide cohesion, solidarity and a power base through which they could fight and eradicate the evil of slavery.

Geertz (1968:101) introduces the idea of religion as a means of uniting people and expressing common values. For him it is a “set of meanings, from a semantic or hermeneutic conceptualisation that is concerned with function and unifying experience, so as to overcome the felt inadequacies of common-sense ideas” (1968:101).

Applying Geertz’s approach to local model (1983), and religion as unifying the slaves in identifying slavery as sin (Schuler 1979) gave meaning to their felt inadequacies and through using Myalism united and created a platform for establishing meaning to their life. This format continues within Revivalism (Besson and Chevannes 1996) and is observable within Pentecostal churches in Sligoville.

Schuler’s (1979) portrayal of religion demonstrates that Myalism as a cult developed the bond that provided the inspiration to oppose the conditions of slavery and the plantation society. This resistance, in turn, provided both the external and internal protection within their belief systems. The continuing evolved form of Myalism in contemporary Sligoville provides the inspiration and resistance to external and internal tensions and conflicts. Schuler’s analysis presents creolization as the process, which enabled the creation of Myalism.

In analysing Myalism Karasch (1979: 138) drew a comparison with Brazil and posits that slavery was fought not by creating religion, but by adopting and transforming

aspects of the masters' Catholic religion. Karasch criticises Schuler's analysis that it is 'separateness' that has made it possible for the slaves to maintain aspects of their African religions. Karasch makes a significant point in noting that 'to understand African values and Brazil's fastest growing religion 'Umbanda', we must understand that tradition (1979: 140),' but fails in her analysis to appreciate the slaves' dynamism and creativity, for in adapting, they were in essence creating.

Price's (1979:142) critique of Schuler's work rests on the principle that Schuler questions the relevance of Afro-America and his findings in Surinam that African ethnic identities were rapidly superseded as a structural principle by New World ties. He argues for the initial ethnic-based organisation giving way to Pan-African organisation expressed through the religious experiences of Myal. He identified two themes within Schuler's analysis, the role of identity, and the role of religion in the development of slave cultural institutions. Yet, these two themes are inter-related, in that religion is the agency, which assists identity. Price questions Schuler's model for the progression from African to Pan- African organisation to creolization as a historical process, for depending on the local circumstances; ethnicity was different at different times in different places (1979: 146).

Brathwaite's (1971) more explicit analysis focused on the ideas of creolization and furthers the discussion and development of the creolization process through religious creativity. Disagreeing with Schuler's implications of religion in relationship to superstition, he suggested that such religious ideas should not be perceived as superstition or as purely witchcraft or sorcery. Brathwaite locates Myal as one aspect of creolization, which includes Obeah, Jonkonnu, Convince and Pukumina. They are new cultural forms derived from myalism through different changes and responses to the

tensions and conflicts within the society. However, religion in Jamaica especially creolized religion, functions as part of the social structure and as a vehicle for change and continuity.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a brief introduction of the theory of creolization and a presentation of my main theoretical arguments. It draws together the differing perspectives that weave a web of interrelated and interconnecting thematic issues that construct the theoretical framework of this research. Firstly, by pulling together the theories that offer explanations for continuity and change in the Caribbean I argue that the Plural Society, Plantation Society models are less suited to explaining changes and development in the region. Instead I offer creolization model as a more useful concept for theorising cultural development within a localised framework.

I also emphasise the significance of comparative analysis and the mapping of differing historical stages and events. Secondly, to demonstrate that creolization is not primarily about resistance, nor is it about ideas of blending, assimilation and acculturation, I stress its qualities for adaptation, masquerading or masking, transformation. These underlining creative activities are ways for adapting to changes, the maintenance of autonomy, and the seizure of power, control and with in a localised environment.

Creolization theory explains the differing changes as they occur within the Caribbean, and draws together all the other theories that are intrinsically linked to the continuing development of these societies. In essence, it is a tool for economic, political, and social development. This model deals with the tensions, conflicts and oppositions within the differing groups and systems and analyses the ways in which on going changes affect

and effect new cultural forms.

This theoretical model as I apply it to this study has enabled me to analyse the conflicts and tensions in the social system of Sligoville and to view this process as a source for social change, whereby, relationships are defined and differentiated between two sections of the community, '*insiders*' versus '*outsiders*'. Applying Marxist ideas of alienation and exploitation it would seem the interrelations between land, religion, descent and kinship in this settlement is the basis of a specific identity. Alienation and marginalisation is utilised in differing social context both as a form of opposition, resistance and creativity.

As a form of resistance both are used to reinterpret the tensions and oppositions within the environment and in the case of these families to create a specific cultural identity. Through this process the group is drawing on particular elements of their past in order to reinvent and create a new identity. Alienation and or stigmatisation and low self-esteem is the basis for this identity. The collection of families has utilised the art of bricolage to transform their status with the dominant class in the village and relocate themselves historically. These families have been innovative in adapting descent and kinship rules to create a specific identity in their own interest and in defiance of others.

Within the religious arena creolization theory pulls together the social relationships of the differing families and the structures through which the community interact. Sligoville has shown that religious divide is not a division of religious beliefs, but rather a happy co-existence. From the very structures or cultural norms that enable continuity and identity, multi-ethnic religious practices are accepted and reciprocated. I argue that the very dichotomy within the system creates the environment for oppositions between

the different groups and this drives the mechanics of change and fires new cultural forms.

I suggest that the identification of a changing dichotomous model of society, which is due to the integrating factor of creoles, apply to the late pre-emancipation era and early post-emancipation years. Creolization theory enables analysis of the structures, functions and meanings of the dominated and the dominant groups especially greater clarification and knowledge of the subordinate to adapt to their environment, to create, to evolve and bring about changes. My research and analysis lead me to purport that creole society or dominated groups, for example particular section of Jamaican society can get outside the dominant culture. More significantly, majority dominated groups have been successful in drawing the more dominant group to their cultural norms and values. However through a process of creolization the community operates a dualism, by opposing and resisting both from within and outside the dominant system; villagers consciously and unconsciously challenge the dominant system whilst reinforcing and introducing creolized values and beliefs.

Religion, land descent and kinship are entwined in the integration and consolidation of a unified nation and indigenous cultural norms. As such Sligoville's cultural identity has replaced tribalism and it is primarily an outcome of internal pressures, although both internal and external pressures are stimulated by internal organisation. Community identity on the other hand is a strategy for corporate identity, it is goal directed, founded upon and maintained by internal institutions and stimulated by external pressures. The desire to overcome stigmatisation in turn produces a form of tribalism specific to these families. Yet these needs and desires were developed primarily through religious and social change.

Primarily all the works I have drawn on highlight the importance of a historical analysis with the exception of a few arguing for a more dialectical approach to creolization theory in explaining changes as they occur within the region. It is Bolland, Burton, Olwig, Mintz and Price and Chevannes and Besson who best demonstrate the benefits of historical analysis and the need for the application of local models to explain continuity and creativity within peasant communities.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF RELIGION IN JAMAICA

This chapter presents an overview of the arrival of the various Missionary churches into the Caribbean and recount how Christianity was introduced to the African slaves, with particular reference to Jamaica.

A range of academics (Besson 1995, 1996, 2002; Bisnauth 1996; Chevannes 1995, 1996; Erskine 1998; Taylor 2001) has provided extensive coverage of religion in the Caribbean. However, in the context of my study some of their work provide the backdrop from which I reveal aspects of indigenisation of religion occurring in a number of other Caribbean islands, in particular (Cuba, Haiti, Trinidad and Grenada). An outline of the meeting of the differing religious beliefs (Roman Catholicism, Protestantism and African religious belief systems) and how these differing ideologies syncretised and creolized to create a number of localised religions, specific to the differing islands in the Caribbean is summarised.

However, in the context of Jamaica attention is given to Myalism (Schuler 1979, 1980) and the stimulus it provided for the development of Revivalism, a religion indigenous to that island. Myal or Myalism emerging from among the differing ethnic African groups in Jamaica in the eighteenth century, served to consolidate and empower the subjugated workforce and encouraged the creation of new structures in an alien environment that was to become their place of belonging. It is from the encounter between Myalism and Christianity that a Jamaican Revival worldview evolves (Chevannes 1995, Besson 1995, Chevannes and Besson 1996). I also provide summaries of some of the religious movements that have occurred in Jamaica since the onset of Myalism, giving consideration to their interconnection where they exist and their importance in assisting

in the evolution of creolized religions in Jamaica.

Furthermore, I offer an explanation of the liberatory characteristics of creolized religions in the process of identity formation. Such an explanation offer an insights of community structures, how they function and why, within a global community of multiple identities. I argue that the religious ideologies and symbolism of Revivalism bolster and support local cultural modes and that the emergence of a Jamaican consciousness has meaning for identity formation in Sligoville.

Finally, my underpinning argument is that Revival ideologies are about the ideas that arise, take root and reflect the social conditions. They have importance too, in that they are used as a tool in times of struggles to take control and transform culture. I postulate as to whether a Sligovillian identity has emerged as a result of the impact of creolized religion in that community

Christianity and its introduction to the Africans

It is religion that mirrors the heterogeneity (Thomas-Hope 1980:4) of the Caribbean and the colonial policies of Spain, Britain, France and Holland. Religion also reflects the differences in traditions and the colonial nations. Furthermore, it reflects differences and conflicts, but also blends and blurred overlaps that highlight the complex, yet shared experiences that characterises the 'creole' culture of the Caribbean.

Historical analysis shows that the Spanish brought Catholicism to the Caribbean in the sixteenth century. The Dutch were the earliest missionaries. However it was not until the eighteenth and early nineteenth century that Christianity gained prominence in the Caribbean. The Moravians arrived in the islands of St Kitts, Antigua and St Thomas in

1732. The Methodists arrived in Nevis and Montserrat (1824). The Anglicans appeared in Barbados in 1814. The Reformed Calvinists⁵⁰ arrived in Guyana in 1766 and the Scottish Presbyterians (1800), Moravians (1754), Methodists (1760), British Missionary Society (1814), London Missionary Society (1835), Presbyterians (1814) and American Baptists (1782) went to Jamaica. This increased European religious presence was instrumental in bringing about change in the Caribbean (Bisnauth 1996; Erskine1998; Thomas-Hope1980) and led eventually to the emergence of a Christian religiosity amongst the black populations.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries few slaves adopted Christian religious ideology. The European planter classes objected to the religious education of their workforce believing it might bring about a revolt. They also thought that Africans would not be able to comprehend Christianity. Significantly though, the introduction of Christianity by the black Southern American Baptist preachers was a driving force for the syncretism between American Baptist and Myal in 1783.

As Christian denominational churches made little or no effort to religiously educate the black populations, elements of African based religious ideas and practices were reinterpreted and modified to find new ways of accommodating themselves to plantation life and resist domination and subjugation. This allowed them to create new religious forms and identities so they could ensure their survival. Obeah in Jamaica, Voodoo in Haiti and Santeria in Cuba were derived from African cosmological ideologies and practiced covertly.

These modified belief systems and practices offered the slaves practical solutions to

⁵⁰ The Reformed Calvinist tradition was the more liberal branch of Calvinist beliefs. Its Protestant ethics and capitalist spirit (see

overcome their present dilemmas. These early developments might be perceived as intermediate (Hess 1990, Thomas-Hope 1980) to Christian and African traditional religious ideologies. However, the dominant group (white planter class) considered the Africans' practices sinful. The colonial government banned the traditional practices of the Africans hoping to maintain a compliant workforce. Yet, African religious practices persisted and became resource for creativity and resistance that enabled slaves to embrace change and develop new identities.

In Spanish territories slaves would combine African traditional and Roman Catholic beliefs and symbols which resulted in syncretised religious forms, such as Voodoo in Haiti, Santeria in Cuba and Shango in Trinidad and Grenada. Slaves would take elements of each religion for sacrifice to African deities on Roman Catholic feast days. Voodoo practitioners in Haiti appropriated Catholic prayers (Thomas-Hope 1980) whilst in the Anglophone areas African religious traditions appropriated Protestantism (Baptist and other Non-conformist denominations).

The pattern of these new religious movements ⁵¹ (Santeria, Shango, Baptist Shouters, Voodoo, Obeah, Revivalism, Myalism, Pukumina and Rastafarianism) draws attention not only to the manner in which these societies preserved their social and cultural specificity, but also how they refashioned new religious forms. New Religious Movements are those religious cults or sects evolving from the syncretic and creolized processes of Roman Catholicism, Protestantism and African based religions or Amerindian traditions. There are a variety of these movements within the Caribbean as there are diverse societies. Examples of these groups are the Shakers in St Vincent,

Weber 1978, Parkin 1982) provided the basis upon which undertakings were set up for wealth, profit and religious ideals.

⁵¹ 'New Religious Movements.' For a more comprehensive explanation of these religions (see Chevannes 1994, Barrett 1998, Brandon 1997, M. Olmos and L. Paravisini-Gebert 200).

Santeria in Cuba, Spiritism in Belize and Voodoo in Haiti. Included among these are the Hallelujah religion in Guyana, the Baptist Shouters in Trinidad, and Shango in Trinidad and Grenada. Spirit Possession in Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Grenada and Jamaica as well as the Maldevidan Cult in Martinique are also examples of these religious sects. The Native Baptist, Revivalism, Obeah, Rastafarianism and New Revival Pentecostalism (identified by me in Sligoville) in Jamaica are also a few of the numerous religious groups and there are many others.

However these religious movements or 'diasporan religions' differ from each other in many ways, but the similarities are the ways in which they all incorporate the relationship between the belief in a supreme God, the individual, the spirit world, rituals, the community and nature.

Whilst syncretism aided the convergence of say, Roman Catholicism or Protestant religions with Amerindian and African religious practices, it was the indigenisation of syncretic religious elements that was to inform the emergence of new religious movements, cultures and identities. As such, an emphasis on the indigenisation of religions or religious ideology and cultural values was to ensure the construction of a Caribbean consciousness. Yet, it was the emergence of a specific ideology emerging out of maintaining freedom and a place of abode that constituted new forms of belonging and cultural identities.

Whilst many of the syncretised religions in the Caribbean possess elements of Christian and African beliefs systems, the evangelical Protestant denominations have been indigenised. This is especially true of the Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovah Witness and Pentecostalist church, which embrace the experience of possession by the Holy Spirit

and speaking in tongues. Evangelicalism is an important feature in Caribbean religious ideologies and practices and creolization is a key factor in the evolution of religions. In Jamaica, modern day Revivalism with elements of Obeah, Kumina, Pukumina and Convince is a derivative of Myalism and Native Baptist.

Early Africanised forms of Christian religion have given rise to modern day creolized religions in the Caribbean. As such, there is a considerable volume of work on the role that religion plays in the Caribbean. A number of theoretical studies take an indigenised (Austin-Broos 1997; Wedenoja 1980) perspective (Besson 1995, 1996 and 2002; Bisnauth 1996; Brandon 1997; Chevannes 1995; Dayfoot 1999; Erskine 1998; Taylor 2001; Stewart 1992; Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert [eds] 2000; Gates: 1980). These works show how religion is a creative and resistance force serving to bring about ideological beliefs that influence cultural change and new identity formation.

I argue that issues of domination and subjugation determine the complex issues surrounding cultural identity and these factors produce specific changes. These changes enunciate the pattern of specific cultural development of particular sections of society. I argue that these changes are represented in the 'dance of religion'⁵² as Taylor (2001:3 defines the dance of difference). It is Sligoville's dance, which is borne out of specific historical and social characteristics that has shaped its religious development (Turner 1982; Thomas-Hope 1980, Turner 1980). Despite the fact that many religious ideas have been appropriated and transformed so that the emergence of new religions possess a number of features or characteristics of Revivalism; I argue that these new creolized religions continue to create indigenised or localised cultural values that are significant to

⁵² Dance of religion, is used to explain the way in which Caribbean people locate themselves in a dance of religious indigenization whereby they become part of the dramatisation of similarity and becoming within a field of difference and diversity. See also Taylor (2001:3) on the dance of difference.

the people.

Evolution of Revivalism in Jamaica

The development of black religiosity, cultural change and identity might be argued as evolving during two specific periods firstly from 1655 to 1830 and the second that includes Christianity from 1830 to 1838. From these two eras the genesis for the evolution of Revivalism was put in place. Its combination of African and Christian religious beliefs is the basis upon which Jamaica's creolized religions are founded. Yet from the perspective of Jamaican cultural traditions and identity formation Revivalism or Revival is influenced by three specific occurrences (Chevannes 1995: 6-7). The Tacky rebellion of 1760 with the corporation of Africans from different tribal traditions is the first influence. It is from within this arena that Schuler's (1979b) analysis of the first African-Caribbean religion Myal or Myalism in Jamaica emerged as a socio-political form of resistance.

Myalism drawing on elements of African religious belief systems gave emphasis to the importance of community values and believed that the cause of illness and misfortune could be influenced. Consequently Myalist held beliefs included spirit healing. Myal religious ideas are however, premised on the belief that good prevails absolutely and exclusively. It also embraces the idea that resources are limited and perfection rarely exists. Any one individual who enjoys such unlimited pleasures does so at the expense of the wider community. Slavery was equated within this ideology with the belief that Europeans were using sorcery to enjoy life at the expense of the wider (African) community (Schuler 1979b).

Myal ideology also encompasses the experiences of the Jamaican local community

(micro-cosm) and outside wider world (macro-cosm). Its development during the eighteenth century occurred as a response to plantation society and slavery and is often described as revolutionary (Wedenoja 1978:41).

Myal was used as a weapon to fight the misfortune of slavery and overcome or positively redress the social order. Myal was also a protection against this evil (slavery) through its ability to (a) Constantly assert community values; (b) Maintain social order (political, legal and religious) and (c) Employ ritual techniques and encourage positive social change.

Yet the ability of Myal to absorb other cultural influences is characteristic of central African religious syncretism (Schuler 1979) and has relevance for understanding the development of a Jamaican consciousness (Robotham 1988: 35), cultural development and identity formation in Sligoville.

Myalism also has links with Obeah⁵³. Obeah (Bisnauth 1998) involves the use and control of spirits, an understanding of the universe and the perception of God as the Creator. Obeah has a belief system that includes magical practices which provide ways of dealing with the mundane and the phenomenal. It has elements of African cosmology and includes spirit healing in its practices.

Obeah also has ideas of causation and its concerns are premised on explanations of misfortune, crisis and evil (see chapter 6). Its healing or magical properties can be used to eradicate evil. For example, herbal remedies and exorcism are used to treat physical and psychological illness (Chevannes 1994). Yet, The specific religious elements of

⁵³ See Bisnauth 1998: 90-93 on Obeah and the practices of the Obeahman.

healing were utilised by Myalmen and Myalwomen to cure local ill and fight Obeah. These newly developed religious beliefs and practices provided the means to attain freedom and create new cultural values.

Obeah (Bilby 1993; Handler and Bilby 2001; Besson 2002) is founded upon notions of magic, sorcery and witchcraft, and came to prominence after the 1760 Tacky Rebellion in St Mary. The belief that Obeah spells were used to protect rebels in their revolutionary action against a cruel regime was threatening to the colonial powers and planters. The Jamaican Legislature passed a law banning the practice. Obeah was perceived as having inspirational elements that were counter productive to the plantation system (Bisnauth 1996:83).

It is not surprising that the denial of the right to openly practice religion led the slaves to mask Obeah and all other religions. As a reaction to colonial control these religions were veiled in mystery. They have been masked since early slavery and this practice continues in contemporary Sligoville. Religious precepts are veiled but present themselves in masquerades, folk songs, rites and rituals such as Kumina.

Kumina much like obeah involves healing, rituals and ideas of the spirit world. It is an ecstatic ancestral religious cult originating in the eastern parish of St Catherine and St Thomas among the BaKongo people. It seeks to combat disease, misfortune and suffering by promoting well being and reconciliation through divination, herbalism, armed resistance, animal sacrifice, ancestral possession, clearing rituals and glossolalia. There are similarities with myal in that the rituals are at times referred to as 'dancing myal' (Chevannes 1995: 7)

A version of the Myal and Kumina dance is performed at the inauguration of a new Kumina leader for example, on January 5, 1999 in Waterloo a small village on the outskirts of Sligoville. These dances are also performed at births, deaths and rites of passage. Myal healers are trained to drive out ambivalent spirits and heal. Yet it was these very practices, which led to the second phase of influence, Christianity.

Native Baptist

The emergence of Christianity among African-Caribbean (1783) provided the nascence for a further stage in the evolution of a black theology with liberatory ideas. George Liele, a black American with his style of Southern Baptist religion introduced Christianity to the Africans in Jamaica (Chevannes 1995; Bisnauth 1996; Erskine 1998). Myalism with its ability to absorb and to be absorbed by other traditions blended with Southern American Baptist Christianity. This led to the evolution of Native Baptism, a form of religious worship developed from the syncretism of elements of American Baptist beliefs and Myalism.

George Liele, the leader of this eighteenth-century Native Baptist movement, founded the Ethiopian Baptist church (Bisnauth 1996). This form of Christianity appeared to be more spiritual. It embraced ideas of spirit possession, revelation and glossolalia. This belief was in opposition to set Christian practices.

His church and religious services though charismatic in form was more in line with the British Baptist teachings than the Moravians or Methodist (Bisnauth 1996). This was a fundamental step towards the development of localised religions in Jamaica. Whereas

Non-Conformist⁵⁴ churches such as the Moravians (1754), Wesleyan Methodists (1789) and Presbyterian missions (1800), just like the established churches, articulate the world through the concept of scientific knowledge, moral discipline and ideas of salvation, the black slave population perceived and articulated the world within their own African cosmology. The slave's religious ethics were tied to his or her experiences. Slaves' notions of freedom are tied to identity, equality and rights.

However, the slave's drive for freedom and for rights of personhood were slow to come to fruition. Liele co-operated in the preparation of a covenant that was ratified by the Legislature of Jamaica. This document promised that church meetings would not be used to organise revolts (Erskine1998: 61-63). This covenant sought to deny the slaves the right to freedom. The positive way in which the slaves viewed the introduction of the Baptist religion soon changed. Baptism offered some assistance but it was, in essence, bounded by rules and regulations laid down by the ruling plantocracy.

By utilising religion as a form of resistance, the slaves promoted and reinforced a black identity. This indicated their determination to break the shackles of slavery. Interestingly, George Liele and Moses Baker were unhappy with the development of the Native Baptist church and its format of worship. Baker wrote to the British Baptist Missionary Society requesting assistance in his ministry (Chevannes 1995).

The slaves regarded this request as yet another attempt to assert authority over them. Liele and his Deacons failed to fulfil their needs. Disagreements ensued among Liele's membership about his style of leadership. As a consequence, Thomas Swigle, a former deacon of Liele's church broke away to start his own church. This development also led

⁵⁴ Non-Conformist are those churches that dissent from the Anglican Church but retain elements of Protestant ethics, principles and

to the evolution of creolized religion. However, the Baptist Mission acquiesced to Liele's request (Erskine1998). It responded by sending Mr John Rowe from Somerset to Jamaica in 1814. Missionaries including William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James Phillippo followed.

The British Baptist Missionaries attempted to take over the American Baptist church (Burton, 1997). This resulted in two variants of Baptist churches, which were the Orthodox⁵⁵ from Britain and the Native Baptist (black). The Native Baptist movement absorbed aspects of Ethiopianism that included political aspirations. It also maintained forms of resistance and rebellion (Sam Sharpe and the Christmas rebellion 1831-1832) as means to further a black identity and to achieve the abolition of slavery in (1834) and early emancipation in 1838.

Though the intention of the Orthodox Baptist church was to save rather than liberate (Turner 1982: 65), its missionaries provided the support system that the population could use to resist their enslavers. The missionaries petitioned the right for emancipation and they called for the creation of free villages. This caused tension between them, the planters and the Jamaican Assembly.

However, it was the ability of the Native Baptist churches, its autonomy and the abilities of the local class leaders for example Sam Sharpe in organising Native followers to resist slavery. This was heightened by dual religious membership in the Protestant and the syncretic Native Baptist sects. Yet the need and desire for change further influenced the development of local religions.

These various syncretic sects developing out of these mission churches included the 'Native Methodist' or 'Spirit Christian' churches similar to Liele's Native Baptist church (Turner 1982:57). Their increase in number and members from among the slave population led the missionaries to push for a Great Revival or Revival Awakening of Christian practices. Revivalism represented a Calvinist approach to religion. Thus the intention of the Missionaries was to revive Christianity with the renewal of Christian religious fervour and in so doing to expel Native Baptist religious practices. It was perceived that the Myal procession would achieve this aim.

Thus, it was the missionary church that commenced the fight against the spread of the Native Baptists (Black religion⁵⁶). The missionaries appropriated an American form of Revivalism. This was the weapon used to fight this illness, as the Missionaries perceived it. They would convert the blacks from their sinful ways to Orthodox Christianity (Erskine 1998: 115). The Great Revival and Myal Procession would eliminate Obeahism island-wide.

Revivalism and Pukumina

However, religious Revival took a different turn. It led to the creation of two variants of creolized religions: Revival Zion in 1860 known as "the '60'" and Pukumina in 1861 known as "the '61'" (Chevannes 1995: 8). Revival Zion is also referred to as Revivalism⁵⁷. Its belief system is centered on nature, the micro-cosmos (local) and the macro-cosmos (wider). It is also bound to the spirit world (earth-bound) and the temporal world. Revivalism also holds ideas of causation and has a system of meaning

⁵⁵ Orthodoxy refers to those Non-Conformist churches and the current accepted opinions and religious practices

⁵⁶ The use of this term black religion refers to religious beliefs indigenous to Jamaica and evolving out of myalism and Christianity,

⁵⁷ Revivalism is in this context refers to a specific worldview or set of ideas and beliefs (See Chevannes 1995; Besson 1995 and Besson 2002). Rather than use the term Revival Zion the society refers to these churches/cults as Revivalist or Zionist with African practices of Revivalism.

and symbols as well as specific values and morals relating to and regulating daily life and relationships. Revivalism seeks to unify both worlds, rather than separate them (Seaga 1982; Chevannes 1995; Besson 1995 and 2002; Chevannes and Besson 1996). Revivalism encompasses a specific spirituality with its belief in finding and maintaining personal fulfillment, joy, individuality, understanding, freedom and equality.

At its earliest stage, Revivalism embraced elements and symbols of African based religious ideologies (Myalism) and Christianity (Native Baptist). Revivalism in Jamaica, like most other creolized religions aim for a return to the homeland and joining of the ancestors and the achievement of salvation in this life through its practices.

Revivalist groups have strong beliefs in the power of healing, the laying on of hands and baptism in the spirit. It is in essence a holistic religion where the individual's spiritual and physical needs are considered as having equal importance. Revivalists resist alienation within society. Its adherents believe in the unity of body and spirit and in the notion that individuals should be one with the natural environment.

However as Revivalism or Revival Zion evolved elements of convulsion and spirit possession was reintroduced into Revival. This afforded another variant of religious development. Thus 1861 saw the development of another religious movement, Pukumina (Chevannes 1995; Austin-Broos 1997; Besson 2002; Erskine 1998; Gordon 1998). Pukumina's primary belief system centres on the Triune God, sky-bound spirits, angels, and archangels. Followers of Pukumina pay homage to satanic spirits [duppies] (Seaga 1967).

Pukumina or "little madness" is a form of creolized religion which evolved along with

the more christianised version of Revival Zion. Pukumina appears to be more like Kumina as it has close links to myalism (Chevannes 1995).

Bedwardism

Revivalism continued to flourish throughout Jamaica especially with the assistance of one of Jamaica's most notable religious leaders Bedward (Chevannes 1995; Chevannes and Besson 1996; Austin-Broos 1997; Bisnauth 1996; Erskine 1998) with his Revivalist church in August Town, Kingston. Its ruins still stand today as a symbol for Jamaicans of Revivalism, and liberty. Bedwardism as a Revivalist group became prominent during the early 1920s with his version of religious liberation and changes to the moral order.

Bedward's liberatory doctrine called for the destruction of white supremacy. He believed that by putting to end the domination of white over black that he would herald a new world/society. He preached for the end of the subjugation and subordination of blacks and he aimed for their ascension. In reality, Bedward's movement could be classified as a Millenarian Movement (Austin-Broos 1997: 83-87). It was religiously founded and had political tenets in that it called for radical change in the Jamaican social order. The belief that he and his followers would ascend into the heavens and that the black population's suffering would be vindicated was a central theme.

The continuity of creolized religions in Jamaica specifically, in Sligoville, was maintained through Bedwardism. Alexander Bedward's Revival cult was an amalgam of aspects of the Native Baptist Movement, Wesleyan doctrine and Pukumina. Not only was Bedward a Revivalist preacher (Austin-Broos 1997: 83-87), he was also a great healer following in the tradition of Myalism. Many people flocked to his church to be dipped in the healing mineral waters of a river in August Town. In fact, it was between

the 1940s and 1950s that a popular song was written about Bedward, his baptismal practices and his healing powers. The songs sung by adults and children at play were in themselves forms of resistance. They conveyed subtle messages of dissent and change (See appendices 1 and 2). Bedward's services were well attended. Individuals came from abroad and from across the island.

My research has unearthed information (oral history) that many Sligovillians heeded Bedward's call. They sold their land and belongings to join him and prepare themselves for ascension into heaven. Mr Clarke, an informant who was born in James Mountain and educated at the Sligoville All Age School states: "Sligoville's history is tied to Bedward as much as it is linked to Phillippo and Lord Sligo".

Within Jamaican society songs are created and actions are performed in order to convey cultural, moral and ethical values that the society holds. The song 'Run Mongoose' shows that whilst an individual might try to do the right thing there are always external elements at work. The song warns individuals that even within the comfort of their local environs, danger lurks. One must, therefore, be alert. Whilst the songs have entertainment value they also serve as a reminder that moral values must be maintained and that the society is a repressive authoritarian one. The message being communicated is that the system can be overturned. Religion can change it.

Bedwardism emphasised the dynamics of individual spiritual satisfaction in relation to the environment, community and ancestors. The individual and the community must remain in harmony. This is not to say that within local groups there was a complete lack of leadership and organization. Much like Revival Zion and Pukuminia, Bedwardism had a strong sense of autonomy and egalitarianism. As such, it was seen as a part of the

evolutionary development of creolized religions.

Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey (Lewis and Bryan 1994, Dayfoot 1999) a visionary, a political leader and interpreter of religious ideology for Pan-African struggles and the development of a new intellectual culture was born in 1887, in Jamaica. During the early 1920s, he promoted the notion of equality by linking freedom to humanity and responsibility. His doctrine of self-belief and the need and desire to unite as a race globally became the founding principle for the development of black identity. Garvey promoted the idea that black people must accept responsibility and willingness for their freedom, which would not be given, but taken. In essence, he provided a black ideology premised on cooperation, unity and control. The black global population should obtain their rights and a place within humanity.

Garvey's ideas on identity challenged the views of the plantocracy and the colonial authorities. He contended the European assertion of a white God and that man had been made in the image that God. Garvey reasoned that if man is made in the image of God then black people must see God through Ethiopian eyes. If God created humanity in his own image, then blackness was a gift to black people from God. Garvey called for self-realisation, which could be gained by throwing off the shackles and influencing white society's religious practices and education. His ideas were not necessarily founded on an integrationalist approach, for in his opposition to the plantation system, he argued for black self-development. Here Garvey's views on identity were not primarily ideology or philosophy, instead, it was about how blacks perceived themselves, and how they used their religious beliefs to create liberatory ideas and actions that realised their potentials.

Garvey's call for the unification of all black people as Africans and for black identity to be consolidated globally, furthered the development of a Jamaican consciousness. Garveyism contributed to the development of Jamaica's most famous cult, Rastafarianism. Rastafarianism was founded on the idea of Ethiopianism and on a return to Africa in both the symbolic and the physical sense.

Garvey's belief and prediction⁵⁸ that a black God would come seems to have been realised in the coronation of Rastafari Makonen (Haile Selassie) of Ethiopia. Garveyism stimulated the growth of this new Jamaican cult.

Rastafarianism and the relationship with Pinnacle in Sligoville

Rastafarianism is well documented and has been analysed by numerous academics within the Caribbean and globally. Moreover, the constraints and demands of my research topic do not enable me to fully discuss Rastafarianism. Instead I proffer a synopsis in order to demonstrate the links it has to creolized religions (Chevannes 1994 and 1995; Chevannes and Besson 1996; Barrett 1997) especially Revivalism, Bedwardism and Garveyism. I highlight the significance and importance of Sligoville in the history of Rastafarianism.

The continuing economic depression nationally and worldwide the majority population was faced with a difficult future economically and socially. These conditions provided the context within which Rastafarian movement could emerge. With Garvey's departure to America, his followers dispersed resulting in the emergence of numerous minuscule groups. In the 1930s, Haile Selassie was crowned King of Ethiopia. This was perceived

⁵⁸ This prediction (Chevannes 1995:10) is linked to the claim that Garvey's last statement in Jamaica before his departure to America; where it is believed he said, "Look to Africa for the crowning of a Black King; he shall be the redeemer".

as the fulfilment of Garvey's prediction of the coming of a black King.

Following this momentous and religiously significant occasion Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkely and Robert Hinds, four companions of Garvey, drew on the crowning of King Selassie to establish the original Rastafarian movement. This movement began in Kingston in 1930, at a time of extreme economic, political, social and cultural instability.

The birth of the Rastafarian cult, it can be argued, was founded on the following key elements or ideologies of Garveyism which are Ethiopianism, the return to Africa and the crowning of an African king and the redeemer. This would lead to the creation of a black solidarity, black identity and black economic and political power.

Rastafarianism includes specific ideologies and the first is based on the idea of a black god and the theological and philosophical ideas of Bedward and Garvey. The belief in a black God is interpreted as a physical phenomenon, meaning that his presence was among his people, the micro and macro-cosm. This idea is similar to Myalism and Revivalism. This meant that if being black is a divine attribute, Africans shared divinity with God. Rastafarian beliefs included making sacred specific biblical texts and the wearing of facial hair by men. Rastafarianism ideology and rituals placed women in subordination.

The sect is anti-establishment and as such the introduction of dreadlocks in the 1940s was in opposition to state oppression. This was followed with the call for repatriation to Africa. Ganja smoking was introduced as a religious ritual with reasoning as an integral element of the religious practice. However in the 1980s routinization with a distinctive

Rastafarian ideology among Kingston urban youths was fuelled and driven by Reggae music. Other changes occurred with the vocality of women within the movement considering the sect's ideological and ritual subordination of women. Finally secularisation with the introduction of specific symbols especially the Rastafarian colours of red, green and gold with its specific meanings attached.

In adopting these specific ideologies, Rastafarians developed their own sense of identity and being. They present a cultural identity and a religious way of life that was forged out of opposition and resistance to the particular experiences of the black lower class Jamaicans. The worldview that Rastafarians presented stimulated a new era in the development of new models for social, cultural and religious transformation.

With Dunkely, Howell and Hinds at the forefront of this religious movement, Rastafarianism slowly advanced throughout the island. Its evangelising was most successful in St. Thomas, a parish well known for its resistance movements and political awareness. Yet, other changes that were taking place would have impact not only on the movement but also on wider society. Howell and Hinds were however, arrested and imprisoned in Morant Bay for expounding a revolutionary doctrine. The Jamaican government subsequently arrested Dunkley and Hibbert. The criminalisation of these leaders initially gained the cult a poor image in the wider society. However, among the lower classes the number of adherents to Rastafarianism grew.

On release from prison Howell formed the 'Ethiopian Salvation Society' and in 1940 he and his followers started a commune in the hills of Pinnacle, St. Catherine, within the district of Sligoville (Barrett 1977; Besson 1995). Here we see the historic significance of Sligoville in the evolution of Jamaica's creolized religions. The Pinnacle commune

experienced three significant events, which were to impact on further development of the Rastafarian movement. The first event occurred in 1941 with a raid by the Police. This resulted in Howell's arrest and imprisonment for two years.

The second event was Howell's return and re-commencement of the commune in 1953. This saw the development of locks or dreadlocks⁵⁹ (Chevannes 1995: 77-126) The third event was the arrest of Howell in 1954. This was followed by his release, the closure of the Pinnacle commune and the deliberate dispersal of his followers. They moved to the slums of lower Kingston. The hospitalisation of Howell in 1960 was in some sense an end to Sligoville's link with Rastafarianism.

Rastafarianism has connections with creolized religions (Besson and Chevannes: 1996) that can be traced from their earliest development to Myalism, Liele's Native Baptist movement, Revivalism and Garveyism. However, the major link between these two religions is the ideology of identity and black consciousness that continues in contemporary times through its liberatory beliefs to define the moral and social order.

The indigenisation of Pentecostalism

The arrival of Pentecostalism a Protestant form of Christianity from America in 1907 furthered the evolution of Revivalism. Pentecostal churches are either trinitarian or unitarian. Unitarians locate Jesus as the living God and maintains that the apostolic church preaches primarily in the name of Jesus. Unitarians maintain that the oneness doctrine is ritually expressed through baptism in the name of Jesus rather than in the trinitarian belief of the Father, Son and the Holy Ghost (Austin-Broos 1997:17).

⁵⁹ Locks refers to the way in which hair on the head is groomed and worn in a matted form specific to Rastafarians or lately as a fashion statement by other individuals nationally and globally.

Trinitarians maintain the notion of the triune God and emphasises creation in the trinity. Although they recognise the Father, Son and Holy Ghost their faith is founded upon the belief that all three is one. However all Pentecostalist believe in Jesus and their religious beliefs are also based on ideas of Conversion to God, Redemption through Jesus Christ, Sanctification whereby the individual is made morally pure.

Yet achieving a social and moral order (Walcott 1974; Austin-Broos 1992) is a process of negotiation whereby the indigenisation of Pentecostalism (Austin-Broos 1987, 1997; Wedenoja 1980) occurred.

Indigenisation as I use it refers to native influence in the process of making local, personal experiences and received knowledge, by increasing its use to the inhabitants or indigenous people. This includes the process of applying socio-political, economic and ideological ideas with specific meaning for that society or community as they re-conceptualise received knowledge transforming it, in meaningful ways that are appropriate to them.

The aim of Pentecostalism was to disseminate the radical Christian ideology of the transcendental power of God and to achieve the ultimate millennial transformation of the world (Austin-Broos 1996: 67). This also included spiritual and corporeal redemption. An important element of Pentecostalism is to conform and transform. Thus it seeks to find out the morphology of the society and participates in the life of the people. Therefore the intention of the Pentecostalists on their arrival in Jamaica was to conform through participation, absorption and assimilation, by becoming as similar as possible to the society. More importantly Pentecostalists learned how to transform

indigenous religious elements and taught the society that Pentecostalism came to change their lives.

Unlike previous Christian religions Pentecostalism like Revivalism encourages wealth and health in this life as well as in death. This philosophy was different to other Christian doctrine and quite similar to Creolized religions. Its significant political implications were evident in its ritual and religious compatibility with Revivalism.

This form of religious Protestantism offered the opportunity to reconstitute the person as a saint or evangelist and thus transform their status as a spiritual elite. This provided upward mobility and acceptance within the church and community. Thus ideas of healing, social relations and evangelising aided its rapid indigenisation in opposition to previous religious denominations associated with Jamaica's past.

Jamaican Pentecostalism⁶⁰ is a localised version of the North American Pentecostalism and Protestantism, which lacked the ability to become local in America. The difference lies in the fact that the experiences of the past along with the socio-political conditions and the oppositions and or conflicts within Jamaican society enabled a specific reinterpretation. Reinterpretation aided re-construction and reconstitution of Revivalism and Pentecostalism, thereby, creating indigenized version of Pentecostalism.

Pentecostalism recognised that Jamaica's cosmological beliefs were related to historical past, lived experiences and the environment. Therefore, indigenized Pentecostalism reflects a Jamaican religious discourse as an outcome of confrontation, opposition, tensions and conflicts. This is reflected in the structure and function of the churches' religious formats and ideologies. Pentecostalism in recognising the morality of

⁶⁰ 'Jamaican Pentecostalism: See Austin Broos 1986, 1996 & 1997.

Protestantism whilst emphasising the power of healing rites, the creation of saints, eudemonics, autonomy and a sense of being; have been able to secure its place within the society.

Pentecostalism seeks to address the ideology that new religious movements within Jamaica are linked to identity, class, status and inequality. Within this state Pentecostalism aims to enable individuals to achieve autonomy from the state which creates and maintains inequality.

Therefore this religion allows individuals and their community to define themselves within a morally religious order. Through spiritual collectivity identity is fostered and members become a religious community against the politics of the state and its power. At times these churches and their leaders become powerful spiritual leaders to whom the political leaders seek assistance. Within this religious community a sense of being is constructed.

Redemption, sanctification, ritual healing and rebirth incorporated with confessions, testimonies and baptism aids the creation of saints or evangelists. Becoming a saint/evangelist is a transformation, a state of being or belonging. This state is perceived as a level of achievement providing mobility, status and or prestige. Evangelising allows the individual to transcend and transform worldly issues of power, class, wealth and education. Pentecostalism also included the legitimisation of spirit possession, speaking in tongues and ritual healing as a modality of its religious practices. The adoption of these elements enabled the indigenisation and furthering of this religion and the inclusion of Revivalism.

The indigenisation of Pentecostalism (Austin-Broos 1987 and 1997; Wedenoja 1980) in Jamaica (1910s) is due to the island's history, its specific environment and experiences and evangelism (Austin-Broos 1987). Like former Christian religions, Pentecostalism impacted on Jamaica's colonial experience and plantation society to create change. Pentecostalism like many of the other Christian religions arriving on the island, had their roots in hegemony and redemption (except for Baptist Christianity, which was brought to Jamaica by Black Americans). This form of Christianity with its roots among the black slave population of Southern States of America embraced differences, intentions and interests. This enabled the syncretism of two religious ideologies to amalgamate, to be reinterpreted and evolve amongst the black population.

Here Revivalism is able to continue its appropriation and transformative process within Pentecostalism. A number of socio-economic forces have brought about changes. Social dislocation, deprivation and disempowerment have for example, impacted on these religions providing the right environment for the indigenisation process.

In its indigenized form, Revivalists have appropriated Jamaican Pentecostalism. It is used to bring about socio-economic, political and religious change. Olwig's (1993:143) analysis shows that western global culture and values have been made local either through the incorporation of training and education or by the involvement of other world religions in local communities.

I suggest that western global culture and values have been incorporated, especially within the Pentecostal churches. Yet, the inclusion of African-Caribbean performative styles, act as a subtle form of resistance. Therefore, Revivalism is mediated through Pentecostal ideas. Revivalism appears to obscure and even distort its religious praxis

and ideology in order to be validated and made authentic. Yet, under the umbrella of Pentecostalism, Revivalism illuminates as well as heightens villagers' communal and social reality. Sligovillians have adopted situated learning⁶¹ alongside legitimate peripheral participation⁶² in order to transfer⁶³ their skills and knowledge of Revivalism within and through Pentecostalism.

My ethnographic approach to the history and the evolutionary process of religion in Jamaica is to disseminate the experiences and the religious ideology that afforded the creative processes of culture formation. In the process of illuminating the evolution of Revivalism it is seen how the relationship between experience, history and symbolism can create specific ideologies and more importantly how these ideologies impact on peoples lives. Importance lies also with Sligoville and the continuing evolution of Revivalism within Pentecostal churches in this free village.

Slavery and particularly the denial of the planters of the African religious norms and practices led to religious syncretism and eventual creolization in Jamaica. Myalism ensured the development of the Jamaican culture and gave rise to a national identity and numerous religious beliefs and practices (Besson and Chevannes 1996).

⁶¹ Situated learning (see J. Leave & E. Wenger, 1999: 214-230) as I use it is a concept referring to the location of individuals within the community being situated and developing a sense of situatedness as they learn community history, values and norms. Furthermore it takes into consideration how some individuals thought and actions are located within the actual space and time of their environment. In fact they could be perceived as apprentices learning a skill or body of knowledge which includes the immersion of the individual through socialisation rather than just acquiring knowledge. However, within this definition individuals are able to localise themselves, and as such aid the process of local change or creolization. In this sense learning or "coming to being" becomes situated both in and through practice.

⁶² In this context, legitimate peripheral participation refers to the ways in which newcomers become practitioners within the community and learn the body of knowledge through practice and socialisation within the community. Through this process newcomers are located within the community through participation as defined by the community and this involves the individual within the social structure of varying relations of power. This form of socialisation provides access to a nexus of relations by enabling kinship patterns or identities (becoming Sligovillian).

⁶³ This process of socialisation involves the direct transfer of knowledge from the community to the individual and includes the differing practices or strategies that might be applied to teach newcomer and socialise them in the practices of the community.

Conclusion

In this chapter I present a synopsis of the arrival and introduction of Christianity among the Africans in the Caribbean and present the differing religions that have evolved through the process of syncretism. I also provide an insight of the syncretism of Catholic and Protestant religions by highlighting the appropriation of Catholicism within African belief in the Spanish colonies and Protestantism within the British colonies.

