Religious Perception in Colonial Jamaica and How it Affected the Maroon Communities There

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Religious Perception in Colonial Jamaica and How it Affected the Maroon Communities There

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Abstract

This Thesis examines important religious figures and rebellion in accordance to Afro-Jamaican religion and how these events influenced colonists and English perception and that perception's ultimate effect on the Jamaican maroon communities. The first chapter focuses on the development of the relationship between Maroons and colonists through the Frist Maroon War as well as the importance of religion within the Maroons. Grandy Nanny is an important figure in this chapter for her religious power and important in the war. The second chapter analyses what caused the shift in colonists' perception of Obeah from condescending to fearful. It does this by examining Tacky's Rebellion, Three Fingered Jack, and increasing fears towards Obeah from colonists as well as the first introduction of Obeah to the literate British public and the differences between the British and Colonists. The final chapter concentrates on the Haitian Revolution and its effect on colonial governance as well as the connection to the spark that ignited the Second Maroon War. This chapter also addresses the lack of development in Obeah's perception among metropolitan Britain in late 1790's despite the destruction of the previous rebellions and wars. All of these events are affected by the perception of Afro-Jamaican religion and the fear that it developed amongst colonists. This fear along with pre-existing stigmas against black people resulted in a tense relationship between the Maroons and colonists that ultimately failed and resulted in the deportation of many Trelawny Town maroons.

Dedication

This is for all the people who let me complain to them about how much work I had and supported me along the way and, most importantly, to Ray Bones Claybrook.

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1. Introduction

The 1700's were a particularly interesting period of British colonialism in Jamaica due to the unique relationship the colonists had to develop with the Maroon communities on the island. The island had been under Spanish control for over a century before the English began taking control and, as such, the Maroon communities were adamant on maintaining their livelihood and culture on their land. The Maroons of Jamaica were established through runaway slaves, Native Americans already on the island, and African peoples that accumulated into unique communities. These communities became their own ethnography with specific cultural practices, religions, and governance. The English initially tried taking control over the areas that housed the Maroons but failed repeatedly and eventually made them into enemies resulting in the First Maroon War. By the end of the First Maroon War, and with several victories under the Maroons belt, it became apparent that in order to maintain unimpeded control over the island English authorities would have to make some concessions to the Maroons and begin a mutually beneficial relationship. Throughout the early 1700's this relationship was quite fragile and met breaking points on several occasions usually caused by the colonists belittling the Maroons' religious practices and people and disrespecting the treaties signed in 1739. The English's and colonists' perspective and stigmatization of black people and Maroons is one of the main causes behind the dissolution of the relationship and the developing notoriety of Afro-Jamaican religions among colonists. The perspective the colonists and English had on the maroons and its effect on how their relationship evolved throughout the century were influenced significantly by the religious practices of the Maroons. And, despite there having been multiple religions with notable variations many

planters, historians, and colonists at the time have seemingly designated Obeah as the overall religion in most instances. Sometimes Coramantee is acknowledged but more often than not Obeah is the main scapegoat. The views against Obeah prompted legislative changes, direct actions against their religious practices, and evoked fear and paranoia in colonists due to their stigmatization of the religion and the people.

The negative perception of the Afro-Jamaican religions is in part due to the fact that their religions were intrinsically connected to several points of rebellion. The First Maroon war and later Tacky's Rebellion were detrimental to plantations and colonists and were heavily influenced by Maroon and Afro-Jamaican religious practices. Furthermore, the presence of these religions among slaves mixed with ongoing fear of slave rebellion resulted in paranoia and accusations against the religions further villainizing Afro-Jamaican religions. The population of the slaves far exceeded that of the colonists and if they were able to unite against the colonists it would be incredibly destructive for the colonists' livelihood and the English economy. Other fears surrounding poisons and "supposedly" unexplainable deaths led to laws against the practice of Obeah as that was understood to be the usual practice among slaves and Maroons and was often connected to poison by colonists. Influential religious figures throughout the 1760's and 1780's such as Three Fingered Jack and Tacky similarly motivated the negative perception of the religion through their respective rebellious actions. While they were not acting for the Maroons the known connection of Afro-Jamaican religions in the Maroons similarly affected the colonist's and English's negative perceptions thus limiting the Maroons religious freedom. Finally, the Second Maroon War in the 1790's and the negative impact of the Haitian Revolution on the perception of slaves and Afro-*Caribbean* religion solidified the fear towards the maroons and vilified, completely, Afro-Jamaican religion among the colonists. In England the religion

instead became an entertaining oddity among the general public. The religions' connection to rebellion accumulated fear in colonists to the point that the Maroons' beneficials for the colonists became overlooked by their fear. In analyzing the effect of colonist's perception on Obeah it is necessary to address each historic event and the people who directly affected the Maroons' images.

The first chapter focuses on the First Maroon War in regard to the developing importance and use of Afro-Jamaican religion in rebellion and war. Grandy Nanny is the main figure discussed in this chapter as her leadership and ability is what many Maroons attributed their victory to. The accounts about Grandy Nanny passed down through the Maroons oral tradition and recorded by Kenneth Bilby reflect her importance and spiritual ability in the community. The subsequent treaty signed after the First Maroon War is important when analyzing the relationship between the Maroons and colonists throughout the rest of the 1700's as it reflects how they co-inhabited the island and what led to the downfall of their relationship. This disintegration was partly due to stigmatization and villainization of black people by the British through racist beliefs that harmed the relationship between the Maroons and settlers. Many of the settlers believed people of black descent to be lesser and as such did not respect them or the treaty. The colonists' disrespect of the treaty and the maroons was because they believed the Maroons were not a community deserving of their respect.

The second chapter's focus is on the development of Obeah after the First Maroon War as an actual potential threat in the eyes of the colonists and the introduction of Obeah in English media. The historical event that triggers the distinct shift in perception of Obeah is Tacky's Rebellion in the 1760's. Before this rebellion, and in defiance of the obvious impact of religion in the First Maroon War, Afro-Jamaican religions were usually described with indifference and

condescension. This image is also the initial portrayal of Obeah and Maroons to the British public in the poem, *The Sugar-Cane,* by James Grainger, a physician and planter on the island. His work is what first introduced the reading public to Obeah and it's dismissive attitude towards the religion as something childish and of little note is how many British perceived the religion throughout the 1700's. The colonists on the other hand experienced a noticeable shift in attitude towards religious practices among slaves with Tacky's Rebellion. This developed perception negatively affected the relationship between colonists and the maroons. The violence and large-scale destruction of Tacky's Rebellion was accredited to the unification of slaves through Afro-Jamaican religion leading to the first anti-Obeah law. Along with the planters' fear of revolt, fear of poisonings and curses also became connected to Afro-Jamaican religions creating more tension between Maroons and colonists. Another impactful figure on the image of Afro-Jamaican religious practice is Jack Mansong, also known as Three Fingered Jack, who supposedly utilized powerful Obeah talismans to give him power which he used to steal from planters and colonists. He was eventually stopped and executed by two Maroons who similarly utilized obeah powers in capturing and defeating Mansong who by then had become known as "the scourge of Jamaica." Jack Mansong's and Tacky's use of Obeah in revolting and rebelling against the colonists cemented the adverse perception of Obeah. Throughout this time period the colonial leaders proposed significant changes in legislature that would limit the abilities of the slaves and Maroons in spirituality.

The third and final chapter focuses on the Second Maroon War and the Haitian Revolution and how they influenced legislative action concerning Jamaica in British parliament and among colonial authorities as well such as the Acts of Assembly. The main legislative movement stalled due to the Haitian Revolution was the Abolition movement which did initially

have growing support but after the Haitian Revolution the English's perception of slaves and Afro-Caribbean religion were heavily changed due to the brutalness of the slaves on the island. The fear the Haitian Revolution spread in white settlers in Jamaica created concerns of potential religion incited revolts in Jamaica and led to growing support of the anti-abolitionists racist belief that slaves, and black people, were violent and needed control. Anti-abolitionist with connections to Jamaica such as Bryan Edwards also used the argument of maintaining control and the slave trade due to its economic benefits and for concern of colonist's safety actively argued against the abolition. The paranoia brought forth by the Haitian Revolution was palpable in Jamaica as the islands were extremely close geographically and there were rumors about the French ideology that inspired the Haitian Revolution spreading to Jamaica and the Maroons. The Haitian Revolution grew fear among Jamaican colonists of slave revolts and religions. What finally led to the complete dissolution of the colonist-maroon relationship was paranoia from the Jamaican Governor, 6th Earl of Balcarres Alexander Lindsay, and his suspicion of Maroon insurgence through French instigation. His paranoia along with the colonists continued disrespect of the Maroons resulted in the straw that broke the camel's back. In 1796, Trelawney Maroon leader, Captain Montague James, brought forth the Maroons concern about the punishment enacted on two maroons for stealing an animal due to its disrespectful nature. The colonial political leaders at the time imprisoned the Maroon leaders who went to express their grievances under Governor Lindsay's orders resulting in the Second Maroon War. The governor believed that they had been influenced by the Haitian and French Revolution imprisoning them immediately. Captain James though was an incredibly respected figure in the Maroon and his unjust imprisonment angered the Maroons immensely. The Trelawny Town Maroons action only solidified the fears the colonists had about revolt and rebellion and completely dismantled the

efforts of the Abolition in humanizing black people even though the Maroons actions were justified by the treaty they signed in 1739.

