ABSTRACT

THE JAMAICAN MARRONAGE, A SOCIAL PSEUDOMORPH: THE CASE OF THE ACCOMPONG MAROONS

ALICE ELIZABETH BALDWIN-JONES

Based on ethnography, oral history and archival research, this study examines the culture of the Accompong Maroons by focusing on the political, economic, social, religious and kinship institutions, foodways, and land history. This research demonstrates that like the South American Maroons, the Accompong Maroons differ in their ideology and symbolisms from the larger New World population. However, the Accompong Maroons have assimilated, accommodated and integrated into the state in every other aspect. As a consequence, the Accompong Maroons can only be considered maroons in name only. Today’s Accompong Maroons resemble any other rural peasant community in Jamaica. Grounded in historical analysis, the study also demonstrate that social stratification in Accompong Town results from unequal access to land and other resources, lack of economic infrastructure, and constraints on food marketeers and migration. This finding does not support the concept of communalism presented in previous studies.
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PROLOGUE

The Accompong Maroons of Jamaica are a corporate group founded in resistance to slavery. A testimony to that resistance and still forms the basis for the construction of maroon identity is their appropriation of the 1739 treaty between the British and the Trelawny Maroons that ended the warfare. This treaty also continues to serve as the basis for Maroons’ concept of apartness from, and conflict with, the Jamaican government.

In the description and analysis of contemporary Accompong Maroons, researchers Besson (1997), Bilby (1994 and 2006) Zips (1996, 1998 and 1999), have argued that the Accompong Maroons are a distinctive socio-cultural group in Jamaican society—a New World Society. Earlier anthropologists such as Hurston (1938), Williams (1938), Dunham (1946) and Kopytoff (1973) argued that by the late nineteenth century, Accompong Maroon culture had converged with the broader Jamaican culture. Williams also wrote that the Accompong Maroons could only speak a few words of Kromantee language, but no one knew the meaning of the words.

More recently, Bilby (2006) writes that:

[T]he balance of features that distinguished them [Maroons] from other Jamaicans had gradually shifted from the external to the internal; from the visible to the invisible; from the public to the private. Even as they become more and more like their neighbors on the surface, Maroons maintained among themselves a highly distinctive “intimate culture” that remained hidden from most other Jamaicans. This culture came to reside
almost in intangibles such as values, ethics, and consciousness of a shared past—as well as coded forms of expressive culture such as esoteric language, music, and dance—with only a smattering of material artifacts (for instance, the Maroon war horn, the abeng, and various kinds of drums) remaining as physical evidence of continuing difference. (Bilby 2006:29)

Maroons have been described as an autonomous entity or a nation within a nation by anthropologists as well. Bilby (2002) asked whether or not Maroon communities were “States within a State,” or “Villages No Different From Any Other”? He noted that “By and large, the abstract notion of Maroon autonomy seems to have been tolerated by the Jamaican state, so long as its practical consequences have remained insignificant”(Bilby 2002:28).

Zips (1999) however argue that the Maroons constitute a “state within a state” that remained intact after Jamaica gained independence from Britain.

Since the peace treaties of 1738-1739, the Maroon systems of self-government may be characterized as “states within a state. Even Jamaica’s Declaration of Independence has had little effect on this system. The Maroon administration insisted on retaining quasi-sovereign autonomy, as had been established in perpetuity by the blood treaties. The fact that the British treaty partner itself granted Jamaica independence without handing over the appointment of a head of state to the “young” state supports this argument; at least formally, a high degree of political continuity remained. (Zips 1999:130).

Because Maroon societies have been studied as isolated groups, the earlier practice of anthropology, I found that Zips’ analysis above does not take into consideration the changes that took place in the relationship between the Accompong Maroons and the colonial administration prior to Jamaica’s independence, nor the changes within Accompong itself. Through evidence presented in this study, I will demonstrate that before Jamaica’s independence, the colonial administration handed over choice of the colonel to the Accompong Maroons themselves through elections
supervised by the Jamaican government’s electoral division. This made the Maroons more integrated into the state system.

Using oral history as their primary resource, Zips (1999); Bilby (2006, 1997 and 1994) and Besson (1997) provide information on the early days of resistance and rebellion of the Accompong Maroons. Although it is possible to utilize oral history, especially since the early records are Euro-centric and biased, participant/observation and examination of historical documents present additional information and dimension to a study although one must filter the bias of the early colonial writers.

We now know quite a bit about the resistance and rebellion of the early Accompong Maroons as a group, and a romanticized image of Maroons as “noble rebel savages” continues to be perpetuated. Price notes that the “mythic maroon has retained and even strengthened his role as a symbol for diverse Caribbean political and intellectual tendencies” (Price 1996:xiii). But the ideology, imagery and mythology of maroon independence in the present day are yet to be probed objectively and in depth by anthropologists and we know very little about the cultural life of the group. For example, to what extent have the Maroons have become acculturated and assimilated into the larger society? What are the current status and role of the Accompong Maroons vis-à-vis the Jamaican government? Is it culturally similar to other Maroon groups or other Jamaicans? Who controls access to land? Who has land and how much? What is the structure of the kinship system? We know that the village is governed by a colonel [1], a legacy of their militia days, but what is the status and role of the colonel? What is the structure of maroon leadership and other organizations? What are the occupational

1 The Maroons’ administrator is called a colonel, a legacy of their military history.
patterns? What foods are grown and consumed? Are the religious and foodways similar to the larger Jamaican population?

For too long we have focused on the past in the Caribbean, especially the past of the Maroons with little focus on the present. Similarly, when speaking to Accompong Maroons, one gets the impression that there is no present, only a glorious past. While it is to their advantage to promote the past as a means to gain economic benefits, it limits their participation in the present world-systems.