It is here that we come to understand the first religious changes as they occurred in the region especially religions such as Santeria in Cuba, Voodoo in Haiti, Shouters in Trinidad and especially Revivalism in Jamaica. This synopsis creates a platform upon which I develop my argument regarding the impact of creolized religions on identity in Sligoville. It also outlines the ongoing development of Jamaica's indigenised religions including from its first Myalism to the syncretic Native Baptist and the differing creolized versions for example Revivalism, Pukumina, Bedwardism, Garveyism and Rastafarianism.

I argue that through the process of creolization personal experiences and received knowledge people developed values that ordered their reality for a determined future framed through a specific worldview. As such this chapter is a historical presentation of the development process of creolized religions from a black perspective which aims to situate Revivalism within the context of a liberative and creative force for changing the social order. It is these forces that have the most dramatic effect by affording empowerment and identity formation through the process of creolization.

I also argue that the creolization of religion and the influences of creolized religions aided the development of culture building (Besson 1995, 1996, 2002; Bisnauth 1996; Chevannes 1995, 1996; Erskine 1998) in Caribbean. I suggest that the process of personal experiences and symbolism also enable the formulation of an ideology that frames a Jamaican consciousness (Taylor 2001) that influence identity formation in Sligoville.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORY IN ACTION: THE SOCIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VILLAGE OF SLIGOVILLE

In this chapter, I argue that Sligoville's location, its social organization and the villagers' indigenous beliefs at its founding had an impact on shaping the character of Sligoville and life in the community. I utilise Mintz's sociological characteristics⁶⁴ of religiously founded villages, as a guide to investigate whether Sligoville is an atypical religiously founded village. I also draw on (Besson 2002) Baptist free peasant communities, culture building and creolization with the use of narratives, religious practices and oral history to draw comparisons and paint a picture of the development of this first Baptist free village in Jamaica. In addition, I look at why emancipation celebrations have recently recommenced and its wider meaning in the process of localism and cultural heritage for Sligoville.

In doing this, I argue that Sligoville's history determines the sociological characteristics of the community and I demonstrate the complexities of the inter-related issues of identity and a sense of being through the application of an historical and ethnographic analysis.

Further, I address issues relating to the development of community life in this religiously founded free village. I also argue for the relationship between religion, and the village's social/cultural history (Besson 1984a, 1995c, 1987, 2002) and small-scale

⁶⁴ This is a list of the sociological characteristics named by Mintz (1987:10-11). It would be a geographically definable community, 2) A socially definable community, 3) It was a wholly or largely a religiously homogenous community, at least initially. 4) Its population was differentiated in certain sociological regards from the freedman population as a whole. It was, a) more literate, b) more closely tied to organized Christian churches, c) more thrifty, d) composed of stable monogamous families, e) dependent on and indebted to the missionary church. 5) it was isolated, a) geographically in many cases, b) ideologically, initially and perhaps for some time afterwards. 6) It was under relatively strong church control due to, a) financial obligations, b) pressures exerted by co-religionist neighbours, c) the influence and power of church leaders, d) difficulties in securing land outside the community, e) direction of schools by the church. 7) This church influence had good chances of perpetuation due to: a) continued geographical isolation, in many cases, b) the church's role as a funnel for outside opportunities { missionary training, opportunities based on

farming practices. I also argue for the continuing importance and influence of land as Besson (2002) has shown in establishing a place of belonging and permanence in Jamaica.

In this chapter my argument is that the lived experiences of Sligovillians in their geographically bounded, and culturally differentiated community, which is as similar as it is dissimilar to other free Baptist villages in Jamaica (Besson 1984, 1987, 2002) enables continuities within the Revival worldview. Simultaneously, it affords the appropriation of other ideas, which informs on a specific Sligovillian character. It is the individual views of the small-scale farmers that is the primary focus in this bottom-up presentation on the history of Sligoville. I argue that the nature of its development, the character of its structures and Revival worldview determine community and identity formation.

Founding of a Free Village

The acquisition of the land in 1838 by ex-slaves created the first Baptist church founded free village and was a strategy implemented with the aid of the then Reverend James Phillippo to create a religious community, within which free peasants could maintain their autonomy (Phillippo 1843) and foster Christian religiosity. This was the beginning of the symbolic construction (Cohen 2000) of a cohesive community. Through oral history and archival (L.Q.S No 828 Folios 61: 12 October, 1839) research into land titles dating back to 1838, it is evidenced that Phillippo had a ready following for his “Free village” model⁶⁵ established in Sligoville.

preliminary education, local restriction of economic opportunities]; c) likelihood of village, or at least intrafaith, endogamy, due to geographical isolation, church sponsored recreation, parental and neighbourly influence, etc.

⁶⁵Phillippo’s model was perceived as religiously based villages with a church and school linked to and controlled by a Christian religious institution/denomination.

However, I have been unsuccessful in establishing from whom Reverend Phillippo acquired the land. Oral sources suggest that the original acres of land were acquired from Lord Sligo. It appears that Lord Sligo donated the land with the understanding that Phillippo would establish the first free village on which he would build a church and school. It was Phillippo's wish to establish schools, particularly one in the area of Sligoville. Records show that the two gentlemen discussed this request and that Lord Sligo wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, to endorse Phillippo's application (Facey 1996:3).

Phillippo's subdivision and sale of land parcels to apprentices aided the establishment of other free villages, much like those founded by Reverend Knibbs in Trelawny (Besson 2002). In Sligoville though oral history and archival research of dated deeds⁶⁶ (L.Q.S 828 Folios 61: 12 October, 1839) signed by Phillippo and his wife Hannah Selina reveals land plots were sold to a number of ex-slaves. The following individuals were amongst them: Henry Lunan, Robert Talbot, William James, James Henry, Lewis Henry, George Goban, Elizabeth Francis, Robert Downer, William Hy Cooper and Francis Cooper. They were also sold to Edward Allen, Will Atkinson, Thomas Clarke, Thomas Hy Cooper, William Innis and Thomas Walters.

However, in contemporary Sligoville, individuals other than descendants of the original families now own many of the original plots of land. There are cases though where descendants of the original settlers have settled on other plots of lands. Mr Ayre and Mr Aston Talbott are examples of such families. One of Mr Talbott's aunts was the granddaughter of one of Augustus O'Sullivan's (Provost-Marshal-General of Jamaica and Usher of the Black Rod to the House of Assembly in the first half of the nineteenth

⁶⁶ Archival records Spanish Town Jamaica: (L.Q.S: Numbers 828/58-67: 1839)

century and owner of Highgate Park/Great House) sons who married Mr Talbot's grandmother. Mr Talbot's father later purchased the land from his half sister. Paradoxically, Mr Talbot and other members of the Talbot family reside on land which was originally owned by the O'Sullivan's and which over time has become Talbot family land. Significantly, Aston Talbot no longer possesses the original parcel of land acquired by Robert Talbot in 1838.

My research shows that to acquire plots of land⁶⁷ individuals had to fulfil certain criteria. They had to have funds for the purchase, be members of the Baptist church and known to Reverend Phillippo or be recommended to him. Oral history recounted to me indicates that Reverend Phillippo knew many of the settlers or that they were recommended to him. Archival records in Spanish Town show that plots of land were bought from Phillippo (L.Q.S 828 Folios 61:1839).

However, some conveyances show that plots of land lay within parts of various estates such as Winchester, Hampstead, Fulham Park, Montpelier and Llangibby. Villagers told me that Winchester was the property of Lord Sligo and was the site of Highgate House the Governor's official country residence and that Llangibby and Montpelier were at some time or other the property of two English gentlemen, Mr Groves and Mr Witter. In fact, the village square, which was known as Witter's pond, was a part of the Montpelier property.

Robert Bennett, a resident of Sligoville told me that his grandfather was a slave on

⁶⁷ Records (Valerie Facey 1996) show that Lord Sligo was one of the first plantation owners to pay apprentices working in the parish of St Dorothy now known as St Catherine. He paid them in tokens, which were redeemable for cash. Lord Sligo commenced the process of waged labour, as did O'Sullivan who hired labourers from neighbouring plantations. I have not however, been able to confirm whether payment was made directly to the slaves or to their respective plantation owners. From oral history, it would appear that a few of the slaves were paid their wages or part of the wages earned. This may have enabled them to acquire land in Sligoville. Interestingly, we see that self-sufficiency was established during slavery as slaves took up waged labour on O'Sullivan's estate.

Witter's coffee estate. As such, he says that his history and family connection predates the establishment of the village. After emancipation Augustus O'Sullivan purchased these properties (1840). Oral traditions recount that additional land for the new village was acquired from O'Sullivan who owned properties within Highgate, Montpelier, Fulham Park, Llangibby and other surrounding estates which amount to approximately one thousand seven hundred and forty five acres.

However, Sligoville's boundaries have not remained static. The original land space was extended by the absorption of Mary village from a neighbouring plantation. This extension was not the last boundary shift. Oral history confirms that the number of parcels of land acquired since 1838 has increased. Yet, the shift and redefinition of Sligoville's boundaries has not obscured the fact that it is a distinct, identifiable community. The ongoing acquisition of land and the extension of the original village's boundary lines are rooted in customary familial land rights and legal land holdings. Though the original boundary has changed, Sligoville has remained a geographically and socially definable community with a nucleus population.

Sligovillians did not need to travel far to reach their cultivation plots. Their parcels of land were usually about one-quarter to a one-acre in size. Oral history supports the view that very few villagers owned land outside of the community and that land was scarce. However, some villagers were able to purchase larger plots, whilst others resorted to leasing or squatting on unused land. Some villagers even appropriated lands for agricultural use. However, whether land lies within or outside of the village, it proves a real challenge to retain possession of it. There are limited opportunities to increase land ownership. The mountains, for example, prohibited the village's expansion of agricultural land.

Despite its location, Sligoville serves as a crossroad to many of the island's major towns. It is approximately sixteen miles from Kingston, the island's capital, and is ten miles from Spanish Town, the old colonial capital. There are three roads leading in and out of the village. The primary route to Sligoville from Spanish Town commences at Greendale Park, bypassing villages including Gordon Pen, Tredegar Park and Waterloo. The route from Bog Walk runs by the Iron Bridge, which dates from 1931. From there, the road meanders up the mountainous landscape to the village cross road. The third major road starts in Kingston, goes up into Red Hills, through to Coopers Hill and Rock Hall, and ends in the village square.

Oral history suggests too that the village's topography is being destroyed gradually. The cause of destruction in sites of archaeological interest such as this, is the increased interest in modern cash cropping and the demand for more agricultural land. Villagers simply tear down the walls of the Sligoville's original boundary laid out in stone that dates back to 1838 to increase their land acreage. However, Sligoville, due to its location and topography has land of very limited agricultural value. This creates economic hardship and the drive towards more efficient and cost-effective use of land emerges as a factor in the destruction of the community's cultural and historical heritage. This leads to changes in the village's topography. Opposition to new entrepreneurial endeavours, which often utilise new technological techniques, is creating a schism within the village. However, traditionalists argue that by extending the village boundary the community's specificity is diffused.

Mintz (1987) presents the typical religiously founded village as having geographically and socially definable boundaries, within which largely religious homogeneous communities are housed. He notes that these villages would comprise inhabitants that

can be differentiated from the wider population (for example surrounding communities or the nation as a whole) in relation to their religious affiliations, familial relationships, educational achievements and thriftiness. To this, he adds that villages would be isolated, both geographically and ideologically. They would also be under the control and influence of the church which would create the conditions to maintain a historically distinctive type of community subculture.

In researching Sligoville, it is evident that many of the characteristics of this first Baptist free village are congruent with those presented by Mintz. For example, Sligoville was, at its genesis, a geographically and socially definable community based upon the principles of Christian religiosity. Its location also defined its character, for the land upon which it was established lies on the periphery of two major towns Spanish Town and Bog Walk and two large lowland plantations Caymanas and Tulloch sugar, citrus and banana estates. It is bounded by the mountains that surround it.

At its founding, the village appeared to be populated by stable monogamous families, a feature of Mintz's typology. This way of life continued into contemporary times. Although couples might not necessarily be legally married, the majority of them are monogamous and some couples practice endogamy⁶⁸. Many villagers consider cohabitation to be a form of marriage. However, thus far, my research suggests that a number of individuals or families have entered into relationships which enable specific parcels of land to stay among or within a defined family lineage (Besson 2002).

Even though over the last forty years many of the original parcels of land have been

⁶⁸ My use of 'endogamy' denotes willingness or even obligation for kin based organising principles of second and third cousin marriage or cohabitation among local relatives and group members. This practice is extremely common within the immediate village of Sligoville and James Mountain. There is no existing rule regarding marriage within the group other than the normal national and cultural rules excluding marriage to first cousins.

sold to outsiders, and only a few original descendants have retained control of their family land, many outsiders have married insiders. This means that in time the land will pass back to the original families. Some families have created customary land holdings by forming family corporations (see chapter 8). Cognatic inheritance (Besson 1984b) continues, yet inherited land cannot be sold out of the family or be inherited through marriage. Family land must pass through the descent line. The ideal of maintaining control and continuity of parcels of land within families has given rise, in some cases, to the practice of endogamy. Sligoville like other free village communities throughout Jamaica adapted unrestricted cognatic descent patterns (Besson 1992, 2002; Holy 1996) or ego focused non-unilineal ancestor landholding group (Besson 1987a; Goodenough 1955).

Where a descent member does not have a direct heir, another nominated member of the descent group will inherit family land. As a rule the outgoing heir states in writing or verbally who will inherit next. Whether land lies within or outside of the village, it proves a real challenge to retain possession of it. There are limited opportunities to increase land ownership. The mountains, for example, prohibited the village's expansion of agricultural land.

Through their narratives, Sligovillians reconstruct the early influences of the church. These stories give an indication of the power and control that the church had over villagers relating to land acquisition. In particular, they relate how the church leaders prevented persons from the further acquisition of land. Villagers recount also how particular individuals who held positions of authority used their powers for personal gain rather than for the benefit of the villagers and other free individuals who required land in the village.

One of the village's oldest residents provides an oral account of Pastor Henderson, who was Reverend Phillippo's replacement during one of his short absences from Spanish Town. Henderson's directive was to subdivide and sell additional land that was acquired by Phillippo on to small-scale farmers. On Henderson's death in England however, his agent, Adam Moses, took a portion of the land.

Villagers also say that there were difficulties in obtaining land due to landlord absenteeism. They told of landlords who resided abroad and wealthy private individuals who held on to land as a future investment. Villagers related too on how land given to Second World War veterans as compensation for wartime services was acquired by a wealthy Jamaican, Mr Lindo, who created a huge estate. He later sold the property to Mr Causewell, whose widow still owns and occupies the property.

Understandably, finance may well have been a deciding factor in whether additional land could be purchased. Though Mintz's typology suggests otherwise, there is no evidence to support the notion that villagers had any financial obligations to the Baptist church. Many descendants affirm that their relatives have spoken about the independence they gained by purchasing their plots of land. They gained a sense of achievement, although they bore hardships in trying to acquire funds for land purchase. One descendant confirmed that there were joint holdings, which lessened the financial burden suffered by, in this case, the two Cooper brothers. Zedekiah Cooper, a descendant of the two Cooper brothers who bought village land (1838), confirmed to me that the brothers pooled their resources to purchase their first plot. As their financial circumstances improved, they acquired a further plot, enabling each brother to own his own plot. These plots of land on which the ruins of an old sugar mill and coffee-house

stand today are still owned by the Cooper family. The size of the plots suggests that the villagers had minimal financial obligation to Phillippo.

It appears though that first villagers were thrifty and oral history supports this persistence (Mintz 1987:10). Yet, frugality is bound up with, and reinforces religiosity and land ownership. Land ownership for these early villagers represented independence and autonomy. It also reinforced their identity as small-scale independent farmers.

The founding of the first religiously founded village was an opportunity for settlers to consolidate their freedom and individualism. The acquisition of and use of their own land as well as land ownership rights meant that these freed settlers could manage their own labour. However, the creation of Sligoville was not wholly dependent on the Baptist church. It was the first freed men and women who established this post-slavery community. Individuals, such as Henry Lunan, a headman from a neighbouring plantation, rushed to gain independence as a homestead owner. He was one of the original families to acquire land.

Women were also part of this rush to acquire land. The first woman among the first settlers to purchase land in Sligoville was Elizabeth Francis whom I have identified as a central figure in the particular role of women in the establishment of villages, the creation of family land and culture building (Besson 1993, 2002). Elizabeth Francis also serves a reminder of the important role that women played during and following slavery, not only in terms of the fight for freedom (Besson 1993, 2002 but also in terms of land ownership, small-scale farming and economic independence. Elizabeth Francis serves in this study too in identifying the qualities of the first settlers and would lead to determining who is Sligovillian and who is not.

Land ownership dictates where one is located, what one's identity and status is and determines economic independence. Throughout time, land ownership reinforces notions of freedom, control and power. In Sligoville, I argue that land-ownership and its use gave rise to and sustained new cultural identities that were the result of the process of creolization that was given stimulation on emancipation. With the acquisition of land, the ex-slaves secured a means for survival. They created a place of abode (Besson 2002), built relationships and created a solidarity within which a community identity would emerge. Thus the founding of Sligoville and its development as a community can be tabulated as:

- 1) It was founded through the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Church Phillippo Baptist Church in Spanish Town and its benefactor Reverend Phillippo.
- 2) The land from which the community was established was part of the property Lord Sligo or Howe Peter Browne Governor of Jamaica (1834-1836). During the period of 1834-1835 Lord Sligo owned the former governor residence and surrounding lands in Winchester plantation in the Highgate area.
- 3) Phillippo was responsible for the acquisition of land in 1835 and the subdivision of the land into one acre, quarter or half acre plots to ex-slaves for houses and provision grounds.
- 4) Land was sold to individuals known to or recommended to Reverend Phillippo from possible nearby plantations.
- 6) Titles were organised by Reverend Phillippo and signed by his wife Selina Phillippo

and Reverend Phillippo.

7) A large plot overlooking the village was kept for the building of the Mount Zion Baptist Church which was completed for the emancipation celebration in July 1838, with the official declaration of the village July 1840. The church is the heart of the community and it was also used as a school in the early years.

8) A class house was erected in the village near the residences of settlers and it was under the organisation of local leaders that encouraged community cooperation.

9) The village is seen as a communal space of great importance and its history sustains this memory.

Land and continuing Peasantisation: Descent and Kinship

The acquisition of land, following emancipation, enabled an increase in peasantisation (Besson 2002; Hall 1978; Marshall 1979; Mintz 1979; Paget 1964) in Sligoville. As each individual cleared the rocky land, they marked their boundaries with the rocks cleared from their plots. On some plots of land these rock built boundaries still exist and they are seen as sites of historical significance. Houses were then built and small-scale farming practices commenced. The building of the houses included a space surrounding the house, a house yard, (Besson 2002). The house yard was used for a range of activities including domestic activities such as, cooking, washing and child rearing. It is also a place of sociality where traditional education could be passed on, family discussion occurred and economic and political activities pursued. As such the house yard assisted in the process of identity formation and community building. Folk tales and traditional cultural practices were shared with children. Family members came

together and forms of reciprocity were encouraged. In some cases women used the boundaries of the yard as provision grounds, for the rearing of pigs, chicken and goats and to grow herbs and vegetables.

However, the factors that contributed to Sligoville's development, as a small-scale agricultural community was its location and topography, together with the land owning opportunities that were offered. The rugged rocky topography and its shallow soil were unsuited to large-scale agricultural purposes and that dictates even how the land is used today. Hence small-scale agricultural practices have been the norm with waged labour on adjoining plantations and in contemporary times for private corporations. Therefore the type of crops grown evidences the shortage of suitable agricultural land.

As plots of land were small, the bulk of the land was used for food forest of mixed crop cultivation and this form of cultivation continues. In the early years when the village was first established Sligoville had a few pimento trees. The berries were highly sought after. Villagers who had pimento trees on their plot of land were able to sell them in town. Other settlers grew corn, yam, sugar cane, bananas, sweet and bitter cassava, pumpkins, sweet potatoes and coffee.

During the 1950s and early 1960s citrus became popular and was sold to the factories or agricultural societies in Bog Walk and Linstead. The sale of these crops provided the much-needed capital to purchase further plots of land where possible. Villagers maintained a self-sufficient lifestyle.

Mr Brown speaking of his childhood describes the boxes of grapefruit stacked along the road waiting for collection. However, the demands for new cash crops such as coffee

have replaced citrus growing.

The demand for cash crops from the hotels, restaurants and supermarkets have added to the variety of crops being produced. For example, lettuce, french beans, sweet peppers, scotch bonnet peppers, tomatoes, cabbages, bananas and plantains as well as onions and spring onions. The practice of consuming foodstuffs that is grown on the land and of selling on surplus supplies shapes the village characteristics.

The construction of new concrete and steel houses, the creation of a new road and the clearing of additional land for agricultural use, especially for the cultivation of cash crops, brought about changes to the village's topography. Changes, in the type of crops grown, and in turn, changes in methods of production, where for example fertilisers were used to speed up the growth of cash crops, caused the landscape to alter significantly. Villagers now respond to the needs of the national and international markets.

Interestingly, it was by cultivating a mix of crops in order to satisfy markets and domestic households, that community members were able to establish themselves as small-scale farmers and at present maintain subsistence living. Here, Sligoville's closeness to the then capital of Spanish Town, and to Bog Walk and Linstead's bustling markets proved ideal for the selling of their produces. Villagers speak nostalgically of their parents and grandparents selling the crops they had grown on their small plots in the market or to stall holders. Local markets had to be kept well stocked.

This practice has continued and many villagers confirm that they still sell their produce in markets or to individuals (higglers) who in turn sell them on. For example, Mr Allen, a descendant of an early settler, works on one of the citrus plantations in Bog Walk. He

travels daily from Sligoville to Bog Walk and then onto Knollis. Each evening and at weekends, he attends to his small-scale agricultural work of mixed cropping. He grows sugarcane, tomatoes, sweet and scotch peppers, sorrel, pumpkins, sweet and bitter cassava, yams and many other root crops for sale to markets and factories. This market structure is the economic base for the village's agricultural endeavours. It is where village members and the wider community interact. Oral accounts validate the considerable social interaction that continues today.

Crops are grown specifically for sale but also satisfy the needs of the family. Thus, the age-old tradition is maintained. As many villagers confirm, their survival depends primarily on the sale of their crops. There is a lack of long-term waged employment and the presence of a number of multi-national conglomerates⁶⁹ operating in key agricultural sectors is felt. They provide opportunities for Sligovilians to sell their produce to these companies with a guarantee market that provides an initial advantage and short term security. However there is also a long-term disadvantage because the farmers are not allowed access to the open market and its market forces which might afford a higher return for their produce. These companies are usually monopolistic and as such they are able to dictate price for the sale of goods.

Tension is created where villagers dispute the advantages of primarily growing cash crops. The very first peasant settlers cultivated specific crops for the domestic and local village markets and in some cases, this practice has continued. However, some Sligovillians, especially men and women of the younger generation have appropriated fallow land to grow different provision and cash crops. A portion of land that runs from

⁶⁹ This is a term for large companies that are not primarily nationally based because they might incorporate a number of flagship companies and or other major companies of other nations. By their very definitions multi-national companies work across many sovereign states and or boundaries. These companies usually dictate the crops grown and other materials produced. They also pay low wages and the profits of the companies are usually invested abroad.

the main road by the town square up to the Baptist church has been used in this way. One young man states “The land is ours. How can the church in all moral and ethical sense own land which is not in use?” The continuing communal use of church land and of absentee owners could lead to those lands being made common land through its continuing use by the inhabitants.

Oral history recounts the establishment of family land⁷⁰ practices to maintain land within the family and to acquire further parcels. These practices were seen as direct ways of resisting political control and a means of maintaining land ownership through economic and domestic use. As the number of villagers increased their acquisition of further plots of land, it became an economic benefit and a source for continuity, freedom and autonomy.

The emergence of ‘family land’ generated the development of specific customs that have become traditional land tenure (Otterbein 1964) practices. From these practices the minuscule plots of land became an important mechanism for establishing autonomy and citizenship, in the aftermath of emancipation (Clarke 1957; Besson 1984a, 1984b, 2002) for the inhabitants of this free village. These forms of land acquisition included features such as legal freehold, customary/traditional versus statute, common law (Besson 1979, 1995, 1998, 2000) and family land adaptations.

The continuing acquisition of land evokes responses reminiscent of the common experiences of the first settlers and these experiences continue to frame Sligovillian’s desire to maintain ownership of particular plots of land.

Whilst oral history supports the move from forced labour to cash-cropping amongst the

⁷⁰ See Besson 1993, 1995, 1998 2002, Clarke 195-.

first settlers, narratives show that some individuals decided to take up waged labour as well. Waged work offered a semblance of security during uncertain periods. A few of the settlers were skilled labourers. For example, Henry Lunan, the first individual to acquire land in Sligoville, was a foreman on a neighbouring plantation.

The topography has changed dramatically over the years. It has changed from a densely forested village to an area where there is little woodland. As one approaches the main crossroad in order to enter Sligoville, one is struck by how eroded the land has become and how little foliage can be seen surrounding the Baptist church.

Mr Allen and Mr Baird, two villagers, recounted their days as young men. They related how green and lush the village was. There was a pond in the square and a bamboo canopy grew across the main thoroughfare, which ran from below the square to St John's Anglican Church. Mr Allen and the late Mr Philemon Brown recall how fearful they were as young boys as they walked on their own to the village square. It was dark. The trees hung over the track, blocking out the sunshine. Mr Brown also reminisced about the journey he would take by foot in order to reach the market in Spanish Town and collect mail. It was a long and tiring trip. In this instance, villagers drew on their memories to construct the reality of a specific community in the past and present.

Mintz (1987) raised issues about the continuity of peasant life, given the increasing impact of the forces of globalisation. Sligovillian small-scale farmers are neither equipped nor have they any hope of competing against large-scale agricultural producers located in the lowlands. Instead, they can only hope to fill the gap in the local and national market for provision crops, much like other free villages throughout Jamaica (Mintz 1989; Besson 1987, 2002). Sligoville operates as part of this satellite

system. In the main, the first inhabitants cultivated sugar cane, which they sold to local sugar mill or to larger ones in areas such as Bog Walk, and Spanish Town. The ways in which the peasant lifestyle continues is in the cultivation of staple crops such as cassava, yam and peas, alongside the rearing of domestic animals.

The lack of any natural mineral deposits also serves to limit the village's potential for economic development. The community is therefore forced to continue along the lines of small-scale farming. The extent to which the free village's activities can contribute to, and therefore, be integrated into the national economic system, is at present limited.

Oral history recounts that Sligovillians value freedom and land ownership above all else. Peasant farming is the key economic activity and as such, the peasant lifestyle is an integral part of community identity. The community's survival, and the way in which identity is formed, is however, based on a sense of belonging to a specific place and time. This sense of community is important to Sligovillians.

Freedom, survival, a fixed abode and developing a cultural identity provides the impetus for continuing land ownership. However, scarcity and security are principles around which land is utilised to bolster solidarity, belonging and status. Through these factors land became a limited good and land took on a symbolic meaning providing belonging and autonomy (Besson 1992, 2002). Sligovillians need to secure land as family land (Edith Clarke: 1953) and this is supported by a shared cultural ideology for the maintenance of freedom, continuity and community cohesion. Sligovillians in establishing customary rules for inheritance and transmission of land are continuing practices rooted in a Revival worldview.

These principles became achievable goals through descent and kinship network and

rules linked to maintaining land ownership. Sligovillians need and desire to acquire land is evidenced in a number of differing modes of land tenure. Bought land is the preferred mode of acquisition as demonstrated in the establishment of the village. This is achieved through purchase in the open market or privately. In contemporary times bought land continues to be the ideal type or form of land acquisition alongside inherited land⁷¹. Another common mode of acquisition is leasing and renting as alternative methods of legally acquiring the use of land for a specified period. While common land (Craton 1987; Berleant-Schiller 1987) refers to parcels of land that is usually given to the community as a gift; such parcels of land become the communal property of the entire community with equal rights to its use. Squatting, unlike the other modes of acquiring land is an illegal process, whereby individuals occupy and use land belonging to other persons.

Creating family lands as a response to the plantation system and to contemporary economic and political environment is a creative cultural process (Besson 1995: 89). Moreover, if next of kin are to inherit, nearness of kinship must be determined; and among these near kin order of preference must be put in place (Fox 1967:16). Allocation and acquisition of land is dependent on operational differences and the type of relations reflected in these differences, and at times, both occurs in Sligoville. Kinship, as Fox (1967:16) demonstrates, is a principle around which most societies make provision to transfer property and social position after death. Family land as Besson (1992, 2002) has shown is now the symbol for identity of family lines, village history, community and national identity.

However Sligovillian identity is also tied to kinship patterns. These kinship patterns and

⁷¹ This refers to land inherited through the descent group from one generation to another, or in the case of bought land being transmitted through legal documentation from one individual to another.

networks are the major principle of social organisation in the shaping of social relations in the community. Land tenure in Sligoville is either customary or legal with biological ties that seek to keep land in the family. As Besson (1987:22) shows these parcels of land have value for they provide for the landholder's social status and economic benefit (Edwards 1961). Significantly, land is the base from which liberty can be maintained, affording independence, a sense of power and control over one's life. With the transmission of legal land tenure, which is at times transformed into customary tenure, creating family land, patterns of inalienable rights to all descendants regardless of gender is realised. Such land, through time became inherited family land, passing on from generation to generation.

The act of passing land on by drawing on these institutions has over time come to bolster and aid new cultural forms. Yet, these new cultural forms have not developed purely from the structures that were set in place for the inheritance and maintenance of land ownership in Sligoville. These developments are also due to the wider socio-economic and political events affecting the lives of this community. As such the creation of new forms is a direct outcome of the tensions, conflicts and constant changes that are occurring.

Overall the process of tying land to descent and linking the mode of transmission to include the right for burial on the land ensured that the structures for maintaining identity continued to develop under a religious mode, post-emancipation. It enabled the evolution and formation of new identities with links not only to the land, but also with descent and kinship. Birth and burial (see chapter 8) on plantation land was also significant for individual and group identity. Sligovillians demonstrate a pride in the knowledge of their forefathers' connections to particular parcels of land and at times

plantations.

Moreover, Sligovillians who are landless or without family land is considered displaced and as such their identity is ambiguous. This ambiguity is defined as been without root or site of belonging. It is having no home⁷² and lacking a sense of inherited rootedness. They might be able to trace their descent line but their identity is in question and considered lost where inherited family land is lost or connections become severed.

Thus in Sligoville the strategies responsible for limiting the severing of family links to family land are supported by the kinship and network patterns and religious practices. These serve to bolster family connections to the land. The links between Revival worldview, land and identity, frames Jamaican cultural values (Besson 1995, 2002) and provide the continuing creolization process of local cultural development (see chapter 7) in Sligoville.

Land also articulates with kinship through the domestic sphere and family structure. Thus, the factors through which land is organised to both protect and continue these rights are determined by kinship patterns. It is the principle through which the transference of succession and transmission of social status/position is maintained.

Descent and kinship are employed by villagers to distinguish first timers from newcomers and as a way of tracing and assigning membership to the group of first settlers (see chapter 7). It is drawn on to channel succession of social status, inheritance of property (family land), and to create, maintain and assign individual identity. In this sense, Sligoville specific identity is as a result of inherited property, restricted by

⁷² Here home is used to denote a sense of belonging and a site or place to which an individual has life time connections.

biological kinship, descent and group membership based on shared experiences. The creolization process of kinship creates ancestor- focused, land holding cognatic descent corporations that co-exist with family organisation, and that these patterns are identified as ego-focused bilateral non-corporate groups (Besson 1992:19).

Undoubtedly the creation of free village communities assisted in and furthered the creolization of kinship patterns and that these patterns frame customary land tenures in Sligoville as they did throughout Jamaica. From an anthropological perspective located within local knowledge, it appears that the institutional structures and the socio-economic and political climate of each era formed the basis for consecutive changes.

Community Institutions and Social Relations

The Baptist church is the institution at the centre that determined the infrastructure of Sligoville and it continues in enabling the community to participate in district matters. Its church school maintains and inculcates the principles of Christian ethics and values and the 'class house'⁷³ (Stewart1992: 7) is the venue where local leaders foster community spirit. This Church and its class house provided a venue where the villagers could meet and share religious and spiritual experiences. The class house was originally a place for communal meetings, prayer, discussions of social relationships and interactions within the community.

My research confirms that the class house was the place that many of the first settlers achieved a level of literacy and gained valuable experience as community leaders. Many of these individuals became church deacons. It has been recounted that during Reverend

⁷³Class house refers to buildings used as a meeting place for prayers and other community gatherings. Prayer meetings were led by class leaders, who were charismatic individuals chosen from within the community and following. Class meetings were held prior to attending services on a Sunday at churches such as Mount Zion church or on weekday evenings.

Phillippo's absence from Jamaica in 1842 the leaders within the community were split in their support for Reverend Dowson and Reverend Phillippo's as pastor and resident of the mission house attached to Phillippo Baptist Church in Spanish Town (Hall 2002:192-198; Gordon 1998:52-59).

Villagers claim that when first established, power lay in the hands of the church. However a shift towards shared responsibility within the church meant that villagers actively participated in its decision-making processes. From the point of view of the villagers, Christian religiosity is seen to be one of the major organising principles within the village. In their tales, villagers acknowledge the presence of two black American preachers, George Gibb and George Liele. They speak of their involvement in establishing the Witness Chapel or meeting house (the first Native Baptist church) in 1829 (Ayre 1984). Sligovillians say their religious history commences as early as 1829 (before Phillippo founded Sligoville), with the arrival of preachers in the area.

Oral history supports the influence of Liele and his form of American Baptist Christianity in the area prior to Phillippo and the area as a free village. There is evidence that Revivalism or the Revival worldview following the 1860s Revival Awakening influences much of Sligovillian life. Yet villagers deny connection with Revival churches and its practices. However, though Sligovillians deny Revival worship, its belief system is inextricably connected to their daily lives. This is observable in Sligoville's Baptist church where members interact and worship. The network system emanating from Myalism (Schuler 1979) and Revivalism is the framework upon which local values are based. Not to dismiss the practices of Myalism (Schuler 1979), my research implies that the earliest religious practice was a result of the activities of these two American preachers who provided the nascence for

Christianity in Jamaica.

George Liele's Witness Chapel drew followers from the Highgate plantations and surrounding plantations. Oral history indicates that the doctrine of this first Native Baptist Church provided the framework that Phillippo would use to shape the free community envisaged. Phillippo built on this structure when founding the village, and in 1838 he established the Mount Zion Baptist Chapel. The Native Baptists was a ready audience and following for Phillippo's church.

The Baptist church was the first building to be erected in Sligoville. In the early years, the church was used as a school. Reverend Phillippo was not only the village pastor but also the rector for the parish circuit (White 1993). J Gurney a Quaker visiting Sligoville wrote in 1940 (Ayre 1984) that the village was organised into small wooden cottages. These cottages sat in neat rows and ran up and down the slopes of Winchester Top, from the church itself down to the old square in the heart of village and out again to site of the present village square. Each cottage was situated on an individual plot. The land surrounding the cottages was used to cultivate provision grounds. The way in which the village is organised has not changed much, except for the type of buildings now erected. The ties that the village has with Phillippo's church and the village's location in relation to Spanish Town are key factors in shaping of its history. The control this church had within Sligoville ensured its power and authority. It reinforced the religious foundation upon which the village was based and it ensured its independence from national government. It also gave the village a sense of continuity. Thus, we see how the characteristics detailed in Mintz's (1987) account come into play. For religious affiliation differentiates Sligovillians from its peripheral villages. As such, the control that the church has in the village becomes apparent.

The fact that the church pledges no political allegiance gives the villagers a sense of security. It has been suggested that the church will offer its land to those who are dispossessed. Moreover, the history of the Baptist church within the village is a symbolic reminder of the experiences of first settlers and their resistance. Sentiments expressed were “if the Baptist church falls, so would the village”. Thus, the village and church are inextricably bound. Further, the fact that religious education was (1840) placed in the hands of class house leaders meant that the community has strong links with the church.

The attachment that the community has with the church seems almost unbreakable. It is solidified in the village’s history. Sligovillans share an ideology, which is founded upon membership of the Baptist church. Members attest to a feeling of solidarity rooted in their sense of oneness which bolsters a specific identity (chapter 6).

The adoption of Christian values, morals and practices, for example, baptism, legal marriage and Christian burial, confirm villager’s attachment with the church. However, the amalgamation of Christian and creolized religious elements shows that other religious and socio-cultural forces are at work. Villagers view the question of whether Christian religious worship is in decline due to the increasing practice of creolized religion with some scepticism.

Particular villagers feel that creolized religious practices and beliefs cannot be separated from their own every day lifestyle or in fact from the Baptist church. Such individuals believe traditional indigenized practices to be vital to both their own survival and to the continuity of the village. Community members confirm a strong affinity with local

practices and belief systems and simultaneously, with the church. Individuals regularly attend the Revivalist, Baptist and Anglican churches.

During research particular descendants of the first settlers recall stories of meetings held in the class house and recount that prayer meetings took on a Native Baptist style of worship. This means that traditional Baptist forms of the type favoured by Phillippo were giving way to indigenized forms of religious practices. Here, there is evidence of creolization occurring. This shift undoubtedly paved the way for Revivalism to evolve.

However there are wider issues regarding religion stemming from social relations within the community and the church. This is noticeable in the ownership of freehold land. Lands owned by the church, the community and individuals are signifiers of liberation, identity and status. This church stands in opposition to the state and it is borne out in its connections with the establishment of Sligoville community. However, simultaneously this church also plays a role in bolstering many ideologies of the state.

Over the last ten years, the Baptist church has changed and adapted its structure and forms of function in line with the growing awareness of, and independence of the villagers. For example, the Sligoville Baptist church, as it is now known, has modernised its format of worship in order to maintain the commitment of its younger members. In addition, many of its lay readers and deacons are villagers and younger worshipers are encouraged to play an active part in the church's many events and organisations. In this way, the church's continuity is not only maintained but also its membership is bolstered. Syllus Campbell recalls aspects of his past, demonstrating the changes that have occurred within the church: "As a young man everyone used to attend the Baptist church, but they also believed in the old time religion, and many practiced it".

When I interviewed the serving Canon of St. James Anglican Church, Canon Thomas, he suggested that the religious orientation of the villagers has indeed changed. He states:

The Anglican liturgy is more formalised than the Native Baptist and Pentecostal churches. Native Baptist and Pentecostal churches encourage stronger participation where religion and worship is more individualistic and active, with emphasis on the spiritual.

In the 1970s the Anglican Church of Jamaica as it is now officially known adopted the 'Passing of the Peace'⁷⁴. The Church took an approach to become more in line with the other popular denominations and introduced a communal greeting of the congregation.

The religiosity of Sligoville has changed since with the arrival of the other denominations. Moreover the economic climate has had an effect on the community. The younger generation has moved on to professions such as teaching, law and accountancy. With this they have migrated out of the area leaving only children and elders.

There is much more 'out work'⁷⁵ in contemporary time, compared to the past. Morals and ethics have changed. Church attendance and strict adherence to religious norms have fallen or diminished. Thirty years ago villagers met their spouses in church; the churches have now lost their mystique they are not as appealing as they were during the early years. This is partly due to the newer churches having a stronger hold on the villagers.

Enquiring why this change may have come about, Canon Thomas confirms that:

Leadership is at a local level and it is not necessarily dependent on literacy and liturgy. Instead it is founded upon gathering many, and it is oral and much more participatory than the Anglican format of worship

This orality is typical of the more spiritual religions with testimonies and the singing of choruses, whilst the historic churches are predicated on literacy and a set liturgy. One must be able to read to follow and participate in the service, if

⁷⁴ Passing of the Peace is the formal greeting of fellow worshipers at a chosen time during the service. There is a pause in the service and each individual shakes hands or embraces the other individual, greeting each other, and wishing "may the peace of the lord be with you".

⁷⁵ Out work refers to working away from the village in neighbouring towns and in towns throughout the island.

not it is meaningless and un-fulfilling.

Though Sligoville has a rich heritage as a religiously founded Baptist village, it is entwined in a black creolized religion whose theology is designed to liberate. Hence, religiosity in Sligoville is viewed from a holistic perspective, which takes into account the way in which individuals and the community truly live. Settlers in Sligoville appear to have been fairly independent, possessing a strong sense of individualism. This independence and individualism can be observed in contemporary village life.

However, Hubert Ramsey, a 91-year-old villager, reminisces about the stories he overheard during the days of his parents and grandparents. These suggest that the character of Sligoville had undergone additional changes. He recalls:

Villagers were more religious then, these days the younger generation is not as religious. The changes occurring in society mean they don't have to do as their parents direct them any more.

The houses, the landscape, the use of the land and the attitude of the community have changed. Houses are now erected with blocks and cement rather than the wood. There are only one or two remaining board houses. The landscape has changed enormously and so have the people. It's as if we mirror the landscape. The community isn't as strong as it used to be. We are more selfish.

However, besides the Baptist Church there is a number of other community institutions that contributes to life, lives and community identity in Sligoville. Sligovillians have in place institutions which mirror the character of their free community. There is the St John's Anglican Church, built by O'Sullivan, which administered to his family and to white planters living within the area. The church continues to serve the middle class of Sligoville. Its present congregation is drawn from diverse economic and social backgrounds. It is commonly asserted in Sligoville that individuals who seek class distinction attend this church.

The Sligoville Support Group and Committee also play its part through the cultural activities organised by the Group. The members of this Group which comprises elders and young people, tries to ensure cultural continuity. They create initiatives and schemes to improve a sense of community and to maintain a Sligovillian identity. The aim of the committee is to maintain the history, identity, solidarity and cohesiveness of the community through the use of communal space and through the spirit of cooperation. By incorporating the use of place and space within the community, the village's distinct cultural identity is reinforced. The use of particular spaces is a marker and a signifier of Sligoville's cultural identity and historic position in Jamaican society.

This Committee is also responsible for the community centre and health clinic. The community centre, situated on the green adjacent to the Police station and the rise above the communal sport grounds, is used for communal meetings and activities such as training and dancing. A presentation ceremony was given during Heritage Week⁷⁶ on Sunday, 19th October 1997 (see chapter 8). Young people who attended the ceremony felt that the celebration was significant both for the individual and the community as a whole. Hero's Week was in essence a celebration of specific villagers who served the community well.

The Sligoville health centre is a place for community health care and serves to assist the community in managing family and community health issues. Women are encouraged to have their pre-natal and postnatal care within the community at the health centre. It runs various health care classes and clinics that encourage community participation,

⁷⁶ Heritage Week is the celebration of Heroes Day on October 19th culminating with a week's celebration for Jamaica's national heroes.

rather than villagers having to travel into Spanish Town to the large General Hospital. The health centre is also equipped as a doctor's surgery for general medical care and has accommodation for a residential nurse or midwife. Both centres are institutions at the heart of the community.

Furthermore, the Committee has had some involvement in the painting of a mural on a wall in the Village Square. This mural indicate the establishment of the village in 1838 (see photograph). The Committee has also been involved in the transformation of Highgate House into a heritage centre, museum and hostel. Parcels of land from Highgate House were also secured for an environment project, which includes a nature walk. As an environmental training centre, teachers and school children from across the island learn about local conservation. Highgate House, which is the former home of O'Sullivan is now a museum, environmental conservation centre and tourist attraction.

Institutions like Highgate house link the past, the present and the future. The museum is used for community meetings and this ensures that a link between the villagers, the land and the house is maintained. Local history is also given stimulus with the continuing use of this valuable property and historical site. Such activities encourage awareness of, and development of sites of historic interest.

There are plans to develop other historic and cultural sites, such as the ruins of the Spanish and British Governors' residences on Winchester Top. The plantation and the sugar mill on the Cooper's property have also been earmarked for development as a tourist attraction. Furthermore, original stone walls built from 1838 onward to mark settler plots are now listed for renovation and inclusion in the national heritage package. Much debate abounds as to whether these sites should be preserved as symbols of the

past or purely for economic gain.

The Police Youth Group, a club for the young people within the immediate village and the wider district is another community institution. It is affiliated to Sligoville Police Station and the Sligoville Support Group to encourage social and educational activities for young people.

Yet another community institution within the village is the Sligoville and Bog Walk Trust Fund which is an organisation that aims specifically to assist villagers in business. The Trust Fund is organised and managed by villagers as well as individuals that were originally from the village but reside elsewhere. These individuals provide financial aid, business support and management skills and general information for villagers within Sligoville and the wider district. Many of the inhabitants are also members of a variety of Associations such as the Agricultural Association and the Coffee Growers Association.

Community History: Oral History and Life History

The community nurtures Sligoville's social history and this is evident in villagers ability to memorise and recall their ancestors' many experiences. It is embedded in the memory and narratives of the villagers. However, Sligovillians are as cunning as Anansi⁷⁷. They edit the stories they relate in order to satisfy a particular need or circumstance.