The history of the Maroons, from the Maroon perspective, has been maintained as an oral history and as such must be used in accordance with documents and works from the time to understand all sides of the conflicts better. In analyzing these events and people both historians and anthropologists are utilized in part to analyze the oral history and the written history. Considering this, the accounts reflecting the historic events of the Maroon Wars and Tacky's rebellion are from the colonist's perspective and any input from Maroons is provided by more modern descriptions obtained mostly through the research of anthropologist Kenneth Bilby. Bilby's work, *True Born Maroons*, is composed of interviews he performed among modern day members of the Maroons such as Grandy Nanny. The nature of the Maroon's oral history means that this thesis works partially on modern understandings of Maroon descendants rather than records from the time when acknowledging the Maroons perspective. Similarly, in understanding Obeah's importance to the communities, anthropologist Nathaniel Samuel Murrell, provides a comprehensive study of the socio-cultural relations between Afro-*Caribbean* religion and the communities that use them. His research spanned nine years and covers an extensive time frame of nearly 200 years allowing for an in-depth analysis of the preservation of African culture within black communities despite the oppression they faced during colonization.

In evaluating colonists' perspectives Bryan Edwards, Richard Charles Dallas, and Edward Long represent the general views of Maroons and Obeah that developed throughout the 1700's. Edward Long's views are the most racist and objectifying of the slaves and Maroons but was also one of the better-known figures on the subject and has been cited in several secondary sources utilized in this thesis. R.C. Dallas and Bryan Edwards both describe Obeah and its

practitioners as individuals fooled into believing the supernatural gifts the religion enabled initially but after Tacky's Rebellion both believed in retrospect that the unification of the religion as well as its relation to rebellion were a true threat. Thomas Campbell and James Grainger's poetic works also portrayed the religion as something solely superstitious and both influenced change in perspective. James Grainger's work was written before but published after Tacky's Rebellion in 1764 whereas Campbell's work was published in 1799 after both Tacky's Rebellion and The Second Maroon War. The major events between the two works and the drastic change in tone expressed in the works in relation to black people and Obeah shows the evolution of perspective towards the Maroons as Campbells expresses a much greater concern to the religion. Campbell's work followed the Second Maroon War and the Haitian Revolution, both led by communities in which religion played a significant role in unifying and fighting, meant that his portrayal was based on the rebellions and not on plantation life as Grainger's portrayal was.

The historians Mavis Campbell, Orlando Patterson, Sasha Bryson, and Alan Richardson have all provided observations into the political and social developments on the island and in Britain regarding the Maroons. Richardson's work on the presence of Obeah and Maroons characters in Romantic period works in Britain, particularly with Campbell's work and the theater production of *Three Fingered Jack,* has been vital in understanding how the British perceived Maroons, Obeah, and the colony. Campbell's comprehensive and in-depth work on the Maroons and the intricacies behind the Maroons relationship with colonists directly after the signing of the treaties in 1739, throughout the developing fear in the 1760's and in the event that led to the Second Maroon War. While her work is a bit dated as it was released in 1988 many other historians and anthropologists regularly cite her research and regard her as a suitable source of information for a plethora of elements regarding the Maroons.

2. The First Maroon War and Early Colonist Perceptions

Jamaica was an incredibly profitable colony for the British and thus maintaining control over the colony and its people was very important. Throughout the 1700's, England's control over the island the Leeward and Windward Maroons posed a continued problem and threat for the English. Before England invaded Jamaica and colonized it for themselves it was under Spanish control for over 160 years. Under Spanish control, many African slaves escaped slavery into the mountains where they eventually formed separate communities outside of the control of the colonials. These communities were the foundation of the Jamaican Maroons. By the time the English began their invasion and continued importing slaves to the island these runaway communities were well established. These communities became the Leeward and Windward Maroons and would prove to be quite the obstacle for the English colonists. British relations with the Maroons of Jamaica were generally poor with the English repeatedly patronizing the Maroons and their beliefs as uncivilized and unimportant. While attempting to establish control over the island the Maroons continued to be a difficult barrier to overcome. The English never gained complete control of the island as the Maroons refused to relinquish their land for British control. From the beginning of the English occupation throughout the early 1700's the relationship between the Maroons, the planters, and colonial authorities evolved into an stubborn alliance after the First Maroon War

The Maroons in Jamaica are particularly impressive due to multiple reasons. It is incredibly difficult to forge a community outside of civilization and with multiple diverging cultural characteristics, but the Jamaican maroons were able to successfully create their

communities and unite against English colonial rule. These maroon communities were formed by uniting with the Native Americans on the island "learning to adapt to the topography, soils, water supplies, trees, plants, and animals" that the natives were already quite familiar with.[1] The Natives and Africans formed a symbiotic relationship that evolved into a new cultural and ethnographic group.[2] How the plantation owners and colonial authorities interacted with the maroons is particularly important in analyzing why the Maroons rebelled and how they led to the beginning demonization of Afro-Jamaican religions.

While the English Colonists were establishing their communities and towns throughout Jamaica the Windward Maroon community was already fully formed and the Leeward Maroon community would soon follow in around 1673 following the slave revolt in St. Ann Parish. After the Spanish were defeated, they fled from the island and the remaining Africans joined with the Arawak Native Americans and shipwrecked Madagascans into a diverse community in the center of Jamaica eventually becoming the Windward Maroons.[3] At this time in the mid 1600's Britain was unable to completely police the entire island as there were simply not enough settlers. Throughout the establishment of the English colony these Maroons continuously harassed plantations stealing provisions, utilizing guerilla tactics, and purposefully taking slaves and emancipating them. Life among the Maroons was not an easy one and the people lived by utilizing the land's resources and learning as much as they could about their territories. As these Maroons were constructed before the English invasion, they had the upper hand in knowing the

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[1] Craton, Michael. *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery In the British West Indies.* Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 2009. https://hdl-handle-net.jcu.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.04568. EPUB.

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[3] Patterson, Orlando. "Slavery and Slave Revolts: A Socio-Historical Analysis of The First Maroon War Jamaica, 1655 – 1740." Social and Economic Studies 19, no. 3 (1970): 289-325. www.jstor.org/stable/27856434.

island and how to utilize it to their advantage. They were familiar with the resources, the plants, animals, water sources, suitable land for farming and general topography. While their communities were small, they successfully impeded the English through their harassment of the colonist's plantations and by stealing resources such as food. Periodic slave revolts such as the one in St. Ann Parish where "200 slaves belonging to Major Sebly's plantation" killed 13 whites and their master strengthened the English's negative opinions of the Maroons and Africans as "savage" and uncivilized.[4] The slaves who revolted often later joined the Maroons strengthening their numbers and resources. Not only did these revolts lead to colonists' deaths but the runaway slaves also successfully fought off pursuers taking stolen weaponry with them. The Maroons continued provocation towards the colonists led to growing dissent eventually culminating into the First Maroon War.

As tensions between the Maroons and the colonialists continued to grow and the English began more adamantly pursuing full control of the island came the First Maroon War starting in 1728. This war is particularly important in understanding the developing concerns of the English and colonists towards Afro-Jamaican religions. At this point in time, the religious practice in the maroons is a bit difficult to define as their perspective has been recorded as an oral history and any textual references to the Maroon religions came from outside viewers such as planters and colonial authorities. The religious practices of Maroons and slaves held many components of west African religions but didn't have a specific title yet. Despite the difficulties in defining the religious practice of the maroons, spirituality was important especially in concerns with how the Maroons governed themselves and practiced/developed their own culture. By the end of the First Maroon War in the late 1740's the religion, Obeah, became a concrete title colonist used in

[4] Patterson, Orlando. 1970

describing the religion of the Maroons. Obeah was not the sole Afro-Jamaican religion practiced on the island but religions such as Myal and Coromantee were not connected nearly as often if at all to the Maroons. Understanding the importance of the Maroons' religion in governing themselves and as a culturally significant component of their identity is necessary to understand the relationship between the Maroons and the English.

The Maroons hold within the island was a problem for the colonial authorities as it gave slaves an actual likelihood of surviving if they were to escape and would increase the threat of the Maroons. More runaway slaves meant increasing the size of the maroon communities consequently giving the Maroons more resources and active members in their society. Not only did the runaway slaves have a much higher chance of survival than in colonies that did not have well established Maroons, but they were also protected by the Maroons thus incurring a financial loss to the planters. The Maroons' disdain for the colonial powers who were attempting to gain full control of the island gave the Maroons an incentive to rebel and accept runaway slaves. One of the biggest problems within runaway slave communities is the need for a diverse demographic to fulfill all the roles of a functioning society such as growing the population and gathering food. These runaway slaves were able to fulfill the empty roles in the Maroons. The role of religion in these maroons worked as a spiritual system and as a form of governance.[5] It was an important element for healing their sick and wounded, punishing criminals, and protecting the members of their community. Often, spiritually strong members also became important social figures such as Grandy Nanny. Considering how integral their religious practices were in their self-governance and culture the maroons are inherently tied to their religions. This connection meant that enmity

[5]Eltis, Davis and David Richardson. *Routes to Slavery : Direction, Ethnicity, and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade*. Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures. London: Frank Cass, 1997

towards Afro-Jamaican religion was likely inevitable since all disagreements would be connected to their religion in some form. Furthermore, the colonial authorities had already had several skirmishes related to Afro-Jamaican religions. One such instance was the revolt of Coromantee slaves in 1673, as well as some later disputes with the Windward Maroon in the late 1600's. It was not until the First Maroon War that Afro-Jamaican religion became an obvious component of resistance and culture to the English soldiers and planters. Spirituality is arguably one of the most important elements of the First Maroon War due to its impact on the Maroons in uniting them and leading them to gaining the upper hand against colonial authorities and its accumulated infamy throughout the early 1700's due to the First Maroon War.