Villagers use narratives to emphasise links to the past and to draw attention to their status in an historical context. From this position they utilise links to the founding of the

⁷⁷ Anansi is the Jamaican folklore using a trickster spider to describe, dramatise or explain the social and natural world. Anansi is an ambiguous figure representing both humour and trickery.

free village to evoke a sense of identity. During my research this was evidenced in the ways inhabitants invoked memories and reminiscences to demonstrate their place in the nation's history in opposition to their neighbouring villages. Village history is kept alive orally (Vasina 1985) through the retelling of elements of the past. Acceptance of indigenous cultural norms is another way in which Sligovillians appear to embrace the past. Yet there was in evidence schism and contradictions with the re-commencement of the emancipation celebrations in 1997. Whilst most villagers agreed that it was right to do so and that the efficacy of this action would be seen in later years, a few individuals disagreed and distanced themselves from the entire process.

The community provides a rich source of oral history. Sligovillians speak of their history in terms of the present. It is a lived experience which relates to what they do now. A young man says "fi wi history nuh dead, no man, it nuh gone, it alive now, yuh know wah mi mean. Dis a *history in action*" (Sligoville's history is not dead, not at all, it is not in the past, it is in the present. It is been used or drawn on daily, do you understand what I am saying? It is lived history). Therefore, the past is the present and the present is the future. Hence, we see the role history plays in Sligoville in the creation and evolution of the community's identity. It is the ability to draw on or recall historical events that is the key to keeping the village alive. This history is drawn on to shape the present and future. Narrative is the medium they use to access the past and to create a future.

Here, I present the autobiography of Mr Aston Talbott, a descendant of Robert Talbott, one of the first settlers in Sligoville. Mr Talbott, a kind and generous man, wrote a journal for me that document aspects of his life history. His diary provides an account

of a third generation descendant⁷⁸ of an original settler.

The central themes that run throughout this villager's documented life story are the process of remembering and forgetting and the importance of events to the community. Mr Talbott's life story highlights how particular individuals and the community formulates and implement coping strategies in order to bring about social change. He narrates his personal lived experience in the village:

My name is Aston Gordon Talbott. I was born on the eight day of July 1918 to Thomas and Adina Talbott in the district of Sligoville within the parish of St Catherine. I was the seventh of eight children, five of which were boys and three girls.

My father was a farmer and he used to plant large fields of mixed crops especially potatoes, bananas, corn, peas, plantains, sugar cane, a variety of yams and lots of vegetables. He also reared cows, pigs and goats. I was a very happy child, because I had caring parents and plenty of food to eat and a large quantity of milk to drink.

Regarding school, he tells us that:

School was held in the same building as the church services each Sunday. This was the only school in the area during my childhood and many children had to travel very long distances to get to school. In fact they had to walk miles in the mornings to get to Sligoville School and back in the evenings. At last it was my time to attend school. It was a Monday morning January 1924, I can remember it so clearly now as if it was yesterday.

In 1942, I decided that it was time I find a girl to be my wife. At this time I was rather taken by, or more likely, very fond of a girl I knew at school. She was a quiet and disciplined girl and I thought she would be the ideal wife for me.

In this instance, it becomes clear that the church and the school were the two institutions where relationships within the village were formed. This is where villagers forged community links as well developed relationship with surrounding villages. Mr Talbott

⁷⁸ Mr Aston Talbott's grandfather Robert Talbott was the first generation and his father Thomas son of Robert Talbott is the second generation.

continues:

Following the main service, I greeted her and told her I loved her. She asked me to visit her parents and speak with them, she would return on Monday. Two Sundays went by before she returned to church and informed me she has returned to her parents' home. On that day we pledged ourselves to each other and we were married on the fifteenth August 1943.

The memories that Mr Talbott has as a young newly married man demonstrate the kinds of family structures that exist, the type of rural occupations that persist and the values held by the villagers. The practice of caring for family members and for using the land to maintain the family is very much the way that villagers live. Mr Talbott explains:

Various white planters and private individuals owned land in Sligoville namely Witter and O'Sullivan. Land was purchased during slavery and sold to freed men and women. These men and women settled on their own land, so it is history that is at the heart of Sligoville, the first free village.

My grandfather Robert Talbott was one of the recipients of that land purchase and settlement. My father is buried up there on the original piece of land. That parcel of land is no longer in the family, but I pass it each time I go up to the village square and I can look from my house up at a portion of the land. My father is buried up there somewhere. One specific family owned the majority of land in Sligoville at one time or the other, the O'Sullivan.

An individual's place within the community is their status. Mr Talbot's position within the village is reflected in the attention that he and others give his children.

Mr Talbott's life history relays the ongoing significance of education to most early settlers and their ancestors. It also highlights how land and religion are tied to institutions created during slavery. Mr Talbott's life history parallels those of a few other villagers that I interviewed. It outlines the economic and social conditions of the time and portrays the experiences of his fellow villagers.

By doing so, it highlights the rapid change that occurred in the first free village in the

areas of education, agriculture, employment and politics. In his autobiography, he paints a picture of Sligoville as he chooses to remember. This painting not only demonstrates the characteristics of the village but its social structure. It also presents how he chooses to organise his life and his family within that system. Mr Talbott is neither typical of, nor is he too far removed from the other villagers. He is a fitting example of a villager who has struggled, survived and despite the odds, achieved success.

Emancipation Celebration

During my period of fieldwork, the P.N.P government recommenced Emancipation and Independence Day celebrations on August 1st and August 6th respectively. Debate raged in the media and beyond, as to whether the emancipation celebrations should be recommenced. Was it really necessary? What benefit would it bring to the nation?

The decision to recommence the historic celebration was of great significance to my research. In fact, it was an anthropologist's dream, an auspicious way of giving my work authenticity. Sligoville is referred to as the most under-developed free village in Jamaica, although it is one of the most historic. Sligovillians feel they are the most neglected amongst free villages.

While the nation debated the return of the Emancipation Day celebration, the authorities were preparing the old colonial capital for the first of such celebrations since 1962. In the weeks preceding the affair, the old square in Spanish Town was gradually returned to its glorious past. It was painted, plants were potted and a backdrop was created using theatrical props.

The Jamaica Information Service organised in co-operation with the Ministry of Culture

a programme of local activities to remind the nation of its great historical past and thereby, the reasons behind the decision to host the emancipation celebration. Sligoville was one of the rural locations chosen for filming. This would be another historical moment for Sligoville. The media filmed the Baptist church and the local school. They also filmed a few of the older descendants of the first free settlers. I was also a participant of the discussion and video made by the (Jamaica Information Service 1997) which was shown nationwide on the 1st of August to celebrate the occasion. Significance was drawn to demonstrate the relevance of the village as a historic site and the need to recommence emancipation as a national celebration by highlighting my anthropological fieldwork on Sligoville, under the auspices of the University of London.

Mr Ayre, Mr Philemon Brown and Mr Talbot painted a picture of the past and the significance it has for the present. They debated the importance of the emancipation celebration to Sligoville and the nation. These three inhabitants stated that the celebration would reinforce cultural identity.

The Emancipation celebrations opened in Spanish Town on Thursday July 31st with a series of cultural and educational activities. T.G Goldson, a local historian gave a talk at the Anglican Cathedral, St Jago De La Vega. A vigil marking emancipation was held from seven to nine p.m. at the Phillippo Baptist church in Spanish Town.

At the end of the service, the congregation filed out into the courtyard which was already crammed with people spilling out on to the nearby streets. In the courtyard, a crowd gathered around the old tamarind tree where the plaque commemorating emancipation stands. Here, the procession re-enacted the emancipation procession held in 1838. Each female member of the congregation had dressed in white or pastel and

each of the male members of the church had worn black and white attire in respect of their forefathers.

The wearing of black and white is the colours⁷⁹ of mourning, and for those individuals who are unable to wear the appropriate colours pastel colours is a way of ensuring that everyone can be included in the act of acknowledging the past and remembering the struggles of all ex-slaves. There is also a greater symbolism (Turner 1967) in the black, white and pastel colours, for it is an indication of the colour classification that existed during slavery. White depicts the white dominant population who held power and control and black represents the African majority population dominated but not entirely powerless who resisted and claimed their freedom. The younger generation viewed the wearing of pastels with great significance stating that “pastels is representative of contemporary Jamaica, a mixed population”. Whilst standing at the tree, an elderly woman remarked to me:

You are filming this, but does it mean anything to you, does it stir you? I hope it has some effect on you. For me it is very moving, my whole being is transformed and it started in the church with the service and the different presentations. It was quite evocative and sad.

You know this is something that our young people should come face to face with. They should not forget the past. We have to remind them on occasions such as this. What I find exciting and hopeful is the work of the church. The Baptist church played its role then, and we are still continuing right up to the present. Still I think that we can all learn something here, the Baptist church and the Revivalist churches are still playing their part. Just wait until you get to the square you will find every religious group there, but for tonight we are all one.

Agreeing with the sentiment expressed, I quoted the national motto: “OUT OF MANY ONE PEOPLE”. She replied: “You haven’t forgotten everything then but remember

⁷⁹ See also Victor Turner on colour symbolism.

that in the end, regardless of whatever religion, we can all come together, when it matters”.

I was alerted to her comment about the Revivalist church. I asked her what she meant.

Her reply was:

Oh sorry you do not live here, you are not aware that these churches have always played a role in the eventual freedom and independence of the people. It is the foundation of the belief system of our people, although you would never believe it at times. We are encouraged to think it is bad. Still I am not a follower.

Here, my informant demonstrates the significance of religion in Jamaica. Additionally, her comments highlight the contradictions regarding creolized religions. Though the nation is one, she is careful to point out that she is not a follower of Revivalism. Interestingly, religion played an important part in the fight for emancipation, and now that is being re-celebrated again, it is clearly just as important.

The congregation moved a few hundred yards to Reverend Phillippo’s burial ground. They lit candles held in their hands which signified the hopes and dreams of those who fought and laboured for freedom. It also testified to the respect the present generation has for those of the past. As I observed and captured the proceedings on film, I noticed that the crowd gradually became more sombre. The folk songs and religious hymns sung appeared to take on greater meaning. One man remarked:

It is only in reliving the past that I can truly appreciate what feeling of happiness and anxiety my forefathers must have experienced. I had to touch the Tamarind tree in the courtyard of Phillippo church. It makes me feel as if I am transported back in time to the first Emancipation Day. It places me closer to those who fought for my freedom and future.

You see there are items or you could say are symbols of slavery which were buried at the root of this tree on Emancipation in 1838. So it is only fitting that I should pay homage to it. The celebration of emancipation has a bittersweet element to it like the fruit of the Tamarind tree.

Considering the behaviour of the congregation and of the individuals who had gathered in the courtyard, I asked; “Do you think this might have been the reason those symbols were buried at the root of the tree?” She replied; “Yes, the struggle and suffering of slavery was bitter, but emancipation was sweet and it continues to be so. Besides, the tree is said to survive for many years and can withstand adverse conditions”. I thought for a moment and asked, “Are you implying the slaves were able to resist and withstand adverse treatments therefore there is a symbolic comparison”. She replied, “It’s clear, isn’t it”.

A five-minute silence was observed at Phillippo’s grave. Then, the marchers moved through the town’s streets onto the old colonial square [See illustration 11: page 23].

On the way, the number of marchers grew. People from surrounding streets joined in along the way. The marchers became more elated as they we drew closer to the square. The singing and dancing became more enthusiastic. Music could be heard from shops and bars. Young people were chanting “Babylon dead, ah fi wi time now” (European or foreign control and their influence has ended, Jamaicans, especially the younger generation are now in control). People continued to file in from all directions moving down the narrow cobbled streets.

At the square I was met by a crowd so vast it seemed as if there was a sea of people. The marchers soon dispersed as the rush was on to obtain a place from which to observe the official opening ceremony. The town square was the most important venue for the celebration. It was in 1838 at this very location that emancipation was decreed.

The old colonial square was floodlit for dramatic effect. The black, green and gold colours of the Jamaican flag were seen everywhere, wrapped around every possible

colonnade. Flags and whistles were on sale mimicking a carnival atmosphere. The stage was set for the arrival of dignitaries.

The crowd came alive with expectation as government ministers arrived including P.J. Patterson Jamaica's Prime Minister and Ghana's Prime Ministers Flight Lieutenant Rawlings. The celebration included speeches and presentations and at midnight the church bells pealed. The sounding of the Abeng (a ritual instrument of symbolic meaning for the maroons) by a maroon was followed by bell ringing. Two young persons followed this with the handing over of the proclamation of emancipation to the Jamaican Prime Minister who passed it on to the Mayoress of Spanish Town. Throughout the official celebration, the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. P. J. Patterson declared that the square would be known as 'Emancipation Square'. As the Rt. Hon. Patterson addressed the crowd a group of Rastafarians shouted:

Yuh kyaan bribe wi. Wi waan fi go Ghana, a Africa wi waan
fi go. Wah emancipation ah go do fi wi?

You cannot bribe us. We want to go to Ghana, it's Africa we
want. What can emancipation offer us?

One of the most interesting and moving parts of the evening for me was the 'Son et lumiere'⁸⁰. The lighting and sound effects helped to dramatise history, bringing the narrative of the past into the present. As the audience became more involved in the show, a few individuals discussed their feeling of elation which was tinged with sorrow.

A group of young men discussed what the Rastafarians had to say:

The spirits of those freed slaves celebrating on that very night
in 1838 must now be lifted. It was a long time coming. In fact
the Rastafarians call for their return to Africa, in essence they
have returned this very night and forever with the return of
the emancipation celebration.

⁸⁰ Son-et-lumiere is an entertainment by night at an historic monument or building using lighting effects and recorded sound to give a dramatic narrative of the past (historical events).

Many people across the island criticised the emancipation celebrations. In Sligoville, there were mixed feelings. Many adults felt that this celebration was merely a public holiday, just another day off. They would participate in emancipation celebrations if they were focused on developing the area and providing jobs. However by recommencing emancipation celebrations, Sligoville has a more prominent place in the national consciousness.

Conclusion

I have shown that the acquisition of land in 1838 established Sligoville as a free village and experiences from that time has led to the emergence of a community identity. I argue that it was the need to establish a place of permanent abode from which they could maintain their autonomy and subsistence as well as provide a future for their descendants that determined the structures they adapted and continue to maintain. It was their sense of being as free landowners that afforded opportunities for solidarity, cohesion and belonging tied to a specific place.

Thus the type of agricultural patterns and waged labour practices were strategies for their continuity as well as form of resistance to the then socio-economic and political power structures. However the type of institutions (Mount Zion Baptist Church, the Sligoville All Age School, Community Health Centre, and the Sligoville Support Committee) found in the community to date are significant of the desires of Sligovillians to maintain their freedom and rights. This is highlighted in the agricultural practices and descent and kinship patterns that are drawn on to maintain continuity of parcels of land in perpetuity. I argue that the dynamic relationships and cultural structures that this community maintains are bolstered by Revival ideology, and that this ideology has much meaning and importance for Sligovillian identity.

Although Sligovillians are rooted in the past through many of their traditional values they are evolving and adapting to new demands that assist in the continuing creativity of cultural forms. It is the re-commencement of emancipation celebrations that reinforces this sense of community to the past, while providing a link into the present. These celebrations may well herald a new beginning for Sligovillians.

CHAPTER FIVE: SLIGOVILLE: REVIVAL CONTINUITIES

This chapter argues for the continuity of Revivalism in Sligoville. To achieve this goal I give consideration to the Phillippo Baptist Church, Spanish Town and its continuing relationship with Sligoville. The aim is to appraise the religious evolution within this historical district⁸¹ by unearthing the continuing links with other churches and practices of Revivalism within Sligoville's churches.

I present ethnographic accounts of Revival beliefs and practices within the differing churches and daily life among the inhabitants. In outlining ethnographically its links to the Mount Zion Baptist church and the Pentecostal churches in Sligoville I evidence the village's religiosity and its interrelatedness to Revivalism. I take this approach because I view Revivalism as being inextricably linked with the ideological thinking processes that influence cultural development and identity formation in this community.

The Phillippo Baptist Church and Mount Zion Baptist Church

The first Baptist church to be erected in Spanish Town, between Market Street and Martin Street, was modelled on a Georgian architectural style that is imposing. It was dedicated in February 1827, with a seating capacity of two thousand and stands on the same site (Whyte 1997).

Phillippo having received his licence to preach in 1825 became minister of the Spanish Town Baptist Church (named Phillippo) and held responsibilities for other churches within a designated circuit. This meant that he worked within a bounded area throughout the parish of St. Catherine stretching from Spanish Town to Glade on the

⁸¹'Historical district' in this sense refers to the various villages (Cedar Valley, Sligoville, Bottom Jackson, Mary Village and James Mountain) that make up Sligoville.

periphery of Cayman Sugar Estate, to the hills of Kitson Town and across to Old Harbour. His ministry extended to Sligoville and as far as Above Rocks.

Following emancipation the act of burying items of slavery at the root of a Tamarind tree in the grounds of Phillippo's Baptist church (see illustration 4) demonstrates Phillippo's opposition to slavery. This plaque indicates the burial spot, and it is a physical reminder of the past.

Having established two other villages Clarkson Town (now known as Glade) and Kitson Town in St Catherine he founded churches and schools in the parishes of St John and St. Thomas, Above Rocks and Old Harbour in St Catherine. Schools were also built in Red Hills, in the parishes of St Andrew and Vere in the parish of Clarendon, as well as the parish of Manchester (White 1993).

With the completion of other projects Phillippo returned to England (Hall 2002:182) in 1842, leaving a visiting minister as his replacement. During his absence a percentage of his members left Phillippo Baptist Church and started a new church, the "Ebenezer Baptist" in Spanish Town. However, in 1947, both churches were amalgamated, uniting both congregations.

It was Reverend Phillippo's, strong links with the abolition of slavery, his desire to educate the Africans religiously and through literacy that the establishment and development of Sligoville is so important. The establishment of the village in the then Highgate Estate on 10th July 1835 and the building of Mount Zion chapel (which was completed in July 1838 (see illustration 3), provided the nexus for the emancipation celebration 1st August 1838. These occasions served as markers for belonging and

identity formation for the settlers.

The official dedication of the settlement took place on July 12, 1840 and this set the seal for other religiously founded free communities. Significantly Mount Zion church continued to be the only church in the village for a number of years. The upper floor of the church was used as a school. The school was also organised on the same principles as those of the British and Foreign Union Society Sunday schools and oral history suggests that it was Phillippo's (Hall 2002:181) intention to settle, influence and hopefully change the settlers' religious beliefs through education and Orthodox Christian beliefs and worship.

With the official creation of Sligoville the first settlers became members of Mount Zion Baptist church. Oral history suggests that the pattern of worship was structured on the format of Phillippo's Baptist church and the British Baptist mission beliefs and ideologies. However, the settlers sought to retain their former Africanised religious belief for example Native Baptist religious practices away from Phillippo. Thus Native Baptist practices over time were amalgamated within Reverend Phillippo's Orthodox format of worship. Narratives indicate that Phillippo was focused on maintaining a peasant community that held strong Christian beliefs. As Hall (2002:181) states 'Phillippo's lifelong conviction – that a Christian education could eradicate the legacy of slavery and make men and women anew'. However, the need to further develop indigenous practices fostered, amongst the settlers, the Native Baptist form of worship, which was inspired by Liele in 1829. Village history indicates that Liele had a chapel and a strong religious following in the area. It was therefore a simple amalgamation of religious practices within Mount Zion's Baptist church.

However, villagers affirm the duality of religious practices between Phillippo's Baptist church, the former Native Baptist experiences and indigenous religious structures and Revival practices. Undoubtedly, the Baptist religious beliefs and practices represented by Reverend Phillippo influenced many of the first settlers in Sligoville. A descendent of a first settler who was reminiscing about her grandparents decision to attend the Baptist church during the morning and to practice Revivalism at home, reaffirmed the importance of traditional religious practices for their lifestyle. Yet the decision to be a member of the Baptist church remains as important now as it was then. For it maintained their connections to Phillippo and his church in Spanish Town, whilst providing the community with a place of belonging.

Thus, although Mount Zion church was and remains the sister church of the Phillippo Baptist Church, it has aspects of creolized religion, the seed of which was planted with the practices derived from the religious beliefs of Myalism and Native Baptist. These dual religious practices and membership aided the creolization of religion in Sligoville. Mount Zion pattern of worship evolved and this church is now Native Baptist church with elements of Revival worldview.

The ability of the villagers to recall changes that had occurred within the Baptist church gives evidence of the duality of religious practices among the settlers. With this in mind the church leaders over time took a more relaxed attitude towards the dual religious practices of the community. This relaxation led to the adoption of local leaders chosen from among the congregation. Responsibilities of the class leaders were to visit members within the community, attend to their spiritual needs, to hold bible studies and prayer meetings. These class leaders were also expected to encourage and maintain Christian morals in Phillippo's absence.

Interestingly, Sligoville adopted this system as well. Many of the older residents have remarked on the location and the use of the class house prior to attending church each Sunday. Mr Talbot attested to the presence of a class house in the old village⁸² of Sligoville. "As a boy, I can recall the class house in the old village, and villagers gathering there before going up the hill to Mount Zion church. The class house was a meeting place for the villagers. It provided a sanctuary where they would gather for religious and social occasion away from the control and eyes of the pastor".

The actual site of the 'class house' is now private property of the Edward family. Interestingly there is very little importance attached to remembering the class house or even its location within the village. Villagers appear to place more significance on the church rather than the class house. The community viewed the class house as a halfway house between the church and the community. It provided a space for community religiosity away from Rev. Phillippo. There appears to be very little information regarding the demise of the class house. Rev. McKenzie the present Minister for the circuit was unable to shed much light on the topic either. However, he confirmed that Kensington, a small village on the periphery of Sligoville had a class house as well.

There were other changes occurring among the slaves. The class and leader system with the missionaries encouraging literacy and the adoption of Christian doctrine advanced resistance considerable. This furthered the development of a specific social order. With emancipation came further changes. This included a schism in 1843 in the Baptist Missionary Society. This gave birth to a new institution, the Jamaican Baptist church.

⁸²Old village refers to the original bounded 25 acres of land which formed the village of Sligoville as first founded by Reverend Phillippo. The original village has since over time increased and now includes Mary village, Highgate, Montpellier and Trentham Park.

A further division occurred once Jamaica gained its independence in 1962. The Jamaican Baptist church shifted towards an American rather than British style format. Though these changes took place, my research shows that there is now a difference of opinion within the Jamaican Baptist Union as to whether it is in fact more Native or Orthodox Baptist. This view was confirmed through a structured interview with an informant at Phillippo church. He states “that the members are unable to decide whether the union is Native or Orthodox Baptist”. My informant believes that “it is more Native than Baptist, but within the institution particular individuals feel it should be affiliated with Orthodoxy”.

Oral history suggests that that following Phillippo’s death the change of leadership had a profound effect on changes within Sligoville. The leadership within the church became more localised. Yet many residents have confirmed that the community were primarily followers of the Baptist church, but due to the constraints of the church hierarchy many members left and joined the Pentecostalist and creolized churches. In the early 1930s membership became divided between St John’s Anglican Church and Mount Zion Baptist. These changes are noticeable in the numbers of local deacons and lay members with responsibilities for the administration of the local church and the religiosity of its congregation.

The continuing links between Phillippo’s Baptist church and Sligoville remains steadfast. This is maintained not only through the present minister Rev. McKenzie, but also through the continuity of shared ministerial duties, worship and fellowship with the congregations and the community as a whole.

Mintz suggests that “within religiously founded free villages, inhabitants were probably more uniform in their attachment to an organized religion than was the population as a whole” (Mintz 1987:11). However Sligovillians show no more uniformity to the Baptist church than inhabitants in the many other villages within the parish, although villagers do have a strong connection to the church, a symbol of the village’s creation, autonomy and identity.

Whilst the first inhabitants were predominantly Baptist members and many were married couples, there were also single men and women among the first settlers. They were simultaneously members of, or visitors of Revivalist churches and the then Mount Zion church. Although Mount Zion was officially under the patronage of the Baptist Mission with Reverend Phillippo as pastor it appears the community were more influenced by Native Baptist practices in their everyday lifestyle.

I have been unable to give a specific date as to when changes occurred, but oral history suggests its members demonstrated aspects of these changes from its earliest times. Rev McKenzie, the present minister for the circuit, confirmed continuing Native Baptist practices in Sligoville’s Baptist church in his interview. A number of villagers concurred with their Pastor’s statement. It is felt that the religious changes commenced during their grandparents’ lifetime (early 1900s). A few suggests that these changes were evident during their great grandparents’ lifetime (1860s), but it was far subtler. Rev. McKenzie giving his view of Reverend Phillippo said:

Phillippo would not have objected to a more Native form of worship or practices because he believed in the rights of the blacks to make individual choice. Therefore, Reverend Phillippo would not have insisted that only Baptist members

would be eligible or could purchase parcels of land in the newly created free village, and only monogamous couples could settle. Thus Reverend Phillippo would have perceived such thought and actions as another form of slavery.

This is in contrast to other free villages (Mintz 1987: 1-19). Sligoville Baptist church is seen and presented throughout the circuit as an outreach of Phillippo's Baptist church. Both members and non-members state: "The religious form of worship is Orthodox and it is the same as Phillippo's church". Yet there are a few locals who have identified and stated that the religious form of worship in Sligoville is less Orthodox, but they are unwilling to define it as Native.

Although most Sligovillians are members of this church, it appears that members are rather prejudiced against the idea of their church being identified as Native Baptist. Among these individuals the term Native Baptist seems to suggest something negative with unacceptable behaviour, akin to Revivalism or Pukumina. Therefore such members are identified as different. However there is an ongoing schism as to whether the church should be defined as such. Discussion regarding the format of worship is often spoken of as having elements of Spiritualism. This includes spontaneous clapping and at times speaking in tongues unlike the format of Phillippo Baptist church in Spanish Town or even Kingston.

The community recalls narratives of the 1907 earthquake and the reaction of many of the villagers running towards the church and lying prostrate in front of the altar, they promised to be devout Baptist members. Apparently these particular villagers thought it was the end of the world and that God was punishing them for practising their

indigenous religious practices. Following the establishment of the village as number of settlers increased Baptist membership increased. As they settled into community life and membership of the Baptist church covert Revivalist practices were included in community life (see chapter 8).

In the later years as the village grew changes occurred with the members choosing to become members of other churches. Mr Brown, presently a devout Jehovah Witness and one of the oldest gentlemen in the community, provided valuable insight to the structure and function of the village Baptist church. The primary leaders were the pastors from Phillippo Baptist Church with the lay readers chosen from within Sligoville.

His maternal Grandmother a Gobban is a descendant of the first Gobban who settled in the village in 1838. Speaking with me he said, "My parents were members of the Baptist church and so am I, but later I became a member of Jehovah Witness". Here he infers membership through past ties created by his descendants. He thought for a while and said "I have now given my life to God and the church, every thing else is in the past". Paradoxically Mr Brown's daughters and a number of his sons and numerous Granchildren have remained members of Sligoville's Baptist church.

The dynamics of creolized religions and their continuity within this district might appear oversimplified or even be easily dismissed as pure folk ideas. The perceived dearth of Revivalism (Chevannes 1978) later amended in 1995, or even the replacement of a Revival worldview by Pentecostalism is erroneous (Austin-Broos 1997:23, Toulis 1977:110). As Chevannes later (1995:3) alludes to the survival of Revivalism within other groups where the conditions are similar implies that the AME Zion and

Pentecostals are Revival groups. Chevannes and Besson (1996) later updated this work demonstrating how Revivalism was transforming in relation to Rastafarianism whilst holding fast to a national worldview.

One primary misconception is the idea that there are no recognised elements and practices of creolized religions within other localised religions. Yet, as the society adopts changes, so did Sligovillians, and in so doing they have adapted their religion to create new structures and meanings. The interplay between creolized religion and other religions especially the non-conformist and Pentecostalist religions is maintaining and assisting with the continuing evolution of this form of native religion. I have observed the noticeable continuity of Revivalism within these communities. Of which is the continuance of creolized patterns of worship and practices (group participation, divination, spiritual healing, protection and possession) within the different communities and district.

During my research both as a resident and non-resident I attended numerous services at Sligoville Baptist church in order to get information and a greater understanding of the complexities of the village's structure, practices, values and norms. My first service was indeed both exhilarating as it was frightening. I was surprised to note that the pattern of worship, although it was fairly structured, was quite in keeping with the pattern of worship of the more charismatic religious sect.

During the service I felt as if I had a visitation⁸³ (see Willis 1999: 4--9), my surroundings were transformed and I was transported into another era. Looking around

⁸³ Here my experiences are somewhat similar to Willis' idea of the theory and practice of field research having a principal focus of ones life and thought. This includes a concern with the metamorphoses of the self in interaction with the world in which the individual is immersed.

me the faces of the congregation appeared changed and they became different people. I was puzzled and taken aback. My initial reaction was utter confusion and surprise and I had to ask myself what is happening to me. I considered my surroundings and the experience I was having. I wondered whether I was hallucinating. In order to recover my equilibrium, I pinched myself just to prove that I was not imagining things, so that I could rationalise the moment. By all means rationality must take precedence. After all I am a researcher and I must be practical and maintain an open mind. One's imagination must not take over. I must apply reason and science.

I looked towards the altar at Rev. McKenzie, he was leading the service and he too seemed to have taken on a different persona. At this junction I was slightly confused and amused. It felt as if I was among an entirely different group of people or gathering. The whole congregation appeared to have changed. Nothing less than a miracle could have taken place. Everyone had metamorphosed into what I perceived to be the early congregation of Mount Zion church.

I looked at the people next to me and they too appear changed. I was now perspiring profusely, and feeling just a little excited, but mystified. I needed to know what exactly was happening to me. I was not imagining it. It was real, but yet unreal. The apparent changes to my surrounding seemed unreal and lasted for a second or two. At this stage I was in the first two weeks of my research and I did not gather enough information to allow my imagination to run riot. I had very little or no information regarding the appearance of the early settlers, this data was gathered in the latter stage of the field research.

Following this service, I enquired whether other individuals had ever experienced the same situation, I did this without making it obvious that I had just experienced something extremely strange. Mr Ayre confirmed that on 21st January 1996 when Jeremy Ulick Browne, the 11th Marquess of Sligo, had visited that one individual had a similar experience during a commemoration service for Howe Peter Browne, the 2nd Marquess of Sligo and Governor of Jamaica (1834). He also mentioned other occasions when individuals have had the same experience.

The continuing practices of creolized religions were also noticeable at the usual yearly crusade, which includes services each evening for a week, ending with a call at the close of each night's service for individuals to go forward to the altar and give their life to the Lord.

Interestingly, on the night of January 21st 1998, the visiting speaker was a very charismatic Pentecostalist preacher from Old Harbour church of God. His sermon was evangelistic in character. As he spoke he stamped his feet and clapped his hands for effect whilst shouting to the assembled gathering, praise the Lord! Hallelujah! He was calling the congregation to be healed and to be saved. It was to all intents and purposes a creolized form of worship.

The format of his sermon was very ritualistic, in that, specific biblical lines, verses and chapters were used in a ritualistic style, which had an impact on the audience by drawing them closer within the congregation and the body of worship. The delivery of the sermon was not the usual preaching from the altar. Instead as the preacher spoke to the assembled gathering, he walked towards the congregation stopping at the first two aisles. His body language was open and welcoming, his arms outstretched, appealing to

and calling everyone to be saved.

The rhythm and eloquence of his speech created a sense of urgency among the congregation. He wiped his brow at intervals, pausing just long enough to provide a feeling of suspense and expectation. Poetry was used to inspire and evoke a tremendous emotional response. Rather than remain at the altar he walked slowly, but rhythmically towards the congregation. He was sharing his act of worship with the congregation and embracing each and everyone.

The preacher left his hierarchical position at the altar to join the congregation and become one with them. He was at that precise moment identifying with everyone present. As he walked to and fro, moving in front of the altar and along the aisle, he made direct eye contact with many individuals. Although eye contact was random, its efficacy was registered. There was a feeling that each one of us was in dialogue with the pastor personally.

A form of reciprocity was taking place. He was inviting and addressing each individual, not a congregation of assembled visitors and regular members as such, but most importantly each individual was mesmerised and drawn to him and the altar. In a biblical sense as he sows so shall he reap, and in the pastor's case as he gives so shall he receive. He was entertaining and communicated personally to the gathering, therefore they gave their "souls to be saved" in return.

Sunday night was the last night of the crusade and the church was full to capacity, spilling out into the grounds of the church. Most individuals standing in the churchyard participating or watching and listening were older men, young men and a few women.

As the service progressed the young people outdoors were actively socialising. However, as the service came to a close many of the young men and women came into the church and took up their place standing in the aisles and in every available space in the church. I observed many locals from other churches participating in the service.

The final hymn of the night was a dedication hymn, “Just as I am without one plea”, which evoked emotional feelings drawing the audience to the altar and to tears. Some individuals raised their hands above their heads with their palms facing the altar, and simultaneously shaking and speaking in tongues. This action of raising both hands above the head and towards the altar is an open invitation and denotes acceptance, giving yourself to be saved, readiness and willingness to the call, the church and the Lord.

As the song progressed Rev McKenzie issued a call to individuals who were not saved or Christians within the congregation to come forward “if you feel the call to come forward, please, be not afraid or shy, do not resist the call from the Lord. Come forward now and give your life to the Lord”. With the ending of the hymn the last two verses were repeated with the call to the congregation again by Rev McKenzie, pleading to the gathering to answer the call “the Lord is calling, he is speaking to you”.

The plea of Rev. McKenzie along with the hypnotic and emotional rendering of this specific hymn on the individual was psychologically draining. I personally felt the emotional pull to go forward to the altar, but rationality took hold not only as an Anglican and an outsider, but more as a researcher. I had to remain as an observer and this was where I drew the line in participation. Whilst I was experiencing the emotional feelings, I was simultaneously aware that any observation must be tempered with a

degree of individual participation. I had a job to do and I needed to be best placed to observe the action within the church whilst participating as well. Immersing myself in the sea of people standing at the altar would I believe impede full observation and provide only minute participation and very little insight regarding what was taking place within the church.

Remaining in my position almost at the rear of the church, whilst standing on a chair allowed full observation and a modicum of participation. As the people assembled at the altar, Rev McKenzie prayed for them and welcomed them with his hands outstretched from the altar, whilst thanking and blessing them in answering the call to give their lives to the church. Significantly, as the service came to an end Rev McKenzie asked the deacons to obtain the names of those individuals who had approached the altar for prayer and the laying on of hands, so they can be brought into the fold or fellowship of the Baptist church. Whilst numerous individuals gave their names to the elders and deacons, many individuals who had approached the altar left immediately without giving their names.

At the end of the service I enquired from these villagers why they left from within the confines of the church without giving their names to the deacons, and why they participated to the extent of going to the altar? One particular young man told me:

Miss P, I felt the pull or as Rev said the call to go forward and give my life to God. Yes mi would like fih go a church and gi mi life to God. But yuh know if yuh kyan go every Sunday den yuh have problem.

Su much obstacle in yuh way. Whey mi nuh like, an mi kyan tek it if mi kyan have a drink when mi want, yuh understand mi” and he laughed.

Miss P, I felt the pull or as Rev said the call to go forward and give my life to God. Yes I would like to give my life to

God and go to church. Yet if one is unable to attend church every Sunday there is a problem.

There are so many obstacles in life. What I find so difficult and do not like is the restrictions of not being able to consume alcohol as often as I wish.

One young man whose father is an agnostic and his mother a member of one of the other Pentecostalist churches replied, "it is just as important to support this church as it is to be a full member of another church". I enquired why this was so. The young man replied "I am linked to this church through its history and that of the community". What this young man demonstrated was the significance of communal support, historical identity as well as spiritual or individual choice of religious commitment.

My concerns with the continuity of creolized religion and the actions or practices of villagers were reinforced by the reaction of a female following the crusade service.

Reaffirming her beliefs she states:

Presenting myself at the altar, is only one pathway or element within Christianity. It is unimportant whether I give my name to the deacons or not, I do not see it in that way, so the question does not apply. My actions should not be seen as a refusal or as neglecting to give my name, instead I chose to focus on the more positive aspect going to the altar and reaffirming my spirituality whilst continuing my support to this church and the community.

The attendance of locals to the yearly crusade is a form of support both for each individual denomination/cult following, as it is for the continuity of the community. The continuing social action reinforces the cohesion and solidarity. It has the ability to maintain institutions, which in turn enables the continuity of communal religious history. Their identity is tied to this church as it is to the land and the village in which they live. Therefore there is a kindred spirit or line of descent through Mount Zion church to the locals in this district, regardless of whether they have remained followers of religion or not. Here the dynamics of kin and descent are symbolic metaphors tied to

the village, its history, the church and religion. Many locals see themselves as “Children of the church” and the Baptist religion with a descent line linking them to the church through their ancestors.

The continuity of creolized religious practices in Sligoville was experienced during a baptism at the Baptist church on Easter Sunday 12th April, 1998. As the congregation filed into the church there was an atmosphere of excitement and expectancy in the air. Everyone appeared very happy and exceptionally pleased. Seated in the front pew on the right aisle were the new members who were to be baptised. Interestingly the group consisted mainly of young people; one man, one lady, three young adults and two children. The men were dressed in black trousers and white shirts, the ladies wore white head wraps and were dressed in white with the exception of one young woman wearing cream. As they sat at the front of the church receiving encouragement, they appeared embarrassed, nervous and impatient for the whole process to be over.

Later as the service began with the usual opening hymns and a welcome to everyone a special welcome was issued and a prayer offered for the new converts. As the service proceeded one or two individuals within the congregation were possessed. Notably, there appears to be a sense of tolerance coupled with ambivalence. Whilst the individual is not ignored, they are not necessarily encouraged either. Significantly, the new converts had to testify before baptism. The act of testifying is an actual ritual much like a rite of passage and one aspect of the baptism and the final rebirth following the process of being washed in water. One young individual states, ‘I was lost and wondering in the wilderness, my actions were questionable, but thank God I have seen the way, Praise the Lord! With his help and yours I am walking the correct path, Praise the Lord’. At this junction the congregation joined in with the young woman repeating

“Praise the Lord” two to three times.

The young woman appeared shy and the idea or reason for testifying was uncomfortable and rather frightening. Although the reason for testifying generally is the belief each individual is openly accepting responsibility for their past and future actions; therefore, testifying to the start of a new life which begins with the immersion in water enables the rebirth and receiving of the Holy Spirit is a new beginning. A testimony is a constant reminder to each individual of the past and a focus for the future. It serves as a reminder of their past and form of communal aid drawing each individual within the group, identifying them with the group and making them one in spirit and kinship.

The continuity of Revivalism within this church has been confirmed by Mr Smith’s pronouncement:

In the 1930s and the 1970s there were fundamental changes not only in Sligoville, but also within the Baptist church. In the 1930s the Pentecostalist’ churches were evangelising in opposition to the Baptist and other non-conformist churches.

During the 1970s Pentecostalists were more prepared to accept and implement changes that were more likely to improve their numbers and enlarge their congregation and increase youth membership. This meant that the Baptist church was faced with a dilemma, to implement changes in order to maintain membership and acquire new members, or remain static and loose members whilst gaining very few in the future.

Thus, the decision taken and the changes, which were implemented, brought Sligoville’s Baptist church in line with a more modern thinking and practices.

Mr Smith, analysing the differences between St John’s (Anglican) and Mount Zion (Baptist) congregation over the last 20 years, offered an academic opinion:

I feel the Baptist church realised at a very early stage the religious, social, political and economic benefit of adapting to changes. These changes were threefold. Firstly the continuity

of this church in the area, secondly, the maintenance and possible increase of their congregation, thirdly, and very importantly to keep the interest of youth within the church and attract more young people into the Baptist church. Sligoville Baptist church took the decision to change and the difference is observed in the number of members in this church in comparison to other churches.

The Baptist church chose deacons and lay persons from within the local community allowing for local participation and individuality within the church and community. It allows for more locally led decision making and religiosity. This produced a more community-based church rather than one led through the authority and power of the Baptist Union and Phillippo church. In a sense this demonstrates the continuity of class leadership and community involvement within contemporary Sligoville.

Whilst younger Baptist members see themselves as opposing European values and control they acquiesce to the power structures of the Baptist church. Simultaneously being members of the '1960s generation'. They also feel that the beliefs and ties they have to their cultural past create a sense of belonging and cement their particular notions of liberation and independence. This in turn locates them culturally. It provides them with a sense of identity. A young Sligovillian man states and two others affirm that:

Since Independence, we (the younger generation) have developed and acquired a distinctive black cultural identity based entirely on indigenous values. We are independent and we have autonomy, which is not dependent on, or based on British or European authority, or acknowledgement.

We know who we are, and who we want to be. Our identity is based on the experiences of our ancestors our lived experiences and the present environment that we are located in. These experiences are contributing factors to the continuing changes within the community.

Many of the young interviewees from Sligoville feel that previous generations have been too dependent on British authority, values and ideologies in terms of the framing their actions, belief systems and acceptance of self. They have decided instead to formulate ideas that are central to the local community, nation and region. The question

is: Are they becoming more regional than global? Do they see the island as part of America? Do they identify with America and see Europe as other?

The kinds of change occurring within the Baptist church appear to reflect this present generation's idea of a shared common experience. As such, the Native Baptist religious form found in Sligoville contributes to the continuing development of religion and identity formation in the community.

St. John's Anglican Church

The arrival of John Augustus O'Sullivan, in the first half of the nineteenth century, possibly 1839, furthered the religious history of Sligoville. O'Sullivan purchased the property of Highgate Park, built the Great House in 1840 and built St. John's Anglican (Church of England) church. This church was built on an adjoining hill overlooking the house, specifically for the use of his family and servants. O'Sullivan also appointed a clergyman specifically for this church.

Narratives regarding the O'Sullivan family suggest the congregation would have been a very select group. Considering Sligoville is a peasant free village, very few individuals would have been members of the upper or middle class besides a few large estate owners. Following the death of a number of the O'Sullivan family and changes in ownership of the property, the congregation changed over the years. However, local membership increased as the village population grew. The church is now entirely dependent on the community for its continuity. As the Sligoville population increased and a few villagers have become professionals, the ambience of the church has changed.

The community's account of this church is that the constancy of the religious ideas and

practices within St John's church and its congregation has not changed much since O'Sullivan built it. This they say is due to the Anglican theological doctrine⁸⁴ that is the building block upon which the church hierarchy establishes and maintains its continuity. Furthermore, St John's church has remained fixed in its practices and has not been responsive to the cultural norms of the local people, who in the main are from working class communities. The number of high status members within the Sligoville district is minimal compared to the urban areas of Spanish Town, Bog Walk and Linstead. Sligoville being a rural agricultural area populated by poor working class small-scale farmers were primarily Baptist members.

There is an ongoing debate within the community regarding the benefits of being a member of this church. Particular villagers suggest the value of this church lies in its historical significance to O'Sullivan and his connections to Jamaica's history. This pales in significance to the Baptist church with its direct links to the creation of the village and the communities' autonomy.

Sligovillians express the continuing promotion of middle class values within this church. For the majority of villagers, the idea of this church supporting the upper and middle classes is outdated and out of step with the community whose cultural norms reflects the more traditional and rural lifestyle. Lines are drawn between villagers, those who are professionals, versus non-professionals, major landowners and those individuals who have relatives abroad with the necessary funds to maintain them above the level of most villagers. The marking or demarcation of differences was a way of classifying people within and this classification continues. It is a way of categorising and creating hierarchies by positioning individuals within a religious space. This

⁸⁴Within Christianity this refers to the teachings of Jesus.

spiritualisation of the individual brings to the surface the tensions that exist within society and the community. In fact religion is ritualised to enunciate and represent difference. Religion is therefore the language of difference between the differing groups within the community.

The ideology and continuity of a middle class within this church is held and maintained by a few individuals for reasons of personal status. These individuals perceive the continuity of their status as primary to the more traditional and indigenous practices of being a free village community. However there are those individuals within who seek to oppose the church hierarchy and are actively constructing their own social positions by applying their sense of Acceptability. They decide what actions are acceptable for their lifestyle. They are also choosing not to engage in the usual hierarchical class and status competitiveness. A market they are not suited to.

My concern with this idea of the promotion of a middle class and status by a few individuals was furthered by a conversation between two locals. July 1997 marked the beginning of a discussion between two residents. As both men and I debated the philosophical meaning of God and religion the conversation turned to a more personal discussion regarding the status of Sligoville and James Mountain. The first man enquired from the second:

Why is it that I have had less success with my children? I sent them all to school, encouraged them, worked extremely hard to support them and yet they are less successful than your children. The second man replied, It is how I brought them up. I led through example and insisted on a religious upbringing, both in the home and externally. I feel it is this religious background which allows for the discipline in their lives and their success.

The first man interrupted saying, "but I did all that, and yet they are less successful than

yours". As the two men talked the conversation became quite heated at times. The second man suggested that his companion was not a practising Christian and as such his actions and non-belief was responsible for his children lack of success. The first man replied "this is why I am an agnostic. I believe if God exists, he would see just what I have done, how hard I have worked and encouraged my children. I am seeking further truth regarding religion. Religion is just another form of politics used to control people".

The other resident became restless, he responded to his companion by emphasising the failure of the other man's family stating that it was due to irreligious beliefs and actions. More importantly it is a reflection of the family indifference and poor decision making. This statement he feels explains well the of many within the community. This assessment of individuals and the community is based on his individual religious moral and ethical values. These value systems dictate his participation and interaction within the village. Here the discussion surrounding God and religion is used to demonstrate the continuing belief that the sacred cannot be separated from the secular. For Mr Taylor religion defines and orders individual life, experiences, failure and success.

Religion has dictated and framed the lifestyle of this rural community from its founding and this is played out in the actions and social life of the villagers. Mr Talbott says:

My parents were Baptist members, but my older brother was the first to attend St John church. Following this my other brothers, sisters and I also decided to attend and become members of the Anglican Church. When my father died he was buried on family land on Montpellier, and at the death of my mother, my sister and I requested the burial of our mother within the church's burial ground. This request was granted although she was not a member of the church, but because we are church members with regular attendance.

Mr Talbott, a lay reader and a member of the choir, in relating the past, displayed knowledge and an assurance of the community's history. The burial of their father on

family land is a traditional Revival cultural practice. However, as particular family members became members of the Anglican Church, they made the decision to bury their mother (who was not a member of this church) within the grounds of St John's church. This herald changes within the village and for the family.

Burial within the church grounds is a privilege reserved for practising members. In this instance religion is drawn on to provide status and identity. Yet, the creolization process is present, for a new identity and continuity is occurring within the third space (Established religion/the Anglican church of the ruling elite) which produces a local indigenized branch of the O'Sullivan family. Another resident Mr Smith reaffirmed:

The need and desire for status was achieved through religion as well as other means. St John's church was identified as society church, definitely for and of the middle class; and this has remained so in many ways.

Furthermore, the present small congregation of St John's church can be attributed to the leaders' refusal to move with the changing times. Instead they have remained in the past hanging on to outdated methods and have refused to implement some changes in order to maintain and encourage new membership. Although the church's membership reflects this, there are other reasons as well.

During the 1930s and later schisms occurred within both the Baptist and the Anglican churches with defections to the Revivalist cult in James Mountain. Moreover during the 1970s there was a change of subculture in the Anglican Church. It was a matter of survival. Yet this change has not gone far enough to encourage membership, the church has not adjusted to the modern lifestyle. Among the other local churches, deacons and lay people were chosen from within the community, but the Anglican church did not deviate from their set structure.

From my analysis the Anglican Church remains steadfast in its position of authority

within St John and the village. Villagers say this appears more so by the unwillingness to adjust aspects of the Anglican religious practices or its liturgy. Moreover, the refusal to adjust these boundaries to the needs, rights and wishes of the community has created a schism between the church and the local community. Mr Smith states:

The main reason is the reluctance for further change by the church leaders. Our leaders and the head of each church or diocese have the authority, they choose not to act. They have continued in their passive and at times insensitive manner. The leaders of the churches must readjust and embrace some changes, if the break-up of the church as we know it is to be prevented.

If this is not recognised and acted upon, then the members will continue to leave except for a few die-hard likely minded individuals. We elders have to look back to the past, but not remain in the past. We must move on and in doing so, have a vision and prepare for the present and future generation. They are calling to us and we must answer the call.

A few lay readers and deacons are chosen from the community, but the church leadership dictates their responsibilities and actions. This is perceived as a lack of understanding of the needs of the very community which the church ought to serve. Whilst a few regular members of the village and district remain, the congregation continues to shrink. Many villagers confirm this statement, adding:

This is due to the leaders of the church reluctance to change along with the community in which the churches are located. The church is the people and the leaders are there to serve and administer to us. If they feel they cannot do this or if they fail to do this, then we can only act as we feel or see fit. Unless there is a concerted effort to be more accommodating to the local community, things will continue to deteriorate.

I have mentioned previously the strong sense of belonging locals have and demonstrate towards their choice of religion and church. I have also noted how the structure of leadership influences each individual, each family and the profound effect it has on the villagers and wider district as a whole. The importance of belonging, choice in religious practices, shared decisions and participation in the religious leadership of their church

as well as their individual religious lifestyle dictates the community allegiance to religion, specific churches and Christianity. This is borne out in the attendance at these churches. The absence of community leadership has resulted in the numbers of alternative churches per square mile within Sligoville. Within a three-mile radius of Sligoville village there are five churches with approximately 1000 yards or a little more between any two churches. Three of these churches are Pentecostal churches.

Villagers accord the primary motivating force behind loss of membership, attendance and change of religious denomination, as the reluctance of leaders to accept and implement changes as the needs and desires of the congregation request and dictates it. These needs and desires are based on economic, social, political and spiritual reasons. As locals talk about their descendants' membership and attendance at the Baptist and Anglican Church respectively, they quite often remark on the choice their ancestors had in the decision making and running of the church and the village then. Yet, the changes within the church leadership during Phillippo's return to England and following his retirement had an effect on the demography of the village and no doubt on the decision making of the church and membership.

Such changes have continued as the population and the communities have grown and changed. Many of these changes have occurred along with the economic, social and political movements within and external to the community. As noted, there have been constant changes of allegiance or migration into different churches and sects. As I have discovered this does not have any set pattern except that of individual and at times family decisions based upon a number of elements. These elements might be a) a denial of shared decision-making, b) denial of rights, c) desires, and the will to have their needs met in a manner that they perceive as justifiable, cultural and more importantly

religiously.

A clearer understanding can be gleaned from the comments of Melvina, a long-standing member of St John's church. She was emphatic about her allegiance and belief in the Anglican Church and its doctrine. However, she highlighted not only the pros and cons of the church hierarchy, but emphasised the split within. She emphasises the exploitation taking part by those who seek to gain power and position rather than to serve and follow God. Melvina argued:

Particular individuals wished to have more power and status. They are self-serving, thus decisions are been made without following the correct protocol. This led to disagreement and with individuals leaving the fold. Yes, at times the church has been slow and have refused to change. Some would or could say it has not and is not in step with the community. Yet the question is, is it the duty of the church to lead the people or is it the people who leads the church?

For Melvina, the church leads the way, yet the community has demonstrated that the people wish to lead, because the people are the church. Therefore, if the leaders will not accept their wishes they will not have a church, whether it is a spiritual one as a congregation, or inanimate physical building. As well as the stress on the lead of the church, Melvina holds to the idea that the church should also reflect the community in which it is situated, or more in line with the people it serves. As such it must maintain its basic doctrine, but it should endeavour to serve the needs and satisfy the desires of the people. Sadly, St John's diminishing congregation reflects the lack of this endeavour.

This was further confirmed by Gwendolyn a local woman, with whom I developed a close friendship. She said, "The Anglican Church had the largest congregation when I was a child and as a young woman. It is the attitude of the church leaders, their double

standards, and their reluctance to change and adopt to our needs and desires as a local community that is responsible for the falling membership.” Her annoyance and disappointment was most felt at the funeral of a member of her immediate family with the rejection of plans for specific Revival death rites. Gwendolyn states:

The church hierarchy felt the request was more in keeping with Revival practices and the immediate family rather than that of the Anglican Church and the overall community. The family submitted to the demands of the church leadership to some extent, but outside the external boundary of the church grounds we introduced elements of traditional ritual⁸⁵.

We were determined to give our relative the farewell that he would have liked. This wasn't just a demonstration against the church and its leadership, it was for us the relatives, friends and the community left behind.

She ceased talking for a moment and her face took on a reflective appearance, as she did this she took a deep breath and turning to me she said with emotion in her voice:

Our needs and desires as well as that of our dear relative had to be carried out. This was the last thing we would be able to do for our beloved father. It is as much apart of our religious traditions. It is also spiritual. It had to be done, it was a form of respect and duty, and there was no room for such denial or disrespect. Besides it provides a sense of identity, and we know where we belong.

This is an example of the duality of practices where more than one religious and traditional element is celebrated. Here we find that the ideologies are oppositional to the dominant religious rules and practices of the Anglican Church. As such the social functions that revival death rites and rituals perform is more important for this family.

What might be the role of the revival rituals that were being denied to the family as part of the funerary rites? The Anglican Church could be seen as sanctioning Revivalism. More importantly that a social group might be construed as having influence on the character of a set of beliefs.

⁸³'Traditional revival ritual' In this case elements of traditional funeral rituals includes the slow march of specific family members, friends and neighbours singing with the accompaniment of a Revival band and walkers carrying banners and flags walking in front of the hearse transporting the deceased to the place of rest.

Why is it so meaningful for the family to include Revivalist funeral parade? Arguably these practices convey shared emotion and feelings of the family and the community for the departed. Symbolically Revival funerary rites function for social cohesion and commitment within the family and the community. Such symbolic gestures motivate the individual and the community towards continuing commitment, solidarity and cohesion. Denial of these practices and refusal to take part highlighted the opposition and differences within the community.

Within this sphere, we see the forces of power and control at play. The conceptualisation of past experiences amalgamated with ideologies of autonomy, misfortune and crisis force individuals to conform and participate. These religious rites and rituals have great significance and meaning to the inhabitants and they are drawn on regardless of other restrictions. Geraldine was adamant that particular individuals within the Anglican Church have double standards. She discusses her feelings and the strategies she adopts to resist the power structures within the church which maintains a dominant order that continues to subordinate her and the less powerful within the church and the community. This is also substantiated with narratives of a personal nature that act as a form of resistance over the power structures and control of the Anglican Church. Her story unfolds:

Dem tell mi, mi kwaan tek communion because mi nuh married and mi live wid someone. But some a de members commit adultery dem self. Mi did feel uncomfortable taking communion sometimes, but mi feel mi have the right go to services. Particular individuals at church tell mi dat mi no welcome.

Dem set dem selves up as pillars a dey church wid one rule fih dem and another fih us. Dem tink dem better dan di rest a wi, but dem nuh betta dan mi. Mi nah guh back. Dem gwine lose de rest a members, yuh wait and si. The church fi reflect

the people, dem forget dat the church is not de building a de people wet worship dey. When dem loose members dem will understan. Ah who dem a go preach to but benches?

Translation of above passage

I was informed I could not take communion because I was unmarried and cohabiting. Yet prominent members were also committing adultery. Yes, I was not always comfortable taking communion. I feel I have the right to attend services.

Yet, I was told, or you could say, I was instructed that it was not acceptable to particular individuals within the church. These individuals have set themselves up as pillars of the community and they sit in judgement over the rest of us. I was so mad it seems to me, there is one rule for the leaders of the church, and another for the ordinary members.

The leaders seem to think they are better than the rest of us. I will not return, the church will lose its remaining members, you wait and see. Religion is meant to reflect the people and their lives, with the leaders supporting and directing the body of people. I think they have forgotten that the church is not just the building but the people who worship within the walls. Hopefully, as the congregation becomes smaller and membership decreases, they will begin to understand. Whom do they have to preach to no one but the benches?

With this statement ringing in my ears another villager's remark regarding locally held beliefs, overt and covert religious practices was demonstrated emphatically. Being a very prominent member of St John's church she stated categorically:

The lack of membership or following within the Anglican Church is due to the renewal of Revivalism, both within the village, the other local churches and the latest Revival church in James Mountain. They have a strong belief in Pukuminia and Revivalism, especially Obeah, if a drum should start beating this moment, its amazing how many of them would turn up at the square. They would join in, and it's not out of curiosity, but because it's basic to them. They have not moved on from the previous beliefs of their parents and grandparents.

In this case my informant refers to the villagers as 'they', she does not identify herself as a Sligovillian. Although she was originally an outsider married to an insider, she chooses to be identified by her husband's name. Her husband was born outside the village, but his family has length of residence and land owning rights and as such is a

Sligovillian. He however identifies himself as a resident with family connections and land in the village. My informant states that Revivalism or Revival worldview is more evident within the last ten years. Although she implies that Revivalism and Obeah was always a part of community life. Therefore, in her view, the villagers' actions are perceived and categorised as shameful and unreligious behaviour of uncultured, uneducated individuals. Speaking about the community she said:

Most villagers, or should I say, probably all of them down there still believe in and dwell in the past. Once the drumming starts they change, consciously or sub-consciously they return to the past. Let me tell you, many of those you see going to the Anglican and Baptist church on a Sunday, they have held on to aspects of traditional religion and they will continue to hold on to those beliefs.

Moreover, many of the local people who are members of churches or even those who regularly attend, but are not actual members of the Pentecostalist churches, are the strongest devotees or believers of traditional religions. I know they will always be practising these beliefs, regardless of which churches they attend or what they might say or do.

Revivalism and Pentecostalism: Ethnographic and General Issues

While religion played a part in the early cultural changes in the island, the nations indigenous religious forms have been instrumental in the ongoing development and continuity of traditions in Sligoville.

Without denying the use of religion to achieve actions that might be perceived as antagonistic behaviour, Jamaica's history is dictated by the religious actions, this framed both the identity and freedom of the black population, as well as the state. Periods and actions which were understood as acts of religious antagonism were a) the 1831 Christmas rebellion (Chevannes 1995:1; Stewart 1992:149) the Myal movement 1842; c) the development of Rastafarianism (Chevannes 1995; Barrett 1997; Wedenoja 1978) in the 1930s, as well as the riots in Kingston (Chevannes 1995) in the 1960s.

Integral to the development of the free Jamaican society these religious actions were the building block and formed the basic foundations on which the evolutionary process of creolized religions within free villages, such as Sligoville, was founded. Revivalism emerges as the lubricant that oil the wheels of change and development in Sligoville. Proof of its continuing empowerment is in the continuity of Revival cultural practices among the inhabitants of Sligoville.

I contend that religion in Sligoville is not necessarily antagonistic and therefore, the need to diffuse religious sects or groups is unnecessary. In this presentation it is not my intention to date the beginning of Revivalism or to provide an exact historical date of creolized religion within this geographical area. Instead it is an attempt to demonstrate the continuing belief and practices of this worldview among the inhabitants of this village. Thus, my main goal is to provide evidence of the community's religious past, and highlight how these experiences dictate and influence identity, whilst framing the future.

Sligoville's religious character like Martha Brae's (Besson 2002) was framed by and continues to be influenced by a Revival worldview. It is this worldview that has been the basis of Sligoville's cultural activities and practices. Harold Bogle in the early 1930s established the first Revival/Pukumina church and balm yard on the periphery of the original village of (Sligoville), in the village of James Mountain. However, it has proved difficult to ascertain a clear consensus regarding the exact definition of this church. Research deduces though, that this cult exhibited elements of both Pukumina and Revival Zion.

Oral history shows that Sligovillians choose to identify with that which they find most acceptable, personally and communally. This is of importance due to the stigmatisation attached to particular practices and the possible adverse impact as a result of one's social position. Thus, if a person's social contacts were more accepting of a Revivalist, rather than Pukumina, they would identify with that branch of the indigenous religious practices. As a consequence, villagers will deny the more Pukumina elements of the sect. Yet, there is a desire or need to maintain particular elements of Revivalism and Pukumina through interactions in communal activities. In Sligoville, particular belief systems remain intact and it is these beliefs and practices which have enabled the evolutionary changes within this community. It is these beliefs and practices that serve to inform and maintain continuity and individual or group cultural identity.

The changes within this settlement can be appreciated, not only in terms of the social actions of the community, but also through an understanding of the environment. It is the topography and the socio-economic environment of rural bounded villages that aid the continuity of specific religious beliefs and practices. Whilst Revival worldview persists within urban areas throughout Jamaica, its practices and process of creolization appear more pronounced in rural bounded (Alleyne 1988: 96; Chevannes 1992, Besson 1996, 2002) areas such as Sligoville. These areas due to their rural and more agrarian structure are more likely to adhere to traditional practices and to reinforce these practices, because of their members' socio-economic and political position within the society.

Revivalism: Religious Symbols

However, to fully understand the significance of Revivalism and its continuity within Sligoville it is essential to understand the function of Revival symbols and their

religious significance. I focused on the significance of the cultural meanings associated with the symbols and give consideration to whether Revivalist practices constrain or inform the life activities of this community. In this I give attention to ideas of nature⁸⁶ within Revivalism and its significance within this village, for in carrying out my research, practices that were held within this concept were evident.

In order to achieve my aims I applied a rational choice theorist approach, culture's first face⁸⁷ and culture's second face⁸⁸. That is, I implemented in as far as I thought relevant to the research, the much utilised idea that individuals are able to maximise and manipulate their cultural norms and values in order to enhance their good fortune. However, through this approach I discovered that whilst there is some evidence to support this theory when applied to creolized religions in this free village, it was also imperative to acknowledge that other factors are at play.

Culture's first face was observable within this community especially in the creation and maintenance of cultural identity. The embedded and embodied ideologies of the community and their national culture are essential factors. In other words Jamaica's and Sligoville's 'culture's first face'⁸⁹ or collective actions were very much part of the villagers daily lifestyle. In this sense the practical life activities of the villagers is linked to cultural meanings (embedded in symbols and embodied by individuals) and is evident in their political, economic and social behaviour (Laitin 1986:10). This is the context within which individuals act in and on their socio-cultural environment in the

⁸⁶ A naturalistic or cosmological approach is based on ideas of nature and the world, how it is ordered and ideas of causation, misfortune and crisis. It also encompasses beliefs in spiritual beings and the body during life and death.

⁸⁷ 'Culture's first face' is the shared collective symbols, forms or structures within a society which provides a collective identity and in turn facilitates collective action.

⁸⁸ In their examination of society, rational choice theorists present individuals as maximisers who manipulate their cultural values for their own personal benefit.

⁸⁹ In their examination of culture, social theorists' focuses on and identify values, which they theorise as being influential and embedded within culture. They also consider the impact on political and economic behaviour. Thus, cultural theorist upholds the belief that cultural identities are primordial and self-reinforcing. Therefore, cultures second face is premised on collective action in opposition to cultures first face.

shaping of religious change.

Significantly I discovered that Revivalism, Obeah practices, its beliefs and creolized religions on a whole is not necessarily a reflection of poor working class individuals, but instead they are adhered to and utilised as a direct response to crisis, change and the loss of power and control. Therefore, individuals perceive their actions as rational choice and not negative tribal, folk or unchristian actions. Indeed many Revival practitioners identify themselves as Christians. However, it was usually members of the established churches or more non-conformist Christian churches who defined or identified Revivalist as non-Christians or 'others'. In essence, members of the Revival worldview were able to operate at many different social levels.

Symbols (water, altars, crotons and a branch of the ackee tree, drums, candles, colours red, blue and white and murals of the dove) used in Revival churches and meetings are basic to the cult. Yet, the particular symbols that individual groups might utilise depend on their geographical area and leader. The leader's choice of symbols might be dictated by their personal calling, that is, their vision or dream and the group's spirituality. Water has specific meaning both as a cleansing force and a means of infusing vitality. Particular plants such the croton, ackee plant, the May lily and river lily is used during rituals and public meetings.

These symbols are imbued and embodied with the supernatural and spiritual characteristics of the life or spirit to which they are attributed. Thus, the belief that animate and inanimate objects may be endowed with a life force or spirit is of importance and might be used in the cures of illnesses and to ward off evil and misfortunes. Hence, notions of the soul, the body, illness and healing, the spirit and

ghost at death have significance in creolized religions.

Bogle's Revivalist Church

The first Revivalist church established by Bogle within the square of James Mountain has links with Sligoville. Particular residents in James Mountain also have links with Sligoville and the original settlers. Mr McCloughlin is one of these residents and he recalled Bogle and his cult. He stated:

I was born in Sligoville, but I lived in James Mountain for most of my adult life. Religious discipline was received from the Baptist church and my parents. Yes my mother and father were members of Mount Zion Baptist church. I was brought up in the Baptist church like most of the other kids around here.

Later I became a follower of Pukumina and so did a few others here and about. I found their worship far more enjoyable. Religion should be enjoyed, it's far too solemn in the Baptist and Anglican churches. Revivalism seems to address the problems and needs of people. You see, Bogle spent much of his time listening and talking to people and that is as much a remedy and a cure as anything else. He provided herbal remedies and cures, but it is more about the individual belief rather than what Bogle said. Of course some people read or assumed more than he probably said.

Ma'am, you must understand that Revival is not like the ordinary Christian religion. I mean like the Anglican and Baptist. Revival is about the individual, their needs, their thoughts and their feelings. People visit Bogle because they have problems. Revival is for the ordinary people, it can provide the answer to their questions.

When people visit Bogle it is because they have doubts and problems, Revival is for the ordinary people. It can answer their questions. Do you understand? It gives them something to believe in, it solves their problem. Well! Christianity doesn't give anyone that.

I asked: "Did you know Bogle and did you seek his help with cures or remedies?" Mr McCloughlin replied:

The first Revivalist/Pukumina church and yard ever in this area was located within the village square right here in James

Mountain. Bogle, the Revivalist healer, administered to, or you could say he doctored locals and numerous individuals who visited his yard seeking cures, predictions, assistance and aid to their various problems. There was nothing strange about it, we were accustomed to seeing people coming and going.

Harold Bogle rented the land and shop from my family. I knew him and knew about the rituals performed in his yard. The balm or healing yard was just across the road to the back of that shop. He was a Obeah man as well as healer and revival leader. Bogle's congregation came mainly from outside the area, but a few individuals within this community visited him at strange times. I had no reason to visit him.

We all know that there are those who believe and act upon it and those who believe, or say that they don't, but practice in secret.

Mr Smith, who was born in James Mountain, commented on this local sect saying "Bogle was clearly the leader of the Revivalist church, his members were both locals as well as outsiders. Yet, few admitted to being a member of the group. Yes, they visited, utilised his skills and drew on his knowledge whilst attending services, but they weren't members as such. However, around the 1930s onwards there was a deviation from Baptist and Anglican to the Revivalist cults in James Mountain."

A number of Sligovillians admitted to attending the Revival meetings and observing from a short distance. However, in public they are reluctant to speak about it. The question is to what degree or when does an individual become a member? It appears that membership shifts according to time, place and circumstances. Membership is private and secular; and in some respect akin to the membership of a lodge which is cloaked in secrecy and mystery. One particular male informant stated "I watched from a safe distance as Bogle exorcised spirits from an individual".

Another informant relates to me an account of a particular occurrence he witnessed as a

young man within Bogle's balm/healing yard saying:

In the 1930s Bogle, known for his cures, spells herbal remedies and for driving out spirits from the body, was credited for the prevention of legal cases brought to the courts as well as the disappearances of individuals responsible for crimes. I can remember once Bogle whipped two men who sought his assistance for the prevention of imprisonment for robbery and murder. These instances were and must be considered aspects of our cultural heritage. It might seem like folklore but it had its usefulness.

My research unearthed that whilst Bogle used his skills and knowledge to assist people. He also made moral and ethical judgements in his treatment. Hence the whipping of the two men was physical but it was meant to convey a supernatural or spiritual force. My informant stated, " Bogle made a decision that the moral and social welfare of the community was of prime importance. It took precedence over the needs and wishes of the two individuals who requested his help". In this instance, indigenous belief system rooted in Revival worldview and its cosmological laws regarding the good of the community overrides that of the individual.

When Bogle relocated the church from James Mountain to Waugh Hill many of his followers went with him. Following his death he was buried in Waugh Hill, and a house was erected around his grave. This building has become a shrine with the placing of the Gleaner (a national newspaper) in the shrine weekly. The shrine stands as a symbolism of his entering the spirit world and his continuing presence among his followers and many other Revivalists. It is a monument to a highly respected Revivalist leader but also a testimony that Revivalism is a living religion.

Conversing with Mrs Bryan caretaker of Bogle's monument I asked, "where is the grave". Pointing at a house to the rear of the other buildings she said "Se it dey, yuh can

cum” (There it is. You can come). Cum nuh, yuh can take picture mi nuh min” (Come along you can take pictures. I have no objection). Fetching my equipment I joined her and as we walked to the building she said, “Yes ma’am, he was a good leader and like most good leaders he was misunderstood”.

Miss Bryan, a follower of Bogle who resides on the property that adjoins the Revivalist church and Bogle’s tomb explained the symbolism of Bogle’s tomb and its contents. The tomb is housed in a building and the monument symbolises his presence and Revival continuity. The items placed on the tomb were as follows: a bible, pop drinks, candles, newspaper, flowers and shells. Miss Bryan stated:

All dem tings him used to have when him alive, him used to like dem and use dem, suh when him die wi put dem in dey, just like when him was alive. Wi believe sey yuh fi have the things dat make yuh happy during life wid yuh when yuh dead.

Fi wi Revivalist, death no finish everyting, it nuh final, no man, it nuh the end as most people think, life continue on another plane, on a more spiritual one. So the tings wi use to love and have round wi when wi alive wi can have dem wid wi wen wi dead as well.

Yuh know dat the croton have special place wid wi, especially when wi a worship or keep meeting. The candle when lit is a sign to the spirits/ancestors, water and the cream soda signify purity.

Translation of above passage:

Bogle’s possessions especially items he liked and used most during his life, is placed around his grave as a reminder of the links with this world and the world after death. We believe that the individual should be surrounded at death with the things that made them happy during their lifetime.

As Revivalist we do not believe that everything is over at death, or that death is final. It is not the end, as most people think, no man, not at all. Life continues in another form, on a spiritual plane. So any items we cherish and use in our daily lives prior to our deaths can be placed at the site of burial.

Are you aware that the croton plant has special significance for Revivalist especially in our worship or during public meetings? The candle when lit is also a sign to the spirits/ancestors, and water and cream soda signifies purity.

Situated next to Bogle's tomb is a Revivalist Church (Mount Zion) with its usual Revivalist paraphernalia. This included a concrete fountain for baptism, candles, various plants, coins and a clay water cooler that contains pure spring water for ritual purposes. Bogle's place of burial as a monument and a new Revivalist church in Waugh Hill maintains religious beliefs and patterns within the area. Yet this church has links to other churches in Kingston and Pentecostal churches in America.

Yet as political and social changes occurred so did Jamaica's indigenous religion (see chapter 8). An influential local during an interview revealed to me the following oral history:

To the east of James Mountain in the village of Bowley the majority of villagers were Revivalist. With the call of Bedward to the nation to follow him many of the villagers sold their property and joined Bedward. Among these families were the Bouleys, Henrys, Gayleys, Warrens and Campbells. This change in religious following occurred in James Mountain where many of the villagers were Revivalist. After the death of Harold Bogle his followers dispersed and established Pentecostal and church of God churches of which there are many within the District of Sligoville.

The James Mountain Revivalist Group

Mr Carl Burke, a cousin of the leader Bishop Uriel Burke, founded the present Revivalist church in James Mountain. It is situated on the slopes of Fulham Park and about a quarter of a mile from the Village Square. The hills overlooking the church are rugged yet beautiful and dotted with a few homes of modern concrete buildings that appears like castles in the air. Many villagers view the Revivalist church with much hilarity, others refuse to acknowledge it by denying its presence. Often overt attendance

at this church is frowned upon. On my second fieldwork trip to the area, I was greeted with great enthusiasm regarding my return to the island and the area, but simultaneously, I was reprimanded regarding my attendance at the clap hand church.

The conversation between myself and a local female follows:

Miss Davis, oh! mi mean Miss Palmer, mi God yuh back! yuh a cum luk fi mi". (Miss Davis, I mean Miss Palmer my God you are back, have you come to visit me?)

I replied, "mi cum luk fi yuh", How yu du? (Yes, I am back and I am here to visit you. How are you?). She then asked, "A weh yu a go now" (Where are you going now?) I stated, "I am going to the Revivalist church".

The reply was "A wah do yuh, yuh shuda know better. (What is the matter with you, you should know better). "Weh yu a go a dem de place fah" (Why are you going to such a place). I said, "I am going to observe". She replied "wah!" (What!). I retorted, "mi just a go luk" (I am just going to have a look).

The woman looked at me in a whimsical manner and replied, "Cho! mi nuh inna dat. Better yu dan mi" (Hissing her teeth she said, "I am not interested in that or those things. Better you than me"). (She looked at me again smiled and said, "Any way, yu ave compiniy, yuh alright den" O.K you have company that's fine).

This conversation indicates the attitude of some residents to this particular church. However, using Geertz's (1975) idea of interpretation I must read the underlining layers of what is stated that which is implied and what is not said. I need to understand the psyche of the Sligovillians. It is not so much the actual words she uses, but the information she is communicating, her actions and the social significance of the conversation. Firstly, her perceptions of me and whom I should socialise with have significance. Secondly there are also the implications of what I might learn and how this information will be used by me has meaning for her and the community. Why is it that in contemporary times association with this religion is still cloaked in secrecy and shame? What drives ambivalence and fear of Revivalist practices?

It seems that the belief system itself promotes secrecy. The act of secrecy creates mystery and cloaking of these practices encourages a sense of power and its efficacy. Simultaneously the format and the legality of these practices also promote shame and encourage secrecy. On enquiring whether there is such a church within the area the answer is in the negative. It is within the arena of secrecy and mystery that the denial of these churches is located. Interestingly, I gained information about this church through socialising with committee members of the Sligoville and Bog Walk Trust Fund.

Here the process of socialising me within the community of practices and in the process of making me an insider with rights to acquire knowledge of the community I could be given information. My informant was born within the old village of Sligoville, and presently works and resides outside the community but takes active interest in community life on a weekly basis. It appears Sligovillians were determined to hide or deny the presence of this church within the community to me.

The question was why did so many individuals deny the presence of this church? Could there be some other reason for this, and if there is, why is this so and what are they? This could not be simply a matter of status or class? At first it appeared that Pukumina with aspects of Obeah might be the reason. Yet, all my investigations and enquiries failed to unearth any information that might substantiate this. However, villagers are well acquainted with the history of Bogle's Revivalist church in James Mountain and the present church in Waugh Hill. Yet, the presence of a local Revivalist church is not acknowledged, at least to me. Villagers appeared to be ashamed of its presence. Yet having visited and spoken to the pastor, a number of his followers were quite happy to speak about the church. Members of this church see themselves as an extension of the church. They identify with the church and Zionism.

Bishop Burke the pastor on the other hand states implicitly that hypocrisy is the reason locals deny the existence of his church. It is not socially acceptable for many locals to confirm the church's presence. For others they are members but do not wish it to be public knowledge at this time. It is important to note that the majority of the congregation resides in neighbouring districts of Waugh Hill and Rock Hall. However, I was able to recognise a few of the congregation as residents from surrounding villages.

Identity and a sense of shame appear to be the crucial factors behind the secrecy or denial of this church in the district. Stigmatisation due to the negative response to practices of Revivalism encourages denial of this church. National laws also dictate particular actions and responses to these religious groups or cults and their practices. My research also indicates that Sligovillians in seeking to legitimise and validate Revivalism from within the Pentecostal churches they are denying the presence of Revival Churches within the district.

Particular individuals respond to these laws and negative attitudes by denying the presence of religious practices and beliefs of this worldview. Whilst a few members are accepting of their social and religious identity as Revivalist others are reluctant to admit to and cope with the impact of identifying with this church. Some members of the community are prepared and willing to accept that there are localised religious elements in their churches, but emphatically deny or acknowledge evidence of a Revival or Pukumina cult in the area.

As a Revivalist one is set apart from the rest of the community and seen as different or other. Revivalism places one outside the other religions within the locale and the nation. Hence Revivalism is an indicator of individual and group identity. My research have

shown that villagers are accepting of some elements of a Revival worldview and deny others openly. Yet villagers seek to practice secretly those aspects that they overtly deny. This very denial and acceptance is the dialectical process that allows for choice and change.

A paradox exists, whilst Revivalism marks the individual off, identifying them as part of a particular worldview, simultaneously it draws individuals into the community placing and identifying them among ancestors. It also locates the individual as individualistic, and brave. Brave because of their willingness to openly demonstrate their allegiance to this faith. Followers of this religion might attend other church functions, but many of their religious practices are those of the Revivalist and as such they are seen as backward and identified in a negative manner.

There has been an ongoing dispute between the founder and the present leader of the church. This dispute has some link with leadership and the continuity of the church. Here conflict and tension creates schism. The original founder was a member of Faith Standing Pentecostalist church. He left Faith Standing and founded the new Revivalist church. The building of the present church offers very poor accommodation for worship, but the congregation is actively seeking finance to erect a more suitable building on site, just above, but next to the present structure. However the willingness of the few members, their conviction and the fervour of their worship allow for the inadequate but humble building for its members.

Interestingly, Pastor Palmer of the Faith Standing church informs me, Mr Carl Burke, the founding leader, was a member of his church who has since lost his way. Here Pastor Palmer is suggesting that one who leaves the fold to become a member of the

Revivalist church is lost. This demonstrates the negative attitude to Revivalist churches.

Here we find schism-taking place (Turner 1957), with the formation of differing churches of similar genre in order to satisfy the needs of particular individuals and groups within the same community. This would seem to be a coping strategy within the Jamaican society regarding status, leadership and power. As individuals become dissatisfied or find it impossible to continue with one or other religious practices they divide and form their own church. They are then able to transform particular aspects of their former religious practices to address those issues they were dissatisfied with. These individuals might at times aspire to be leaders within their chosen religious field. Therefore schism provide the means through which they can achieve their goal. This is demonstrated in the number of Pentecostal churches in Sligoville. Hence, the move to establish another church with similar belief system is one way of coping with internal and individual crisis without the full break down of the community, society or particular religion(s). These new churches might co-exist in harmony to each other, or they might and do at times compete. This therefore provides the means for individuals to search, acquire and fulfil their spiritual and social needs as they arise.

The question arises, why are there so many differing churches within such a small community. The answer seems to lie in the individuality of villagers and their search for autonomy, freedom of worship and spiritual fulfilment. As a particular church increases its membership and its financial and power structure becomes more hierarchical some members become marginalised. This creates schism and forces the individual to break away and create a new church.

Sligovillians pick aspects of differing religions that satisfy their needs. Religion is

therefore a commodity with a value it can be purchased and sold. However, they might chose to simultaneously visit other churches and participate in worship within other churches depending on the level of obligations. This is borne out in the duality of religious practices, the need to fulfil individual salvation, social aspiration and to explain personal experiences.

Bishop Burke, a young man in his late twenties, states he had a vision that led to the establishment of this church. The Bishop further informs me that the church is Revival Zion. For Bishop Burke and possibly most Revivalist practitioners it is more important to be seen and accepted as a Revival Zionist, with aspects of Christianity rather than to be identified as Pukumina with the more African elements.

In this instance my concept of “Acceptability” (chapter 6) becomes relevant. Pukumina practices are perceived as elements of Obeah and are deemed dangerous and illegal. Many Sligovillians have unconsciously come to believe that it is not acceptable to admit to practising these traditional beliefs, but more importantly, it is perceived as a signifier of low economic and class status. A few villagers perceive Pukumina, Kumina practices and Obeah as outside the realm of Revivalism. The creolization process has overtime enabled particular cult groups to reinterpret, reinvent and recreate Revivalism within their own worldview. I concur with Besson and Chevannes’ (1996) analysis that Revivalism can now be seen to be a further stage in the dynamic process of transformation and that it continues to shape Jamaican worldview.

James Mountain Revivalist church is a more unorthodox Revivalist church in that the Bishop does not insist on the strict wearing of the Revivalist dress/ robe of red, white and blue, which can and does at times limit and restrict individuals. Here Bishop Burke

feels importance lies in the individual attendance, personal and communal happiness in and during worship rather than worrying about outward appearances such as particular dress code. The philosophy of Bishop Burke is one of spiritual awareness, fulfilment and satisfaction through worship both individually and collectively. The leader is adapting according to his environment and the needs and desires of his members.

Furthermore, his beliefs are framed on and reinforced around the idea of visions and spirit possession. Here the significance of a vision by Bishop Burke is the further creolization of native religions in Sligoville undergoing changes and adopting according to economic, political and social situations. The ideology surrounding vision appears to be more a structure of Pentecostalism, yet it has over time become a norm among most Revivalist or indigenous religions. Vision seems to be one of the primary reasons for fission and the formation of new bands/groups.

The format of worship in James Mountain Revival church is extremely informal with both adults and children participating. Within this church the image of bodies are organised differently. Hierarchy is less structured and defined in this group than in other Revivalist groups or bands. This is observable in the seating pattern and order of service. Thus individuals organise and portray themselves according to their environs, the members present at each meeting and the practices and criteria of the leadership of this particular church and its visiting evangelist. Although most Revivalist groups maintain a strong sense of individuality there exists clear leadership. There appears to be a sense of acceptable individuality within this band in James Mountain. Yet, they strive to evoke an appearance of traditional Revivalism led by Bishop Burke. There is greater acknowledgement of individual presence and participation rather than time of arrival and hierarchical seating patterns.

Besides the laying on of hands as a form of blessing during prayer and with one or two members speaking in tongues their worship was not that different to the Pentecostalist churches in the area. At the second service an evangelist was present and she addressed the gathering offering encouragement in their continuing worship. She also congratulated the congregation on their presence and worship at the church and their testimonies. Testimony is integral to worship in this band; and it appears to have grown out of the confession to sin, individual transformation embodied in personal and spiritual healing and continuing acceptance of particular religious beliefs and practices.

More importantly testimony denoted a sharing of individual problems and misfortunes. The adage that a problem shared is a problem halved is true in this instance. In testifying a sense of sharing is encouraged with fellow members and as such they assist and provide support to each other, thus problems are less of a burden within the group and community. The primary focus of testifying is to accept individual responsibility, to acknowledge ones location within the body of the church or family.

Children were encouraged and expected to testify during each service. Interestingly their testimonies took the form of poetry or a song. This format rather than exclude children from one of the most important practices within worship it provides a sense of inclusion which acts as a reminder of the communal interest, care and sharing that the group strives for. It is a form of experiential learning through which each individual child develops its own self-image and confidence enabling a sense of self to flourish and empowers the child. This prepares each child for public speaking, a necessary and basic element of Revival worship, whilst allowing for the development of self-worth within a religious context.

For adults, testifying is a reminder of the past and hence an assistance in the continuance of particular religious practices and beliefs. It is my opinion that this band was formed in order to promote a form of worship which encourages and supports traditional cultural practices for those section within the community that are economic and politically challenged. As the group's/band 's following increases it will adopt a more structured and possibly hierarchical format.

The religious and personal identity of band members is constructed through membership and interaction. Whilst one or two members of this church on occasions attend one or other of the other churches within Sligoville, their attendance at the Baptist church is markedly different. This is also a signifier of their identity. Individuals and members are identified by fellow villagers in James Mountain and the wider community of Sligoville district as Revivalist.

This form of identity is viewed negatively by particular villagers and as such cult members are treated differently. However, Revival practitioners utilise this negativity to promote their difference and maintain their specific religious identity. It marks them off as different to the rest of the community and this consciousness of their difference, provides the cohesion and solidarity as a band or group. Thus as a group they are defined and characterised by their common and mutual beliefs and practices.

Paradoxically, although individual Revivalists are also members of the Sligoville district, they are very aware that their religious identity takes precedence over any other identity. The majority population enjoy the privilege of drawing on their various identities as the need arise. Yet for Revival practitioners the ability to draw on numerous identities appears limited. They are referred to as Sligovillians but it is stated

they are not one of 'us'. The physical placement and location of these individuals is dependent on village or community socialisation. Socialisation is not dependent purely on sharing and assistance but on lifestyle, religious practice and community values and norms.

The history of Revivalism in Sligoville lies in the experiences shared by the villagers. Sligoville's social and religious life is shaped by the particular experiences of slavery, the first settlers and its development from 1838 to the present. Contemporary Revivalism, like its predecessors, has at times evolved or masked its practices within other religions (a third space) in order to further indigenize and bring about change.

However, the inspiration for its growth and for its success was the black majority population's willingness and desire to find more acceptable forms of religious and cultural practices, which could address their needs and aid them in their quest to assert their rights, identity and religions within the society. This proved to be a turning point in the history of the black population. Revivalism continues in the ongoing struggle for acceptance, the recognition of a black identity and freedom. It is the vehicle through which local ideology aided a Jamaican consciousness based upon acceptable values and traditions.

Revivalists strong sense of Jamaican traditions (Besson and Chevannes 1996) whilst simultaneously continuing to build and assert a sense of identity, and individuality builds on the notion of freedom. Whether they are driven further underground or not, its traditional religious norms will continue and adapt to change. I argue that during this

era, the process of ‘acceptability’⁹⁰ was in its infancy. The fight to enforce religious rights, achieve freedom and choice in religious practices and activities demonstrated a notion of acceptance of their spirituality and freedom.

However, this idea of freedom is overshadowed by individual’s denial that they are members, or followers, of Pukumina. During research, I, like Besson and Chevannes (1996), have discovered that most individuals will not confirm whether they are followers of Pukumina. Instead, they affirm their membership of the Revival Zion or Zionist church. Why then is denial so evident? Could it possibly be a form of resistance? Through overt denial of these practices or churches the subculture is able to mask itself within other cults or religious groups.

This allows Revivalism to continue and evolve. These practitioners see themselves as the guardian of their traditions and through denial they protect and safeguard its continuity. Contemporary Revivalism is however a Jamaican religion. Its specific spiritual beliefs are shaped from the experiences during slavery and post-emancipation years.

Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism (Austin-Broos 1987, 1996, 1997) much like the American Baptist religion embraced differences, experiences, intentions and interests of Sligovillians. Yet, more importantly Pentecostalism seeks to attain prestige or reputation by masking or copying local discourse and meaning.

Whilst Christianity seeks to promote happiness in the after life, Revivalism instead

⁹⁰ Acceptability is a concept developed by me in opposition to Wilson’s concept of reputation and respectability which is based on

seeks to create happiness in the here and now. As such Pentecostalism mimicked this element of Revivalism, reinterpreting this within a broader meaning of moral discipline, with acknowledgement of sin, the need for salvation, healing and baptism. This new Christian religion provided the vehicle to make changes that Revivalism was unable to do. It provided the means through which black leaders could achieve the means to perform religious and legal acts (marriages, funerals and christenings) within the church. Pentecostalism is organised around principles or modes of organisation and religious ideologies fashioned on Jamaican society or community environment. In this respect it is very similar to Revivalism and thus aids integration within a Jamaican worldview.

Faith Standing Church of the Living God (Pentecostalist)

With the break up of James Mountain's Revivalist cult in the late 1930s many of its followers turned to Pentecostalism and started their own churches within Sligoville.

With the move from Revivalism these followers became Church of God/Pentecostalist members. However their former religious practices were not forgotten. Instead they were modified and amalgamated with Pentecostalist practices. The Pentecostalist movement was spreading like wild fire throughout the island with the aid of Revivalism. Religious fervour was once again pushing forward as political and social changes occurred throughout the island.

The first of these churches to be established in 1949 by Elder Thorny in the old village of Sligoville was the Trinitarian⁹¹ 'Faith Standing Church of the Living God'. The present building was erected some years later alongside the road into the Old Square and about 700 yards below Mount Zion Baptist Church. Pastor Palmer outlined the

Euro-centric ideas of Caribbean social structures. For further explanation see chapter 6.

development of his church within the village with his full and comprehensive documentation:

Following Elder Thorny's death, Elder Cole took over until his death. Elder Henry followed until his retirement to St Mary when I took over as the local pastor. I have served this church of God Church for 25 years. My parents were born in Above Rocks, St. Catherine, but I attended Sligoville School. My mother and father were members of the Baptist church. My family was originally members of Mount Zion Baptist church, but left because they felt the Baptist church was not fulfilling their needs.

Mr Ramsey, a 91-year-old gentleman, one of the older families reminisces: "When I was a boy the community in general was very religious and it has remained so in many ways". Another man William Lawrence age 80 born in Sligoville with connections through his maternal line informs:

Although my parents were Baptist members I became a member of Faith Standing Church. Having visited other churches I have more faith in the church of God and I believe in them. I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and he forgives us our sins. My wife and I are members of the church of God, we attended regularly before old age and ill health which has prevented us. Now its a matter of every now and again.

Zedikaih Cooper a descendent of one of the original settlers is also a member of Faith Standing Church and he says:

My parents were members of this church and my brothers and I was brought up in the church. I believe in the teachings of this church because we are taught to believe in ourselves. The Baptist and Anglican churches does not provide this idea of self-worth. Many of the rules might seem unusual and unfair but I think they are necessary and encourage group identity. For instance the instruction to women on the wearing of makeup and jewellery.

I enquired, why should it be necessary or beneficial to either women or the religious community? Zedikaih replied:

It prevents jealousy and greed one of the Ten

⁹Trinitarian is the doctrinal belief in the Holy Trinity (Father, Son and the Holy Spirit)

Commandments you see all the women will look similar. Their natural beauty and true nature will shine through. To straighten the hair and use cosmetics is blasphemous. We have to know how to act and conduct ourselves. These rules enable and remind us of our daily duties. Furthermore regular attendance at church maintains the spiritual and religious conduct through communal worship and testimony.

The idea of group identity prevents difference, but without stifling individuality.

I asked, "Do you think this church has elements of Revivalism, or have you ever observed any actions or practices, which you would identify as belonging to Revivalism?" Mr Cooper replied, "No, there isn't any thing like that. But then again I have never looked for that sort of thing. I guess if one look for it one might find it". Mr Ayre the 'gatekeeper' of the area informs me:

The Church of God or Pentecostal churches all have elements of Revivalism, yet many of the members would deny this. This is due primarily to the negative values attributed to Revivalism. There are a number of factors, which ought to be taken into account. Firstly many of our values were framed around British or European ideals, therefore the average individual have been nurtured and cultured within a particular value system. One of these are that our traditional values and cultures are based in/on savagery, they were therefore labelled as less important, seen and portrayed as negative.