One particularly important person, both in the First Maroon War and the developing religion of the Leeward Maroon, was a woman named Grandy Nanny. She was a revered spiritual leader and a renowned military tactician of the Leeward Maroons. One of the most important components of Obeah and the religious precursor practiced by Grandy Nanny was the ability to call forth spiritual powers from their ancestors. Grandy Nanny was incredibly adept at this according to Maroons and colonists alike. She was able to successfully lead "her troops in a series of battles against the British forces, defeating them time and time again."[6] Nanny was said to have supernatural abilities that made her nearly invincible. She was a supernatural force and alongside Cudjoe, the leader of the Windward Maroons, they were eventually able to reach an agreement with the English colonial leaders and sign a treaty in 1739 ensuring their leadership over their Maroons later renamed Nanny town and Cudjoe town.

[6] Barrow-Giles, Cynthia. Women in *Caribbean* Politics. EbscoHost. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2011.

Grandy Nanny perfectly exemplifies the beginning vilification of Jamaican Maroon religions during the First Maroon War as her ruthlessness and ability in war was often attributed to her spiritual ability by her fellow Maroons and some skeptical English officers. The Maroons were made up of "a half-starved, sometimes rag-tag band of no more than 500 Africans, fleeing the fires, guns, dogs and soldiers with the might of the British empire" and so it is no wonder that Nanny's continued success could so easily be seen as unnatural.[7] While she was considered a great leader and powerful member to the Maroons the English depicted her as "a blood thirsty 'Old Hagg'" who wears "a girdle around her waist with nine or ten knives" in chronicles at the time.[8] Grandy Nanny preserved her and her fellow Maroons African culture while leading the Leeward Maroons to victory against the British and with her success in the First Maroon War she also marked the starting point of British fear concerning Afro-Jamaican religions in Jamaica. The English colonists experienced decisive defeats throughout the First Maroon War, such as the ambush assault at Port Antonio or the expensive and largely unhelpful occupation of Nanny Town, while adamantly undermining the ability of the Maroons.[9] Despite the Maroons repeatedly defeating them while incurring few mortalities the British remained stubborn that they could defeat the Maroons and take control of the Blue Mountains. The Maroons not only had control over valuable, farmable land but also acted as a haven for runaway slaves until the signing of the treaty in 1739.

Grandy Nanny was critical in several of the skirmishes between the English and the Maroons. One legend in particular is depicted in each Maroon oral history is the legend of Grandy Nanny catching bullets and throwing them back at the English soldiers in battle. The oral

[7] Barrow-Giles, Cynthia. 2011
[8] Barrow-Giles, Cynthia. 2011
[9] Patterson, Orlando., 1970

history describes Nanny as catching bullets shot at her and her fellow Maroons then throwing them back with her bare hands, or according to some Maroons with her buttocks.[10] This legend describes her infamous spiritual power. On the other hand, historian Brathwaite proposes that the idea of her catching and returning bullets with her buttocks was likely used as a way to discredit Grandy Nanny by undermining her.[11] Brathwaite believes that Inspector Herbert Thomas wrote of the altercation in this manner and that it was later picked up by Maroons and outsiders alike as truth. This legend displays Grandy Nanny's power portraying how her spiritual abilities were well known and well connected to her by both Maroon descendants and British colonial officers. There are several other Maroon legends about Grandy Nanny's spiritual powers that portray the threat of her spirituality and thus the potential strength of Windward Maroons who learn this power from Grandy Nanny. In 1740 under a new Governor, Edward Trelawney, treaties were proposed and accepted by both the Windward and Leeward Maroons to stop the harassment from people like Grandy Nanny. This marked the end of the First Maroon War and granted the leaders of the Leeward and Windward Maroons legal ownership over their land by English law. The Leeward and Windward Maroon had their own treaties respectively. Despite the Maroons successfully gaining control over their land and coming to an agreement with the colonists and British authorities they were still undermined by the vagueness of certain clauses in the Treaty. Even though the British experienced repeated defeats and losses, the planters and local British authorities continued to abhor the Maroons and often pushed against the Maroons by not respecting the treaties.

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[10] Bilby, Kenneth M. *True-Born Maroons*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. https://hdl-handle-net.jcu.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.04560. EPUB.
[11] Bilby, Kenneth M. *True-Born Maroons*.

The treaties put the Maroons in an interesting position where they were acting for the planters in locating and returning runaway slaves. The Maroons became an important force for the colonists and planters alike but were still looked down on by the very people they were helping. The Treaties favored the colonists and put the Maroons at a disadvantage by making them pay taxes and keep a few colonists in their area for communication and controlling purposes. While the maroons repeatedly fulfilled their promise according to the treaty, the planters and colonists often disregarded their side of the agreement by encroaching on Maroon land. This disrespect portrays the planter's belief that the Maroons were not respectable by their standards. Furthermore, whenever disputes did occur, such as the disagreement in leadership at Crawford Town that eventually led to the dismantling of that Maroon, the colonists' belief that the Maroons were violent and uncivil was supported. Although the Maroons aggravation was warranted considering how the treaty continued to put them at a disadvantage their disapproval was seen as less important by the colonists. This condescension is a continuing theme throughout the 1700's between the Maroons, the English, and colonists.

Afro-Jamaican religions had proven to be detrimental in the First Maroon War but the planters and colonist's hubris stopped them from taking any action against the practice. They still viewed the Maroons' spirituality as something childish that was of no immediate concern. This is obvious from the treaty that put no emphasis on the Maroons religious practices. According to Bev Carey the Maroons were not a nuisance or a bother for the plantation owners during the First Maroon War but by the mid 1700's tensions would change.[12] This spiritual power utilized by the maroons in the First Maroon War was integral in introducing how religions such as Obeah could

[12] Carey, Bev. *The Maroon Story : The Authentic and Original History of the Maroons in the History of Jamaica, 1490-1880.* A Maroon and Jamaica Heritage Series. Gordon Town, Jamaica: Agouti Press, 1997.

be utilized against colonial authoritative power and forebode the following rebellions that would follow when the English Colonists tried to limit Maroon freedom and continued to disrespect the Maroons despite them fulfilling their duty as officers against runaway slaves.

3. Tacky's Revolt, Three Fingered Jack, and the Criminalization of Obeah

Throughout the mid to late 1700's the English and colonists' perceptions of Afro-Jamaican religions among slaves and the maroons evolved to encompass a much more negative attitude and began pursuing stricter control over the Maroons and their religions. Even after the decisive defeat the English faced in the First Maroon War colonists and authorities continued to undermine and stereotype Afro-Jamaican people. After Tacky's revolt, the idea of "obi-men" being leaders in revolts grew in prominence throughout English literature began affecting the overall negative perception towards Afro-Jamaican religions. This developing connection affected the Maroons and how the English believed the colony should be governed. The immediate after-effects of the treaty signed with the Windward and Leeward Maroons, Thomas Grainger's, *The Sugar-Cane,* Tacky's Revolt, and the important rebel figure of "Three Fingered Jack" all have connections to the maroons and their spiritual practices that portray the developing British and colonists perspectives towards religion in the Maroons.

About 30 years after the First Maroon War and the signing of the treaties came one of the first instances in which Obeah was described for the English public in James Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane*. Obeah had a direct connection to the Windward Maroon alongside other religions such as Coromantee and Myal according to colonists, but the Maroons were generally referred to as Obeah. This is likely why *The Sugar-Cane* only alludes to "obi-men" and not the other religions present. *The Sugar-Cane,* written in 1764, depicted Obeah from Grainger's perspective

before the term had gained its negative connotation and was more so condescending. Grainger partially owned plantation land and wrote mostly about doctoring slaves and the best approaches in medicine which was often impeded by "obi-men" on the plantations who would act as doctors for the slaves instead of going to Grainger, who was a doctor, for medical treatment. This was his main insight into the religion and is likely why he looked at the practice as something annoying but for the most part harmless. While he did not have many interactions with Maroons the British and planter's connection of Obeah to the Maroons meant that his ideas towards the religion influenced how Maroons were seen as well as Obeah slaves. Planters on the island had very similar views to Grainger in regard to how Obeah was a nuisance but harmless according to historian Alan Richardson.[13] His poem acts as an insight into planter perspective on Maroon life and his views were some of the first adapted by the general public in Britain towards Maroons thanks to the popularity of his poem. The poem itself is largely about Britain's success in colonizing and enterprising the Island but part of the poem is directly related to the effect of Obeah on the slaves. He remarks that "Obia" influences slaves saying that those slaves who believe in Obeah have been fooled into by false superstitions. He remarks in his personal notes about the colony:

"Luckless he who owns

The slave, who thinks himself bewitched"[14]

This line is a direct tie to the Obeah belief in one's ancestor taking possession of their body. The possession is what awards the spiritual practitioners of Obeah their power. "The word Obeah

[13] Richardson, Alan. "Romantic Voodoo: Obeah and British Culture, 1797-1807." *Studies in Romanticism* 32, no. 1 (1993): 3-28. Accessed October 28, 2020. doi:10.2307/25600993.
[14] Richardson, Alan., 1993.

derives from the Twi concept *obey e*, which means that which can do work but is not seen" which is the ancestors possessing spirit.[15] The "unseen" alludes to possession from ancestors and African spirits which is particularly important in the Jamaican Maroon practice. With each new generation, people from previous generations can possess new members of the community. For instance, Grandy Nanny is often said to possess descendants of the community even today.