Secondly, Revivalism was not accepted as a religion as other religions were, and the law is used to support this. The average villager is very much aware of how he or she is perceived by elites within the society. Moreover the daily struggle for most villagers have not changed much it is primarily a fight for survival. Furthermore the average individual is not aware, they cannot appreciate the subtlety of both religious elements merging or even the formation of a new religious mode. You must realise that they are dependent on their leaders or pastors thinking for them.

To this comment I retorted, "but your wife, a prominent teacher within the community is one of the members". He replies:

Yes, she is. In her case she reasons that the mode of this church, her acceptance of Pentecostalism serves a purpose for her. With regard to the general congregation and community as a whole, yes, they are actually practising aspects of Revivalism in their daily, weekly and religious lifestyles yet

they have grown accustomed to and accepted these as Pentecostal practices.

The question is how and why did this occur? Observation of religious interaction and community lifestyle demonstrates a sense of reliance on their religious leaders as well as an acceptance of a culturally evolving religious order within the Pentecostalist church.

The membership of Faith Standing Church is an estimated 40-50 individuals mainly local residents with a few members from outlying villages. Participant observation demonstrated elements of Revival in their pattern of worship. The form of worship included fasting which can induce possession and at times dreams and visions. Fasting lasts for 2-3 days at specific times of the year and is utilised as a strategy to assist individuals and the community to be more appreciative. It serves to focus and cleanse the mind and the body and it is believed that fasting enables the individual to become more inward looking, This leads to a deeper sense of spirituality, individuality and aid developing a religious identity.

Services demonstrated the amalgamation of Revival worship and Pentecostalism with speaking in tongues. This included singing and prayers during the day and night with one or two individuals becoming possessed and been aided by other sisters. On one occasion a female member of the congregation commenced with the usual raising of the hand to the heavens saying Hallelujah, praise the Lord, thank you god. This followed with shaking of the head to and fro while continuing to shout, "Praise the Lord" and "Amen". There was then a short dance reminiscent of the revival reel (see Seaga 1982), bible-reading and singing of songs in a choral response reminiscent of revival practices.

This church displays elements of creolized religious practices such as healing rites and the belief in misfortune as an affliction. This was borne out and substantiated during interviews with villagers. A direct descendant of the first settlers and long-standing member of the church stated:

I have been very ill in the past and when the doctors could do nothing for me it was the church I turned to and I was healed I have been ill since. Thank God and my faith in Christ has made me whole again. The church members prayed for me and pastor laid his hands on my head. I am not saying that he has healing power it could be that my belief was strong enough I do not know all the answers nor do I seek them. It is enough for me that I am well again.

Most members of Faith Standing Pentecostal church have viewed misfortune and crisis as an affliction that can be addressed through agents and or agencies of Obeah. They also have a strong belief in prayer and religious healing. However, these views will only be acknowledged in private.

Fellowship Assemblies Tabernacle

This Church of God Pentecostal Church, with aspects of Revivalism in its worship, has its early beginnings in the premises of Aston Talbot's Grocery shop, located along the original Sligoville road towards Mary Village. This church owes its origin to the Sunday school meetings held in one room of Mr Talbot's shop between 1950 and 1954. As the Sunday school classes enlarged, the church was officially relocated during the late 70s to its present site on the slopes of Montpellier. Its present location on the right immediately opposite the community playing field and Highgate House is advantageous for visitors and members.

It has a very small but devout following whose majority members are primarily locals who have defected from either the Baptist or the Anglican church and some times from

one of the other Pentecostal churches. The format of worship does not differ to those of the other Pentecostal churches within the district. A few young villagers informed me of their allegiance to this church although they might not attend church regularly. A number of young men and Shabba in particular stated “ I feel much more comfortable and relaxed at this church, and this is most important. I am made to feel welcome and reassured that there is a place for me regardless of whether I attend services regularly.” Since membership is drawn from within the local community and the number of churches within the area this means that the congregation remains small.

Here indigenous beliefs and practises are still maintained and its beliefs are very much part of the community and individual daily lifestyles within a Pentecostal church, which as Austin-Broos (1987:3) states, “It is not an African derived religion, and yet it is a folk religion”. The question has arisen is it a folk religion as Austin-Broos infers or has Pentecostalism evolved?

Foursquare Church Of God

Foursquare⁹² Pentecostal Church of God is situated on the side of Montpellier Mountain within the old border of Fulham Park, and on the right leaving the village square of Sligoville. This church was founded and erected by Mr Campbell husband of the present pastor and leader of Foursquare. Here we find the usual dream or vision⁹³ (Erskine1998: 152) occurring and the individual is able to communicate with the spirits. In this case Mr Campbell was told to build a church in a particular place for the worship of God. Having erected the church he commenced the building of a pool for baptism, however, Mr Campbell, died before the completion of the pool. Since his death,

⁹² Foursquare refers to another Trinitarian Pentecostal group, affiliated to the Foursquare Gospel churches founded by Aimee Macpherson in 1923. Foursquare is a breakaway church from the American Assemblies of God.

⁹³The usual reference to individuals who state they had or experienced a religious dream or vision with distinct instructions given to them by an angel or an adversary of God.

membership of the church has diminished.

Although membership is low the commitment demonstrated by the present pastor Mrs Campbell and her daughter is high. Mrs Campbell also visits other churches within the village or district and she was among the congregation at Sligoville Baptist church crusade January 1998. When interviewed Mrs Campbell stated that it was important to keep in touch with the other villagers and share in the spiritual needs and religiosity of the community. The Pastor of Foursquare saw no difficulty or problem in the attendance of crusade at the Baptist church. This she felt must be taken as the continuing spirituality or religiosity of Sligoville and it is the responsibility of the community to consolidate and form a cohesive body regardless of the denomination. This implies that the community welfare is of more importance than the specific church an individual attends regularly.

Both young and older people in the village informed me that the differences in the various churches are minimal. In fact they are a mismatch of the same. The community has at various times and depending on the environment reinterpreted religion and formulated new forms and structures within a local meaning. The important and significant lesson to be learnt here is not the variety of churches, but the substance and functions of these churches in the life of the community and each individual.

In its indigenized form, Jamaican Pentecostalism has been appropriated by Revivalism and is being used to bring about socio-economic, political and religious changes in Sligoville. Olwig's (1993:143) analysis demonstrates that western global culture and values have been made local either through incorporation, training and education or by involvement of the other world religions in local communities. This suggests

achievement, especially within the Pentecostal churches, with the inclusion of African-Caribbean performative styles, as a subtle form of resistance.

Therefore, Revivalism is mediated through the lens of Pentecostal ideology, which may seem to obscure and even distort its religious praxis and ideology. Yet, Revivalism under the umbrella of Pentecostalism illuminates as well as heightens villagers' communal and social reality. Situated learning⁹⁴ alongside legitimate peripheral participation⁹⁵ and transfer approach⁹⁶ has been adopted by Sligovillians in order to transfer their skills and knowledge of Revivalism within and through Pentecostalism.

Thus, Pentecostalism is the vessel that successfully transports elements of Revivalism. Within this religiously formalised arena Pentecostalism has been appropriated for the transferral of Revival into a new religious mode(s). Individual Revivalists chose membership of and eventual training as a pastor, deacon, and/or bishops within the Pentecostal church in order to gain necessary religious qualification. These qualifications confer status and acceptability, which in turn enables the establishment of a Revival church with the necessary credentials of a national Pentecostal church. Through this process they operate as a religious sect that sits under the banner of the Council of Churches. At times, qualifications will be sought in America. Under these conditions, religion is a tool for further cultural, social and ideological empowerment.

⁹⁴ Situated learning (see J. Leave & E. Wenger, 1999: 214-230) as I use it is a concept referring to the location of individuals within the community being situated and developing a sense of situatedness as they learn community history, values and norms. Furthermore it takes into consideration how some individuals thought and actions are located within the actual space and time of their environment. In fact they could be perceived as apprentices learning a skill or body of knowledge which includes the immersion of the individual through socialisation rather than just acquiring knowledge. However, within this definition individuals are able to localise themselves, and as such aid the process of local change or creolization. In this sense learning or "coming to being" becomes situated both in and through practice.

⁹⁵ In this context, legitimate peripheral participation refers to the ways in which newcomers become practitioners within the community and learn the body of knowledge through practice and socialisation within the community. Through this process newcomers are located within the community through participation as defined by the community and this involves the individual within the social structure of varying relations of power. This form of socialisation provides access to a nexus of relations by enabling kinship patterns or identities (becoming Sligovillian).

Over the last one hundred years, the Pentecostal church has become localised to the island. Revivalists are therefore, astute in their appropriation of Pentecostalism and this is evident among Pentecostalist in Sligoville. To establish themselves within that faith to become ordained ministers. Ordination enables them to gain membership of the Council of Churches of the Revival Church.

Thus, Pentecostalism is a vessel or ship successfully transporting or transferring elements of Revivalism into a new religious mode within a religiously formalised arena. Individual Revivalists have chosen membership and eventual training as pastors, deacons, and bishops within the Pentecostal churches in order to gain necessary religious qualification. Such religious qualifications provide status and acceptability, which in turn enables the establishment of a Revival church with the necessary credentials of a national Pentecostal church. Through this process they can operate as a religious sect under the Council of Churches banner. At times such qualifications are sought in America. Religion under these conditions is a tool for further cultural, social and ideological empowerment. Pentecostal churches have over the last 100 years become localised to the island. Yet Revivalists have been astute in their appropriation of Pentecostalism. In order to establish themselves within that faith they seek to become ordained ministers, with the objective of establishing membership within the Council of Churches.

Adventism

The Adventist church was established in Sligoville district during the 1970s. Its original location was on the grounds of the present Police station, in a small hut. At a later date the church was transferred to its present location in Cedar Valley otherwise known as

⁹⁶ This process of socialisation involves the direct transfer of knowledge from the community to the individual and includes the

Stanbury Grove. Its congregation has grown steadily over the years and its format is dictated by the Adventist beliefs. Villagers are very aware of this church and there seems to be a clear demarcation between Adventist followers and the members of other churches. This is made clear through the importance of Adventist strict adherence to their day of worship and dietary regulations. Whilst the other churches establish links reciprocal religious exchanges, there seems to be very little sharing of religious worship between the Seventh Day Adventist church and the other churches within Sligoville. The number of members from Sligoville is few but the majority of members are drawn from the wider district.

This church along with St John's Anglican Church appears to be the only two denominations within the district and village that has managed to resist indigenisation of their religious beliefs from within. This raised numerous questions for me. Why does changes occur within the other churches and not within these two churches in Sligoville? However during my research and through conversations I had with individuals on the periphery of Sligoville I discovered that Adventism as I had perceived was also undergoing changes. Paradoxically there appears to be a process of creolization and or evolution taking place between Adventism, Pentecostalism and Revivalism. The changes include the already indigenised Pentecostalism (Jamaican Pentecostalism) and elements of Adventist beliefs and practices. The reinterpretation of Adventism occurs with the creolization of Pentecostalism, Revivalism and Adventism external to the two major religions. The evolving churches are known as "Seven-Day Church of God".

These creolized form of Adventist Church of God churches adhere to the typical Adventist day of worship from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday and the dietary restrictions of not eating pork. Their format of worship is similar to the Revival Pentecostal churches and in many senses the services are an exact duplicate, with the exception of specific elements of Adventism. Yet they display more elements of indigenous Creolized religion than Seven-Day Adventism.

New Revival Pentecostalism

In this section I hope to demonstrate the continuing evolution of Revivalism and the indigenisation of Pentecostalism and how they are connected. The mediation between Pentecostalism and Revivalism has been researched, yet the links, the similarities or even the evolutionary process between both religions has in my opinion been glossed over. Moreover, when both topics have been addressed, it is suggested that Pentecostalism (Austin-Broos 1997, Toulis 1997) has replaced Revivalism. It is my intention to demonstrate the evolution of both religious ideologies that enable Revival continuity (Chevannes 1995; Besson and Chevannes 1996) and further indigenisation of Pentecostalism.

The syncretism of Christianity and Myalism within Jamaica created a sequence of changes. This meant that the various changes allowed individuals to oscillate like a pendulum between different religions. Individuals are able and do exercise the choice of moving from one church to the other according to their needs and how these needs are met.

My research unearthed aspects of Revivalism worship within the various Pentecostalist churches, the Baptist church and the wider community. Sligoville's Pentecostal

churches have adopted aspects of the Revival worldview as they evolve. Therefore these churches cannot be identified or be categorised as the former Jamaican Pentecostal churches they have instead evolved and are becoming more Revivalist.

As social changes occur within the community, the villagers adopted other religions and through the process of adaptation they appropriated elements of the Revival worldview within their new practising religion. Over time those elements of Revivalism similar to particular elements within Pentecostalism, as well as other creolized elements were cloaked and reinterpreted by Pentecostalism. The outcome is that many followers of these churches are unable to recognise or differentiate between the two religions. Revival has always been a part of Pentecostalism due to structural changes and the move into differing countries and among different cultures and religious beliefs.

The Pentecostal churches and the village Baptist church have evolved and adopted aspects of Revival religious practices within their worship. Instead of the usual Pentecostal churches, this religion has experienced some form of creolization and the outcome is the New Pentecostalism/ Revivalist Movement with practices that are both Revival Zion (elements of Christian and African belief beliefs and practices), as well as Pentecostal religious practices. The Pentecostal churches especially Faith Standing provides the third space wherein the reinterpretation of an evolved Revivalism and indigenized Pentecostalism can be reinvented to reflect the socio-political order of the community. The synthesis and cloaking of the hybrid religion is due to the cultural, economic and political changes occurring since the late 1960s to the present.

The penetration and pattern of Pentecostalism in most developing countries, as well as what appears to be a shift to Pentecostalism in Jamaica are in some ways due to the

changes in status, independence and greater self realisation coupled with the duality of former cultural and religious precepts. Toulis's (1997) account of the development of Pentecostalism in Jamaica and its acquisition of new meaning within a Jamaican context demonstrates the basis through which syncretism and the beginning of the process of creolization occurred.

More importantly, Austin-Broos' (1987) assertion that "this religion had the ability to combine aspects of Jamaican folk belief and Christianity" is correct. Yet on examination there are far greater changes occurring, in the actual reinterpretation of both indigenized religions. Austin-Broos (1987:5) is correct in stating that Pentecostalism has the ability to legitimise elements of Revivalism. It is this ability that Revivalism is harnessing in order to validate and legitimise itself.

Information based on anthropological information gathered during May 1996 to July 1997 as well as further short field trips 1998 and 1999 provided further evidence of creolization and evolution of other religions within Jamaica. I suggest that the indigenisation and combination of elements of two other religions, Seventh day Adventism and the Church of God, gave rise to a new religious group the Seventh Day Church of God. Whilst followers of this religious group adhere to particular edict of Seventh Day Adventism the pattern of worship is more in line with Revival Pentecostalist or Revivalism. From research and collated data these changes occurred in the early 1940s more probably 1945 due to schism within the Seventh Day Adventist Church. In neighbouring towns and villages to Sligoville there are numerous Seventh Day Church of God churches.

In essence importance is not placed on which church or religious denomination but the

rationality of religious action leading to satisfaction and self-expression. Thus differentiation of religious collectivities is one characteristic of religion in Sligoville and Jamaica. Hence the reality within this community is the external quality of life and the internal self. For villagers this is best achieved within the Revival worldview whilst maintaining their communal responsibilities to the established and non-conformist religions (Baptist church). Moreover, the Revival worldview is tied to their identity and belonging or location (Besson 1987b, 1995a, 2002).

This sense of location is not simply their place of residence but their belief and practices and how these beliefs and practices locate them as individuals and as a community. Within the wider social and political milieu the average individual is located at the lower level of the economic and political rung of the ladder. The variations of the cultural functioning of the villagers are representative of their religious beliefs and practices. Representations of the mind, body and the soul is played out and dramatised through individual beliefs and actions that are both cultural and religious. These actions or beliefs are framed by their experiences and hence indigenous religion is perceived as a necessary model within their lifecycle.

Whilst creolized religion is an important factor in the daily lifestyle of this community, St John's Anglican is the only church within Sligoville that remains resistant to Revivalism, and the Jamaican context of religious practices and ideologies. It appears that religions that are resistant to or have rejected absorption of Revival practices or beliefs are rejected and viewed as unresponsive to the need, desires and individuality of the Jamaican or local community worldview of continuity, creativity and change. This suggests that there are specific religious needs to be met within the Jamaican context and particular sensitivity that must be appreciated. Therefore religion must be

accommodating of these needs which are determinants of a religious specificity, individuality and identity among Jamaicans. Revivalist in Sligoville utilise Pentecostalism as a means of re-defining themselves, the community and their social order. Therefore religions and religious movements must be able to accommodate this element of the community.

Conclusion

Austin-Broos (1997: 62) states, 'Native Baptist is now Zion Revivalist'. My own research in Spanish Town and within the district of Sligoville shows there are two types of Baptist churches. Phillippo Baptist church is an Orthodox Baptist church, whilst, Sligoville Baptist church is more Native Baptist and the Pentecostal churches all have elements of Zion Revival. Furthermore, the Revival church in James Mountain appears to have both Revival and Pukumina elements and identifies itself as Revival Zion. It appears Revivalist churches have not only evolved but they are drawing on Pukumina elements into their worship. However the pastor of James Mountain Revivalist church is clear in his denial of Pukumina in his church. So far, I am unable to state whether it is becoming more like its mother religion Myalism, which contained both elements.

Pentecostal churches in Sligoville all appear to have adopted and merged elements of Revivalism within their religious worship thus allowing for the evolution of a new religion. I have classified this religion as New Revival Pentecostalism. This is a further creolization of Revivalism and Pentecostalism. In essence, it is the renewal of the Revival worldview (Besson and Chevannes1996) and the doctrinal beliefs of Pentecost. With socio-political and economic change occurring throughout the island, the Revival worldview has had to evolve to keep abreast of change. This further evolution has taken place within Pentecostalism through the joining of forces and the creolization of similar

genres of Revivalism. From observation and interviews, it is my opinion that it has been fairly easy to absorb and incorporate Revival practices within Pentecostal doctrine and practice.

Austin-Broos (1987: 5) states, "Pentecostalism is a medium through which various indigenous and African related beliefs...have received a metropolitan legitimisation". She further states "Pentecostalism has become a vehicle for folk beliefs". It is, as Austin-Broos (1997: 6) implies, the ability of Pentecostalism to be utilised in a local milieu that makes it ideal for Revivalism. Some practices might be cloaked and possibly ignored for the benefit of increased membership. Churches may reap financial benefits and one might improve ones standard of living, while developing spiritual fulfilment, and gain higher status.

My research within this village demonstrates that Pentecostalism has not overtaken Revivalism. Revivalism has evolved further. In fact Revivalism is masked within Pentecostalism, in its quest to win members and become local. Religions such as Pentecostalism take on board elements of creolized religions and adapted it. In fact, there is a Revival of Revival churches and their following is growing steadily (Besson and Chevannes 1995) along with the drumming and street meetings within rural St Catherine. It is perceived that new cultural moves, which acknowledge more traditional or local values, are responsible for this renewal.

Villagers embody particular beliefs embedded within the Revival worldview. These beliefs and their modalities continue to frame identity. Paradoxically, the nation was founded upon the very cultural values that are perceived as folk culture and are located within the social system as being subordinate to external global cultural values. In this

instance, the process of creolization highlights and focuses on the act of subordination and domination within the community, which itself brings about change. It appears that Sligoville through its continuing links with Revivalism realises the potential of a localised religion and culture. This does not imply that other values are discarded. It merely demonstrates the importance and acceptance of local values as opposed to external values. This demonstrates the ability of this community to formulate and redirect initiatives for their own interest.

Drawing on Chevannes' example and analogy of Emancipation as our "Passover" (1999:14), I reinforce the ideology of Myalism and creolized religions as "Commandments". Notably, practitioners of these religions are relaxed in the knowledge they are continuing practices, which are accepted and acceptable to them. Moreover the dualism which exists, is not only lies within the realm of this world and the life after death, but also lies within the centrality of domination and subordination processes effecting cultural change and development within communities.

Here, creolized religions and change must be viewed in an historical context and must be valued too for their structure and in giving communities such as Sligoville, meaning. Hence, I posit Sligovillian identify religion and community as one. I suggest that the religious beliefs and practices of the Revival worldview are evolving with other religious roles creating communal and cultural norms.

CHAPTER SIX

POWER AND RELIGION: THE MORALITY OF BLACK IDENTITY

This chapter examines the construction of cultural identity in Sligoville and locates it within the historical development of a Pan-African ideology that empowers African-Caribbean people to actuate the modalities through which they validate their cultural traditions and values. In short it is about acceptance and self-identity.

Taking this perspective into consideration I locate my argument for Sligovillian cultural identity within the discourse of the morality of sin and a black consciousness. I argue that as a result of power relations, Sligovillians (first settlers and their descendants) when denied personhood, they are forced to re-conceptualise personal experiences to remodel new cultural identities. It is this creativity activated through religious beliefs and practices that enable them to contend with their 'otherness' and forge new identities.

I consider the concepts of sin and misfortune and utilise these two important elements of traditional belief system in understanding identity formation in Sligoville. In this local discourse, the dynamism of power and dis-empowerment illuminate the ways Sligovillians seeks to conceptualise uncertainty.

I further argue that idea of misfortune and crisis impact social relations and a sense of identity. Thus, amidst repressive societal conditions, the inhabitants of this village have been able to reinterpret concepts such as sin and misfortune to create individual and communal ideas of being. These ideas of being are derived and bolstered by indigenous norms and values. While these norms and values dictate agencies and idioms that have

an effect on identity formation. These ideas of being are derived and bolstered by lived experiences and religious traditions. Indigenisation dictates the actions and interpretations of agencies and idioms that are considered to have an effect on identity formation.

Finally, the discourse on 'Respectability' and 'Reputation' (Wilson 1995) is considered alongside my own concept of 'Acceptability', which I argue is prior to respectability and reputation and locates Sligovillian's ideals of indigenized values. My argument is that acceptability is an indigenised concept evolving from the appropriation and reconceptualisation of respectability, reputation and local values.

Personhood and the Morality of Freedom

The process of slavery denied and robbed Africans of their individuality and black identity, whilst creating a sense of "otherness" defined by their lack of freedom. With the declaration of emancipation their position was redefined according to their place of residence and whether they were indigents and able to sustain a living. However, Sligovillians in their achievement of liberty, self-dignity and the acquisition of land were able to construct a new personhood (a black identity) derived from their former belief systems and later the creolization of Revivalism.

The maintenance and continuation of indigenised cultural norms provided the basic foundation for Sligovillians' religious and secular values and these indigenous religious precepts are at the base of the localised value systems from which the settlers and their descendants created a communal identity.

The conceptualisation of freedom, power and control in the shaping of one's own life,

together with land-ownership, determined the position and morality of Sligovillians as settlers. If as Durkheim says 'morality is conceived as social rules', and for Kant as 'assigning meanings' then, the morals of Sligovillians are the rules and meanings they assign to their interpretation and conceptualisations of past experiences.

The morality of freedom expressed by Sligovillians is founded upon the idea of the founding of the village by free individuals. The first settlers in Sligoville actively sought to empower themselves through the acquisition of land and to define themselves as free landowners. This does not imply that they were unconscious of their own personhood or self worth prior to this period. However, the covert enunciation and representation of a Black identity or the re-affirming of self by Sligovillians involved their acceptance of their image as a representation of God. This created a persona connected historically within the community.

The morality of freedom is based not only on the right of the individual and collective to be free, but is founded upon the basis that individual and collective maintain that freedom. In sum, villagers assert "we are free" and reaffirm the belief that continuing land ownership maintains their freedom and sense of identity.

Sligovillians are inspired by their sense of history, uniqueness and difference. Sligovillian identity is premised on the acknowledgement and acceptance of their past, their descent, personhood and rights to display and acknowledge such an identity religiously or culturally. Villagers state "we are at one with ourselves and the past, regardless of what the past might have been".

Ideas of Sin Tied to Identity

The discourse of the Enlightenment period emphasised rationality and science. The history of power and knowledge that this period portrayed served as the basis of western knowledge. Though European rules prevented the enslavement of Christians, this meant that the Africans could not share in the Christian faith if the plantation regime was to continue to function efficiently and effectively. Christianity and its particular religious knowledge produced a religious morality within which other's knowledge and action were identified as savagery and their bodies represented as sinful.

Thus, slavery with the aid of Christianity was responsible for the denial and loss of personhood for the slaves. Discourse and episteme during the colonialist period presented blacks as fallen; and the Christian ideologies on sin present the norms and values of the slaves as sinful. The representation of black as 'sin', and prior to emancipation, the conceptions of slaves as property and non-persons contributed to this European view. However, Garvey's ideology, 'identity based on sin', which has significance in the analysis of identity formation in Sligoville, would contend these representations.

The arrival of charismatic Christianity, in Jamaica, by way of two black Americans and other Christian missionaries sought to eradicate the actions and practices, described as evil and sinful amongst the black population. However, these same Christian tenets provided the base from which the slave population would formulate and further their drive for liberty and identity. Christianity was adopted within a local context as a vehicle through which transformation towards free individuals may be achieved.

Whilst slavery was identified as sin with Myalism and Myal practices as the means to

eradicate and fight this sin (Schuler 1979), the same arguments were presented for contending the denial of black identity. Furthermore, the basis of indigenous religions founded on erasing a specific sin and enabling identity was eked out of the resistance to repression and the denial of freedom. Following emancipation Garvey's liberative theology (Gordon 1994:135-143) sought to address black consciousness through the interpretation of Christianity. He identified the denial of identity as the greatest sin (Erskine 1998: 159) enacted against the black population.

Therefore, the eradication of this sin would restore black identity. This was a continuation of the doctrine or belief of Myalism, but of contemporary importance. This Garvey considered could be achieved and consolidated globally through the acknowledgement of black people as a race with dignity, capabilities, rights and self-realisation. Garvey analysed a specific Christian doctrine ("Man is made in the image of God") portrayed in Christianity. For Garvey this portrayal of the image of a white God would be an erroneous identity for black peoples.

Black people had to view God through their own eyes. In this stance the black individual is a reflection of God. Garvey further argued that Black people had to look to Africa, either physically or symbolically as a way of reclaiming and reinforcing their identity based on race, religion, culture and phenotype.

Garvey's ideas empowered Black people and through reinterpretation were able to present a view that it was their enslavement and denial of personhood that was sinful. This provided the impetus to erase previous defined labels and to reformulate ideas of empowerment and consciousness that would assist in the development of new identities. With the creation of the Sligoville settlement the struggle for new identities was sought

through localised religious practices and belief systems framed on the politics of representations and acceptability. Villagers attest that a black identity was not ascribed, but developed communally. Whilst their mode of production defined and thus identified them it is their history and religious connections that affirm their identity. Learned knowledge, situated experiences and the consequences of their environment shaped new identities.

Post-emancipation Jamaican communities, especially Sligoville with its original villagers, embraced their black identity that had been achieved through the acquisition of land, freedom and the localisation of values. Sligovillians identify sin not only as the perpetuation of slavery but the prevention of the right to control their destiny or existence and the acceptance of their individual rights and recognition of an individual identity. A lack of identity signifies a faceless existence or entity. As such villagers adhere firmly to their collective identity personified through their history. For Sligovillians' Revivalism and its practices are ways of affirming their identity. Identification with revivalism enables the reaffirmation of a black consciousness and sense of being

The denial or omission of a black consciousness is viewed as anti-social behaviour. Sligovillians identify sin as anti-social behaviour or action and thought by individuals towards other individuals or the community. However, although particular actions might be considered anti-social, it is only a sin if it was directed at another individual with malicious intent. Individuals deemed to have been malicious are shunned or through actions, such as, gossiping, the offender is brought back within the confines of community values.

Power, Law and Repression

Villagers' actions and their discussion about power and authority are reminders of the past and how compliance is elicited and expected through laws that are repressive. Community action centres on the right to individual action and power to act both in the interest of the community and the individual. Freedom and identity is, therefore, expressed in their religious practices with the right to control their actions and time. Villagers argue that both the Baptist and Anglican church expect compliance and the religious practices of these churches are repressive and hierarchical. The Non-Conformist or Pentecostalist churches are less hierarchical.

Hence, villagers in continuing Revivalist practices are more likely to be in control of their actions and power remains within the village. Under these conditions they are more able to shape cultural values as their ancestors did.

Villagers are therefore involved in actions where they carry out tasks, emit signs and through their own invested power claim the right and control of their actions and cultural values. Such control is maintained by relocating not only their bodies but also their desires and needs in different churches and religious practices. As such the process of interpreting and making local received knowledge to sustain their freedom and identity is observed in cultural practices. Villagers attest that their spiritual needs and desires are more likely to be met fully by employing revivalist practices, unlike the Orthodox or established Christian churches. Power is in sustaining Revivalist practices that can provide the means to sustain their physical and psychological needs to resist power struggles, domination and repressive activities.

More importantly, if there is any possibility of improving status and prestige by way of

attendance at an established church, whilst also fulfilling cultural needs by way of the participation in Revivalist cults and practices then, dual attendance would be the norm for many individuals. Religion is a social, political spiritual as well as a religious and economic reality.

These realities reflect ideas of power and how power influence identity formation and continuity. The idea of identity in this settlement is also tied to power. Whilst power is perceived as a tool it is also a weapon through which some individuals seek control over the others. Yet the strong sense of independence and right to determine life actions and be in control acts as a levelling mechanism.

The descendants of the first settlers reinforced ideas of power and control to socially construct and locate identity. Thus, Sligovillians have been able to create a specific identity (specific families are able to trace their descent to the first freed slaves who settled at emancipation and the negative classification of this label) which has aided the development of a closed group (chapter 6). Sligovillians sense of power is maintained through ideas of liberty achieved as landowners and as individuals in control of their time. This community demonstrates a belief that power is dependent on the right to individual freedom.

Liberty and Identity is reflected in reminiscences and memories of the first timers. Ancestors' oral history of specific Jamaican laws that suppressed and maintained negative values of Revivalism enabled a black consciousness. Present Jamaican laws modelled on British law continue to reinforce compliance regarding particular religious beliefs and practices within the society. Villagers state the impact of policies, and laws in determining the overt practices of Revivalism determine the identity of specific

individuals within the village. It has served to empower various religions (Anglican) whilst simultaneously dis-empowering others (native religions).

Yet it is the sense of continuity gained through specific values and norms attached to land that bolsters a sense of black identity. However, individuals singularly or as a group continue to draw on aspects of Native or creolized religions. Villagers' maintain what they perceive as their rights and the continuity for individual rights.

The use of power in 1816 and 1826 with the implementation of a slave code following draft bills and reforms by the Imperial Government for their crown colonies highlight the restrictive practices (night meetings, preaching or teaching) enforced on the slaves (Turner 1982:120).

It is significant to note that in 1760 the British Colonial Government and its Obeah Act, passed some twenty-one years later made the practice of Obeah a felony punishable by death. The Obeah Act of 1898 was still enforced in 1998 during my time of research. This Act stipulates a prison sentence and or flogging (Laws of Jamaica, Vol xiii). The Act further states that Obeah is another name for Myal. Since all creolized religions are derived from Myalism, it implies that the practice of such religion(s) within this category would/could be classified as an illegal act. The law presently is unable to prove the actual practice of Obeah and to outline the legality surrounding the practice of creolized religions as a whole.

With the passing of laws, which made particular practices illegal and punishable by flogging, imprisonment or death, the loss of privileges and status meant that practitioners were acting illegally. An informant remarked that Revivalists were treated

with far less importance within their own community and the nation as a whole. It appears that the majority population has over the centuries practised their traditional religions covertly and will not openly admit to many of its traditional practices.

However, within Sligoville it is indeed widely accepted that many individuals draw on one or more of these practices. During several interviews with Police Officers the law was reinforced that Obeah practices are illegal. However, the personal opinions of many law enforcement officers are it is folklore or cultural tradition. One officer when responding to the question 'does it make them (creolized religions) any less or more significant? The reply was, "if it's folk, its perceived with less importance. As a cultural tradition they have much significance'. The practices of creolized religions cannot be proven, therefore the law is unable to address these issues within a more legal framework".

Explanation of Misfortunes and Crisis

The ideas of misfortune⁹⁷ (Whyte 1997) and crisis are not only idioms for Sligovillians' to explain the structure and function of their cultural beliefs and practices, but also a metaphor to discuss uncertainty. There are numerous events classified as misfortunes or uncertainties and crisis.

Sligovillian's perspective on misfortune and the coping strategies for crises and uncertainty permeate their daily life. Their perception of misfortune, uncertainty and crisis is a continuity of cultural norms and religious beliefs linked to slavery, colonialism, politics, economics and revivalism. Misfortune is an element of social

⁹⁷Misfortune is usually perceived as having negative connotations. However for Sligovillians it is not necessarily a completely negative act or action. At times misfortune may be perceived as producing or giving way to positive values. A misfortune may be perceived as a learning process for the gaining of experience and knowledge which is positive.

relations within Jamaica's indigenous religions. As Myalism and Revivalism has been shown as having connections with sorcery, where consequences beyond individual control take place such consequences must be explained, evaluated, answered or challenged.

The cohesion of this community is determined or dependent on social and moral action of individuals, thus uncertainty and misfortunes are about social relationships, individual needs and desires. It also includes ways in which disorder might be managed and how best to cope with uncertainty within the wider community. Significantly, misfortunes or uncertainties demand answers to questions with rational explanations and actions, which make sense not only to the individual but also to the community as a whole.

Sligovillians' experiences of the past influence the present and frame their ideas of uncertainties. In order to conceptualise unexplained acts and to create meaningful experiences villagers classify these acts as misfortunes. As such these misfortunes need strategies to enable the individual or the community to cope with the unexplainable. Yet the community and cultural values also influence the cognitive process of the individual and how they determine the outcome of this process. Although explanation may be achieved by proportioning blame to magic or individual behaviour of jealousy and greed, the primary outcome is to review the actions and thought processes of the community.

Villager's continuing classification of unexplained and sudden mishaps is accounted for by Obeah. Community belief is demonstrated in the on going belief in previous experience discussed here by a villager. Gertrude reminiscences of the construction of

the new road through the community linking Kingston with Bog Walk relates ideas of misfortune and crisis linked to Obeah. The big digger unearthed a glass sweet jar, which was buried in the garden of one particular individual in the area. The jar contained the names of many children of school age in the area. My informant reiterated that there is a lesson to be learned and that the ideal of equal opportunity was removed or denied to these children.

Yet, the exclusion of names of particular children from three specific families suggests malicious intent. The majority of the community perceived that Obeah had been practised against their children. This would limit their children's success and achievement in school and even later in life. Gertrude said, "Yes, time proved us right, the children whose names were included in the bottle were unsuccessful during their school days. It has taken many years to shake off the burden of bad luck. However, those children whose names were omitted from the bottle achieved educational success and have gone on to greater academic and career successes".

Sligovillians view success as a limited good that should be open to each individual and with equal access. The community considers it unfair that success is limited for the majority of children. In this case the believed practice of Obeah is perceived as ambivalent. Blame was attributed to anti-social actions of specific individuals within the community. Although it has been at least 30 years since the bottle was unearthed, the belief that such a practice was performed is still strong. It has been passed on orally to the younger generation.

In fact the community feels that their children's successes have been prevented and a notion of jealousy and resentment still exists. There is a sense of conflict and unresolved

animosity just below the surface, which is not spoken of openly. Paradoxically, the community is very proud of those individuals who are successful as their success and status is grounded in community identity as Sligovillians.

Sligovillians' notion of personhood, control and misfortune is tied to experiences, resources, cultural norms and power. Villagers' acceptance and explanation of misfortune is achieved by applying reason and causation to uncertainty and in so doing they apply or draw on external forces for crisis management. The experience of misfortune or misadventure is explained and shared within the community. Individuals and the community develop ways of explaining uncertainty and loss by applying ideas of misfortune. Therefore, misfortunes, uncertainties and crises are linked to agents such as Obeah, spirits/ghosts and particular aspects of creolized religion.

Misfortune and uncertainty has its connections to economics, politics and religion. It is interrelated to the shortage of resources and ways in which economic shortages are met. Thus uncertainty produces particular actions or reaction.

Misfortune and crises have particular forms of expressions within this village. As Whyte (1997:23) indicated "idioms are guides to action... they convey meaning and are understood like a vocabulary, and that constitute a situation in a particular way". Sligovillians use symptomatic⁹⁸, explanatory⁹⁹ personal and communal responsibility¹⁰⁰ idioms to guide their understanding of misfortune. All the above are employed to reinforce relations of power, authority and control whilst questioning actions they

⁹⁸ This indicates the power of substances for example folk medicine and potions as well as pharmaceuticals to deal with misfortunes, crises or problems.

⁹⁹ An explanatory idiom is a personal agent such as the aid of Obeah women, spirits or duppies/ghosts and more importantly the use of particular native religious practices.

¹⁰⁰ Personal or communal responsibility is where the onus is placed not only on the individual identifying the problem and solving it within a religious context but also with the aid of the religious group/sect or church. In essence the external crisis is fought from within a cohesive and united religious front.

cannot fully comprehend. It is acknowledged that afflictions might and does occur, but it is the uncertainty and the lack of power and control over many aspects of their daily lives which allows for the allocation of, and or, the representation of misfortunes and crisis. The ideas of morality, uncertainties and crises management included strategies for defining and attributing causality. Most deaths or sudden deaths are attributed to ambivalent spirits or to anti-social behaviour. This situation can be understood by examining the causation of the first death I experienced in the field.

A young man of 21 years old died from cancer. However during his long illness and the loss of a limb due to cancer he became a Christian and member of Mount Zion Baptist church. His Christian beliefs enabled him to comfort his family and friends, stating the "Lord was ready for him and everything was fine". Therefore the death of this man was not seen as a misfortune or an uncertainty inflicted on the family or the community or by any particular member of the community.

Sligovillians differentiate three generic forms of death. They are 'natural', 'tragic', 'bad' or 'good'. 'Tragic deaths' occur in accidents within daily village life and include automobile accidents and other environmental accidents. These deaths might be quick as well as slow. However, if such deaths are quick they are good but if they are slow they are perceived as bad deaths which occur tragically. 'Bad death' occurs when the dying person suffers over prolonged periods of chronic illness. To die a bad death is also to die alone without family and friends. Deaths that are of a sudden nature are also interpreted as bad deaths, for example in a fight or murder where the body is badly mauled.

'Good' death is quick such as a heart attack and with such deaths it is considered that

the person has completed their time in this world and is moving on to the next world. 'Natural death,' which is from predictable causes such as old age is classified within this group. Sligovillians' defined death by its quality, therefore depending on the type of death, the cause of death signifies crisis, misfortune, uncertainty or acceptability. It is clear that in order to cope with everyday uncertainties and occurrences villagers' place the blame on external forces such as ambivalent spirits and the practices of Obeah. It is a practical explanation to impractical and unknown situations.

Acknowledging the cause of death is a significant factor in the whole ritual of death. The denial of an identity during life is a sin and the identification of the cause of death is considered a complete loss of identity. Loss of identity is also linked to sudden deaths. Unexplained deaths rob the individual and the community of the rites or preparation for a final identity or the closure of relationships that formalise identities of the living and the deceased. Jealousy between particular individuals and the deceased is often the trigger for the use of Obeah.

Obeah is the first explanation, for a sudden unexplained death. It is a mechanism or coping strategy adopted to explain or add meaning to the unknown experiences and misfortunes of daily life. Throughout the village a sudden death, accident, or unexplained illness is attributed to greed or malicious behaviour. In the case of illness or lack of achievement for example children success at school, blame is apportioned to some other person or agency. However this is usually followed with whom did what to whom? Interestingly or more significantly the blame is usually other directed and it is rarely, if ever admitted to by any individual.

Anthropological analysis of morality tends to focus on the more economic political,

ethical and indigenous notion of magic and affliction. However the increasing interest in indigenous ideas of personhood, their individual rights and their social lives has become more scientifically important. It is no longer relevant to merely apply rationality and reasoning. An empirical and theoretical approach to wider indigenous perceptions and realities are of considerable interest. Thus to understand morality one needs to appreciate the meanings, structures and functions of emotional insecurities, uncertainties and inadequacy, as well as the historical past of exploitation, the devaluing of 'others' and denial of personhood.

Acceptability: Indigenised Values

Wilson's (1969 & 1973) characterisation of Caribbean societies as in a dialectical relationship of two opposing principles, (respectability and reputation) (Besson 1993, 2002; Olwig 1990) has had a lasting impact on Caribbean social studies. He argued that the extensive studies of Caribbean family structure missed the point, since the social structure of rural areas was not so much a matter of family as a matter of gender and class and of the cultural values associated with them. These were the factors that Wilson saw as shaping the Caribbean family. His finding that there was a "dual value system" consisting of what he called "reputation" and "respectability", which he saw as in constant tension with each other, since one set of values and expectations conflicted with the other. These conflicting cultural values Wilson considered were the historical legacy of colonial rule. Further, he associated reputation with men and with egalitarian relations, and respectability with women and with class ranking.

Reputation is viewed by Wilson as a response to colonial dependence and is an indigenous counter culture within the realm of men. Its primary goal is based on the ethos of equality and personal worth. Reputation is seen as an alternative to

respectability, which Wilson perceives, as a scarcity. Whilst both principles are dependent on gender, class and age, Wilson purports, reputation is a male dominated egalitarian value system, linked to virility, machismo, verbal skills and other personal and individual expertise. Contradictorily, Wilson argues that women are seen as the purveyors of respectability, which is achieved, primarily through their involvement in church, marriage and the domestic sphere. Respectability too, for Wilson is a social and cultural legacy from the colonial system, comprised of Euro-centric cultural norms and values related to wealth, colour, class, education and lifestyle. The colonial system and its educational system, especially white Christian churches, their religious morals and values, perpetuated the ideals of respectability.

Wilson's concepts of reputation and respectability are still being used as a baseline in Caribbean studies, particularly as there is an on-going critique of his particular formulation. For example, Besson (1993, 2002) acknowledged the usefulness of Wilson's approach to the Caribbean's social and cultural values, but also highlighted weaknesses in his argument. Besson argues that Wilson's concept of reputation being egalitarian amongst male peer groups does not take account of how male reputation is also dependent on the exploitation and ridicule of females. Therefore, reputation perpetuates patriarchal forms of gender relations. Besson's (2002) analysis also makes the significant points that reputation pitches women against men and encourages competition among women, in which verbal and entrepreneurial skills are the outcome of resistance and reputation. This approach illuminates the location of women within the sphere of reputation as entrepreneurs, as mothers and as culture builders through idioms such as religion, politics. Besson demonstrates clearly that cultural values are also transformed or localised as a result of the influence of women within peasant cultures.

I concur with the critique of Wilson presented by Besson, but want to point to the impact of the creolization or culture building as Besson names the process which is blurring, rationalising and evolving new ways of being related to Wilson's characterisation of reputation and respectability. I argue that in Jamaica nationally and Sligoville locally the content of the concepts as presented by Wilson are being refashioned. Neither respectability nor reputation appears as a major discourse amongst villagers. Moreover, there is a decided move away from a "respectability" that is informed from Euro-centric values as proposed by Wilson. Instead "respectability" is being indigenised and founded upon indigenous values of personhood, societal position, reconceptualisation of life experiences and reinterpretations of societal conditions. Reputation too is being further indigenised and is not wholly placed purely within the male sphere, if it ever was, and is coalescing with respectability, Wilson's preserve for the female, rather than simply conflicting (Besson 1993: 19, 2002). This creolization of the concepts reputation and respectability is evidencing new characteristics within a national and local context.

Ideally in Wilson's view respectability implies rigidity to the middle class and upper class values which are based on former colonial norms. A contemporary view of respectability is founded on conceptions of personhood from a black perspective, which shows an understanding of the individual and community's position within an historical context characterised by oppression. The focus is on acceptance of a black consciousness derived from local knowledge, cultural values and experiences. A domain where female and male interacts and exchange as individuals and have increasing access to the community's resources is evolving, without being confined by individuals or agencies external to the society. Jamaicans and Sligovillians no longer feel the need to

conform to the rigors of former cultural norms and values dictated by 'others'¹⁰¹. Instead their actions, values and norms are based and structured upon an indigenous belief system that frames and dictates what is acceptable behaviour or actions over and above any other value system.

Whilst Wilson's concept of respectability and reputation is useful to assess, explain and provide some evidence of the socio-cultural actions in the Caribbean. It does not fully explain or provide a localised explanation of the ways in which cultural values and norms are evolving within Jamaica and Sligoville at present.

It is at this juncture that I proffer my concept of 'acceptability' that is characteristic of a new way of being in Sligoville blurring, rationalising and evolving from Wilson's constructs of reputation and respectability. I argue that this development is as a result of the process of creolization or culture building (Besson 2002).

Acceptability at its core is about a localise responses to the managing of ideas and resources and utilising opportunities within a context of globalisation, continuing dependency and lack of economic opportunity. Within contemporary Jamaican society, people seek recognition through acceptance rather than reputation or respectability. In Sligoville, acceptability is the model through which villagers are increasingly measuring and addressing notions of independence, the struggle to maintain control of their lives and in particular how they formulate new ways of blocking external and internal domination.

For Sligovillians acceptability is a response to a specific past that affords the

appropriating of former conceptualisations and modes of behaviour and transforming them into new forms that have acceptance. These new forms coming out of the Sligovillian context are at times appropriated for mainstream use, thereby extending the acceptance of the particular form.

Acceptability can be used as a model to assess local community experience and how community members prioritise important factors that govern their lifestyle. It is a tool to measure and assess how Sligovillians conceptualise their actions and relationships to their changing environment and how these actions are mediated through narratives that represent and enunciate acceptance and belonging in the community and wider social arena. It can also be used to explore narratives, the symbolic typology of personhood and how the interactions of locality, belonging and sociality are contextualised by drawing on the historical and the socio-cultural experiences to frame the present and future.

Further, acceptability is a theoretical tool which is useful in the assessment of individual, community and national ideas of cultural acceptance, autonomy and empowerment. It can also be used to analyse contemporary discourses relating to indigenisation of cultural values, continuity and validity. It is within these structures and through such meanings that the new changing acceptance, authentication and validation of indigenous values are occurring. Such occurrences are responsible for changing practices. This is evident in the redefinition of local identity, a general acceptance of patois as a national language and the celebration of Jamaican dance and music culture as a worldwide phenomenon (Cooper 2002).

¹⁰¹ 'Others' is used in this instance to denote external cultures and their culture values and norms, as stated by local people.

Such acknowledgement lends itself to local and national continuity that forges new dynamic cultural modes. These serve to locate the individual or the community and ascribe a sense of acceptability. Acceptability as a tool can help us to understand how people who are faced with closure and representations of the self within a globalised world resist and recreate.

'Acceptability' is a response to colonial rule and the outcome of political and socio-economic forces. It is also a localised tool for the measurement and explanation of individual and collective values within the nation and the community. Moreover it is the response of the growing free black peasantries following emancipation to the repressive laws related to class position, religious affiliation and the cultural practices that is responsible for the counter-culture within Jamaican society.

Therefore, the continuing use of former British laws by various Jamaican Governments continues to reinforce a counter-culture whilst encouraging further evolution of religious, social and cultural norms; which has become "Acceptable". Unlike Wilson's 'Reputation' which compensates for scarcity of 'Respectability', 'Acceptability' becomes an individual action or label which enables the individual to act in their own interest as well as the community. Therefore, it is in the interest of individualism and equality. Furthermore, Acceptability applies equally to either gender and does not compensate for respectability. Instead acceptability can lead to a specific reputation and in time respectability.

Equality in Jamaican society operates not only on the level of status, wealth and class, but also applies to the notion of individualism and rights. Therefore acceptability at particular times might involve schism and anti-social or even illegal acts. Particular acts

that are deemed anti-social or practices of Obeah are ways of dealing with specific situations.

The continuing practices of creolized religions through cultural and traditional ways as well as their covert practices are responses of acceptability by the community and society. Acceptability is a form of protectionism whereby individuals and groups seek ways of protecting their traditional ways of life by refashioning past experiences as values that are acceptable and provide a sense of belonging and identity that is framed in local knowledge. Since Independence in 1962 Jamaica appears to be developing a greater sense of black identity and empowerment. This is demonstrated by younger people within the community who often state:

We are the children of the sixties. We do not answer to Babylon. Whilst the generation before Independence are schooled in the European values of the 40s and 50s. That generation was more dependent on and had to bow to Colonial power and cultural values. We on the other hand have chosen to create and frame our cultural tradition whilst shaping our destiny. We have an identity based on our choice and it's activated as we see fit.

Respectability is not necessarily in opposition to reputation, it can and at times operate in unison with reputation. Thus acceptability, reputation, and respectability are interrelated principles of social behaviour in Sligoville. Acceptability allows for differences and competitiveness and enables acceptance of behaviour and actions within a Jamaican context. Acceptability is a contemporary method of dealing with social behaviour. This demonstrates that both men and women compete within the same value

system where women are assessed according to their ability and strength of character rather than their behaviour. Sligovillians' awareness or sense of being, developed from the localisation of values and past experiences gave roots to their sense of acceptability and individualism which enables identity formation. Whilst individuals uphold elements of reputation and respectability these are not necessarily structured around or upon Euro-centric ideals and value systems.

Outsiders and many researchers tend to assume Caribbean social status as being linked to or drawing on European value systems. Thus Wilson's ideas that social status is class, wealth, occupation and respectability (Wilson 1995:111) has some features of Caribbean society. Yet it ignores a significant feature of the poorer classes and the majority population. It is this group and their ability to transcend the other classes and create in opposition significant value systems that are then appropriated by the other classes.

Acceptability articulates with class and shows how self and experiences come together to create new identities. Acceptability is used as a construct to create and maintain connections of co-ordinating interests and social status. For example, in Sligoville, the poorer (working) classes oppose and resist the division or hierarchical levelling and the processes that seek to maintain these differences. Groups that were once peripheral have become central within the society. Their psychological well being is dependent on creating other forms of validation outside of the dominant class stratified system. Social dislocation within the political and socio-economic arena is responsible for the creation of a more effective social structure through which the individual or group can create an identity, belonging and being. Creating values that have more relevance to their lifestyle allow them to cope and to move between the differing levels within the society and the

community.

Acceptability takes different cues for measuring the form that social organisation and social life takes. This has evolved from the beliefs, value systems and experiences within subjugated social structures that mark out hinterlands and opposition between the differing class boundaries. This can be seen in the way individuals or subaltern groups define themselves and where they situate their group within the society or community. Creolization articulates (Slack 1996) the form that identity takes within differences, schism, oppositions and fragmentation. Acceptability makes the link between differing elements and discourses within the society or community.

Acceptability allows for the consideration of the circumstances in which links are forged. It contributes to the discourse and is a construct for articulating the differences that position people outside of their society or community of belonging. It also enables individuals to re-articulate an identity of belonging-ness within that reality.

Acceptability is a product of the process of creolization, which serves as a device to ascribe self worth and self-esteem within a class stratified and localised arena rather than striving for respectability. It works in the interest of the individual ascribing equality and autonomy. It enables the individual as well as the group to make decisions that are right and acceptable. Individuals seek to achieve individual self-worth for themselves and the good of the community rather than the positioning of themselves within the former hierarchical ideals that are perceived as unattainable.

Acceptability enables the individual to escape and it allows for elements such as liberty, land ownership, individualism, power and control. More importantly an individual

might be a landowner with family connections through descent, but it is through his or her personal actions (acceptability) and lived experiences within the community that their social status will be meaningfully determined.

I argue that Wilson neglected to take into consideration the dualism involved between respectability and reputation. One cannot be achieved without the other. In most cases to achieve respectability one must first gain a reputation which in turn creates a semblance of, or may achieve respectability. Respectability is not necessarily founded on or based upon European ideals or value. Nor should Caribbean men be polarised as developing a sense of reputation based on value systems such as virility and machismo. This is yet another form of colonial superiority, in denying blacks a sense of moral behaviour and values based on assumptions that black social actions and values are less valued and significant to those of Europeans.

Taking a historical approach to reputation, the slaves were perceived as property and used not only as labourers to produce in the field of production, but also to generate through reproduction in the biological sense. I argue not only that there were dualities of production, but slave survival and freedom was the driving force to their continuity. Thus, the process of fathering children and demonstrable virility (Wilson 1973: 213) was as much an ascribed label as it is a lived experience or process through which an identity could be forged and continued as in Sligoville.

Reputation might be a levelling experience as Wilson purports (1973: x-xi), but not necessarily to compensate for the scarcity of respectability. I argue that reputation is a label or badge ascribed to an individual by others as a result of individual actions, which have been accepted or linked to that individual. Reputation provides a sense of

respectability and this is dependent on the form or mode through which the individual achieved a reputation. Reputation in this case might and does take precedence over respectability. Respectability is rarely ascribed or achieved on the basis of a European sense of respectability, nor is it necessary a struggle or conflict with reputation. Respectability and reputation, as Wilson presents it, applies more to the elite of the society who continue to aspire to the class system and to achieve power and control. Needless to say, certain elements of reputation are similar to the European ideals of respectability.

Overall, respectability is, as demonstrated in Sligoville, founded on community morals, actions and rights as well as familial and individual notions of behaviour, lifestyle and personality. Reputation is built upon more individual and familial actions and notions of achieved status and individuality. Wilson suggests women aim for respectability through marriage and in the participation of established and non-conformist religions. Whilst reputation the domain of men is gained through sexual prowess.

A local Rastafarian is representative of the ideology surrounding social behaviour among some Sligovillians and his lifestyle displays this. Natty's reputation is tied to his entrepreneurial skills, and his individuality as a conscious Rastafarian. Natty displays the obvious rhetoric of a Rastafarian, but his consciousness is reinforced through his business acumen, his helpfulness and his ability to rise above most difficulties.

Whilst Natty's actions, behaviour and hard work which many members within the community admire, have provided him with a 'reputation', he has yet to gain 'respectability' from Wilson's perspective. Yet, my research through unstructured interviews shows he has achieved such status. This status is ascribed through his

entrepreneurial success, his work ethic, self-reliance and care for his children, as well as his sensitivity, religious awareness and a strong sense of black identity. His reputation for working hard is gained through positive work ethics and through this he gains respectability.

Like most males within his community and society he has a sense of machismo. It is a desire and a cultural norm to be manly and to woo or sweet talk women. It is seen as weak or feminine if a young man does not admire women and emulate his elders through the process of courting. Yet, this process of courting does not have to be taken too seriously by the male, it's a learning process. It is the gaining of knowledge. However, there is a notion of taboo regarding courtship and there are dangers if a boy/man should mislead a girl or woman.

Wilson suggests that the scarcity of respectability drive the realisation of reputation that at times involves antisocial acts among the poor and illiterate. I question this assertion, and state categorically that illegal acts and anti-social behaviour are to be found throughout the spectrum of society; and therefore not limited to the poor and illiterate. At times the drive for reputation among the elite trigger anti-social acts. Wilson's analysis fails to consider other elements within the dynamism of these societies: particular anti-social acts are in some cases the means open to some individuals to overcome their situation and move up the social scale.

It is within this context that individual sense of worth is negotiated through forms of accepted behaviour. As daily activities are carried out both within the village and externally to the village Sligovillians measure individual actions in terms of acceptable behaviour for the individual, the community and the wider community. Individual

actions are also measured against the cosmological beliefs of the local and wider society and are influenced by local knowledge and societal relations derived from the individual's control and the community holding power.

During research of the Sligovillian community and their social relations I developed the concept of 'Acceptability'¹⁰² as a fuller and wider consideration of personal, communal and societal relationships within the community. It is not opposed to Wilson's concept reputation and respectability. For it is my intention to further the knowledge of social relations, whilst demonstrating how the moral and ethical values of Jamaican society with specific relevance to Sligoville are expressed and can be measured.

Acceptability demonstrates well the on-going creolization process and its enabling of the conceptualisation of global culture, whilst allowing for the retention, renewal and appropriation of specific elements of a value system to be adapted and reconstructed anew. In Sligoville, acceptability is reflected in how its members rising out of slavery and domination from external power bases have developed ways of addressing their individual and collective sense of displacement, emplacement and belonging.

Acceptability sheds light on the ways in which individuals and small collectives within a society interact and evolve ways to reaffirm their sense of belonging under the stare of marginalisation and the pressures of the wider (Appadurai 1991). Acceptability gives meaning to the lifestyles of particular individuals, communities and or societies. It is about the emergence of the contemporary self, the individual's ways of functioning and the relations that they establish.

¹⁰²My use of the concept "Acceptability" is based on aspects of creolized religions being accepted and treated as an alternative religious practice and belief systems which has positive elements and provides the baseline or infra-structure to Jamaican culture and tradition.

Hence, it is within this context that 'acceptability' articulates Sligovillians lived experience, their self-assertion, and their responses to internal and external forces. It best highlights the process of creolization in addressing conflicts and tension arising at a local level and generating new modes or ways of reformulating belonging and an identity. Apart from the creation of institutions and specific cultural values acceptability provides a flexible standard on which individuals and the community can measure and define a sense of emplacement, acceptance, belonging and empowerment within a local discourse and space.

Acceptability affords the individual a concept with which to cope with their specific situation and to develop alternative strategies that are best suited to their lifestyle. Within this arena the individual may gain reputation through evidence of their specific actions or interactions. However, armed with the psychology derived from inculcation of indigenous black/creole cultural values the notion of acceptability offers new ways of measuring and understanding actions or interactions. Accepting is integral to lived experiences and experiential learning frame values and ideologies which aid identity formation, provide autonomy and empowerment in post emancipation society.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have sought to show how Christian ideologies, specific laws and ideas of power and control furthered the denial or loss of a personhood. I have also tried to relate the tensions between power, authoritarian forms of control, the subjected bodies and their resistance in regard to identity formation in this village.

One of the evident features of power is its ability to control and limit a sense of identity. Yet the fluidity and flexibility of the community in drawing on specific values

and norms based on the creolization of religious beliefs reinforced a black consciousness and enabled the development of new identities. The effects of power, through the law reinforces Established religions and Non-conformist ideology of morality, sin and identity by attempting to channel individuals towards Orthodoxy and away from creolized religions.

The ideas framing the discourse on morality and power highlight notions of repression, the law, misfortune, uncertainties, crisis and crisis management in this settlement. This undoubtedly points toward the continuity, significance and secrecy or denial of Revivalism in Sligoville. Villagers highlight the significance of power, how it bestows authority and with the support of the law how power and control represses particular practices that have been indigenized to Jamaica.

It is my view that misfortune, crisis and uncertainties serve as a social function through the allocation of blame, which in turn facilitates acceptance of sudden unexplained phenomena through the medium of Obeah. Sligovillians in determining the cause of misfortunes consider the motives and agents, which involves individuals reflecting morally about the agents, the victims and their communities. Moreover, locals conceptualise a link between misfortune and social relations. Thus, their vocabulary and actions demonstrate that uncertainty is about affliction, which is reflected in the uncertainty of relations, agents and the victims. Furthermore Sligovillians seek to control the uncertainties and ambiguities that affect their lives and relationships by focusing on external agencies as rational reasons for their misfortunes.

In my analysis of death and its inter-relationship to misfortune or uncertainties the frequency of uncertain deaths and ills within the community were based on elements of

convention and moral beliefs. These beliefs extend into wider areas of individual and community life. Sligovillians' worldview is based on a multiplicity of ideas drawn from African and Christian ideologies that have evolved and indigenised as a specific native belief system. These ideologies have become very important and they now play a pivotal role in individual and community life.

I have also in the recording of this chapter shown how power is used in a religious context in both the formation of and denial of identity. Power was and has remained a tool in the repression, suppression and denial of indigenous religions, a black identity and individual rights. Law as an agent of governance has maintained the suppression of aspects of Jamaican native religion and assisted in the covert practices of aspects of Revivalism.

In presenting the ideas of this community I have sought to highlight ways in which ideologies of Garvey were drawn on to reinforce black consciousness and aid the formation of new identities in Sligoville. An important part of this process is, I have shown how Sligovillians use particular cognitive processes linked to their religious beliefs and cultural norms to cope with uncertainties labelled as crisis and misfortune. The ideas of Garvey and Bedward, it seems, provided the confidence and assisted in the building of new identity in a new environment of a religiously founded fee village.

In the presentation of my concept of 'Acceptability' I seek to demonstrate unlike Wilson (1995) that Caribbean communities, especially Sligoville, does not exist with two opposed themes, (reputation and respectability) or belief or value systems. Instead acceptability explains the ways in which the community expresses differences, individualism and liberty that enables both respectability and reputation. I argue that

there has always been a duality of practices: a) those based on elements of other global values, and b) localised actions and behaviours based or formulated on norms more conducive to black experiences, observations, conceptualisations and active experimentation.

Finally, throughout this chapter I have tried to show how images of power, morality and uncertainty are linked to the denial of and loss of an identity. More importantly, the community value system is based on cultural norms, yet moral values are negotiable, with each individual negotiating various values according to their circumstances and or situation. Hence, whilst communal values are usually adhered to, individuals do apply their own sense of individualism. Although individualism can lead to schism and animosity it can also enable acceptability.

CHAPTER SEVEN: HISTORIC AND SPATIAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY

Academics provide various definitions of identity. Some present it as a dynamic concept and some present it as a problematic concept. Others treat it as a physical or cognitive search, which relates to time and/or space. In this chapter, I present the relationship between boundary, history and descent in order to explore how these factors influence identity formation and shape cultural identity in Sligoville. More importantly, we see how the past is temporalised. We also see the contradictions in using the past as a form of closure or forgetting whilst also using it to address the formation of new identities.

Cultural or social identity is how individuals are located within their society or community and in turn, how they feel others perceive them. This form of identity is gained through experiences and relationships with others. It refers to the construction of 'self' or the persona. Memories, reminiscence, oral history and notions of belonging are reflections of how people use their received and learned knowledge to frame a conscious self that others can identify. I present an anthropological perspective of culture and show what kind of implications the dichotomous 'we/other' concept has for Sligovillians.

Sligovillians see identity and culture as entwined. As such, the past, one's experiences and mode of thought and actions construct and maintain identity. Hence, cultural identity is who you were (have been), who you are (being), and who you will be (becoming). This situates the individual in the past, present and the future.

Cultural identity enables individual Sligovillians to be identified as part of a group or community. Therefore, it is sharing, a sense of belonging and commonalty that creates

solidarity and cohesiveness. Sligovillians draw on the village's history. They trace their inheritance by looking to their first settler ancestors. Thus, blood and descent mobilises group identity. Genealogical fiction maintains social and kinship patterns. It signifies the relationships that exist between individuals, families, community and other groups (insiders/outsideers). It also establishes the right of membership to the village. It is then used to determine Sligovillians from outsiders. The Sligovillian group identity is used to demonstrate their uniqueness from others.

Sligovillian's cultural identity is a response to the village's particular history namely, land acquisition and the founding of the village. In this respect, it creates labels that categorises people and regulates their relationships. This history is important in the creation and maintenance of a specific cultural identity. As such Sligoville's history and its villager's identity is a play on time or a dramatisation of space, movement¹⁰³ and difference which is tied to habitat and particular practices.

Sligovillian's cultural identity is based upon their perceptions of and lived experiences of the routinisation of space and time. Identity is also based on the fluidity and continuous movement of individuals. Therefore, localised ideas about where borders lay are significant as they are used to create community identity and in turn, denote who is an insider and who is not.

History, Land and Identity Formation

The cultural construction of a historical identity is a legacy inherited by Sligovillians. Here, the emergence of a specific cultural identity is a direct development of Jamaica's

¹⁰³ Movement in this context has a double meaning. Movement from the point of view that Caribbean society was created out of movement. Thus identity have always been a search within a continuum of time and space surrounded by global differences and images. Whilst home is both here and there so is identity, constantly shifting according to environment and circumstances.

historical past (see chapter 4). Oral history indicates that the creation of the village gave rise to a particular community with a specific history that has over time created a distinctive identity. By taking a primordialist¹⁰⁴ approach to the analysis of Sligoville's identity, one sees that the villagers are characterised in terms of their cultural lifestyle. Sligovillian's identity is further validated by their religious connection with Phillip's historical Baptist church and thus, we see the significance of the connection to first settlers and their land. Symbolic validation is achieved by demonstrating the link a Sligovillian has to a first free settler. The maxim of the primordialist approach is that identity is a given thing and that people are automatically attached to it by specific primordial factors. Villagers strictly adhere to these factors. Why is it so important to sustain this identity? It appears that the assertion of a distinct identity is a way of maintaining interest in the area and its community whilst also providing the means to develop an attachment to the village.

However, some villagers might not at times identify themselves as part of this community. Although some individuals qualify as members of the village, they also belong to several different ethnic groups. However, the church, the land and the villagers' religious and agricultural practices serve to characterise their sense of belonging. This research proposes that Sligoville's history and its physical space are cultural markers of a specific village identity.

One could argue that Sligovillians relive their history on a daily basis. As such, they do not perceive themselves as people who focus on the past. They actively journey through time, a constant movement, whereby thought and actions are reinterpreted and reworked

¹⁰⁴ The primordialist approach is a concept applied to ethnic groups who can or usually be characterised by the culture or lifestyle maintained by the group. Criteria such as language, dress and region of origin may be applied as a form of identification or used to validate ethnicity.

through new relationships, coupled with the environment to produce new identities. Although these identities are created in flux, they are stable and meaningful.

It is how one is represented, what image one has and the kinds of relationships that one has with other members of the community that dictates how identity is formed and how it is continued. First settlers such as Henry Lunan and Elizabeth Francis are presented as important historic individuals. They like other first settlers demonstrated a determination to carve out a sense of being and identity. This sense of identity was achieved through the acquisition of land and in the control they then had over the use of their bodies. They asserted their individual rights. Land was the foundation upon which their liberty and economic stability was built.

Although Sligoville's boundaries have been extended over time, its original place cannot be transformed. It is fixed in both in time and place. Yet Sligovillians' perceive movement (Rapport & Dawson 1998: 19-38) as a necessary component in the creation of identity. Sligovillian identity is premised on ideas of 'land' and 'home'. Home is where specific sets of routine practices take place and where habitual social reactions (1998: 27) occur. It is within this context that narratives give meaning to identity.

These identities become expressions of personhood and community consciousness. Particular villagers have, in an attempt to label the village, marketed it as a tourist area. Others fear that the village will lose its character if tourism is pursued. Some Sligovillians who share this view state:

We have no need to look back to those sad pre and post-emancipation days, because if you truly understand our history you will appreciate that we are in fact living within and through that history which is the present. In essence as a community we have continued and remained as a village and

as such our history dictates and frames our identity, which is ideally in the present. We are our past as much as we are the present and will be the future.

Consider this, knowledge of our history frames who we are. This is not dependent just on how we see our selves, but how others see us. It is primarily how others see us, for example our neighbouring villages such as Richard Hall or even the residents of Spanish Town. I will take it to another level, which will allow you to appreciate how the rest of the nation sees us. We are living history of what occurred, we are the same as many other villages, yet we are different. It is this similarity and difference, which dictates our specific identity. We were the first and nothing can change that.

Sligovillian's claim their identity is primarily framed around the creation of the village. Villagers identify with their history and strive to maintain their identity. They achieved this by putting received information from elders¹⁰⁵ into practice. Villager's involvement in, for example, Baptist, Pentecostal and Revival churches serves to maintain identity.

The term 'Sligovillian' is as used by villagers to mean one who was born in the area. It also refers to a person who is born outside of the village but is a descendant of a first free settler. In addition, an individual who is born in Sligoville but not directly related to a first settler will be accepted as a Sligovillian. This is the case if the individual living in the village has undergone a process of socialisation (Besson 1984a). Thus, an individual who is born within the village but whose parents are outsiders becomes a Sligovillian by virtue of their place of birth. Yet, a clear distinction is made between an individual who is a descendent of first settlers and an individual who is a descendant of newcomers.¹⁰⁶

Interestingly, individuals who have children who just like them are born in the village are identified as newcomers/outsideers. There is however, taxonomy of newcomers.

¹⁰⁵ In this context 'elders' refer to the older generation within the village, who have and are able to pass on any information regarding the village. As such these individuals are the oldest living people within the community.

There are those who have settled in the village for over ten years or more and there are those who reside in the village but who do not fully participate in the community's social activities.

When an outsider becomes a member of a Sligovillian family and socialises within the village, he or she becomes a member of the wider the community. If as an outsider you find yourself defending the rights of the Sligovillian community over and above others then your support is acknowledge. The extent of commitment that the individual shows to the community is therefore, vital. Attending for example, particular death rites, rituals and social gatherings can also raise one's status. If one does not choose to participate then one's position will falter.

The way in which an individual treats outsiders is seen as proof of their loyalty to the immediate family, their ancestors and the community. Sligovillians apply the 'analogical category'¹⁰⁷ in order to incorporate outsiders as insiders when necessary in order to talk of 'we'. In this case, a form of fictive kinship is created. Yet, the 'we' is very distinct from the 'us'. 'Us' are only those who are directly related to the founding settlers. Here, parallels with Besson's (1984a, 1984b, 1987, 1988, 2002) findings in the free villages of Trelawny and in Sligoville exists. Thus, Sligovillians draw on their genealogies to define and maintain their identity. They apply subjective genealogy, and this reflects the situation as it is played out within the village. Paradoxically, Sligovillians create biological and sociological constructs. They are able to forget aspects of their shared belonging depending on situation. Thus, genealogies are used to

¹⁰⁶Newcomers or outsiders are individuals who have settled and resided in the village for many years or until death and have been socialised within the community and have been accorded a degree of belonging. Their status may be furthered through procreation and socialisation of these children within the community.

¹⁰⁷Analogical and 'Digital category': see Eriksen [1993:67]. However 'analogical' refers to the mode of classification applied by Sligovillians' in their differentiation of others/outsiders as 'themselves', while other outsiders are also perceived as 'different from them'. It includes also the principles of exclusion and inclusion and how degree of differences is applied with clear, definite boundaries and guidelines.

describe and place individuals, families and relationships according to circumstance.

Outsiders refer to villagers as Sligovillians. At times this carries negative connotations such as backwardness, lack of intelligence and education. Locals who refer to themselves as Sligovillians recognise that their families especially surnames such as Talbot, Allen, Cooper, Brown, Lawrence, Edward and Goban are ones that can be readily identified (Besson 1984b, 2002). There is virtually no distinctive phenotypical feature amongst Sligovillians. Yet, there are *idealised* inherited features among a few local families that might be classified as the phenotypical features of the maroon¹⁰⁸. There is a notion of an inherited essence, which comes through blood (descent) that is derived from founding fathers. This belief is strongly held in the village.

The acquisition of land and the founding of the village offered the original landowners a sense of identity. Villagers still place great emphasis on land acquisition and the maintenance of community. We see this in the fact that villagers welcomed the national scheme, which was introduced by the People's National Party under Operation Pride, to help indigents acquire land. As part of this scheme new facilities would be built in the village. Interestingly, the villagers challenged the way in which land was to be distributed to indigents.

Plans were made to subdivide and sell the land surrounding the Great House in the former Highgate Park estate. Sligovillians who were not previously landowners qualified to purchase a plot of land. It is said that the P.N.P¹⁰⁹ acquired this property.

¹⁰⁸ Phenotypical features of the maroon refers firstly, to runaway slaves who formed fighting corporate groups and created their own autonomous communities in the mountains of the island. These groups fought the British gaining land rights. Secondly, it is a colloquial term used to differentiate individuals with perceived distinctive features: a) their facial appearance is perceived as differentiated to that of the majority creole population, b) their skin is extremely black with a polished sheen, c) individuals might be tall, or short and stocky which gives an appearance of great strength and fortitude, d) finally their eyes are lively and sharp.

¹⁰⁹ 'P N P' refers to the Peoples National Party and is one of the national political parties in the island. It is equivalent to the British Labour Party.

This view is based on the fact that former Prime Minister Michael Manley once publicly stated: “This is yours, this land, I buy this land for you, the people of Sligoville”.

The scheme’s introduction coincided with emancipation celebrations held on 1st August 1997. The timing of the scheme was extremely significant, as the first settlers had purchased their land upon emancipation. Historically, the acquisition of a parcel of land on the Highgate property is of great importance to the community. They say “We have come full circle and now we will have the opportunity to own more of our past/history”. Many villagers feel a sense of pride, comparing it to how the first settlers must have felt. A personal friend said:

We were given birth to as a village in 1838 at emancipation and we have at long last woken from a deep sleep as a nation. Now we realise that celebration of emancipation should not have stopped. The return to its yearly celebration as from this year (1997) and the project of making land available, the possibility to obtain land is to relive the occasion of our first settlers and our heritage. History is repeating itself.

Sligoville and the villages surrounding it were abuzz with excitement. The villagers talked about land ownership and house building. The Jamaica Information Service (JIS) made a documentary on Sligoville’s emancipation celebrations, making the nation aware of its historic significance. As a result, the Great House and three acres of land surrounding it were donated to the village under the auspices of the Cultural Heritage/National Trust. In addition, the government gave the villagers communal rights to the local community centre and its playing fields.

Many villagers qualified as indigents although most of them are landowners due to their family land¹¹⁰ rights. They are not however, individual landowners. I asked villagers’ views about individual land ownership. They said:

¹¹⁰See Besson (1979) on family land rights.

Yes, to all intents and purpose we are all landowners, we own the village and the actual space communally. But many of us like our forefathers would like to acquire individual parcels of land within the village. In purchasing even a small plot we are continuing the actions of our forefathers and thereby re-activating the meaning of land ownership and our identity. The anxiety, elation and mixed feeling would have been present then as it is now.

Although some villagers felt the community would benefit from new facilities such as piped water and a sewage system, excitement about the government's plans to invest in the community did not persist. Traditionalists among the village thought that the acquisition and donation of land was the most important element of the scheme. Some however, pointed to possible difficulties in utilising land for agriculture and burial. However, the land could be used to continue family land ideology as a "family home"¹¹¹. Others felt that government intervention regarding the sale and purchase of houses in the area would alter the Sligovillian concept of family land. They argued the importance of ensuring that Sligovillians rather than outsiders acquired plots. A strategy was formulated to maintain the family land system and thereby, ensure the village's survival.

Villagers expressed concerns about the percentage of land to be allocated to outsiders. What kind of procedures would be put in place to process forms? Villagers felt that applications made by outsiders were being processed before theirs. They also felt that decisions were being made to allocate plots to civil servants and outsiders before the application closing date. There was little or no discussion with the community's local representatives. This created acrimonious feeling and opposition to the Government's plans. A decision was taken to prevent Operation Pride's representatives from doing as they pleased in the village.

¹¹¹ (Olwig 1997: 27-32) Family Home/family house is a concept similar to family land whereby inalienable rights to the home exist. Furthermore, the house is tied to family land making it a part of the family land system.

Village boundaries were moved in order to accommodate neighbouring villages. This created a more corporate district, which provided the necessary number of citizens to have an impact with sponsoring government agencies. At this time the entire district were Sligovillians. The Sligoville Support Group worked with their Member of Parliament to ensure local representation in the decision-making process. Discussions are still underway. As one villager stated:

We are the land and the land is us. We cannot be separated. If we are ignored and if we are not considered, then the village is not important. If the village is unimportant, what does that say for us as a nation? You see participation with the land includes us; it is a part of our cultural practices.

What I mean, is, those of us who were born at home had our umbilical cord and or the birth sac buried within the village on family/village land; this ties us and our descendants to the village. Villagers have their children in hospital but a few still continue to carry out this act and where it is impossible a tree is planted instead as a symbol.

We are in true sense rooted in the land, and we have over time taken on the appearance of the land so to speak. Can't you see the land in us, we are strong, rugged, firm, unwavering, changeable, giving and protective. Our sense of resistance is not dead, nor will we cease to resist when and where necessary. It is our identity that is threatened, it could so easily be eroded.

Villagers were not only resisting government authority but were fighting for their identity and the survival of their community. As the Sligovillians saw it 'quotas' and 'percentages' were, merely words created by bureaucrats who had no idea of the true situation. As one villager said, "We are the reality. What we want and what we will accommodate is what matters and nothing else."

Villagers see the influx of a large number of newcomers as a potential threat to the demographic makeup of the village. They anticipate that many of the newcomers are most likely be professionals who are seeking a rural residence. Plots would be

purchased in the names of kin who live abroad or by individuals who can easily afford higher land prices in other areas. The sale of land was a money spinning idea for a few 'money people'. It appeared that villagers were not anti-modernisation. In fact they seek it and would welcome newcomers but not in the numbers that have been suggested. They believe that it was unlikely that newcomers would socialise within the community. They villagers feared that they might eventually become outsiders within their own community.

The insider/outsider¹¹² dichotomy also enables villager's to protect their endogamous practices. An influx of newcomers would mean new blood pouring into the village. This development would threaten descendants of original settlers (shared substance) and the practice of maintaining a localised identity. The concept of unity forms the basis of their collective identity. The fear that newcomers would settle en masse led Sligovillian to talk about the violation of their historical rights and their rights to maintain a lifestyle and village of their choosing. Large-scale settlement would change the village.

A resistance to government decisions would maintain the village's demography and culture. It would for example, prevent the subdivision of property. Local representatives and a senior Member of Parliament successfully quelled this perceived threat. This indicates how united the village is and how this unity assured the future of the community.

Sligovillians use old buildings and their associated lands to mark their identity. St. John's church, Highgate House, the ruins on Cooper land and the ruins of the residence

¹¹² Insider/outsider refers to those individuals who have or are residing in the village permanently, but from choice they participate in specific social activities whilst omitting to be fully socialised in the process of becoming a Sligovillian/we. This action demonstrates an independent nature and positive decision to remain within the community yet apart from their localised social/cultural identity.

Governor Sligo are examples of buildings of great significance. Individuals who are connected to these places are perceived as, and spoken of as having ties to the owners of the buildings. Thus, they play a significant part in the village's history.

Mr Brown, the oldest man with whom I talked during my research, spoke about these buildings and specifically referred to the old slave ruins that lay on the Coopers' land. He mentioned that there were no motor cars. He said everything was carried on one's head or drawn by donkey or dray carts. He remembered market days most vividly. As a boy, he assisted his parents, carrying produce to the main road or walking from the village of Sligoville to Bog Walk market. The ability to recall these memories enables villagers to reinforce and maintain their sense of identity. In turn this fuels a collective identity. Indeed, one elderly man said, "We relive the past daily through our memories and actions. These emotions are alive and present now as they were then. Some too vivid, and at times I prefer not to recall them".

The choice not to recall or to temporarily forget is spoken of as remembering to forget. Knowledge of the past as told in narrative serves to maintain a strong individual identity with a strong sense of belonging. Mr Ayre said "There is a sense of temporality about our history and us so to speak". He continued:

I consider our history as existing in a cycle rather than the considered norm of linear time. Therefore we are constantly changing, moving on, and reliving the past in the present. Yet we exist in similar or differing ways according to the experiences of the past. We remain somewhat fixed within the past, because we all retrace our common experiences in the present according to the future we desire. The past, it is forever moving with us in time.

The memories of these elders were one and the same. They would in fact complete each other's sentences. Whilst relating their childhood memories they actively relived past

experiences which in itself demonstrated their collective identity. These three men validated and legitimised their unwritten history.

Boundary: The Politics of Location and Identity

To flee from the estates (Hall 1978; Paget & Farley 1964; Mintz 1989; Besson 1992) to Sligoville was to cross a psychological and physical barrier. This exodus assisted in the construction of new identities and a new location founded in freedom.

Sligoville's borders are a record of its past and its continuity to the present. It is a geographically defined area with the core of village land owned by descendants, though not always the original plot owned by their direct family. Identity is borne out by the role of markers, such as land owning by core families in the village, as well as the Baptist church, which continues to own the land on which Mount Zion Baptist church, the two schools and school house stands.

Although there are fixed lines that mark Sligoville's boundaries, these markers of physical space change and are therefore, fluid. Curiously, however, boundaries give a sense of permeability. Boundaries are born out of psychological and physical factors that depict the values and needs of its members. Sligoville's boundaries do not bind it off from other villages instead it distinguishes it from neighbouring villages and towns.

Hence a paradox exists, in that, whilst Sligoville is considered more bounded than the other neighbouring villages by its physical history and land space, it is not isolated from other villages. Yet, its boundaries are important aspect in maintaining the villagers' specificity, internally and externally. Elders and youths therefore, rigorously maintain borders, though each villager locates the village's boundaries in a slightly different

place.

Sligoville's boundaries might be considered from two perspectives. The first perspective is that the inhabited space is one's habitat and the second perspective is that of the peripheral legitimised boundaries of neighbouring villages. These village boundaries highlight similarity and difference.

Villagers subjectively construct and enact their locality depending on their need and location. This means that Sligovillians construct identity through the experiential landscape and do so from opposite sides of say, the class and religious divide.

The notion of difference is mobilised through ideas of sociality, education, land acquisition and land use. This is born out in the belief system and ideologies surrounding the first free settlers who are the villagers' ancestors. Thus, descendants perceive themselves as special people. They share similarities with the rest of the nation, yet they are different. This difference is signified by their history as the first free village. It is signified by the fact that they are first free land-owning villagers. An elderly local suggests that Sligovilians have some similarity with the maroons in that, they have a definable bounded landscape, a pattern of traditional families with land-owning rights and ancestral founding fathers (Besson 1997).

Identity is played out in the village's class hierarchy. Members of the village play the part of middle-class, land-owning professionals or entrepreneurs. As such, they are seen to be able to move up the class system. Middle class individuals primarily draw on their family connections or their personal achievements whilst the majority working class express their identity in their links to the community. They draw on their history. However, villagers act as a collective when Sligoville is under threat.

Villagers embody a physical space as well as a history. This is demonstrated by the fact that local living in the village founded by Phillippo and owned by the first settlers. They identify themselves as 'true Sligovillians'.¹¹³ Yet, individuals can be included or excluded by boundary changes.

Villagers have a strong sense of communal land ownership. This should not be confused with communal land rights (Besson 1995, Olwig 1985). The village is often spoken of as common land and this includes for example, the village square, the community centre, the sports field and the grounds of Highgate House. In essence, the whole village is common land. Each member of the village has communal rights to the land. There is a strong sense of symbolic ownership and rights to communal land but this does not detract from individual ownership of land. In either case, the acquisition of land is the basis of cultural identity (Besson 1987). Many villagers speak of the surrounding lands as belonging to all Sligovillians. In the village there is a belief in an undefined right to land use communal land whether an individual owns it or not.

The Baptist church supports the right of an individual to own land and common land rights. The church too owns land and church land maintains freedom and community identity. Significantly, many villagers see church land as communal land because the community uses the church. The school is also considered to be the property of the community. Thus, it is considered morally and ethically right that land surrounding the church and the school is available for communal use.

The communal use of family land creates the space in which home becomes a signifier of an individual or collective identity. Through the continuity of the family line and

¹¹³True Sligovillians are descendants of the first settlers.

residence in the village and/or cohabitation with a village member, an outsider/insider can be given rights to use family land. They do not receive rights of ownership. Land ownership is reserved for actual descendants. Sligovillians say they know who they are in the eyes of others. Others see them as being different and they know this fact. Sligovillians inhabit their own space and it is their habitus. They are therefore symbolically linked to the village and its history. The village is not merely a place to live and own land, but a home providing an identity.

Outsiders who chose to remain outsiders can present themselves as such. For most villagers, outsiders are not socialised in the values and norms of the community but some individuals are socialised yet still they refuse to become part of the community. This is something of an anomaly. From this perspective, outsiders threaten Sligoville's symbolic and historical identity. They mark themselves off from the rest of the community.

Though the physical bounded land space locates each individual member of the community, it is however the ideology of shared substance (blood) and descent of ex-slaves (the first settlers) that caters to a sense of commonality, difference and a collective ancestry.

A group of young men who reside on family land that lies in the original village define themselves as true Sligovillians. Young Mr Edwards says:

We were referred to negatively and we were identified as one of those from the old village; not much was expected from us. You see, we were identified as descendants of the original families, backward peasants. Time has put a stop to that, imagine Miss P, you are here researching and writing about us. Television programmes of cultural interest have been made about us and used to educate the nation. The teachers

were all outsiders who looked down on us in the village.

Laughing he says, “How the wheel has turned, we are the ones who make history; now, this is identity”. In his early childhood he was stigmatised by the bounded space that he inhabited. Significantly, to some degree this identity remains with him. In a later conversation, he was at pains to point out that annual emancipation celebration would reactivate the lost times and forgotten achievements of the first settlers.

Shifting Population and Perceptions of Identity

Sligovillians hold onto concepts of insiders-outsiders and newcomers. Villagers make a differentiation between insiders and outsiders and outsiders do the same. They differentiate between themselves and insiders. This dynamic exerts influence on the cultural and historic framework of the community.

Again, villagers are categorised into ‘us’¹¹⁴, ‘we’¹¹⁵ and ‘them’. ‘Us’, are descendants of the first settlers. They are loyal to and socially integrated into community values and norms. ‘We’ is indicative of individuals who have been integrated into and socialised into the community. This is demonstrated by their involvement in community activities and by their length of residence.

One man with whom I spoke perfectly embodies the outsider/insider status. This gentleman is married to a local woman and has resided in the village for over 30 years. All his children are Sligovillians. Yet, he is seen as both an outsider and insider. He is part of ‘we’ rather than ‘us’. He confirms “I am a member of the community, but I will never be one of the ‘Us’ families”.

¹¹⁴‘Us, a term used when describing all first time descendants who are members of a select group of families signifying membership of a recognised collective ancestry.

Furthermore, the position that outsiders occupy as insiders depends on three factors. These factors are the local family to which the outsider is affiliated, the actions of the individual newcomer and the attitude of villagers and their acceptance of those individuals. A first time descendant who does not take part in the social activities of the village might be perceived as 'we'. The community would see the individual's behaviour as a contravention of the norms and values of the village. Thus, the individual is deemed an insider but has the behaviour of an outsider.

'Them' are outsiders who reside locally but have not been ascribed the title of 'insider'/'we'. Each one may even refute their collective identification as a Sligovillian. Such individuals prefer to draw on their individual identity. Individuals and their families to reinforce distinctiveness vis-à-vis other villagers use 'Us'. Yet, where 'us' is combined with 'we' a wider collective identity is created in that moment in time. Most descendants perceive there is a historical ancestry, which is based on a shared substance (blood). The community maintains difference through a sense of 'us-ness' and 'we-ness' through this biological reality. Sligovillian 'us-ness' or localised ancestry is an outcome of endogenous process which is designed to consolidate land, a specific community and identity.

Whether the connection between individuals is real or imagined, symbolic and biologic relationships offer a concrete model by which to define one's position. It seems to me that Sligovillians maintain their identity by setting themselves apart from individuals and groups with whom they interact. Interestingly, these others will set themselves apart from Sligovillians.

¹¹⁵'We' is used as a generalised term categorising outsiders that have been bestowed as honoured Sligovillians. They are accepted as a part of the community and thus included within the community and when inclusion is necessary the term we is used to denote the outsiders insider inclusion.

However, the spatial displacement of Sligovillians engenders new forms of imagined identities (Anderson 1983) within the village. This is due to the links that migrants maintain with the village. Home is then a specific place of belonging and a place of habitation. However, individuals must maintain social relationships with their home. Irrespective of one's position, home and identity are linked to place, space and the symbolism of belonging through narratives. Identity is fixed yet it can be fluid.

My research supports Mintz's (1996) hypothesis on economic changes in the Caribbean region. Mintz implies that new identities are created for example, according to how the region is performing economically and in relation to levels of employment. Sligovillians utilise kin relations to secure remittances (Olwig 1993) and barrelled goods. Economic activity then ensues, creating employment and leading to entrepreneurial endeavour, that enables the construction of new identities. Further, Sligovillians can develop neo-identities/newcomer identities in reaction to migratory patterns, consumerism and returnees.

Hence, a new identity is fashioned out of a dependency on material goods that are sent from relatives who live abroad. This development not only has implications for the individual's sense of identity but also for the community's self image. It is damaging to young men and women where they look to and adopt the values of American street culture. They adopt an identity, which is prevalent in New York and Miami. It is one based on the possession of material goods.

The process of developing and reinforcing identity among the younger generation is twofold. Firstly, identity is generated and achieved through ideals such as communal belonging and oneness. Secondly, identity is constructed through habitual practice

(receipt and use of barrel goods), dependency, the need and desire to create an identity through branding¹¹⁶ and material culture (Miller 1991). In the case of branding, social mobility is all the more important because individuals are tied to the actual space and place of 'land', 'home' and kinship relationships. Post-modern consumer culture has succeeded in establishing identity by way of the relationship that locals have with goods from abroad (Olwig 1992). 'Barrel Culture' encourages one to express an authentic self which has given rise to what is known as Neo-Sligovillians¹¹⁷ who have become dependent on barrels of designer goods sent by kin living in North America and Europe.

The reality of a post-modern world, in particular the need to participate in the global economy threatens to erode the values of the community. Rather than producing goods for external markets, Sligovillians are consumers of externally produced products. Not only are they embedded in the economics of consumerism, but they have become pseudo-Americans. Within the public sphere, Sligovillians continue to draw on their collective identity. However, consumerism could be seen as a strategy formulated to enable individuals to adapt.

There is some division in the village about how the village should be developed. The younger generation is inclined to favour development in line with consumerism. Again, elders question the feasibility of the village's development, as the area is dependent on the production of cash crops. This form of agricultural endeavour is dependent on the seasons and on economic support. However, youth identity is complex. Firstly, youth relate who they are by way for example, their place of birth. Secondly, but just as significantly is how they can transform and become significant others by choosing to

¹¹⁶ Branding is the means through which individuals or society use manufactured designer goods to create and maintain a set of beliefs that communicate individual values and identity. Individuals are therefore accorded status according to the labels or branded items they use or wear.

embrace both material culture and the traditional culture of agronomy. Thirdly, youths will chose to, wish to and/or need to adapt to the changing environment by carving an identity based on their particular experiences. They hope to fuse agronomy and material culture in order to achieve an individual identity. In the village, youth culture is articulated in this way. The process of material culture and consumerism are combined with traditional and historical cultural elements.