Another point Grainger discusses in his notes is how much of an impact Obeah has on its practitioners. "Obia" slaves relied on fellow Obeah men especially in concerns to health and life. Medical problems and concerns were handled by Obeah men rather than western medicines utilized on the plantation. From Grainger's perspective it is obvious how overarching Obeah was in slave communities and not simply the Maroons. This itself could be threatening to colonial authorities and later plantation owners as Obeah had proven to be detrimental already in the First Maroon War and it's obvious that planters, such as Grainger, were well aware that slaves and Maroons would rather rely on each other for their needs than the planters. Planters had a hold on their slaves due to the nature of the relationship, but the Maroons were an independent entity and thus could not be controlled the same way as the slaves.

According to Bev Carey, a hobby anthropologist/historian who did extensive work in interviewing the modern descendants of the Jamaican Maroons, the Maroons were not a nuisance or a bother for the plantation owners during the First Maroon War but by the mid 1700's tension would once again develop and thus colonist's perspectives about the Maroons would change as well. The connecting factor between slaves and Maroons could have led to more slaves looking to integrate into the maroons thus costing the plantation owners money and increasing the

[15] Giddings, Geoffry Jabwara. "Obeah." In Encyclopedia of African REligion, edited by Molefi K. Asanti and Ama Mazama, 472. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009. Doi: 10.4135/9781412964623.n295.

potential threat of the maroons. This spiritual power utilized by the maroons in the First Maroon War was integral in introducing how religions such as Obeah could be utilized against colonial authoritative power and forebode the following rebellions that would follow when the English Colonists tried to limit Maroon freedom.

After the Windward and Leeward Maroons signed their respective treaties and began acting in accordance with their agreement by bringing in runaway slaves and helping to quell rebellion the English plantation owners began using the vagueness of the clauses to their benefit. As stated in the previous chapter, historian Mavis Campbell theorized that the vagueness of clause two for the Windward Maroon failed to clarify the boundaries of their land as a tactical maneuver the colonial authorities used for their own benefit.[16] The land that the maroons were in control of was particularly fertile and thus could mean more profits for plantation owners. White settlers began establishing themselves very close to the Windward Maroon and utilizing this vague clause to push the maroons away from fertile land for colonial use. Due to this, disputes and dissension began and "the colonial government saw this as an opportunity to pass laws with portentous titles, like that for the better regulation 'such of the rebellious negroes as submitted to terms.'"[17] The areas that the Maroons were located in were known to be fertile before the treaty was signed and due to the Maroons lack of knowledge in regards to British law they very likely did not know the full extent of what they were agreeing. The maroon leaders that signed the treaties most likely could not read either and where told what the treaties said but did not

[16] Campbell, Mavis Christine. *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: a History of Resistance, Collaboration & Betrayal*. Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988.
[17] See JAJ 4, October 16, 1751; CSF., 154/4, Acts, p. 332.

question technicalities the way someone familiar with British law may have. As such, it is possible the colonial authorities that issued the treaties were aware of this opportunity. The continued tension caused by the encroachment on Maroon land was not taken well by the Maroons who had ancestral, spiritual, and legal ties to the land. The area was an integral part of their life for hunting and agriculture. Not only was it necessary for their livelihood but they also had rightful ownership of the territory by their own legal standards as well as British law and yet their rights were disregarded in the hope that the planters would gain at least partial access to the land. This is particularly true in the Crawford Town Maroon where white settlers began aggressively testing the boundaries of the treaty by moving their plots closer and closer to the Maroons. The encroachment and harassment led twenty-six individuals from Crawford Town to shockingly request allocation in 1749. Eventually a colonialist named Mr. Peete gave permission for them to inhibit some of the land he owned near Scotts' Hall. The governor at the time, Edward Trelawney, believed this was a good idea as he felt "that the settlement of those Negroes in that part of the country, would conduce to the public safety".[18] While these Maroons did leave Crawford Town not enough left to benefit the planters with the plot of land the Maroon was on. Despite the treaties and the Maroons upholding their end of the treaty there was still a sense of fear from colonial authorities and plantation owners. An important component of this fear was the association of slaves and Obi practitioners with poisoning and harmful practices. Cases of actual and suspected poisonings as well as Tacky's Rebellion in 1760 were "key reasons planters and their allies had misgivings that enslaved people's cosmology posed tremendous threat to

[18] Campbell, Mavis Christine. 1988.

their lives and the system of slavery."[19] Considering the importance of Afro-Jamaican religions for both Maroons and slaves, planters' fears were a common drive in anti-religious legislation that affected the great majority of the island's African descendants.

The first anti-poison law in British colonial Jamaica was established in 1696 and it stated that it was a "capital crime for enslaved people to 'give, attempt, or cause to be given (poison) to any Person… Free or slave' regardless of whether it caused harm."[20] This eventually became inextricably connected to the practice of Obeah as Obeah-men did occasionally use poisons even if this was not an intrinsic feature of the religion.[21] Considering how extremely similar Afro-Jamaican religions were, it likely affected practitioners of other religions such as Myal and Coromantee as well especially since these religions were often not differentiated by the white settlers on the island. Poison and Afro-Jamaican religion was mostly discussed in retrospect in the late 1700's by people such as Edward Long who believed that Obeah practitioners had a certain relationship with the nature they inhabited that allowed them to utilize their surroundings as weapons and their spirituality for rebellious purposes. Fears, like Edward Long's, are especially seen in response to Tacky's Revolt in 1760, after which the plantation owners' fear had developed to the point of the first anti-obeah law being established.

Prior to Tacky's Revolt and despite the underlying connection to rebelling and poisoning the colonial attitude towards Obi-men was mostly condescending. This condescension eventually spread to Britain with Obeah's popularization during the Romantic period in England who used

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[19] Bryson, Sasha Turner. "The Art of Power: Poison and Obeah Accusations and the Struggle for Dominance and Survival in Jamaica's Slave Society." *Caribbean Studies* 41, no. 2 (2013): 61-90. Accessed October 23, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23769118.

[20] Bryson, Sasha Turner. 2013

[21] Bryson, Sasha Turner. 2013

the religion as a point of interest "rather than an obscure slave custom to be mocked and dismissed as it was prior to and immediately after Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane*.[22] The perspectives of the colonists did not become important or very relevant to the British public until the late 1790's and early 1800's but planters concerns were expressed to British parliament as control of the island was through the British government. Despite Tacky's Revolt being considered one of the biggest 'Obeah-assisted uprisings in eighteenth century Jamaica," Grainger's poem remained patronizing expressing that the obi-men and healers would be comical if their practices did not affect the 'merchandise' that were the planter's slaves.[2324] According to Alan Richardson this was a fairly common attitude among West-Indian planters. Generally, the wester planters tended to look down upon their slaves and Maroon cultural/religious practices seeing them as the unnecessary "superstitious Africans and the wickedness of the conjurers among them. Grainger goes on to say that while these "magicians" can cause mischief on a plantation they can also serve a useful purpose if "they are kept by the white people in proper subordination."[25]

Over the decade following Grainger's poem, Obeah and its relationship to slaves and Maroons became an increased concern for both plantation owners and colonial political leaders. While the Windward and Leeward Maroons, and their respective towns, had been upholding their end of the bargain by returning runaway slaves and helping to quell several revolts the English colonists continued to abuse the treaty and belittle their spiritual practices. Despite the

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[22] Richardson, Alan. 1993

[23] Bryson, Sasha Turner. "The Art of Power: Poison and Obeah Accusations and the Struggle for Dominance and Survival in Jamaica's Slave Society." *Caribbean* Studies 41, no. 2 (2013): 61-90. Accessed May 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/23769118.

[24] Richardson, Alan. 1993

[25] Richardson, Alan. 1993

Maroons acting as a police force against runaway slaves their religions were villainized when the slaves used their respective religions to revolt no matter if it was Coromantee or Obeah as they were often lumped together. "Obeah played a leading role in a number of the seventy-five slave rebellions" before and during Tacky's Revolt in 1760.[26] Tacky was a particularly famous Obeah sic, or priest, and was responsible for leading and organizing a full-scale rebellion in 1774. This rebellion spread between at least 5 parishes throughout the island and was one of the most dangerous rebellions in British imperial history.

The importance of Obeah for the rebelling slaves was not lost to the English, especially after they captured one Obeah-man under Tacky. He testified that "he, along with his fellow practitioners, 'administered a powder, which being rubbed on their bodies, was to make them invulnerable" which inspired the rebellion as the rebels felt they had gained protection from the ritual.[27] Not only was Obeah accredited with uniting the island wide rebellion but also with creating the morale and assurance in the slaves that allowed them to act unhampered. They believed they were truly invincible due to the religious ceremony and that mentality helped the rebellion in the beginning. After several victories over plantations in which they accumulated hundreds of runaway slaves towards the movement a counter militia was formed by the colonists. The militia learned of the supposed power granted by the Obeahman and so they captured one Obeah-man and publicly displayed his body still covered in religious garb as proof

[26] Wilson, Kathleen. "The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound." The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 66, no. 1 (2009): 45-86. Accessed May 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/40212041.
[27] Rucker, Walter. "Conjure, Magic, and Power: The Influence of Afro-Atlantic Religious Practices on Slave Resistance and Rebellion." Journal of Black Studies 32, no. 1 (2001): 84-103. Accessed May 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/2668016.

that the powder would not in fact make the rebels impervious.[28] This act discouraged many of the slaves until the rebellion was brought to a fault. While only 60 colonists died in the revolt compared to the hundreds of slaves it was a tremendous loss for the colony as there were very few colonists on the island compared to Africans. The destruction caused great fear in the planters and colonists and they demanded action to staunch any threat of continued rebellion. As Obeah so clearly influenced the revolts the first anti-obeah law was enacted in 1760.[29]

The introduction of this anti-obeah law marks the shift in Obeah's reputation from what was shown in James Grainger's poem versus the colonist's newer perception after Tacky's Revolt. Attitudes changed drastically at this time. While Grainger's poem expressed the relevance of Obeah to slaves it was mostly mocking and diminishing but did not express a great concern towards the possible importance of Obeah as a tool for revolt. By 1760, Obeah was demoted from "a harmless and appropriate 'primitive' belief," to, "a 'savage' custom which evinces African barbarity and must be outlawed and obliterated by the whites."[30] Concern towards Afro-Jamaican spiritual practices on slave revolts and rebellion only grew after Tacky's revolt with three more Coromantee slave revolts in 1765, 1766, and 1767 leading to increased enforcements and regulation on slave codes.[31] This concern became even more prominent with Jack Mansong, "the terror of Jamaica in 1780."[32] Jack Mansong, also known as Three Fingered Jack, led a group of rebels, likely descendants of Ancoma. Ancoma was an illegal, small, maroon

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[28] Craton, Michael. Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery In the British West Indies. Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 2009. https://hdl-handle-net.jcu.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb.04568. EPUB.

[29] Bryson, Sasha Turner. 2013

[30] Richardson, Alan. 1993

[31] Brown, Vincent. *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power In the World of Atlantic Slavery.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.07795. EPUB.

[32] Richardson, Alan. 1993

that did not fall under the Windward or Leeward Maroons and was thus considered illegal. Mansong of Ancoma acted against colonial authorities with the use of his 'obi', or spiritual talisman, and was believed to be an Obeah man.[33] Alternatively, Historian Kathleen Wilson writes that he is of Coromantee descent but of Obeah belief.[34] His eventual defeat was due to his "obi" being countered by the "obi" of James Reeder, also known as Quashee, who was a Windward Maroon. Essentially, the Maroon Quashee was more spiritually powerful and was thus able to defeat Mansong fulfilling the Maroons promise to end any slave revolt or illegal maroons like Ancoma. Before Jack Mansong's death his exploits, "became a topic of daily conversation in the capital" often stealing resources and redistributing them in a robin hood manner.[35] The Obi talisman that he utilized was rumored to make him invincible. This component of invincibility is found in several Afro-*Caribbean* revolts such as Tacky's invincibility in Tacky's Revolt and Dutty Boukman's invincibility in the Haitian Revolution.

"Three Fingered Jack" remained of interest to the general British public years after his death as can be seen in the theatre production of "Obi; Or, Three-Finger'd Jack" in 1800. In this production, Queshee was instead portrayed as a "good, Christianized, and grateful slave" rather than as an Obeah-man from the Windward Maroon. In this portrayal, there is no distinction between the slaves and the maroons, and the only quality character point is their religious values. This conflation of "all blackness with slavery and slavery with savagery" expresses the general stigma of black people irrespective of the Jamaican Maroons preservation of plantations from economic collapse and uprisings.[36] The production of this play and its popularity show how

[33] Campbell, Mavis. 1989
[34] Wilson, Kathleen. 2009
[35] Bilby, Kenneth. 2008
[36] Wilson, Kathleen. 2008

despite the story being 20 years old, and shuffled to fit the stigma around black people, that Afro-Jamaican religions villainization spread from the colonists to popular belief in Britain. While the Maroons had upheld their promises in the treaty, the ever-growing threat of these spiritual practices were no longer ignored or downplayed by colonists and planters and the British remained distant enough from the actual events at the colony to accurately portray them. The colonists' direct relationship to the Maroons meant that they had first row seats to Three Fingered Jack and Tacky's Revolt and knew the threat that the religion and rebellion posed. Furthermore, they were often "victims" of these events due to being caught in the crossfire especially in Tacky's Revolt. Edward Long's conclusion about the dangers of Obeah in 1764 was meant as a warning about the Maroons' effect on revolt but was not prevalent in Britain likely because it did not have a direct effect on the majority of Englishmen even 20-30 years after planters and colonists realized the connection between religion and revolt.

Only after anti-obeah legislation was first implemented in 1760 did Europeans begin aligning religion with revolt, but this was possibly more a result of European history concerning witches and the supernatural powers witchcraft granted. While at this point many people did not believe in witches and usually accredited them to unnecessary superstition the possible connection to Obeah further criminalized the religion and allowed for more laws against the practice of Obeah. Britain's main religion fell under the Anglican belief, some plantation owners were catholic though, and their beliefs pertaining to the supernatural permeated into the stigmatization of Obeah. While the witch trials in Europe ended in the late 1600's some fears concerning supernatural powers and the unknown prevailed to the extent that some planters felt it was their duty as Christians to save their slaves from the seduction of the devil. Despite Afro-Jamaican religions having nothing to do with European religions and being quite different in

general the possession prevalent in Obeah and the supernatural gifts practitioners could gain was too similar and thus many "obi-men and women" were considered witches. Accused witches in England were often believed to have performed heinous, satanic, acts against others, and were associated with supernatural powers similarly to how Obeah was perceived by colonists. According to Catholic ideology among the planters and the history concerning witches that developed fear of the supernatural, supernatural powers were automatically associated with Satan further demonizing, quite literally, the supernatural abilities of the Obeah. The act of 1788 defined practitioners of Obeah as "pretending to have communication with the devil or other evil spirits" in order to control gullible people into believing they had some sort of power.[37] This act both vilified the practitioners and discredited any spiritual powers the Obeah were believed to hold as they sustained the belief that the power was imagined. Even so, the act also was in part directly concerned with rebellion as it states that the purpose of the act was to prevent those with supposed power from affecting "the health or lives of others, or promote the purposes of rebellion."[38] This act, as well as several others concerning Obeah, rebellion, poison, and evil power were the Acts of Assembly written respectively over 1761, 1781, 1788, and lastly the 1792 act which focused on poison as a practice of Obeah. The Jamaican born Englishmen "constructed Obeah as a kind of witchcraft, and as Diana Paton argues, they also defined poison as a part of Obeah" since West Indian colonists believed that poison was integral to witchcraft.[39] Anti-Obeah laws dating to 1792 connected poison to Obeah despite there not being an actual cultural connection. Even so, this gave white accusers an accessible claim to blame obeah for the

[37] Bryson, Sasha Turner. 2013

[38] Bryson, Sasha Turner. 2013

[39] Bryson, Sasha Turner. "The Art of Power: Poison and Obeah Accusations and the Struggle for Dominance and Survival in Jamaica's Slave Society." *Caribbean* Studies 41, no. 2 (2013): 61-90. Accessed May 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/23769118.

"deaths of loved ones", "mysterious catastrophes, and poison was the logical materialization of something they otherwise disparage as fraud."[40] The act in 1781 was particularly controlling and led to the increased regulation of what was considered as Obeah objects and tools. If someone was found with "obeah paraphernalia" the punishment was death. Considering how extensive and harsh the laws were, it is obvious that there was a distinct change in how Obeah was perceived by colonial authorities and planters. The colonists certainly felt more fear than they previously had towards Afro-Jamaican religions and legislation that would limit the supposed power of Obeah became a new necessity in colonial Jamaica. Whether the power was something they believed in or not, as well as general concern for rebellion through unification and poison, the fear that colonists had was very different from their perspective in the first half of the 1700's. Legislative acts would continue to inhibit the religion and its practitioners throughout the late 1700's and into the 1800's.

Conclusion: From the beginning exposition of Obeah into the British public through James Grainger's Poem and notes of Tacky's Revolt and Three Fingered Jack, colonists experienced a huge transition in how they perceived Obeah and Afro-Jamaican religions overall. While many still did not believe in supernatural powers some still feared the unknown possibilities and as such demonized practitioners of Obeah. This began a period of growing legislation against Obeah that would ultimately affect the Maroons. At this point, the Maroons and the colonists still maintained their relationship and it is only with the Haitian Revolution and concerns regarding French ideology that the Maroons become considered a threat to the colonists that must be acknowledged.