‘Barrel culture’¹¹⁸ might have developed out of wider socio-economic constraints but this does not detract from its ability to serve as a means to reinterpret and adapt to the environment. I argue that the development of a barrel culture is a circular process that Jamaica has participated in from the days of plantation society. In essence, Jamaica functions within the capitalist market and as such, its development is yet another level of participation. There are socio-economic factors that impact on the village’s population where individuals migrate to urban cities or abroad.

There is a social acceptance of, and dependency on barrel culture, which is partly due to economic and political forces at work in the village. Barrel culture is a part of globalisation, a force that impacts individuals in the village. Barrel culture also offers opportunity for groups such as ‘returnees’¹¹⁹ and ‘deportees’¹²⁰ to adapt socially. Whilst cultural identity is as much about contact, sameness and difference, it is also about choice, constraint and stigmatisation. In the case of returnees, the choice to return to the

¹¹⁷Neo-Sligovillians is a concept I have coined to explain the development of a new identity by the village youth. It refers to or implies an identity created or embraced through the embodiment of consumer goods and a dependency on material culture.

¹¹⁸ Barrel Culture as used in this work refers to the development of a specific form of dependency, culture, identity and economic status of villagers on barrels with goods sent by relatives from abroad. The goods create an identity forged through material culture and the need and desire to maintain a specific identity, and status through the receipt and use of the goods. Receipts of barrels indicate economic position of those relatives abroad, the importance of individuals/families and demonstrate a wider familial relationship and reciprocity.

¹¹⁹ Returnees are individuals either those born in Jamaica or of Jamaican parentage who have returned to the island and village bringing with them elements of the cultural values of the societies, cultures and communities in which they have lived.

¹²⁰ Deportees refer to individuals who have lived abroad and have being deported from their country of residence to the island and village. These individuals have an imposed identity located in their status of return and at times this affect and changes to the identity of those individuals on return. At times this is reflected in the perceived identity of the village.

village locates them within a specific group but for deportees that choice is removed. Pressure is placed on individuals to remain within the community or society. To be identified as a deportee is a negative position to find oneself in.

When looking at the island, it is clear that it is common for Jamaicans to migrate. In the case of Sligoville, one's return to and permanent residence in the village after migration is significant in that it reinforces the community's spirit, rekindles kinship ties and provides a sense of ongoing history.

Drawing on Geller's classification of rootedness, which is otherwise known as the potato principle, I refer to the strong sense of territorial identity (Eriksen 1993: 66) that returnees have for Sligoville. Many villagers of a working class background speak of and are spoken of as having a sense of rootedness. This relates in the main to smallholding cultivators whose social mobility is restricted. Such individuals are identified as having connections that are rooted to the past and extend as webs of social and kinship patterns. These individuals are less able to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere and as such they become more rooted within the community both physically and spatially. However, villagers of a middle class background are seen as having a more fluid identity. Their education and economic status enables them a greater flexibility.

Religious, Social and Political Identity

The impact of religious, political and social change on identity in this settlement is demonstrated in the constant movement or search for authentication and validation. For many Sligovillians religious, political, occupational and social roles establish identity. Membership of a church and of a political party provides collective identity. Yet, these

identities are dependent on boundaries that mark them off from others.

A change of community leaders, government and local Members of Parliament will assist in the continuity of old identities and enable new identities to be formed. In their search for authentication and validation, Sligovillians are, in a sense enabling new identities to be formed. Yet, old identities fashioned out of contact with the Baptist church demonstrate the efficacy of religious identity. Each villager identifies with the Baptist church because of position within the village. As such the church is the focus of the village.

Villagers identify with the Baptist church and they use their connections with the church regardless of whether they are church members or not. Symbolic nuances are maintained as the Baptist church continues to have significance among the villagers.

They happily inform me that:

The fall of this church would signal the fall of our village.
We must continue to support this church, it is not necessarily the religious and spiritual aspect that we identify with but the more symbolic element.

Although village identity is tied to the Baptist church, it has a strong link with creolized religion and its religious practices (see chapter 4 and 5). A conscious decision was taken to embrace European religion as it provided long-term benefits namely survival beyond slavery. Indigenous religions however, provided spiritual and practical support.

The semantic long-term memory of religion is built up through experience and also through communication such as narratives. It is also formed in actions that have particular meanings based on the past. It would suggest that the original settlers decoded, interpreted, validated and established elements of religious concepts and

practices, which they found useful to their new lifestyle as freed people. The settlers and their descendants drew on creolized religion. In essence, they adapted a scheme, which I coin 'Practical Religious Outcome'¹²¹, which combines elements of Myalism, Revivalism and Christianity to ensure survival. Hence, we see how the structure and outcomes of these types of evolving religious practices have practical application for the individual and the community especially in times of change.

Whilst villagers use the Baptist church to maintain their identity. They also use church membership to reinforce it and ensure the community's cohesion. Individuals trace their family roots through the church, providing an oral history of the marriages, baptisms and funerals that have taken place there. This information is supported by evidence as to the names of officiating clergy. Villagers' identities are tied up in the lives and stories they narrate each day.

The political and social order reinforces identity or in some cases, to resist changes that might affect the individual's and community's identity. Due to their disillusionment with the government, villagers have formed a Committee Support Group that will address their specific needs and protect their identity. The Sligoville Support Group is an institution organised and run by an elected body of members from among the local community. It is instrumental in the maintenance of the community and its place as a historic village with a specific identity.

In an award ceremony held on Sunday, October 19th 1997, the Sligoville Support Group presented certificates to locals who had served the community for 20 years or more.

¹²¹This classification is used to denote the purpose and intentions of religious practices through which individuals might utilise religion and religious practices for practical reasons. Religious denomination, attendance and practices might be coded as situational and practical, with individuals seeking specific outcome through membership and religious practice.

Members of the community were honoured for their service to business, education, politics, health, security religion, communication, journalism, and law. In a sense, the community was creating its own heroes. The occasion was designed to create greater awareness of the part these individuals played in the village's history.

The Police Youth Group is organised by the Senior Police Officer at the local station. This institution was implemented by Corporal Chambers to support the community and the police force. The Senior Policeman states:

Having served in this community twice before and with the locals requesting my return I knew they had confidence in me. This club provides the means through which the young people can get together, learn who they are, be proud of themselves and their village and organise themselves.

Indeed, I often saw youths working together and socialising at these club meetings. At a meeting held on Sunday March 27th 1998, Mr Ansell, a guest speaker at a meeting held in the local community centre talked about the idea of 'Empowering Oneself'. The point of this exercise was to offer assistance to young individuals by focusing on identity and self worth. Mr Ansell's asked, "Do you know where you are going?" Each member of the group was required to respond and then turning and facing the individual seated next to them they asked the same. The speaker suggested they learn and personalised a text, which followed these lines: 'I am designed for achievement, engineered for success and empowered with the seed of greatness'.

After the meeting, one young man commented:

You know Miss P, Mr Ansell is right. We are empowered by the seed of greatness, our history our past and this whole village is the living proof of it. My great grandfather was truly empowered with the seed of greatness. I inherited it and am empowered, this is what my specific identity springs from.

This young man not only identifies with the sentiments but equates the message with the history of his people, his community and himself. Globalisation has heightened the desire for change or modern development which can lead to the creation of a new identity. Post-modern values and migration have caused the younger generation to challenge the very barriers and boundaries of traditional community life. This has however, resulted in villagers raising their critical awareness and social consciousness.

Many Sligovillians are disenfranchised and this is confirmed by their educational and economic position. However, they have developed political processes that sustain identity. The re-enactment of the Emancipation Day celebration is, as an annual national holiday, is designed to create greater awareness. One prominent local commented that “Sligoville might now be able to revive itself as a community and come alive again. Sligoville’s links to emancipation is such that aspects of the celebration should assist our revival’. Laughing aloud, he said, “Mrs P, don’t you think it’s apt considering your interest in Revival?” I asked him what the significance of the emancipation was for Sligoville. He suggested that Sligoville is merely one link in the chain of events leading to Jamaicans taking control.

His comment came true with respect to the revival of Sligoville. Since my last trip to the village in the summer of 1999, I have noticed some changes. The most noticeable change is the sign depicting Sligoville as the first free village. Here we see evidence of how the village is being marketed and revitalised.

On Monday 6th April 1998, a policeman shot a young man from the village. The villagers became incensed and action was taken in the form of protest. Villagers stood in front of the police station shouting “Yuh shoot him and yuh nah get whey wid it”

(you shot him and you will not get away with it). The crowd swelled and the shouts grew louder. A taxi driver took the injured lad to the local hospital in Spanish Town.

The boy's departure did nothing to calm the crowd. The village crossroads soon became the front line of the protest and the square was a no go area unless you were a villager.

You were either 'them' (outsiders) or 'us'/'we' (insiders). No one would be allowed to cross the square unless they were a local, one of 'us'. Vehicles trying to pass through the square were turned back into Bog Walk or Spanish Town

I addressed some of the young men and women, suggesting that they take no further action. I felt this would lead to further injuries or even arrest. They listened but a voice cried out: "This is the only way we will be listened to. We must resist and demonstrate our disapproval, and demand respect and recognition. They think we are insignificant non-persons, but they will soon learn, we are Sligovillians".

However, officers who had driven in from Spanish Town managed to communicate with the villagers. They listened patiently, showed empathy and took time to understand the situation. They also suggested ways in which to resolve the situation. Eventually, the crowd dispersed and everything returned to normality. However, an eerie feeling remained. The road was littered with objects that had been used to block the road off the night before. One young man informed me:

Our communal action last night was necessary. We had to send the message telling them of who we are. We will resist to the end if necessary. It is not just about an arrest and shooting; it is about whom we are, our identity is at stake. We are one, we are a community and we must be seen as such. We cannot as Sligovillians allow one of our villagers to be treated in that manner it would be giving permission to others to repeat this action.

In this instance collective action was a merely response to what they felt to be socio-

economic and political inequality.

Conclusion

In this section I present different ways in which Sligovillians create and maintain identity. I also show how they create and maintain relatedness and a sense of belonging. As such, components of substance, sentiment and socialisation are shown as ways of creating relatedness and belonging. By highlighting ties of relatedness and belonging through different idioms, we see the fluidity and fixity of identity and inturn their significance in the continuity of this community. For specific families, identity revolves around ideas of shared or direct descent and also makes use of the tension of stigmatisation. This form of identity is confirmed by the relationships that exist between the stigmatised. It is also confirmed in how the stigmatised are perceived and how they see themselves. Thus, their own views as to their identity are reinforced. By drawing on ideas of difference, Sligovillians can again create and maintain their specificity and distinctiveness.

Sligovillians' distinctiveness is created and maintained through a process of socialisation, which reflects similarity as well as difference. It is these similarities and differences, which maintain their identity. In this chapter, I have attempted to show how relatedness and belonging are portrayed in narratives that act as a means of socialising individuals into the body of knowledge and into the activities of the community. This is how communal identity is achieved. Through situated learning individuals become apprentices who are being socialised within the community. Thus, they are provided an identity. I also discussed the use of boundary, space, politics and movement in the shaping of identity and demonstrated how the sharing of ideas, fictive kinship, family and home seals identity in the village of Sligoville.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DEATH AND THE MAKING OF IDENTITY

The religious ideology of Revivalism is at the heart of how the land is used both in life and in death. This is exemplified in Sligovillians' death rituals and in their burial practice (Besson 2002). Land a symbol of life represent continuity. It is used by the living in mortuary rites to reaffirm descent and kinship patterns which reinforce identity.

In this chapter, I argue that a relationship exists between land, the Revival worldview and identity (Barrett 1997; Austin-Broos 1997; Chevannes and Besson 1996; Besson 2002) in Sligoville. I also argue for the importance of Revival death rites and rituals and the links to land, and identity. The approach I have taken is interdisciplinary. It embraces ideas based on an African cosmology and belief system. It also takes a cognitive approach, looking at the cultural construction of misfortune and crisis (see chapter 6). My argument is that Sligovillian's religious beliefs and practices are intertwined with their conceptions of nature, and that Revivalism is not just folklore, but a religion with development-orientated ethics and morals.

I pull together the ideas of crisis and misfortune demonstrating Sligovillians relationship with their environment and belief in the supernatural as interrelated elements of a particular worldview. Thus, my primary goal is to present ideas surrounding life and death; and how these issues determine the individuals and community's lifestyle. Death is a high point in the social life of the community and ensures continuity through burial rites, rituals and funerals. The practice of separating the individual from the community through rituals preceding the funeral and the tombing is of much importance. Whilst

death separates it also serve to reunite.

I give consideration to the relationships between religious beliefs, funeral rites, death rituals and land placing these thematic issues in relationship to funeral food, pollution, virility and transformation, which demonstrates the reciprocal links that Sligovillians, have within its own boundaries and villages on its periphery. This is placed in a context demonstrating the importance of indigenised religious practices and beliefs and their relevance to identity formation and cultural continuity.

Death, Performance Rites and Rituals

Religion has its place at death and locates the individual not only within physical and sociological dimensions, but also in the spiritual dimension. Death through burial on the land fixes individual location. Death is perceived among many rural communities and practitioners of creolized religion in Jamaica as the decline or loss of the physical body and transference of the spiritual being to the ancestors or the spiritual plane. Among Revivalists death is the end of physical life and the continuity of life in a spiritual form on another plane. Mrs Bryan, a follower of Bogle and resident caretaker of Bogle's place of burial (shrine), and the church in Waugh Hill (three miles away from Sligoville), explained the placing of food and other personal items on and around Bogle's grave, and other Revivalists. Mrs Bryan informed me that Bogle and his followers, including her, did not believe death is the end as most Christians do.

Revivalists believe in the existence of a sacred space an '*after life*' where a sense of identity, freedom and equality will be restored to the individual. Mrs Bryan has since

passed on and during my most recent visit I was able to visit her grave and pay my respects. It is merely the end of a physical state with life continuing on some other plane. Life is therefore a continuum with individuals passing on from one level or plane on to the next where all suffering is ended. This is where the similarity regarding Heaven exists between Revivalism and Christianity. However, the difference is that Christianity expounds that the individual works towards a better life following death, whilst Revivalism seeks enjoyment in this life and extols the afterlife. Hence, items that the individuals liked and used during their previous life are placed at, and on the graves, so the deceased may continue to enjoy and derive pleasure from those items as they did during their previous life.

Death is seen as the reaffirmation of the self. It is a time when everyone examines, recalls, recaptures and remembers the deceased individual and this process of remembering reaffirms the individual personae. This is reinforced in the rites and rituals following death, burial, tombing and the remembrance rituals, which occurs up to a year following the burial. The dead surrenders the physical aspect of their identity, but the living reinforces ideas of the self through the process of remembering and performing rites and rituals.

Burial rites and rituals are linked to death, birth, land and religion. Death has its own taboos and examining ideas occurring before, during and following death addresses this. Death in Jamaica and within Sligoville carries with it religious meaning, demarcations and boundaries. Ideas surrounding death are intrinsic to creolized religion and cultural activities. In 1997, in the field, in Sligoville I noted in detail the performance rites and ritualistic activities whilst following a particular death. Performers and mourners were

drawn from the community and a few were members of Revival and other creolized religions, as well as the Baptist, Anglican and Pentecostal churches. However, spectators and even mourners, unless they were familiar with the cultural norms and values of the society or the community, would not be aware of the rites and rituals taking place.

Wakes are a significant part of the process leading to burial (Besson 1995; 2002). Yet, children are not informed of the reasons for the attendant rites and rituals. It is only through being with adults, listening to adult conversation and watching or participating in activities that knowledge is gained. It is only when children have become young adults (youths) that adults reveal elements of those rites. It is then that the reasons, their significance and importance are revealed. It is primarily through participant observation and the art of listening and learning that ritual knowledge is acquired.

At wakes or through the conduct of funerary rites I was able to appreciate the cultural meaning and significance of the numerous and varied songs and the dances performed. Many of the songs were lamentations of the death of the individual and they were performed for the benefit of the deceased as much as the community. It is widely believed that these songs are efficacious to the well being of the soul of the departed individual. Hence, a funeral is never celebrated or completed unless the funerary rites and rituals are conducted.

This was made quite clear to me on the death of my mother during my fieldwork in September 1997. My family are practising Anglicans (Church of England) and following the death of my mother the usual opening of the home to receive visitors was

carried out. The accommodation of the wake at nights, singing and the conducting of traditional Revival rites and rituals were allowed. However, on the ninth night at about two a.m. as the family settled for the night from within the house a shout was heard from the grounds of the garden. On opening the doors, my sister and I were faced with members of the community requesting that the family turn the dead from the home. My sister, an ordained minister in the Church of England (Canada), informed the individuals that we had retired for the night and it was not necessary. The spoke person in the group addressed me: “Miss Davis, mi mean Miss Palmer, yuh should know better, (meaning, because of my research in creolized religions, and my interaction with the villagers I ought to recognise the significance) yuh caan du dat, yuh ah fi tun de dead out”.

An elderly man to whom I have had numerous discussions regarding Kumina called out to me “Miss Yvonne, yuh jus a play wid wi, yuh no serious”. Looking out at the faces of the villagers standing on the steps in the darkness of the night with the glow of the light from the garden framing them like a picture they appeared almost ghost-like. I replied “mum is not likely to haunt her children, there isn’t any need for this”. The woman staring straight at me said, “but a wha dis yuh a say, yuh caan do dis, if yuh nuh tun out de dead yuh wi have trouble. We ave fi do it” (what are you saying? You cannot do this, if the dead is not put out of the house, there will be problems later).

Looking at the figures of the individuals on the lawn and their features, I realised that whether my family felt it was unnecessary, the community needed it for their social, emotional and psychological benefit. Therefore, our family had to fulfil the needs of the community, which was presented as primary to our family wishes, regardless of our

desires and decisions. Of primary importance was communal welfare. My family's religious wishes were acceptable, but the community's needs and beliefs were paramount. The family may negate their responsibilities, but the community would not.

Here the significance of the rites and rituals based on creolized religious beliefs were highlighted. It focused on communal as well as individual needs. Within this community and on this occasion the cultural and traditional communal needs override individual desires and decisions. Since family members are non-residents within the community except for sporadic residence of one brother, the community's needs and wishes ought to be upheld. Besides the ideas of the rites and rituals of the nine-night, my mother's interment was on the family plot within the community. It is a traditional belief that incomplete funerary rites and rituals lead to the spirit of the dead haunting the community. With this my sister and I acquiesced to the demands of the community and offered a few personal possessions for the funeral rite of separation, transformation and rebirth. Subsequently, I learned that these rites are performed as much for the benefit of the soul of the deceased as well as the community.

At the wakes and during the performance of the rites and rituals many of the songs are traditional wake songs. 'Cock a-crow Peter' (Wake song 1: appendix 3) gone is sung on the first few nights following a death. This song reaffirms the death or passing on of the individual. It is the belief that the soon departed needs to be told or reminded they have died. During the first few days and even weeks following death, the deceased is unaware of their change of status. Therefore, the singing of this song acts as a reminder. The crowing of a rooster at any other time than daybreak (6 a.m.) symbolises death. It is considered a warning of impending death. 'Cock a crow Peter gone', 'Oh Sister

Libby', and 'Oh Sister Miriam' are forms of communication whereby the living are communicating with the ancestors informing them of the death and arrival of the deceased. During the singing of the song, the tone, gestures and dance step is of significance to the form of communication during the performance.

The song 'A fear of every animal' (See appendix 4) signifies the death of an individual and their impending arrival in the after world. The deceased should remain safely locked in that world, hence "keyman lock the door and gone". They can no longer inhabit the world of the living. The usual tradition of visiting the yard/home of the deceased sitting up talking and singing is to maintain contact, to offer assistance and to prevent or alleviate loneliness and maintain the spirit of relatives. It is a display of communal solidarity and support.

'Don't board the wrong train' (appendix 5), this song is also sung as a warning to the deceased and a means of communicating with the ancestors. It's a belief that that the spirit of the deceased will travel on to the ancestors. However, some spirits might remain within the earthly plane or on their journey they might be loose their way. The newly deceased is given advice from the living in the form of a song as a reminder to travel the right path to heaven and the ancestors. Singers are giving a warning, reminding the deceased to be careful during the journey to the ancestors.

Another lament to the deceased was 'Sityra' (appendix 6). This song expresses sorrow at death and reminds all that the deceased is leaving members of the family and friends. The solace and loneliness felt by the bereaved are expressed. This song encourages expressive actions, which are considered good for the emotional and physical aspect of

the individual and even the community. Thus, it addresses and provides for the emotional needs of the individual and the community. Through the song the community identifies with the individual and the individual or family demonstrates their fears and sadness which are dealt with communally. This typifies creolized and African based religions, which focus not only on individual needs, but also on the needs of the wider community. By this action the community can observe the extent to which the individual may need support as a result of their grief. It is a practical guide to a most difficult problem.

'Sityra' is repeated a second time, but with each line, a low bass male singing voice, repeats. This song and the repetition by the male voice effect a woeful mood on the observers and set the scene for the night's drama. In this song the singer is lamenting the departure of the individual and demonstrating the loss, division and separateness of their situation. It is the whole idea of the loss of individuals, which is a great lament.

This song demonstrates the dominant ideology of the good of the community, yet it also focuses on the immediate kin. The loss of ones family members and being left alone is sad and gloomy. It therefore acts as a reminder regarding the benefit of this life, whilst serving to draw the community together as one at the funeral. Thus, death separates, but it also assists in bringing the family and the community together, although it is only for a short while. Death has the ability to separate and unite. It is not final, for presented is an alternate reality consisting of existing dualities. The laments and dancing highlight and reinforce the change in relationships, both within the family and the community, following death.

This song 'Our Father' (appendix 7) is a revision of the prayer. It is a reminder of all of the worldly problems one suffers. Yet the chorus reminds the individual that first they suffer and then they rise above the suffering through prayer. A female villager speaking with me reaffirmed the belief that "in prayer and through prayer the spirit is freed and it survives all suffering to soar to greater heights". These religious and or folk songs are a direct link to a black religion, which has creolized, and become ecstatically (aesthetically) Jamaican.

Within creolized religions death is a surrender of worldly suffering. It is the separation of one, from the other, yet death is not perceived as a state of tension. It is through death the individual is removed from the tension of this world. Death heralds a joyful release for practitioners of creolized religions. Therefore one of the many songs sung at wakes were 'Wipe your weeping eyes' (appendix 8). This song is a reminder of the beliefs of Revival worldview and it is sung to cheer up the bereaved and visitors at the wake.

This one verse is repeated three or more times followed by the chorus, 'Yuh going to wipe yuh-weeping eyes'. The persistent theme of this song is bravery, for mourners are reminded to cease weeping, because the deceased is well and they have passed on to a better place. It is meant to console and encourage the bereaved to be brave, to cease weeping, because the deceased can no longer suffer the sins of this world. The song is used as a reminder from the deceased to the living that death is not to be feared. Those left behind should be reminded of the religious significance of their cultural beliefs and practices. The song is meant to console and cheer the living informing them that the deceased is finally on the next journey to the ancestors.

It should be noted that the ideologies and belief systems of many diasporic African based religions are founded upon the return to Africa, among the ancestors, where all suffering will end. Through death their sense of personhood, their own identity and true spirituality is fully restored and achieved. Therefore, the relatives and friends left behind should be joyful. Such a song is usually sung where the deceased has been unwell for a considerable length of time or if the death was sudden, but quick. It is a reminder that the dead has now moved on and all suffering is over.

Laments at funeral wakes are expressed in words and in the actions and bodily movements of the performers. They are by no means formless wailing. They signify the communal and familial behaviour and respect for the deceased and the ancestors. Although, I heard funeral laments in Sligoville, it was difficult to record them at the wakes. On occasions it was difficult to obtain the words of many of the songs as individuals were reluctant at times to sing or repeat the words out of context. Besides villagers said they observed me singing, therefore, I must be conversant with the songs. I was familiar with a number of the songs, although I could not recall all the words. However, I made a note of the song and its tune and recorded the songs privately away from the home of the deceased or in other areas such as the village I grew up, at a later date. At times, I was forced to acquire the words at other wakes outside of Sligoville. During the wake the momentum of singing is maintained and to record the words would mean a break in the performance by my informant who were usually active participants.

Arriving in the village square one evening, I stopped at one of my regular haunts, and joined in the conversation regarding the death of the latest villager and the funeral wake to be held that night. As villagers congregated to walk down to the old village they

contemplated the thought of work the following day, the death of the individual and the funeral. Walking down to the home of the deceased, accompanied by many of the villagers I met in the shop, we traced the family line of the deceased. I discovered that many of the villagers accompanying me were relatives of the woman. The house of the deceased was built next to, and located on the very parcel of land of the Baptist "Class House". During this specific wake the songs were a means of cheering the audience, it drew the assembled crowd closer together and assisted in alleviating their sadness.

Looking from the road up to the yard, the house appeared to be perched precariously on the side of Winchester Top. Climbing up the steep and rocky path to the yard where the ceremony would be held I recognised a number of villagers conversing. A number of family members were in attendance in the house with a handful of friends and neighbours. Whilst villagers and I milled about in the yard offering condolences, a few individuals were trying to position the table and prepare it for the nine-night rites and rituals with some difficulty. An hour later I observed the arrival of three men and four females and the enormous effect their arrival had on the crowd.

I recognised these individuals as Kumina professional ritual singers and performers from previous funerary rituals I had attended within the village. The faces of the assembled group were now animated with delight making them more expressive and joyous. One villager commented "we should have a good evening now they have arrived". Following this the singing began after various discussions between the new arrivals and a few villagers. The new arrivals positioned themselves alongside a few villagers seated and standing around a table placed in the centre of a covered area in the yard. Singing began in earnest and the larger gathering was at times dictating the choice

of songs to be sung. Yet, this was done with co-operation both from the table and the wider group. The wake is a symbolic return from the separateness of this world back to unified order of the spiritual worldview of Revivalism.

Interestingly the men and women at the table led the performance with the mourners joining in at intervals. Whilst singing was taking place a game of domino was been organised by younger men next to the crowd mourners. Yet as the singing increased and depending on the song being sung these young men would join in with great laughter and merriment. Simultaneously and very interestingly the playing of reggae music was in full swing as well. This is a new development within the society where Jamaica's traditional dance music is played for the benefit of the younger generation. This type of music is played for listening rather than dancing and as such the wake might be divided into two camps. The main camp was frequented primarily by elders whilst the second camp was the domain of young people. However both groups would intermingle at times. The setting up of the stalls and the sale of food items were done mainly by private individuals and rarely by members of the deceased family. This is a new development on mortuary rituals with the family of the deceased providing refreshments for the visitors.

At times the music slowed and the crowd refrained from singing. This led to a change of song and tempo and also heralded movement around the table as a few individuals ingested rum and salt. However, the use of rum was more frequent than the use of sugar and salt. As the tempo changed to a livelier beat the crowd became more and more merry, dancing commenced and some participants danced a few steps of Kumina. The crowd grew more excited, became animated, and sang louder. The tempo and the

activities involved in the actual performance of the song lightened the burden of the death of the individual for short spells.

Whilst the occasion is tinged with sadness it is simultaneously a joyful time. Visitors and relatives greet each other offering condolences, yet there is a sense of merriment with singing and laughter. During these performances and ceremonies a jocular relationship is expressed between the performers, the mourners, the family and the spirit of the deceased. It is also an occasion for gender, youth, children, and elders to express themselves without fear of embarrassment. The individual is seen as expressing their anxiety, therefore judgement of individual behaviour is more tempered. Funerals, funerary rites and rituals are used as a release to vent anger, sorrow and regret following death. During these occasions frustrations can be manifested in different ways and these are explained as sorrow, regret and guilt. Particular actions that normally might not be forgiven will now be overlooked and accepted as an expression of sadness due to death.

At times male performers or leaders¹²² would commence the singing with women accompanying. Men would inevitably repeat specific lines of the songs in deep base voices, which evokes specific emotions, that symbolically links the singers and observers to the past and their ancestors. At times during singing, impromptu flirting occurs between male singers/performers and females in the crowd. However, men were the primary instigators of flirting except in cases where the female is a mature female married or widowed. In such cases flirting of the mature female is done in jest.

¹²² A leader refers to the primary singer at wakes. This individual will decide on the choice of songs, their order and commence each song with the other singers and the assembled crowd joining in.

In Sligoville, like most other rural villages in Jamaica, death is a time of coming together, of remembering and forgetting (Besson 2002). Whatever the shortcomings of the deceased, they are referred to or spoken of kindly. I enquired why this was so? I was told firmly that regardless of individual faults and misgivings during the deceased's life, at their death the community focuses on the good aspects. By focusing on good aspects of the deceased, the community is more likely to continue to prosper and have good fortune. The deceased is unable to address issues of behaviour, therefore it is best to look for good and speak well of the individual.

Moreover, the deceased is presently in a dangerous and polluting state. They are separated from the living and the spirit world, but they are unaware of their full state and how dangerous they are to the living. In order to assist the spirit on to another level and aid their passing into the spirit world it is important to let go of those issues and let the deceased pass over safely. This action prevents the malevolent spirit acting against the community.

More intensive probing on this subject highlighted this little gem of which I was reminded, 'Never speak ill of the dead'. My companions suggest that the spirit of the dead can return to take its revenge. Here particular beliefs of the dead and spirits linked to Myalism and Revival is still very strong and is practised. During one of my numerous visits to funerals I observed the importance of creolized religions and its practices at the funeral of a local woman. Although this family was poor they were expected to organise and hold the usual creolized rites and rituals that demands great expenditure. The 'nine

night'¹²³ (Besson 1993) ritual is considered a must and is usually carried out by most families.

Following death, the corpse is removed from the home to the funeral parlour in preparation for burial. On the ninth night following death, specific death rites and rituals are held. These rites and rituals are processes of dispersal or removal and transformation of the corpse and spirit from the home and from among the living. It relocates the soul of the deceased back among the ancestors. The dangerous spirit is expelled from the home and amongst the living, where it is transformed and reborn as an ancestor.

Due to modern living patterns, migration and socio-economic demands the Nine-night ritual is at times performed not on the ninth night but instead on the night before the funeral. In Sligoville the Nine-Night ritual can be held forty days after death (Besson 1993) or on any night following death, if it is the night prior to the burial.

However, the degree to which ritual and rites might be upheld differs according to family, class status, religious denomination, and strength of cultural beliefs and community pressure. Rituals and rites might also differ due to the parish of residence and where the primary singers and dancers originate from and their repertoire of songs and dances.

Hence a table placed in the centre of the yard is covered with a white cloth and a bible,

¹²³ Nine-night is the ninth night following death and usually the night before the funeral and burial of the deceased. Visitor and the ritual performers converge at the deceased person's home, taking up a central position to mourners at the funeral table. During nine-night preparation, a table is covered with a white tablecloth, placed in the centre of the yard and dressed with specific ritual items such as a bottle of rum and a saucer containing salt and sugar. A bible and a container of water and glasses are also placed on the table.

bowls containing sugar, salt and water is placed in the centre of the table along with a bottle or two of rum and drinking utensils. The night commences with the usual funeral songs and moves on to the singing of sankey hymns combined with a few steps of Kumina, Dinky and Bruckins dances¹²⁴. At midnight the rhythm of the singing and dancing increases to a crescendo and rum is sprinkled to turn out the spirit of the deceased. With this completed the singing and dancing takes a more relaxed feel as the passing on of the dead spirit from the living to the next world has been completed.

Whilst the rites and rituals are important to the continuing community spirit, the binding of the family to the community and the sharing in the symbolic form of death and sadness, it can at times be burdensome. This is particularly so, when sorcery/ Obeah is drawn on for personal benefit within the community.

Here in Sligoville, ritual techniques and beliefs, which were developed and incorporated to ward off evil and eradicate slavery, have survived and are presently in use. At one of the many nine-night rituals I attended, the first song to be sung is, 'By the river of Babylon' (appendix 9). This song is reminiscent of the past especially the removal of black ancestors from their homeland, the journey from Africa to the Caribbean and the harsh reality of slavery. It is calling everyone, a gathering of the souls both living and dead.

Therefore, each individual attending is called to gather at the shores and remember the person who has passed over. This song is a release and joyous moment because at last the individual is released from the burden of this world to join the ancestors.

¹²⁴Kumina, Dinky and Bruckins dances have their origin in the eastern parishes of the island, that is St Mary, St Thomas, Portland and St Catherine, whilst Bruckins is considered as originating in Manchioncal district of Portland and practiced primarily in this parish. Following emancipation the spread of Bruckins into the western parishes of Westmoreland and St James became popular.

Significantly this song draws on Psalm 137 and it is an example of the continuing process of creolization: that is, the ability of creolized religion to absorb and utilise elements of Christian worship to promote and address issues of great significance for Sligovillians.

Many funeral rites and rituals have a religious as well as a secular significance. However, the religious significance is linked to creolized rather than Christian religions and the secular have a social and communal importance. Funerary rites and rituals are represents cultural norms and values, but have their strongest links with the creolized religions that are derived from religious ideologies and structures developed during and after slavery.

The harshness and inhumanity of slavery provided the terrain for Myalism. This religiosity and spirituality was grounded with mechanisms for the protection of the individual and the community and eradication of slavery, which was identified as sin. The struggle for the eradication of sin and protection from the dominant group continues in contemporary Jamaica. Bob Marley's song "Emancipate yourself from mental slavery" was indeed suggesting that Jamaicans must first accept themselves, be proud of their black heritage and black consciousness or identity, in order to free themselves. To achieve this, is to be spiritually fulfilled and empowered. Hence, it is not what others might bestow on the individual, but the individual's acceptance of his or her identity or persona, the right to choose and have a sense of equality that is of importance.

Many creolized religious techniques are not only evident in sacred life, but have been

incorporated and continued within secular life. They have evolved and creolized to become the cultural and religious values in Sligoville and Jamaican society. Here the belief of freedom and return to Africa is maintained, expressed and practiced in the death ritual, on death through to the tumbing.

However, the belief in a return is not necessarily a bodily return to Africa, but a symbolic return of the spirits of the living following death, which enables complete freedom. This is demonstrated with the practice of the nine-night and the transformation (transportation) of the corpse to ancestors, the maintenance of the community order and safety, and lastly, the eventual reincarnation of the deceased in the next generation.

At various wakes I was told that the spirit of the deceased dances among the singers and dancers. It is there that the songs sung have their greatest significance. During these ritual occasions singing serves a purpose other than to entertain, it evokes memories and places the participants in a stage of liminality where they forget their worries and fears. It also serves as a means of evoking the transformation of the spirit from the corpse to the ancestors.

Communal participation creates solidarity and cohesiveness. Participants become one through the process of sharing the sorrow and loss of the deceased. This creates a heightened sense of elation as the participants and onlookers are drawn together by the dancing, music and singing. The whole process is a means of removing the participants from the mundane to the spiritual/ancestral world or realm. The experience locates the community and enables individuals to situate themselves within that community, psychologically and physically, so as to enact a healing process. It is a coping

mechanism.

This process of preparation transports not only the deceased, but also the participating/villagers from one stage on to the next. In essence, the villagers or community is expected to take an active role in the funeral rites of the deceased. Hence, regardless of the individual actions of the deceased during their lifetime, individuals and the community perform a necessary service for the deceased by enacting the funeral rites.

Finally on the day of the funeral the procession and the choice of coffin bearers are a direct statement of status. As a general rule pallbearers are chosen from among male members of the family and close friends. However, on rare occasions the pallbearers might be female. As Gloria informed me in Sligoville at her father's funeral her sisters and herself were the pallbearers. This was seen as a special privilege and honour to their father. It is considered as the final act for the deceased, the last service they could all perform for him. However, it has a deeper meaning within the descent group of honouring the deceased and the living. This act denotes kinship and descent lineage that recognises both blood and fictive notions of kinship patterns. The deceased is honoured by the choice of individuals carrying the corpse to its resting-place the final act of respect and status. The living is honoured due to the status of being given the choice of supporting the coffin and the deceased from among family members and close friends.

On the day of the funeral and at the service in the church the coffin is placed a few feet from the entrance to the altar. As relatives and friends arrive there is a steady procession

of people up the aisles. As people approach the coffin they pause to look, and at times touch the face of the deceased, before proceeding behind the coffin and down the aisles to be seated. During the service individual family members and friends offer their personal lament and farewell in the form of poetry, songs and eulogy. At this time the more personal familial ties and links are overtly expressed.

Overall women appear to weep far more than men, but it is not unusual for any individual to demonstrate their lament and farewell by spontaneously weeping, singing and reciting poetry. During the church service and at the graveside male weeping is acknowledged. It is not considered as weak or unmanly for it is seen as appropriate behaviour for the demonstration of their sorrow or lament for the passing of the deceased.

At the funeral the body is buried and the spirit is laid to rest. During this process the singing of hymns with favourite hymns of the deceased is sung. The burial is never complete until the coffin is totally covered and the floral wreaths placed on the grave or tomb. When this is completed, internment is considered as complete. With the internment completed, another stage of the laying to rest or the transformation of the deceased is accomplished. However, the process is not yet final.

Death could be said to be a three-stage process. The first stage is the wakes with their rites and rituals. Here the idea of the nine nights ritual has evolved in contemporary Sligo. Due to modern living patterns, migration and economic demands the nine-night ritual is now performed the night before the funeral. In Sligo the nine nights can be held forty days after death (Besson 1993) or on any night as long as it is the night

prior to the burial. The second is the funeral and burial and the third or final stage is the tombing a year later. Here, the mound of the grave is flattened and a more solid structure is erected as a resting-place to house the deceased remains and to act as a marker. Tombing is considered as the final stage in the funeral rite.

However, in contemporary times the combining of the tombing with the funeral is more commonplace. This is due to issues, such as, migration, economic stringencies and limitations as a result of work practices impacting on the immediate and extended family, some of who may be living abroad. Under such conditions arrangements are made for the building of specific mausoleums and sepulchres that are completed as part of the burial ceremony. These arrangements are more contemporary means of satisfying the needs of the immediate and extended family, for economic reasons and for convenience. With many villagers residing abroad and the limited time for travelling due to the pressures of employment and the expense of tombing a year later, expense is spared by inclusion of tombing at internment. This immediate tombing solves a major economic and social predicament a year later. It is less expensive to combine the two and final tombing rites and rituals are minimal and at times dispensed with.

Death separates but yet it creates new life, a rebirth within the descent group. Death pollutes and it is dangerous, yet it enables fertility and continuity. Most importantly it maintains solidarity, identity, cohesiveness and freedom through the maintenance of specific rites and rituals. Thus death and its funerary rituals are but means of maintaining identity, with the original descent group in Africa, but more importantly freedom and continuity through its own land practices as well as creolized religious beliefs and practices. Death reaffirms and bolsters the sets of relationships, which

maintain both passive¹²⁵ and active identities¹²⁶. Death, funerary rites and rituals are a language surrendered to performance, cultural practices and religious beliefs. Creolized religious practices are explicit secular and sacred language as they are spiritual religious beliefs and practices framed around African knowledge and experiences.

On the day of the funeral and as part of the preparation of the funeral feast before the goat is killed it is the norm for the butcher to have a drink of rum. He will also spray or sprinkle rum on the goat and the surrounding area. This is to appease the spirits and purify the environment. As the goat is killed the butcher sprinkles blood from the goat within the vicinity as a mark of respect and offering to the ancestors and the deceased. Death and blood are symbolic of the cycle of life. Following this rite the butchered animal is then made ready for cooking.

Here respect, hierarchy, class and status are expressed in the abundance of food, the quality and the type of food served at the feast. The feast provided is one way the dead and their kin will be remembered within the community and wider society. A poor feast denotes meanness and a scrooge like personality of the deceased family. However, to some extent this form of feasting is changing among the upper class and middle class who approach these rituals with greater economic consideration. As Rev. McKenzie told me:

In these modern times especially times of hardship, the continuing funerary rites and rituals are a burden to the poor. The poor cannot afford the costly funerals as well as the funerary food and entertainment of the mourners and visitors.

¹²⁵ Passive identities are derived from sets of relationships such as class, gender and ethnicity. Individuals are neither aware of, nor are they conscious of these identities.

¹²⁶ Active identities refer to identities that are conscious and which provide a base for conscious actions e.g. the community and a woman or man.

Yet, in my research and at the numerous funeral rituals I attended, it was invariably and primarily the poor who maintained the full and comprehensive traditional rites and rituals at immense cost. On enquiring about this I was told:

The primary importance is not the cost, significant as it is. What is important is the proper burial of the deceased, the protection of the community and the continuity of the structures and meaning of the systems of belief, which maintains the individual, their identity and personhood, the community and the society. It is the continuity of our past history, our present and future. Without it, we wouldn't grow or adjust, gathering speed and momentum in order to survive and evolve.

During my attendance at wakes and funerals, participants informed me those funeral rites and rituals were observed for cultural and social, as well as, personal and religious reasons. Whilst they were observed with some sense of hilarity and fun, they were also an underlining fear, and ambivalence, to the unsettled ghost/ spirit. Both the burial rites and rituals focus on the deceased and the living. Death is a celebration of the deceased and atonement for past misgivings of the living and the dead.

However, burial rites focus more on the deceased and lying the deceased to rest. If traditional and cultural funerary values and norms are neglected the wrath of the ancestor might be felt by the community. Thus, adherence to these norms and values are expected, moreover the dissatisfaction of the deceased may be experienced with problems occurring preventing the corpse being placed in the grave.

Cultural belief of the interconnectedness of the body and soul is highlighted and enacted during the wake through the performance rites and rituals (Chevannes 1995). This

ideology is supported and reinforced at burial where the soul is thought to remain with the body. Should an improper burial occur the soul would depart from the body and exist among the living. Belief in the wishes of the deceased to be carried out is one element of the nuances of death and burial rites.

Thus, it is at the tumbing a year later that the grave is flattened and the last stage of laying to rest and locating of the deceased is finalised. To locate and put to rest the remains of the ancestors is a way of conferring or signifying identity with the deceased. The deceased is finally placed among the ancestors, the descent group, and the link between the living and the dead is confirmed. It is also a symbolic act of love and respect whereby the deceased is sent on his/her journey to join the ancestors.

During the tumbing rum is sprayed on the grave and offerings (of food and blood of an animal) made to the ancestors. Remarkably the offerings made to the ancestors are done covertly and as such it is at times difficult to observe these rites as they occur. It is through conversations and in interviews with villagers that information was acquired in more personal circumstances.

The singing of traditional folk songs, laughter and the consumption of alcohol and food appeases the spirit. One elderly villager smiled, and another chuckled aloud as the meal of a young boy was spilt. Looking at each other knowingly they nodded their heads and said, “yes man, shi hungry and shi a play wid him” (yes man, she is hungry and she is playing with him). Although rites and rituals are significant part of death and its processes of remembering and forgetting, there are other aspects to the funerary rituals. From research there appear to be deep mechanical meaning or signs embedded and embodied in these rites and rituals which contribute to and maintain the semiotics of

cultural and religious history.

Death, Land and Religion

The environment, the land and its productivity are linked to death, religion and the ancestors. There exists an ideology or strong appreciation of nature and its naturalness. Here in Sligoville and throughout the parish of St. Catherine I was told of the need to remember the links between land, birth, religion and death. It is believed the process is not linear, but circular. Each element feeds off the other and contributes to the overall balance. Revivalism is grounded in a belief system, which is interconnected to the land and fertility. Followers believe in the relatedness and interconnectedness of the environment and the spiritual. I was quite often reminded, “*we come from the land and we return to the land*”. This is portrayed even in death where the belief that speaking well of the dead and a good burial reflects on the community and its environment. This is not merely a spiritual belief it is a naturalistic ideology as well. Whereby lack of respect to the deceased, the ancestors and incomplete compliance of funerary rites and rituals can affect the productivity of the land and community well being.

Hence, the belief in the respect for particular trees, specific areas, especially ponds, rivers and spring, for not respecting them can lead to disasters within the community. Here, the complete respect of nature, the land and the ancestors are linked to creolized religious beliefs and practices. Gloria informed me that some years after Mr Causewell bought his property on Winchester Top he decided to fill in a pond on the estate. The swampy area surrounding the pond was once cultivated with rice and sugar cane with guava growing wild. Within the vicinity grew cotton and trumpet trees as well as rose apple. Mr Causewell decided to fill in the pond and level off the land for other purposes.

It is said, Mr Causewell had a number of dreams. He dreamt that if he wished to fill in the pond he would have to perform a ritual to the spirits of the pond and the land. He should butcher a goat and sprinkle the blood of the goat on the land and around specific trees. Cotton trees are well known within Jamaican folklore for the location of spirits and ghosts. However, Mr Causewell ignored the dreams went ahead and filled in the pond and levelled the land.