[40] Bryson, Sasha Turner. 2013

4. The Haitian Revolution and The Second Maroon War

The late 1780's and 1790's was another period of turmoil between the colonists and the Maroons especially in regards to the developing support for abolition and what that meant for English colonies. The spreading ideology around human rights, especially after the French Revolution and their revolutionary document, The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, as well as growing dissent in Caribbean colonies, poor leadership decisions from Jamaican colonial authorities, and important political figures such as Bryan Edward's adversity towards the abolition eventually resulted in the Second Maroon War. By this point in time, Obeah and Jamaican Maroons had a strong connection especially in the eyes of colonists as well as some importance among slaves. To the English and colonists, "Obeah portended any religious beliefs or practices among Africans that did not fit the Euro-Christian ilk and gave colonists nightmares of revolt."[41] Many moving factors such as: the Abolition movement in 1787, the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, and the pre-existing strife between France and Britain, especially in concerns to the control of the colonies in the Caribbean, all negatively affected the colonists and British perspective of the Maroons and their religion. Anti-Obeah laws developed especially in the 1780's and early 1790's was specifically made to restrict slaves and maroons contributing to the build up to the Second Maroon War. The largest change in perspective is seen in the colonists whereas the British were distanced enough physically and mentally from the matters of the

[41] Murrell, Nathaniel Samuel. Afro-*Caribbean* Religions : An Introduction to Their Historical, Cultural, and Sacred Traditions. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009. Accessed November 29, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.

colony that they continued to disregard the Maroons and their religion as something entertainingly foreign. While the boom in popularity of Obeah and Maroons in the British public didn't happen until the late 1790's and early 1800's the colonist by this point had developed a strong disdain for the religion accumulating in the eventual deportation of nearly all Leeward Maroons from Trelawny Town.

The Abolition movement began picking up speed in Britain in 1787 which would ultimately affect the colonies, such as Jamaica, extensively. The Abolition's connection to human rights and the inhumane treatment of slaves were coming to the forefront of political discussions as the British people began feeling sympathy for the plight of the slaves. Considering how England held quite a few colonies, the decision to abolish the slave trade and slavery would definitively impact their economy and their empire. On the colonial front, the main problem and concern of colonists was revolt, fear of poisoning, and the role that religion held in those aspects whereas the Abolition was of much greater concern in Britain and had a much larger effect on colonists. Jamaica and the slave trade were extremely profitable for the English and colonists and as such abolishing the slave trade would lead to massive changes in how they control and profit from their colonies. Transitioning to a paid profit system over free labor was not something most colonists wanted to do. While this would put England at a disadvantage economically, many English people were sympathetic to the plight of slaves and signed anti-slavery petitions. These mass petitions against slavery were quite effective in developing support for the movement and nearly succeeded in abolishing the slave trade in 1791.[42] The effort fell apart though due to the stigma behind the French Revolution and its connection to Human Rights. The political upheaval in Saint Domingue through the Haitian Revolution was also a large contributing factor against

[42] Richardson, Alan. 1993

the abolitionist argument because of the bloody battles and significant deaths of colonists and colonial authorities on that island. Haiti's close position to Jamaica further cemented that fear of revolt and supported the idea that the slaves and black people were uncivilized and barbaric thus greatly harming the support for the abolition.

The French Revolution initially garnered sympathy from some of their neighbors across the Channel but eventually the revolutionaries were discredited. One example of this discredit is in Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* published in 1790 as, "a gang of Maroon slaves, suddenly broke loose from the house of bondage" and uncapped radicals.[43] This comparison to the *Caribbean* runaway slave communities further shows how uncivilized and inhuman the African slaves were according to British stigmatization. With the radical political upheaval happening in France concerns of Jacobinism and the ideals it influenced in the French Revolution in 1789 grew. The Jacobins were significant and outspoken advocates for change in the social and political structure of France ultimately leading to the French Revolution. Colony officials and plantation owners feared that the actions in France would be adopted by rebellious slaves especially due to the huge impact the French Revolution had on French colonies within the Caribbean. By 1792, abolitionists were considered as belonging to the radical left-wing Jacobins and thus their movement became discredited due to the harm that the radical ideology devolved to in France and French colonies, most notably in the Haitian Revolution.

The Haitian Revolution in 1791 was sparked by slaves and runaways who believed that they deserved to hold the same rights as the French after the French Revolution in 1789. This is largely due to the Declaration of Rights and Man created by France's National Constituent

[43] Richardson, Alan. 1993

Assembly in 1789 that encompassed the innate rights they believed man deserved. The articles declared that the "ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments" and "set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man."[44] While the document did not consider slaves, not even directly mentioning them, it did spread the idea of human rights and equality as an important necessity to civility to the French colonies and showed it as something to fight for. The French Revolution was often criticized for its gruesomeness and radical ideas which was also prevalent in the revolutions inspired by the French Revolution throughout the Caribbean. While the Haitian Revolution was transpiring the abolition movement lost momentum in Britain as the Haitian Revolution was similarly gruesome and deadly to the French Revolution. This created the growing belief in Britain that abolition would only lead to radical ideology in its relation to controlling colonies and in the demonization of the African race. In 1792 the Earl of Abingdon remarked on the Declaration of Rights and Man asking, "And what are the rights of man, but the foolish principles of this new philosophy?" and then discussed the Haitian Revolution as proof that these supposed rights only lead to danger.[45] These revolutions forced the Abolitionist movement into a difficult position as the ideology they based their beliefs upon were now related to revolt thus dismantling the momentum of the movement. The Haitian Revolution, Tacky's Revolt, and the First Maroon War were all critical events that portrayed

[44] Contemporary print of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Reproduced in G. Duby, Histoire de la France, volume 2, Paris, Larousse, 1971, p. 306, trans. A. Lentin. https://www.open.edu/openlearn/ocw/pluginfile.php/612270/mod_resource/content/1/rightsofman.pdf

[45] Richardson, Alan. 1993

how religion and revolt went hand in hand and influenced the colonists and British perception of the maroons and their religions.

As in the First Maroon War, Tacky's Revolt, and the Haitian Revolution Afro-*Caribbean* religion played a significant role in uniting the slaves and bolstering their beliefs in revolts. The Haitian Revolution was bloody, long, and extremely damaging to France. The pursuit of human rights behind this revolution posed a threat in the minds of many colonizing powers as it showed how detrimental slaves uniting under one front could be. Even so, the French ideology about legislative changes concerning slaves did not tend to reach the slaves or the Maroons that were affected. How the Maroons in Haiti learned of "The Declarations of Man and Citizen" and its backing ideology was through political upheaval. The French Revolution would not have the same effect on Jamaica as it did in Saint Domingue, but the ensuing Haitian Revolution did as it directly influenced attitudes of the public and politicians concerning the island. The Haitian Revolution changed many people's attitudes towards abolition such as Edmund Burke who compared the French revolutionaries to "a gang of Maroons" and later argued that reformation and control were better options than abolishing slavery in whole.[46] Burke went on to state that France had been "misled" by their "high and romantic sentiments of fidelity, honor, and loyalty" that twisted the French into believing that they were enslaved and mistreated when they were actually harming themselves by forgetting the old ways.[47] He argues throughout his work that the old ways in which Britain continues to practice are best and most successful claiming that the

[46] Richardson, Alan. 1993

[47] Burke, E. (2004). *Reflections on the revolution in France and on the proceedings in certain societies in London relative to that event, in a letter intended to have been sent to a gentleman in Paris*. Hamilton, Ont.: Department of Economics, McMaster University. Retrieved from https://socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/burke/revfrance.pdf.

French misinterpreting how to move forward was the reason for the revolutions. This correlation between Maroons and savagery and revolution was a fear present in many anti-abolitionist advocates especially with French privateers entering and disrupting commerce on the island resulting in paranoia about the French influencing the Maroons and slaves. England was watching the start of the Haitian Revolution quite closely and the previous advocates for the abolition were faced with a renewed argument of these slaves and maroons' supposed savagery.

Furthermore, the relationship between England and France at this time was quite contentious as England was actively invading Saint Domingue in an attempt to either take control of the island or, as some historians believe, to devalue the French colony thus lifting up their own Caribbean colony.[48] The revolts in Saint Domingue affected Britain and British colonies in several ways. For one, many French privateers were purposefully "ruining British commerce and moving freely off Jamaica's north coast" thus resulting in government leaders such as Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarres, to become paranoid about French influence. This influence prevailed in two senses, first that the French were purposefully sowing discord throughout Jamaica especially among the Maroons, and second that the Revolt at Saint Domingue would incite rebellion among slaves and Maroons alike. The ideas that led the French to revolt were a potential threat to the livelihood of Jamaica as a colony. The British, especially the planters, wanted to avoid revolt and maintain the slave trade. The fact that the Afro-Caribbean religion Voodoo and French ideology played such a significant role in beginning and maintaining runaway slave's unity in the Haitian Revolution was not lost on Jamaican colonial authorities. It was not just a matter of losing a source of free labor but of potentially losing the

[48] Geggus, David. "The British Government and the Saint Domingue Slave Revolt, 1791-1793." *The* English *Historical Review* 96, no. 379 (1981): 285-305. Accessed November 15, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/568291.

island as a profitable enterprise and the potential deaths of colonists if revolts began anew reflecting the damage experienced throughout Tacky's Revolts but to a higher degree. Abolition and revolution became encompassing fears for colonial authorities and colonists.