A few nights following the filling in of the pond after retiring to bed he woke to find himself dressed in his pyjamas lying in the middle of what would have been the pond. The strangest thing is that the pond is at least one and half to two miles from the house and in any direction it is along and difficult walk. On one side it is actual mountain and forested area dropping down towards the pond. The question is how did he get down to the pond? He did not drive himself, he did not ride, nor was he driven? Following this incident Mr Causewell had a goat butchered and the blood of the goat sprinkled on the land. I was informed all has been right since. Local narratives support the ideology of the water spirit within the vicinity and many villagers' address the issue of the environment and greater spirituality to the land.

Religious ties to the land are furthered through the actual burial and burial rites on family land as (2002) in Martha Brae. This was highlighted for me when interviewing an elderly villager. His grandfather one of the first settlers to the village and his parents like their parents before them were buried on the family plot. He recalls the burial of some members of the family in public cemeteries, but spoke with great pride that he too would join other members of the family on the family plot. In narrating his family burial history he was locating the family within the community and the village history. He said:

Both my wife and I will be buried here, as for my children I couldn't say, but I hope at least two of them will. This would keep the family together and the land. If at least one or two members from each generation continue the tradition there is some hope for the land continuing within the family, and the family remaining a part of Sligoville, and its history. If we have nothing, we have that.

Speaking with villagers I enquired whether there were any other reasons beside those stated above for this type of burial. Most villagers confirmed the first and asserted that there were links between the ancestors, the living, the grave and the location or place of burial. It is believed that the location of the deceased is as important as the location of the living. An elderly villager discussed with me the importance of the deceased/ancestors' location to the land and the living descendants. Burial on the land places the ancestor and the family and therefore ties the land to the family. We are who we are through our ancestors, their graves acting as reminders and the land on which they are entombed. This location or placement is continued culturally through the care and maintenance of the grave and family plot. However regardless of upkeep the land remains tied to the family by the actual placement of the grave and if maintained it serves as a marker, a sense of belonging and identity. The family and the land will be identified by the grave of the ancestors' place of burial.

Chances are the deceased being remembered, and the family's survival is increased, if the property of the deceased is large, and land is tied to the family through burial. Yet, the primary focus is not merely the link between the dead and the land, but the family's tie to both the land and the burial site. At times estates or land might be broken through sale. However, individuals go on to utilise the funds from these sales to re-establish family lands in other places. A villager insisted that the importance lies not only in the original parcel or parcels of land, but ownership of land. Moreover, it is not the exact piece of land, but the actuality of continuing ownership of land. Whilst the original

parcel of land is very significant for Sligovillians it is the continuing land ownership which is of primary importance. This symbolism maintains identity and freedom. Thus, land is important for continuing freedom and identity.

Many land-owning villagers have relatives buried on their plot of land and they proudly maintain and show the plots to me. Villagers speak of their ancestors' graves on the land, as a reminder of who they are, the importance of what they have achieved through its acquisition and the need to keep and maintain that link to the land. Mr William Lawrence spoke strongly and with conviction regarding the Baptist church and the village, but much importance was attached to his connections with his ancestors and the land. As he talked his face was animated and his body took on a childlike mannerism as if he was transported to the past as a child. He spoke fondly of his parents, the village and difficult times; however he felt the land was and is the mainstay of the family and the community. His religious belief and practices were also of great importance. Religion gives him the spiritual sustenance and the land provides shelter, stability and permanence:

You see my parents and gran parents are all a part of this land so will my wife and myself. We live on the land, through/by the land, and finally we return to the land. This creates and maintains our identity with the community and the family. Anyone entering the village asking for the Lawrences will be directed to this plot of land.

The land and burial on the land is how we are identified. The younger generation may leave, but the land through family burial and residency creates the means through which our children return. This ensures and maintains their sense of belonging. Each time relatives return to the land, even to visit the graves they are reaffirming their identity and sense of belonging.

Admittedly, as my main informant and I walked through the village, the Lawrences' family graves and burial plot was pointed out to me. It was used as a marker to the old

village Square and as a signifier of the family's identity and connections to the first settlers.

Mr Zedekiah Cooper a descendant of one of the first settlers is often referred to and identified by other villagers as one of the families presently residing and utilising original land. Burial on family land is at times more economical. Yet the economic reasons are not merely because of the cost of burial in private cemeteries, but primarily to tie the land to the family holding. It has become quite enterprising to sell land, but the location of burial plots on parcels of land minimises the economic gain to be made in the purchase and sale of land.

Burial on family plots is often continued to prevent the changes that might occur which could affect land ownership and identity. The loss of family land with family plots is the loss of descent, identity, home and belonging. Moreover, the sale of part of the land, with continuing rights to family graves present problems of access and divides land further into even smaller plots or just rights to the graves. This can lead to problems of access and trespassing. Thus, the land is valued less as an attractive economic concern. However, successive governments have tried to discourage individuals from having internment on privately owned (family) land. Alternative options/ arrangements have been suggested through internment in private or government owned cemeteries.

Yet, many rural villagers such as Sligovillians have continued to support and maintain burial on family plots or even refuse to discontinue the cultural tradition of burial on family land. Significantly, this is not merely a refusal to follow political leadership, but a concerted and determined effort to continue land ownership for small cultivators and

prevent the loss of particular legal rights and individual freedom (Besson 1984b, 1987, 1992; Clarke 1953). Land is freedom and freedom for the individual is tied to land ownership.

Possession of land especially family land is not merely for economic gain (Besson 1992; McKay 1993). It is for the survival of the individual's spiritually and psychological being. Family land provides and maintains the link between the individual and familial identity and provides tangible and physical evidence of the history of the family and the individual. Mr Lawrence showed me his parents' grave a few yards below his home and stated:

My wife and I will be buried there, right here on the land. My parents chose to be buried here and we will continue the tradition. This will ensure the land remains within the family among my children and their children.

Mr Lawrence's eldest daughter confirmed her burial plans within the family plot as well.

I will be buried here, with my mother and father and their parents on the land they that gave them and supported their freedom and independence. It is where I belong, where I came from and where I will return.

Religious significance and continuity of religious funeral rites are usually maintained in the home of the deceased. If the deceased is a non-land owner then the funeral rite is held in the home of an extended family member. This signifies the importance of owning land, not only for living, but also for the continuity and the maintenance of tradition and culture. In fact many villagers can and do trace the village's history through the acquisition and continuity of land ownership. Whilst burial on the land maintains a community and national history, it also enables family continuity. The emphasis on funerary rites and ritual maintains specific ideologies and freedom as well

as a black religion of creolized religious beliefs.

Religion is but one element that supports and maintains the cultural tradition of this community. The funeral rites marking death have their foundation in creolized religion. The songs sung at the funeral rites are traditional creolized songs. Many of these songs have evolved from creolized religious folk songs, which have its links with Myalism, Revivalism and Kumina. Christian and syncretic Christian songs sung at wakes and funerary rites. The link with land death and religion is symbolic where the individual is perceived to be one with nature. This occurs through creolized religious beliefs and practices which locate the individual both physically and spiritually to the land, the environment and creolized religions.

Here in Sligoville burial on family plots situated throughout the village continues and this is carried out to maintain strong links to the land. Although the internment service might be performed within and by other religious denominations the actual rites and rituals are that of creolized religions.

Research has unearthed a duality of practices where the rites and rituals are traditional but cultural norms are based on creolized tenets. Still, the internment service is fundamentally Christian in practice but is interspersed with elements of creolized religious practices. However, the burial service might be conducted at a Christian church and the internment service at the burial site might be a traditional creolized service with Christian elements. Here the duality of religious practice is maintained but the creolized traditional practice will usually supersede all other practices.

There is a ritual structure and belief system that distinguishes creolized religious beliefs

from Christian beliefs. These structures and belief systems are linked to the spiritual being of the community and the individual. Spirituality is both religious and cultural with links to former beliefs and practices that have been indigenized.

Moreover, these belief systems form the basis of a Jamaican culture. Funeral rites and rituals enable the individual and community to see past their fears and doubts of death and the after life. The various rites and rituals attached to death could be likened to the coconut with its numerous layers. You tear through the various layers to get to the inner layer of flesh and pure juice. The three tough outer crusts are but layers of structures and elements affecting the hierarchical and social system of freedom, notably a black identity, rebirth and reaffirmation with the ancestors. The rites and rituals act as a reminder of slavery. It is a ritualisation of the memories of the past, of a black ethnogenesis and freedom. The obligation to recall, re-enact and embody the memories provides meaning and significance. It highlights the dangers of the individual, the community and/or the society becoming neglectful of the past. It is a historic reminder of both a cultural and individual identity.

Whilst death and religion are linked through the actual ties to burial, identity and continuity, internment on family plots within the village maintains the connections of the first settlers to the village and keeps alive its specific history. The actual act of burial on the land is a marker and reminder of the ancestors and their past with a direct link to continuing freedom through the land. Although psychological freedom for the villagers of Sligoville was never surrendered, the actuality of physical freedom was through the acquisition of those first few parcels of land in the old village. Moreover, the continuity of physical and psychological freedom is dependent on the maintenance of land ownership, individual control of time and indigenized black religious practices for these

villagers and their descendants. A female villager not wishing to be identified said:

Religion is as much one part of the people, the village, the land and as its history. You see religion gave us the will and the way, no matter what anyone might think or say. But it is the land, which maintains our freedom, both in thought and in our action.

Subsequently control and power is embedded in the continuity of burial rights on family land whether with or without continuous domestic use of the land. It demonstrates the Sligovillian's will to maintain their right to traditional practices and their identity is embraced in their religious actions and attitude to the land and space. Burial on the land is tying the land within the family, the community and the first freed settlers. As Europeans are less likely to purchase land with graves dotted throughout, the indigenous population is more likely to maintain ownership of these parcels of land. This has proven to be true within Sligoville. Outsiders' privately own large acres of land without family plots and the cultural traditions of burial on these lands are not practiced. It remains to be seen whether Sligovillians will continue to foster the idea of acquiring further parcels of these land and encompassing it to present family land through burial and residence.

Funeral Food, Pollution, Fertility and Transformation

Various taboos are linked to death, funerals or burials. Pollution and food are particularly important. From the moment death occurs, notions of pollution arise. The body is immediately covered, with the body's removal from the home, the bed is stripped, and the mattress is removed and placed in an upright position. The bed is then relocated within the room to prevent the spirit of the deceased from returning. After twenty-four hours the mattress may be returned to the bed, the bed made up and used. It is believed that the home should not be left locked or empty. This is a reminder to the deceased that they are dead and must leave the company of the living. This process is

also the first stage of ritual transformation from living to ancestor.

In Sligoville, food plays an important role. It is a code (Douglas: 1971: 61) in death rites. It was the norm to prepare and serve specific food throughout the wake preceding the funeral. Food signifies status of the deceased, the giver and the receiver and more importantly the visitors arriving throughout the following eight days and nights. It expresses the pattern of social relationships between participants.

At the ritual nine-night ceremony, the partaking of special soup made from the head, testicles and other parts of the male (ram) goat (*mannish wata*), a symbol of fertility, is believed to increase male virility.

During the event, a deceased person's belongings are collected and cast out¹²⁷ of the home by the individual who performs expulsion. The spirit is instructed to depart. At some nine-night the Dinki-Minnie¹²⁸ is danced. Again, where a table is set up with salt, rum and sugar, individual leaders might sporadically take a pinch of salt or sugar followed by a drink of water and or rum.¹²⁹ These three key ingredients have cultural and religious significance. Salt represents purity, having a cleansing effect and being symbolic of danger and the return to Africa while salt is of the earth and is then, linked to the ascendance of the spirit of the deceased following death to Africa. It also prevents the return of the spirit from among the ancestors (Chevannes 1995: 24) and is seen as an

¹²⁷ The exchange of pollution is evident with individual carrying the polluted spirit out of the home. Pollution is also negated by the eating of purified foods and singing and dancing. Here, food also symbolises power and control. Death is uncontrollable but its effects can be conquered.

¹²⁸ Dinki-Minnie is a patois word referring to a particular dance performed on specific occasions for example nine-night celebration. It is a variant of the Kumina dance and it has its origin in the eastern parishes of the island, that is St Mary, St Thomas, Portland and St Catherine, while Bruckins another dance is considered as originating in Manchioneal in Portland. Following emancipation Bruckins spread to the western parishes of Westmoreland and St James and became popular in those parishes.

¹²⁹ Visitor and the ritual performers converge at the deceased person's home, taking up a central position to mourners at the funeral table. During nine-night preparation, a table is covered with a white tablecloth, placed in the centre of the yard and dressed with specific ritual items such as a bottle of rum and a saucer containing salt and sugar. A bible and a container of water and glasses are also placed on the table.

element of female sexuality (Littlewood 1995:235) especially in the conception of the male. Salt like sugar is therefore considered to have properties of fertility.

Within a Caribbean context, personal experiences have been re-conceptualised, reinterpreted and appropriated and used to create new knowledge or set of ideas with symbols that have direct link to their history. For example, ingesting salt is thought to induce spiritual loss. It purifies. Therefore, it has been appropriated to symbolise the fact that one is where one should be. Therefore, one is at home. Why did this appropriation occur? It came out of a desire to return to Africa spiritually, particularly as the reality of return seemed impossible. The ingestion of salt acted as a force of resistance. Therefore the place of migration or enslavement was appropriated to become home. This is the desired reality. Salt then became a way of securing space and has been incorporated into dietary and ritual rules.

Rum has a purifying and healing quality. Again, during the ceremony individual performers will take a sip of undiluted white rum and through clenched teeth spray the rum through their teeth into the crowd. This is said to purify the environment and feed the spirits. There is a more common use for the three ingredients. It is said that singing tires the throat and voice. To prevent voice loss each performer takes a pinch of sugar or salt with water then, follows this with rum so as to soothe the larynx.

During these nights of celebration prior to the funeral copious amounts of alcohol are drunken especially white rum and continuous singing to soothe and keep the spirit of the deceased and relatives happy whilst entertaining the visitors. An abundance of food is the norm, to feed the flow of visitors and the dead and send the spirit of the dead on their way. However in the feeding of the dead salt must be omitted from food offered to

the dead and food must be placed separate to and from that of the living. Rice, rum, tobacco, chicken and mutton are the preferred food. However rum is shared with everyone present. Sugar represents the pleasures of life.

The belief exists that the spirits of family members watch over and protect them. Ancestors exist within another dimension, they are linked to the living and to the continuity of descendants. This notion is entrenched in communal action: Individual mourners should not travel directly from the funeral to their home, the journey should be broken preventing the spirit of the deceased from accompanying the individual home thus preventing chaos.

However, death is not perceived as fearful, though it creates tension for the living. Tension is released in funeral rites and in practices such as the nine-night. Remembering that one of the primary principles of creolized religions is the wider community, each individual must be protected equally. In a sense, death is not perceived as the end, but a transformation.

Examining ideas of death as expressed through funeral rites and rituals unearths a series of differing ideas and social interactions. Death is an anomaly. It offer the possibility of rebirth, to join with ancestors whilst also addressing physical separation. It appears that there is a duality within creolized religious beliefs and practices regarding death. This duality appears in expulsion and continuity.

Conclusion

This chapter draws together analytical perspectives surrounding death, rites and rituals so as to demonstrate the holistic approach of Revival worldview on identity formation.

Moreover, it examines the significance of continuing practices and their relevance in contemporary village life and the continuity of creolized religions.

When looking at ideas surrounding death, death rites and rituals before and after burial, we learn how identity is constructed and how ideas surrounding fertility are framed. Fertility and continuity are also at the same level; men consume soup at nine-night, symbolically absorbing the life force of the deceased, reinforcing ideas of reproduction.

Paradoxically, death separates the living from the deceased, highlighting gendered difference whilst reaffirming continuity. Reaffirmation evokes a sense of oneness, which in turn enables cohesion as maintained through the practise of burial on family land. Yet, death and ideas of pollution serve in separating the deceased from the living to reaffirm the identity of the individual, the group and the community through notions of transformation. It is this transformation which informs difference and a sense of being.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

A Summary of the Thesis and Findings

In this thesis I have sought to show how the ex-slaves were central to culture building and that Revivalism held importance in the construction of a Sligovillian identity and community. However, I began the study by stating that the area of focus was cultural identity and that this area would be considered in relation to identity formation of the first settlers and their descendants in Sligoville. I argued that the ex-slaves in their acquisition of land created a place of abode from which they could secure their freedom, work the land for their livelihood and establish rights of ownership that offered them a rudimentary sense of citizenship.

It was from this base that these ex-slaves, the first settlers in Sligoville made their homes, forged their individual sense of being, determined their meaning of descent and family and built their particular community. However, whether the issue was home, individuality, family or community though, lands was central. The owning of land determined whether the ex-slaves held on to their freedom or were classified as indigent and homeless. Land ownership also determined the individual's identity and the individual's identification with a particular place. Further, land was also central to notions of family and the conception of family land was central to culture building and the development of a sense of belonging to a specific community.

However, for the first settlers of Sligoville land held more importance than being a place and space, for it held symbolic and historic meaning in relation to their struggle to be free and in their activities for determining their inalienable rights. Further, the social relations and institutions that the ex-slaves developed helped to establish a community and a communal identity linked to land ownership, family and a specific history. However, fundamental to the study is the impact of the process of creolization on

identity formation, within which indigenised religions, particularly Revivalism has and continues to have a major influence.

Thus I used the theory of creolization to inquire into the influences on identity formation in Sligoville and to examine the Sligovillians' process of culture building. In chapter one I present the theoretical overview on creolization and I noted the problems of concern in academia regarding the concept and highlighted how syncretism and hybridity are often used as substitutes for creolization. I offer an explanation of why I use creolization in this study though and this stems from its applicability in changing societies.

I show that creolization, syncretism and hybridisation differs. Syncretism relates to assembling and/or blending and hybridisation is concerned with the conscious annexing of elements from a variety of cultures. However, creolization emerges out of the forces of syncretism and hybridisation. It springs out of the lived experiences of people enabling them to adapt, transform, appropriate and create anew. Significantly, creolization addresses conflicts and tensions in society by affording the re-conceptualisation, reinterpretation and reformulation of ideas. Creolization accommodates schism and opposition within groups in that it enables the less dominant to resist and coexist.

To further substantiate this point I show that though plural and plantation society models provide early descriptions of Jamaican society, they do not offer adequate solution for the exploration of societies in transition. They are models that classify static populations. It is the creolization models however, despite their many definitions and frameworks that proffer a continuum within which I can meaningfully assess and

explain changes in Sligoville.

Thus it is the process of creolization that I use to contextualise cultural patterns derived from Sligoville's past that is recalled alongside activities in the present. Sligoville is explored from a historical perspective and it is from this vantagepoint I am able to show how global knowledge gives rise to new cultural forms and how in creating a heterogeneous community, villagers have created and maintained a local identity. My exploration of the dynamics of social relationships within Sligoville gives a greater understanding of how processes of renewal engender cultural continuity premised on the village's unique history.

The question of what kind of change does creolization effect is of importance, because globalisation is perceived as a process of westernisation, which by its nature is exploitative, repressive and dis-empowers colonised nations, challenging their right to self-determination. However, acculturation occurs in response to this threat, creating an alternative cultural value. Thus globalisation impacts on the society's cultural integrity and socio-political and economic position, creating a tension that creolization stimulates, whilst seeking to diffuse. Hence, creolization serves not only as a force of resistance against subsumption of global culture, but creates new cultural values derived from the common interests of the local community that refashions the impact of globalisation.

With creolization, a small community, Sligoville, succeeded in forging a common identity. Interestingly, through creolization room is made to celebrate difference and to challenge other ideologies from within this space. Creolization enables the marginalised peoples of Sligoville to formulate and implement coping strategies that assert their

distinctive history and cultural values. It enables Sligovillians to reinterpret their common experiences and reconstruct new modes in the face of strategies for their disempowerment.

Yet, it is in creolization's ability to foster creativity whilst also eliminating negative representations and marginalisation that this process has brought about significant changes. In turn, we see how significant a role creolization plays in Sligoville. As globalisation breaks down the boundaries of community, locality and identity in place, creolization re-establishes these boundaries as frames of references that hinge on the notion of space or place. I have evidence of how Sligovillians reinterpret and refashion their knowledge and experiences to maintain a specific notion of place.

Creolization simultaneously sustains the local, national and global identity. It takes account of the needs of the individual and the community. It allows the individual to operate at a global level and encourages the creation of networks for the facilitation of such operations. These support systems are evidenced in for example, barrel culture and in financial aid sent from family members and friends who have migrated abroad.

Creolization has also afforded not only a new national identity in Jamaica, but it has enabled the formation of cultural identity in Sligoville. This is apparent in the religious beliefs and practices of the villagers, who despite their connection to the Baptist church still maintain their Revival worldview. Yet, identity is also played out in how one sees oneself within the nation and this then, becomes another source of identity.

Rather than creating a third space whereby, differing ideas and cultures meet, creolization appropriates cultural elements and reinterprets them to create new values

and identities. As such, it compresses ideas, beliefs and values to create a variety of cultural values upon which people can draw. This study presents creolized religion as a resource from which people can draw and some of its particular characteristics are identified through charting their history. The history shows how Myalism, Obeah, Native Baptist and Revival Zion laid foundations for the development of the Revival worldview (Gordon 1998; Bisnauth 1996; Chevannes 1995; Chevannes and Besson 1996; Besson 2002). Further, it acknowledges that Garveyism, Bedwardism and Rastafarianism built on the early syncretic process of Myalism, Native Baptist and Christianity. My research unearths the emergence of New-Revival and Seventh Day Pentecostalism and demonstrates that new religious forms are still emerging today. Thus, the advent of new religious forms comes in response to societal changes.

It is also demonstrated how creolized religion contributes to identity formation in Sligoville by providing a system within which specific families that are descendants of the founding settlers can interact within the community. Descent is the governing principle. It determines familial rights, land inheritance and who is an insider from an outsider. However, in uniting these specific families, descent is also creating difference. It separates these specific families from the wider community. This notion of difference is a platform for hierarchical levelling, alienation and stigmatisation in Sligoville which is characterised by social division.

Hence, in considering the founding of the village, I seek to determine Sligoville's sociological characteristics. I utilise Mintz's typology of religiously founded free villages, which elicited a range of features found in such communities. He states that the geography and social structure of the community is definable. It is religiously homogeneous. It is isolated and it can be differentiated from the wider population.

This differentiation, Mintz notes, can be seen in more literate populations that are affiliated to organized Christian churches. These communities are thrifty, they are comprised of stable monogamous families and are dependent upon and indebted to missionary churches. For Mintz, the church was central to the maintenance of the community, in that it offered financial support, encouraged neighbourliness, taught leadership, provided education and assistance in land acquisition. I looked for these characteristics in Sligoville to see whether they provide a greater understanding of the processes that lead to cultural identity formation in this village.

It is clear that Mintz's typology is relevant to Sligoville. For despite its shifting boundaries, Sligoville is definable geographically and its social structures are founded on religious ideology. Indeed, Sligoville can be differentiated from the wider community. Interestingly, differentiation can be made within the village itself, where the 'insider and outsider' concept and lines of descent are applied. Due to Reverend Phillippo's leadership, the Baptist church has a strong influence in Sligoville today. It fosters land acquisition, provides schooling, trains leaders and encourages community development.

However, with regard to religious homogeneity, issues of literacy rates and financial support abound. It is possible that in the early development stage of the village it was seemingly religiously homogeneous, given that many of the ex-slaves who purchased land were recommended or known to Phillippo, and therefore, they adhered to principles of the Native Baptists. However, evidence, albeit it reminiscences, suggest that the early villagers continued with their beliefs and practices within the Revival worldview.

Further, though the Baptist school provides education for village children, it seems to have made little or no impact on their educational achievement. Many Sligovillians comment that they have been disadvantaged by the church's involvement. Though the early settlers purchased their land outright, there is little or no financial obligation to the church. The owning of land, particularly in small plots, may well have contributed to strong notions of individualism that are found in Sligoville today. Land ownership still signals liberation, protectionism, identity and status.

Despite the variance from Mintz's typology, it is however, useful. It does indeed provide a greater appreciation of cultural identity in Sligoville. Mintz focuses for example, on the control and influence of the church in terms of creating conditions for the maintenance of a historically distinctive type of community subculture. In Sligoville, the organised church and creolized religions do in fact have influence in that they contribute to ethnogenesis. They provide structures within which social interaction takes place. The principle of descent is of importance in determining Sligovillian identity.

Drawing also on more recent work Mintz and Price (1992) as well Besson's (2002) extensive studies on the Trelawny free villages which advanced the analysis of peasantisation, land, religion, descent and kinship patterns on identity formation, I assess Sligoville as the Jamaica's first Baptist free village.

Social division shapes the relationships between Sligovillians in their small-scale farming community. However, difficulties in obtaining further land and the constraints of its specific historical conditions, have resulted in agricultural practices that maintain peasantization. These ongoing practices include provision ground cultivation and cash

crop production.

The characteristics of institutions established in Sligoville reflect the social division that exists in the community. Non-conformist Baptist and Revivalist institutions respond to the peasantry as they are rooted in resistance, cooperation, freedom and autonomy. However, the St John's Anglican Church built by O'Sullivan initially catered to white planters and the middle class. Their fixed religious practices appear to partially resist change and the process of creolization. Members of the St John's Anglican Church are now drawn from diverse economic and social backgrounds of the village. It is suggested however, that the congregation attend in order to seek and assert hierarchical distinction.

As the village evolved, further institutions such as, Agricultural Associations and Community Health Centres were built. These organisations bolstered the village's particular historicity and ensured continuity of belonging. Villagers utilise narratives to communicate their historical lineage and to inform who they are historically. The history of the village maintains its religiosity, and this is underpinned by Revivalism. Sligoville's history is made more meaningful by the narrated life histories of their ancestors lived experiences. These experiences are drawn upon to maintain their distinctiveness and to reinforce community history and communal identity as Sligovillians. Prior to the re-commencement of emancipation celebration, Sligovillians considered their village to be the least known free village. Significantly, Sligoville's identity is kept alive by the emancipation celebrations and specifically, by televised documentation of the village's founding.

It is Revivalism and its continuity in Sligoville that informs the religious norms and values, which impact identity. Though the Phillippo Baptist Church and Sligoville

Baptist church continue to be major influences in the village, I argue that it is creolized religion, especially Revivalism that gives meaning to the lived experiences of villagers. Revivalism frames identity and fosters an autonomous Sligovillian community. It is a motivating force that gives hope, inspires and aids creativity. In essence, it responds to the aspirations of villagers and empowers them.

The Mount Zion and the Phillippo Baptist church were strong influences in the early development of the village, particularly in the inculcation of Christian ethics and values and in the sense of sustaining community spirit and local leadership. However, to accord these developments to the Non-Conformist church only, is to deny the important part played by villagers. The early settlers brought with them beliefs, experiences and skills.

As ex-slaves they had been exposed to Gibb and Liele Native Baptist preachings, which combined Christian and Myalist traditions. The first settlers had agricultural experience as slaves working on plantations and many were artisans who held positions such as headman. I suggest that Phillippo was aware of the qualities, skills and experiences of the ex-slaves, and in response, so as to increase membership of the Mount Zion Baptist church, he chose not to discourage them in their beliefs. In fact, the class house attached to the church was organised by local leaders. These early settlers also developed small scale farming practices, which were so essential to the early socio-economic development of the village. Phillippo and the ex-slaves were pioneers in a new development project.

The thesis has argued that at the founding of Sligoville the British Baptist mission had much influence on how life in the village was organised and structured through its

founder Reverend Phillippo. In the village the Mount Zion Baptist Church, together with its class house were important institutions that encouraged the inculcation of Christian values and the development of community based on such values. There can be little doubt that the Mount Zion Baptist Church held much influence. However though the villagers had a sense of connectedness to Phillippo and the Baptist Church the villagers held no obligation to the church, particularly as there is evidence of a “duality of religious worship” amongst these first settlers. They attended the Mount Zion Baptist Church, yet maintained their religious beliefs derived from African cosmologies. This is of importance for it is argued that these first settlers held beliefs of the Native Baptists that stemmed from the syncretism of Myalism and Christianity. However, the creolization process would impact to stimulate further changes and as a consequence religion would also be characterised by the impact of this process. The creolization of religions in Sligoville, also occurring in the context of the wider Jamaican society with the development of Revival Zion (1860) and Pukumina (1861) was a major factor determining identity formation and the construction of community. In this context Revivalism and the emergence of the Revival worldview is of particular importance.

The emergence of Revivalism gave sustenance to the ex-slaves localised beliefs and practices. It assisted in forging individual identity, in shaping lifestyles and in building institutions and cultural values that were created during slavery. Bogle’s Revivalist yard in James Mountain testifies to the continuing tradition of Revival worldview.

Localised beliefs and practices were projected into the reinterpretation and transformation of Pentecostalism, which arrived in Jamaica in 1910. The content of its religious doctrine, which was liberatory in tone, was indigenized and remoulded to respond to the continuing demand for freedom from oppression.

The ability of the ex-slaves and their descendants to project their beliefs and to interpret and transform new religious ideas in response to local conditions led to the creation of new religious forms. Hence, in Sligoville it gave birth to the Faith Standing Church of the Living God, the Fellowship Assemblies Tabernacle and the Foursquare Church of God.

Further, my observations that Sligovillians become members of the Pentecostal Church, yet retain their Revivalist traditions, suggest that former strategies not only persist but also that this practice is used to validate and authenticate Revivalism. The establishment of Pentecostal churches, provided scope for improved social mobility as members could train as pastors and deacons. However, at times individuals have utilised their newly acquired skills to establish Revivalist churches. I suggest that these practices are leading to the development of a new religious mode that is New-Revival Pentecostalism.

Due to the character of the Pentecostal church, Revivalism can be reinterpreted and made acceptable there. It is also provides a space for the transformation of Revivalism and Pentecostalism and it is the mechanism whereby validation and authentication can be sought. Obeah practitioners and Revival churches persists in Jamaica's urban and rural areas. However, its beliefs and practices appear more pronounced in rural areas such as Sligoville. It is these beliefs and practices that fashion the individual's and the community's perspectives on moral and ethical values.

With creolization religious responses to the socio-economic conditions in Sligoville are evident. The individual and the less powerful within the community are seen refashioning religious, social and economic frameworks. This process of change and development seems to have promoted individualism and opportunities to achieve

material advancement and mental escape. Creolization has enabled individuals and groups to be self-determined and empowered to make local decisions.

Death rituals in Sligoville acknowledge the interrelationship between land, religious ideology, life and death and identity. It also highlights the role of individuals and the wider community in the process of funeral preparation and tumbing. It is at the final stage of this process that death reaffirms and re-establishes links with the living whilst also separating from the dead.

However, separation can also be seen as a transformative process whereby the deceased's life force is transformed and passed on into a living person by the consumption of food. Whilst death reinforces identity and increases sexual potency, it is also pollutes. Pollution must be avoided at all cost. It is within this arena that the separation of the dead from the living is viewed as a process of transformation which serves to confirm identity and reassert links with ancestors. Thus, death consolidates social relationships. It does this by way of reciprocal exchange, which encourages solidarity, cohesion and a familial type community.

It is within this sense of family and community that individuals and groups have emerged to address issues of collective identity. Slavery and colonialism denied personhood. Hence, the insistent cry for personhood by the descendants of black slaves who viewed their enslavement and continued oppression as immoral. They sought morality in their freedom.

It was Garvey who built on the development of a black ethnogenesis, an identity that rejected black as sinful. The way Sligovillians create and maintain their communal

identity illustrates how Garvey felt black peoples should determine their identity. However, in maintaining identity villagers are reminded of how power and repressive laws can drive elements of their indigenous values underground. This however, encourages covert practices that enable a specific community subculture to be formed.

From this perspective, I show how Sligovillians adapted to changes and to their environment. This ability is portrayed in the codification of particular elements of Revivalism as coping strategies. This is reflected in the cognitive component of localised values, which place emphasis on the location of ideas of misfortunes and crisis within a cultural and religious context. Their influence is seen in the subtle ways that unexplained phenomena are conceptualised.

My construct of cultural identity in Sligoville includes consideration of personal experiences, ideology (Hall 1996), symbolisation (Sperber 1991) and history and their relationship in constituting subjects. This framework involves consideration of the past and how personal experiences are reformulated to assist Sligovillians/people in their intention to create sets of ideas, practices, customs, rituals and knowledge that influences the construction of belonging and identification.

Therefore personal or shared common experiences and how they are temporalised to create knowledge, reflect the physical, the psychological and the intellectual thought processes are used to show how they influence identity formation. From this perspective identity formation is somewhat dependent on experiences. Experiences are the result of observation or of practice. Of importance here, is how the community/people utilise experiences, their skills and knowledge to conceptualise and attach meanings through which they frame specific customs and practices that convey belonging and an identity.

In fact, ways of thinking about past experiences involves social processes, ideas and the ways people reason and how it enable them to experience and live their lives. The general response to ideologies is its ideas and practices surrounding how people this community grasp an idea and the mode of thought following the transformation of experiences. However these ideas have physical and psychological effect on people and as such they influence the cognitive processes, the types of ideas and intentions developed. Therefore ideologies must be understood as the outcome of the socio-economic and political level.

Whilst ideology reflect the material conditions of peoples environment it also enable people to formulate their intention. From this position Sligovillians are able to articulate different elements into distinctive set or chain of meanings. It is within these sets or chain of meanings that Sligovillians organise social thinking that intervenes in social struggles, structures class formation and enable them to articulate and represent themselves. From this perspective ideology is oppositional to dominant institutions and it can bring about change or be utilised to maintain continuities. Yet as experiences provide certain knowledge, it is conceptualised as a product of particular conditions and it is articulated and represented as being specific to certain groups.

Yet the articulation and representation of particular knowledge and concepts must be supported with the use of complementary interpretations and meanings. Since symbols are indeed signs that are both conscious and unconscious, they are signifiers that others can recognise. In fact they are codes with specific representations of their environment.

Thus knowledge and customs are representative of the environment, and as such, the thought and social processes informs the construction of Sligovillian lifestyles. These

practices are attributed with specific symbolic meanings. These meanings are given credence through the idea and values that they express for the community. This acts as a signifier of the meaningful experiences of individuals or people. It in turn provides a specific reality. It is this reality that is conceptualised and grounded in a practical form as narratives, language, customs and memory.

Although memory is also an important element in the process, it has a dialectical relationship with time. This relationship between time and memory is a result of the conflict between the environment and experiences. Therefore the tensions of conceptualisation and modes of adaptation are reflected in daily practices. Ideally Sligovillians draw on particular elements of the past in opposition to the socio-political and economic environment in which they are situated.

Thus the constituting of the subject is socially determined with the subject as the determining agency. This points to strategies for survival whereby psychological effect produces reaction that is physical and intellectual. Yet the symbols that Sligovillians adapt are imbued with specific codes which have social links that correspond with other codes, meanings or ideas that have levels of relationships with experiences, ideology and history.

It is within this arena that history transforms lived experiences and enables Sligovillians to produce knowledge about the past for the future, which informs the construction of cultural values and identity. History acts as a transformative process to produce knowledge about the past for the future. This is a process of learning that informs the construction of identity and cultural values.

Interaction between the agents with their experience the situations they are in, how they interact within that environment, the ideas and meanings they develop, and the meanings or values they attribute to the environmental and cultural circumstances are all dependent on the dominant ideologies.

Since ideas are not fixed, they are formed and reformed according to experience and circumstances, it is argued that the process of change and subjectification is fluid. Therefore there is a relationship between the agents (people), their environment and experiences. As such the ways in which the environment shapes behaviour and how behaviour shapes the environment and in turn shape identity formation cannot be separated from the conceptualisation of ideas, formulation of knowledge and the development of practices.

I argue that experiences, ideologies, symbolism and history are all part of the learning process through which individuals reflexive practice informs their social actions. Thus experience is the driving force behind changes. The relationship between experience and ideology is in the transferral of knowledge. This process with its organised conceptual thought patterns aid the formulation of ideas and intention into cultural forces such as customs, rituals and belief practices. Of importance is how Sligovillians establish modes of thought that aid differing but complimentary interpretations and meanings with the use of specific signifiers (symbols) that convey particular messages that others can recognise.

In the course of this thesis, I explore, and then pull together differing phenomena. I present an indigenisation of a value system in order to highlight how social interactions are validated in contemporary times to provide a sense of 'acceptability' that is framed

within a Jamaican consciousness. The acceptance of individual actions modelled on lived experiences that are framed by indigenous values system and practices enables a local community to develop specific identities. Jamaicans or rather Sligovillians draw on an external value system that has sought to develop localised values whereby their actions can be best understood. Rather than being parochial and perhaps too narrow and restricted, they are able to appropriate and create values that embrace the principle of subjectivity, placing their cultural knowledge firmly at the heart of community.

This is, particularly so, when one considers Wilson's concept of respectability and reputation. Here, Caribbean societies are measured by European value systems and therefore, deemed lacking. Instead, in Sligoville focus is placed on individuality, a quality that if admired is validated, giving the individual a reputation and/or respectability that contributes to identity formation, which is forged out of villagers specific historical experiences.

A fundamental factor contributing to identity formation to date has been the village's history, which is borne out of specific conditions as the first religiously founded free village. Moreover, I have throughout this study discussed how boundary, space, political and religious ideology and movement shape identity. I have demonstrated how the sharing of ideas, fictive kinship and the sense of family and home stamp identity in Sligoville. This process of identity is reaffirmed by a sense of 'situatedness' that is located in participation. Yet, it is the very factors of difference and similarity that are used to maintain Sligovillians specific identity.

Moreover, a specific family identity is formed through factors of difference in descent from the original freed slaves. This difference is, within the wider community, the

mechanism which drives the process that creates similarity between these families, enabling them once again to affirm their specificity.

However, a sense of identity is also sustained through migratory practices and these factors contribute to a global identity based on branding or material culture. This arises out of a barrel culture. Yet, this form of identity is not a negation of community identity, but an added identity denoting individuality and membership of a global culture. In order to see the extent of and to thereby, appreciate the wider ramification of identity in this village, social and political agents must be understood. It is within this context that political and social actions are used to sustain identity.

If cultural identity centres on the notion of a shared collective and if it reflects the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes that fashion one community or one people, why then do small-scale communities create new identities by drawing on the very same shared collective experience? Within this community, the effect of sustaining identity is portrayed in the way that social relations are used to resist changes that might impact village identity. Simultaneously, environmental schemes are also used to reaffirm belonging and to tie individuals to the land. Additionally, these initiatives encourage a peasant identity.

In the quest to prove the hypotheses that creolized religion impacts identity, a number of issues came to light. Creolization theory is useful in explaining the continuity of creolized religion and the formation of new identities and religious modes in Sligoville. Therefore, I suggest that comparative research be undertaken on literacy rates in religiously and non-religiously founded free villages.

As I discovered in Sligoville, strong links with Revivalism aid the development of a distinctive identity and subculture which heightens the sense of individualism. I propose that research be carried out on non-religiously founded free villages. One might ascertain whether they exhibit similar characteristics to say Sligoville. Such a study would add to and also compliment existing work in this field.

Further research will uncover the exact nature of Revivalist beliefs and practices that have been retained, within Pentecostal churches in Jamaica. This would make for a particularly interesting study in free villages. Research will also determine the exact changes that are taking place. Are these changes occurring from the top down or from the bottom up instead? Austin-Broos (1996: 65) states, "Pentecostalism bears little relation to their American home base Pentecostalism, and they were disassociated from Jamaica's past and have remained the same". How far then has Revivalism moved towards adopting and remodelling Pentecostalism?

As a result of my research, I too argue that the Revivalism continues to evolve. It is becoming even stronger in terms of creolization. It takes on that which is local and that which is being shaped by Jamaican religious ideologies. I argue that Revivalists have never perceived it as a 'little tradition'. In their minds, Revivalism has always been understood as a religious ideology emerging from their lived experiences. As such it is the 'accepted' religion of majority society.

Creolized religion is the basis upon which cultural identity is informed and constructed. As the village of Sligoville shows, power (Safa: 1987, 115-126), history and culture are significant factors determining the relationships that contribute to their specific identity. To be Sligovillian, is to be de-centred. It is to locate the individual and specific families

within that area by signifying difference from 'others' whilst at the same time, maintaining a strong sense of community. For Sligovillians Creolized religions or Revivalism is the embodiment of freedom, autonomy and identity.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

1st song (See 'Bedwardism' page 135)

Dip dem Bedward

Chorus

Dip dem¹³⁰ Bedward dip dem, dip dem in de¹³¹ healing stream

Oh! dip dem Bedward dip dem, dip dem in de healing stream

Dip dem Bedward dip dem, dip dem in de healing stream

Verse One

Dip dem, but not too deep, dip dem in de healing stream

Dip dem Bedward dip dem, dip dem in the healing stream

Dip dem fi¹³² cure bad feeling, dip dem in the healing stream

Oh dip dem Bedward dip dem, dip dem in de healing stream

Dip dem Bedward dip dem, dip dem in the healing stream

Appendix 2

2nd song (See page 135)

Run mongoose

Mongoose go in a Bedward kitchen

Tek¹³³ out one a de righteous chicken

Put it ina¹³⁴ fi im waistcoat pocket

Run mongoose.

Chorus

Run mongoose, dawg¹³⁵ after yu, run mongoose

Appendix 2 continued

¹³⁰"Dem" This is a word within the Jamaican national language meaning "them" in the English language.

¹³¹ "De" Jamaican national language indicates the word "the" in the English language. At times "Di" might be used instead.

¹³²"Fi" is used to indicate "to"

¹³³"Tek" means to "take"

¹³⁴"Ina" used to denote "in".

¹³⁵"Dawg" means, "dog".

Run mongoose, dawg after yu
Run mongoose, yu name gaan¹³⁶ abroad
Run mongoose.

Verse Two

Mongoose seh im a Bedward memba¹³⁷
Bedward seh im nuh quite rememba¹³⁸
Mongoose seh im jaan¹³⁹ last septemba¹⁴⁰
Run mongoose, Run mongoose.
Repeat verse.

Appendix 3

1st Wake song (See page 323)

Cock- a- crow Peter gone

Cock- a crow Peter gone- (Oh little Libby [sung by male voice in deep base])

Cock –a-crow Peter gone (Sister Miriam [sung by male voice])

Cock-A crow Peter gone, Oh little Libby

Cock- a crow Peter gone, Sister Miriam

Cock- a crow Peter gone Oh little Libby.

Appendix 4

2nd Wake song (See page 324)

A fear of every animal was safe in the ark

Oh safe in the ark [sung by men]

Yeah, safe in the ark, safe in the ark

I say safe in the ark, key man lock the door and gone.

Oh keyman lock the door and gone

Keyman, keyman, keyman, keyman lock the door and gone

¹³⁶“Gaan” used to indicate gone.

¹³⁷“Memba” meaning a member.

¹³⁸“Rememba” used instead of remember.

¹³⁹“Jaan” means to join.

¹⁴⁰“Septemba” indicates the month of September.

Oh keyman, keyman, keyman, keyman, keyman lock the door and gone.

Appendix 5

3rd Wake Song (See page 325)

Don't board the wrong train

Board the wrong train

The devil is a driver will drive you down to hell.

Don't board the wrong train

Board the wrong train.

Hop off and get on the other train.

Don't board the wrong train

Board the wrong train.

The devil is a driver, will drive you down to hell.

Don't board the wrong train,

Board the wrong train.

Hop off and get on the other train.

Appendix 6

Song of Lament (See page 324)

Sityra

What a gloomy view Sityra

What a gloomy view

Sityra- mi muther, mi brether an mi sista, buried down a riverside.

Sityra- mi muther, mi brether an mi sista, buried down a riverside.

What a gloomy view Sityra,

What a gloomy view.

Appendix 7

4th Wake Song (See page 326)

Our Father

Our father which hart in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come on earth,
Thine will be done on earth.

Chorus

First you sink and then you soar, you must pray. First you sink and then you pray

Verse 2

Give us this day our daily bread Lord, and forgive us our debts, less we forgive them
that sin against us. Lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil, The Kingdom
that is thine, the glory and the power

Chorus

First you sink and then you soar, you must pray, (Repeat line)

Verse 4

Our Father which hart in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thine kingdom comes on
earth, Forever and forever

Chorus: First you sink and then you soar, you must pray. First you sink and then you
soar, you must pray

Appendix 8

5th Wake song (See page 326)

Yuh going to wipe

Verse 1

Yuh going to wipe

Yuh going to wipe

Yuh going to wipe yuh weeping eyes

Yuh going to wipe

Yuh going to wipe

Yuh going to wipe yuh weeping eyes

Yuh can see we are well.

You'll be brave, and wipe yuh-weeping eyes.

Yuh going to wipe

Yuh going to wipe

Yuh going to wipe yuh weeping eyes.

Yuh can see we are well,

You'll be brave and wipe yuh-weeping eyes

Appendix 9

By the rivers of Babylon (See page 333)

By the rivers of Babylon, where we sat down, and everywhere, when we remember Zion. And the wicked carry us away captivity, require from us a song. How can we sing king Alpha's song in a strange land.

At times particular lines of the song might be sung differently.

By the rivers of Babylon, where we sat down, and as we wept, we remember Zion. For the wicked carry us away captivity, require from us a song.

How can we sing king Alpha's song in a strange land.

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