Another argument against abolition came from Bryan Edwards, a Jamaican planter and historian of *History of the West Indies* published in 1793. He was also a politician and published his well work as a political argument and, in part, a scientific debate.[49] His reputation gave his arguments a lot of weight in political discussion and thus his opinion affected the governance and legal proceedings of Jamaica as his word was taken quite seriously and his outspoken views were well supported by his experience and understanding of life on the colony. His work, *History of the West Indies*, was well received in Britain becoming a popular and credible source for the anti-abolitionist movement. The argument for abolishing the slave trade was growing in popularity in the years before Edwards published his work but he was a staunch anti-abolitionist and actively expressed his opposition. Throughout his life, he developed a strong relationship to the island as a plantation owner. He initially sailed to the island in 1759 and became involved with several important English born Jamaican colonists such as Hinton East and became a member of Fellow of the American Philosophical Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1794. His relationship to Jamaica and afro-Jamaican people was strongly influenced by the economic benefits the island provided. Edwards was "one of the richest men in Jamaica, with thousands of acres, and approximately 1500 slaves" after inheriting Zachary Bayley's land.[50] Edwards was a strong advocate for the Jamaican Assembly's voice in regulating the slave trade

[49] Blouet, Olwyn M. "Bryan Edwards, F.R.S., 1743-1800." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 54, no. 2 (2000): 215-22. Accessed November 14, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/531967.

[50] E. Ingram, Sources of Jamaican history, 1655-1838, vol. 2, pp. 708-716 (Zug, Inker Documentation, 1976)

and controlling the resources that went to and from the colonies by the colonies especially considering how much of an influence the slave trade and plantations had on his personal capital. He felt that the colonists had the best understanding of what was needed but was often rejected by British Parliament whenever he made suggestions or requested changes in how legislation concerning the colony was determined. He believed the colonists did not have a loud enough voice in Parliament despite them having the best understanding of the colonies' necessities. In 1789, Edwards delivered his anti-abolitionist argument to the Assembly, which was then published in London, to once again ask parliament to allow colonists more control. His requests were never accepted and by 1791 with the advent of the Haitian Revolution, "West Indian affairs hit the headlines."[51] Edwards blamed the uprising on French abolitionists, claiming they had incited rebellion. He expressed fear that the revolution would spread to Jamaica due to the little distance between the islands. With these concerns in hand he returned to Britain to advocate for the lives of the planters by arguing against abolitionists.

Edwards' position against abolition and his reputation as a learned historian of the West Indies gave his work substantial significance in the eyes of Britain's public and Britain's political leaders. He was a strong advocate for the anti-abolitionists through his writings and public speeches as Edwards was well spoken and convincing. His disdain for the abolition movement was due to his position as a planter and his views on afro-Jamaican religion were similarly influenced by his planter perspective. He claimed, similarly to Grainger, that Obeah was harmless and insignificant in that it was not any actual terrifying power.[52] Even so, he did regard

[51] Blouet, Olwyn M.,

[52] Edwards, B. (1793). *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies ..: Book IV. Present inhabitants. book V. Agriculture. book VI. Government and commerce* (Vol. 2) [Https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=_70NAAAAQAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PP5].

the spirituality of the Maroons and subsequently the spiritualties adopted by slaves on plantations to be of great concern. He talked about Obeah most in his works, occasionally discussing other afro-Jamaican religions such as Myal and Coromantee but seems to have believed that the most significant religion of all slaves and Maroons was Obeah. This was a common understanding among planters and his demonization and belittlement of the practice can be found throughout his writings. His understanding of the spirituality on the island was very limited due to his own biases, often diminishing the practice into nonsensical "savagery". His first description of the religion is as "malicious con trivances and diabolical arts'," akin to witchcraft.[53] He also acknowledges that almost all the black men and women believe in Obeah but does not differentiate the religions, instead lumping them all together in the same religious practice, Obeah. Though his understanding is stunted by his belittlement of the religious practices on the island, he provides a good example of many planters' thoughts towards religion and rebellion. While slaves and Maroons were different, they were often feared in similar manners by the colonists due to their shared, or similar, religious practices.

Relationships between slaves, Maroons, and planters were often volatile and the purpose and legality of the Maroons was repeatedly dismissed by planters and colonial authorities. Historians and planters such as Edward Long and Bryan Edwards expressed a disregard for the Maroons despite their usefulness as a pseudo police force for controlling runaway slaves and breakout groups of runaways. Colonists did not respect the Maroons or the legalities behind the treaties signed after the First Maroon War. According to Kathleen Wilson, "colonial authorities' failure to see the Maroons as distinctive legal, political, and social personalities galvanized

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London: John Stockdale. Retrieved 2020, from The History Civil and Commercial of the British West Indies.

[53] Edwards, Bryan. 1793.

continuing episodes of Maroon recalcitrance and resistance."[54] The relationship between the Leeward, Windward, and colonists had severely disintegrated by the 1790's due to the lack of mutual respect. The colonists did not express appreciation for the maroon's services and, as shown throughout the earlier decades, repeatedly disrespected them such as the whipping of two maroons in the 1760's and the later disregard for Captain Montague James, a respected leader and spokesperson for the Maroons. The final point of contention was in part from the introduction of Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarres as the new Governor of Jamaica and his mishandling of minor events that led to the Second Maroon War.

The Second Maroon War only lasted 8 months and was fought between Leeward Maroons, specifically Trelawny Town previously known as Cudjoe's Town, and English colonial authorities. Captain Montague James was the leader of the Trelawney Maroon and was a highly regarded leader in his community. Mavis Campbell notes that he possessed all the qualities the Maroons respected," such as his tough and fearless demeanor and his physical prowess and relationship to the environment around the maroons.[55] Richard Charles Dallas, another English born Jamaican, wrote in his work "The History of the Maroons" that the maroons "loved, venerated and feared him" and, though he was not born a Maroon, "he could not have been better acquainted with their character, disposition, and prejudices."[56] He acted as a

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[54] Wilson, Kathleen. "The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound." The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 66, no. 1 (2009): 45-86. Accessed May 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/40212041.

[55] Campbell, Mavis Christine. *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: a History of Resistance, Collaboration & Betrayal*. Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988.

[56] Dallas, R. C. (1803). *The history of the Maroons, from their origin to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone: Including the expedition to Cuba for the purpose of procuring Spanish chasseurs and the state of the island of Jamaica for the last ten years, with a succinct history of the island previous to that period: In two volumes* (Vol. 1). London: Printed by A. Strahan, for T.N. Longman and O. Rees.

liaison between the Trelawny Maroon and the colonial authorities to express the concerns and problems in the town but was often ignored by the colonial authorities. The continued disrespect from the planters and colonists eventually resulted in an event that would kick off the Second Maroon War. Inexperienced and ignorant of Maroon intricacies, the superintendent of Trelawny Town, Thomas Craskell publicly punished two maroons for stealing two pigs, or possibly sheep, as accounts vary. The punishment was to be publicly flogged by slaves. This extremely public and harsh punishment further antagonized the maroons due to the fact that the slave whipping the Maroons had been captured and returned by the Maroons.

Furthermore, as the Maroons were being led to jail, the onlooking slaves "laughed at, hissed, and hooted," at them.[57] This offense was obviously ill-received by the Trelawny Maroons and Captain Montague James expressed their anger at the situation to the British deputies. He explained that the Maroons should not be subject to such humiliation from the people they have been enlisted to arrest and police. Despite this, he and the five other Maroon leaders who collectively went to discuss this problem with the British colonial authorities but upon arrival were arrested under Balcarres orders. Balcarres was under the presumption that they were influenced by the Haitian Revolution and thus justified this arrest despite no proof of any crime.[58] His fear was in part due to the large influx of French aliens on the island though there was no substantial evidence of any relation. The war was significantly shorter than the First Maroon War and involved only the Leeward Maroons as the Windward Maroons remained uninvolved, but it was similarly devastating for the English. The Maroons had respectively fewer casualties than the English utilized similar tactics from the First Maroon War. Under English

[57] Dallas, R. C., 1803
[58] Campbell, Mavis., 1988

Colonel George Walpole, the English finally saw some level of success and only after he promised the Maroons that they could remain on the Island did they lay down arms. The Maroons main fear after beginning the war was that they would be forcibly deported and thus Walpole's promise allowed the Maroons to settle those fears and come to an agreement. Despite this, and to Colonel Walpole's disgust, Balcarres went back on Walpole's word and deported most of the Trelawny Town Maroons to Nova Scotia under pretense of a treaty breach.[59] Despite the Second Maroon War being an independent event separate from the Haitian Revolution, "white Jamaicans began to combine discourse about the two uprisings in a way that recast the maroons in the image of Haitian revolutionaries."[60] Edwards later relayed how many colonists believed that the Second Maroon War was going to turn into a similarly bloody event as the Haitian Revolution, fearful for their lives and livelihoods.[61] While afro-Jamaican spirituality was not as prominent in the Second Maroon War due to fewer figures upholding the same status as Grandy Nanny or Cudjoe, it was an important form of the Maroons tactical approach and as such influenced how the Maroons battled and was an important factor in leading them to an agreement with Walpole. Their land held important significance to them in a religious and ancestral stance. The Maroons, as shown, value their land more than most anything and were willing to make several concessions to keep their area. Balcarres actions were not only underhanded but offensive to their religious and cultural ideals. It is hard to know how targeted of a decision this was, but it is unlikely that Balcarres was not aware of how important the land was to the

[59] Campbell, Mavis., 1988

[60] Reeder, Tyson. "Liberty with the Sword: Jamaican Maroons, Haitian Revolutionaries, and American Liberty." Journal of the Early Republic 37, no. 1 (2017): 81-115. doi:10.1353/jer.2017.0002.

[61] Edwards, "Introduction," xlvi–xlviii; Edwards, History, 1: 233. In Reeder, Tyson., 2017.

Maroons especially with the adamant disdain expressed by Walpole after Balcarres deported them.

After the Second Maroon War and the subsequent deportation of the Leeward Maroon people as well as the Revolt at Saint Domingue and the after-effects of the abolition movement in the early 90's came a "complex and somewhat contradictory structure of feeling: sympathy for enslaved Africans ... fear of black revolt … and a slowly developing consensus that" a transition to wage labor over slavery would be ultimately beneficial.[62] While the slave trade wouldn't be abolished until 1807 the idea was, by this point in time, at least an accepted possibility for the future. Along with this developing sympathy for slaves remained an animosity for Africans and their descendants though. One particularly good example of this is in Thomas Campbell's poem, *Pleasures of Hope* published in 1799. The poem was well received and highly popular but vilified Africans and specifically Obeah as evil and savage. His work pushed the prevalent idea of English superiority and reflected a stance of civilizing the nations and peoples that fell under "European dominion".[63] The underlying message concerning Obeah is particularly interesting as he puts all Africans under the same umbrella as Obeah practitioners and warns that it is the root of evil. This idea of patronizing Africans and slaves as people who needed to be civilized while portraying their culture as harmful was a fairly common practice in Britain at this time. Several works similarly popular to Campbells poem generalize the same idea and emotion. As this was the common media consumed by the British it is also a good representation of the overall beliefs and attitudes towards Obeah and afro-*Caribbean* spirituality more specifically.

[62] Richardson, Alan., 1993
[63] Richardson, Alan., 1993

By the 1790's, perceptions of Obeah and Afro-Jamaican spirituality changed drastically. More quickly among Jamaican born Englishmen and planters than in the public and political perceptions in Britain. Due to the Planters and colonial authorities' immediate closeness and direct relationship to the maroons, runaways, and their respective religious practices they understood the potential and real threats of these Africanized religions. The importance of Jamaica as a colony and the events that took place there were of great interest to the British and the government, but their perceptions were often romanticized and sugar coated until the Revolt at Saint Domingue forced itself into the forefront of colonial politics. Parliament and British citizens could not ignore how drastically the French Revolution impacted the environment of the colonies. Its effects on the abolition movement and overall fear all had direct connection to spirituality.

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6. Conclusions

Throughout the First Maroon war and into the early 1800's, Afro-Jamaican religions went through an ultimately destructive evolution in colonists' perspective. The colonists' perspectives also influenced the British perception of Maroons and Afro-Jamaican religion in depictions of the Maroons by figures such as James Grainger, Bryan Edwards, Edward Long, and R.C. Dallas. The colonist's earliest perspective of the Maroons and Afro-Jamaican religion was that it was mere superstition, and nothing more than uneducated childishness as can be seen by the inaction towards the religion after the First Maroon War. This colonist's perspective from James Grainger shows how colonists all shared a superciliousness to the practice but eventually, as can be seen through Bryan Edwards, developed a concern towards its unifying and morale boosting abilities in revolt. The colonists who did not believe in the Afro-Jamaican religions supernatural ability still developed a fear for the religion due to its role in the community.

During the First Maroon War, Grandy Nanny was infamous to the colonists for her supernatural abilities awarded to her through her spiritual practice. The maroons accredited her ability as to why the Maroons performed so adeptly throughout the long war and yet the colonists and English soldiers tended to dismiss the relevance of religion in the Maroon's victories. Notably, the Treaties made for the Windward and Leeward Maroons never mentioned religious practice further proving the English and colonist's dismissal of the Maroon's spiritual practice. The general indifference towards the Maroons and their religion continued after the treaties were signed likely due to the colonists believing that the Maroons could be taken further advantage of in a way that would benefit the colonists as Campbell proposes. The benefit of the Maroons acting in accordance with the colonists to arrest and capture runaway slaves, and disperse illegal

maroons such as Ancoma, were a huge benefit to planters. The colonists further disrespected the community by encroaching on the maroon land disregarding the boundary lines that the Maroons considered to be the start and end of their land. The treaty was quite vague when describing the boundary thus allowing the planters the opportunity to encroach on the arable land. This argument is further supported by the fact that the colonists knew that the Maroons could not read and were thus told what the treaties said making it possible for the colonists to use the treaties to their benefit. The early 1740's show that the colonists viewed the Maroons as people who could be taken advantage of and that their religion and community were of no real threat despite the losses they garnered in the First Maroon War. Furthermore, there was already a disregard for the Maroon people in general due to the perceptions against black people as a race that was a continued factor in demeaning both Maroons and slaves throughout this period.

The colonists' disregard continued into the mid 1700's when Obeah was first introduced into the literate British public by James Grainger in his poem, *The Sugar-Cane*. This poem was published in 1764 and drew interest for its "entertaining foreignness" of Afro-Jamaican religion. Grainger's belief that the religious practices were something at most a nuisance and more than anything negligible as it posed no real threat to plantations or colonists was the first portrayal of the religion and as such became the prominent and lasting perception in England. Notably, colonists' views towards Obeah changed quite drastically by 1764 due to Tacky's Rebellion in the early 1760's. Even so, his views are what were first introduced in Britain and as such the representation of Obeah in literature and discussions concerning the colony held the same tone as colonists views like Grainger from the first half of the 1700's. In the colony though, the aftermath of Tacky's Rebellion and its influence on religious perception resulted in legislative changes on the island against Obeah. In particular, developing fears concerning the religion

among slaves connected poison and unexpected deaths or injuries to the religion. Another point that negatively affected the perception of Obeah was Three Fingered Jack and his use of Obeah to steal from planters and protect himself. His actions in 1780 further cemented the negative subversion of Obeah among colonists that eventually led to more anti-Obeah legislation through the Acts of Assembly and developed the idea that Obeah was the practice of evil black men as Campbell argues.

Lastly is the increase in fear of Afro-Caribbean religion connected to rebellion brought on by the Haitian Revolution. The Haitian Revolution at the start of the 1790's had already proved to be incredibly bloody and harmful for the colonists there. Saint Domingo's close proximity to Jamaica as well as colonists' fear that the French ideology that sparked the Haitian Revolution was now spreading in Jamaica led the Governor of Jamaica to become extremely paranoid of both slaves and Maroons. This very real fear along with poor colonial leadership from Alexander Lindsay and his ignorance towards Maroon culture resulted in the destruction of the relationship between colonists and the Leeward Maroon. Prior to this event, the Maroons had upheld their duty repeatedly capturing runaway slaves and living by the treaty's rules. Despite this though they were still villainized. The Second Maroon War cemented anti-abolitionist views as it was used against abolitionists by Bryan Edwards, a political figure and plantation owner, to support his claim that the black race as a whole was lesser than "the more honorable" white race and that stricter control of the slaves and Maroons was necessary.[64] The early 1790's negatively impacted the British and colonists view of black people as uncivil and barbaric despite the fact that the Maroons in the Second Maroon War were simply fighting for their legal right, in regard

[64] Blouet, Olwyn M. "Bryan Edwards, F.R.S., 1743-1800." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 54, no. 2 (2000): 215-22. Accessed November 14, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/531967.

to the Leeward Maroon's treaty, and against oppression. The fear from the Haitian Revolution pushed paranoia in Jamaica to the extreme, resulting in most of the Leeward Maroons being deported to Nova Scotia and eventually Sierra Leone. While the colonists developed this intense fear of the Maroons and Afro-Jamaican religion, the metropolitan British still held the patronizing attitude passed on from the colonists in the early 1700's. Obeah had become an oddity in British media such as the theatre production of Three Fingered Jack. The British often romanticized and profited off of the Maroons and Obeah through plays and literature while interchanging figures to better suit the image that complimented British ideals. This can be seen by the fact that the character that killed Three Fingered Jack in the play was a slave who converted to Christianity rather than the actual history of two maroons capturing and killing him in agreement with the treaty. Obeah became a common trope within Romantic period works thanks to its popularity and was often twisted to fit certain images of the British at the time. This perspective contrasted the perspective of Obeah among the colonists who had by the late 1790's feared the Afro-Jamaican religion.

The main factor behind the downfall of the Maroon and colonist's relationship was fear of religion and rebellion. Due to the well-established connection between Afro-Jamaican religions and its role in the previous rebellions throughout the 1700's and the Haitian Revolution, Maroon's freedom became a concern. The past maroon war along with the rebellion led by Tacky and the Haitian Revolution all concentrated into the Second Maroon War. The perception of the Maroons and Afro-Jamaican religions in Britain, while generally condescending, showed a disregard for the religion and, despite the Maroons repeated fulfillment of their agreed role in their treaty, were still treated as if they were a potential threat when they likely would have never rebelled had the colonists and colonial leaders expressed the same

respect for them. In both prior instances where rebels rebelled with their religion to act against the colonists and planters the Maroons fought with, or rather for, the colonists. They arrested and killed Tacky and Three Fingered Jack showing that they took their role seriously and only began fighting against the colonists when they were disrespected continuously until the breaking point in 1796 with the whipping of two maroons. Finally, the British perspective remained largely the same as can be seen in the theatre production *Three Fingered Jack* and several other works from the time that portrayed Obeah but did not acknowledge the Maroons role for the colony. Their physical distance awarded the metropolitan British an ignorance to what colony life was like while the colonists' fear overtook any potential continuation of the relationship with the maroons. What truly led to the downfall of the maroon colonist's relationship was continued and developing fear of their religious practices and a derision towards black people leading to the colonists lack of respect which eventually came to a head in the mid 1790's with the Second Maroon War.