The institution of marronage was an 18th century phenomenon with no place in today’s world systems. That is not to say that descendants of Maroons do not have a right to equal opportunity for improved living conditions. This study highlights the level of poverty experienced by the contemporary Accompong Maroons and their inability to participate in the world systems to the degree they did in the 17th century. It is possible to learn about the more immediate past along with the modern and trace the changes that have taken place within the society. By undertaking participant/observation, collection of genealogies and oral histories from a variety of informants and analyzing this information, it is possible to learn about the maroon culture and social organizations.

Based on my analysis, the Accompong Maroons are culturally similar to other Jamaican rural peasants, although the history, ideology and some symbolisms differ. In the pre-treaty era, the Maroons shared similar culture and history with the rest of Jamaica that diverged with the 1739 treaty, and later converged after emancipation. By the 1930s, the Accompong Maroons and the rest of Jamaica were experiencing the same economic hardship that ultimately impacted the political, religious, social institutions, as well as
kinship structures and foodways.[2]

The analysis done in this research will demonstrate that the Accompong Maroons are not independent by any stretch of the imagination and although the group holds land communally, at the individual level, family land is operational. Despite an ideology of difference, examination of the foodways and religious systems of the Accompong Maroons demonstrate similarity to the wider Jamaican society at the surface and deep structural levels in terms of the food classification system and symbolisms. The difference in the foodways is the level of poverty and symbolisms exhibited in the communal meal on Treaty Day during ritual of ancestral veneration. This symbolism is overtly manifest only one day a year. I argue that the Accompong Maroons were not looking to Africa for “deep-level organization principles” as argued by Price (1979).

Furthermore, in my discussion of the preparation of the communal meal, I also demonstrate the contradictions of an ideology of egalitarianism and endogamy with the construction of boundaries between who is and is not a full-blooded Maroon (as only ‘full-blooded’ Maroon males are allowed to prepare the meal and feed the ancestors). De facto, there has been a long history of exogamous relationships and migration that impacts on the kinship and household structures. Moreover, my analysis of the religious systems highlights the Maroons’ request for Christian groups to settle in the village shortly after arrival on the island, in contrast to the South American Maroons, who rejected Christianity and its mission of assimilation, well into the late twentieth century.

The 1739 treaty institutionalize Maroon dependency on the British who co-opted the group as a militia to suppress slave revolts and return runaway slaves, all in return for

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2 In the social sciences, the term foodways is used to mean food production, preparation, consumption, symbolisms, social inclusion and exclusion, food sharing and power relations.
certain rights and privileges such as communal land grant and a stipend for duties performed which were significant during slavery. Maroons went from a status of anti-institutional to institutional with boundaries imposed on the land they once utilized for hunting, burials and subsistence agricultural purposes. The treaty also imposed a labor system and boundaries on reproduction that would impact the formation of families far into the future (Kopytoff 1973). While granting distinctive rights and privileges, the treaty left the Maroons with no state system or economic infrastructure. In the 18th century Jamaica itself was not a state; therefore, to argue that the Maroons were granted a status of statehood is inaccurate. We must examine the Maroons within the contexts of the prevailing system of their days as opposed to present-day thinking. In the 21st century, Jamaica is now a state which includes an economic infrastructure, extensive markets, organized police and army, contractual bureaucracy, central courts and judiciary, effective communication, bank, post office and widespread literacy which are all unrepresented in Accompong Town.

Over two and a half centuries have passed since the signing of the treaty and during this period, the political, economic and legal relationships between the various actors in the world systems have changed. Two major changes were the abolition of slavery and marronage—refers to small groups who escaped from slave plantations living in the interior. However, Maroons often do not recognize or admit this and it leads to paradoxical situations where Maroons talk about their warrior past as if it were yesterday, while their attempts to participate in the global economy in a way that improves their impoverished condition result in uncompleted projects and failed dreams. Yet, Maroons continue to demand the rights and privileges they had under marronage. In an interview
with Martin Misiedjan, Granman Matodja Gazon of the Ndyuka Maroons of Suriname
argues that:

Everyone who denies the value of the treaty denies the slavery that was imposed on the children of Africa, denies the hardships that we endured during slavery; denies our freedom and our existence as human beings. In my understanding this treaty is still valid even though there is no slavery anymore. How could one deny this treaty, which we shed so much blood for? How could I deny my history? How could I throw away the bonds between the present and the past, between past generations and those of the future? (Misiedjan 2002:14)

Today, I do not believe that anyone denies slavery. However, the Maroons’ desire to continue upholding the institution of marronage denies the abolition of slavery and that marronage was used by the colonial government to uphold slavery. In effect, I argue that maintenance of this belief is an attempt for Maroons to remain in a hierarchal position with economic privileges above people who were formerly enslaved but are now in the same position as the Maroons, vis-à-vis the state. So much so, that the Accompong Maroons view themselves as superior to those in state positions. There is no reason why Maroons should not be able to maintain their group identity without the institution of marronage. Since the abolition of slavery, those previously enslaved have been fighting for dignity, respect, and the right to own their own labor, which is the same for Maroons.

In this study I compare certain aspects of Accompong Maroon society with that of other Jamaican Maroons and non-Maroons, the Saramaka, Djuka and Aluka Maroons of South America. Who are the Maroons? Maroons were organized groups of escaped slaves who challenged the colonizers and lived in the interior areas of certain Caribbean, South America and even the coast of North America.

Price quotes the Cuban philologist Jose Juan Arron (1986) who:
[H]as pushed back the origins of the word *maroon* beyond the Spanish *cimarron* that was first used in Hispaniola to refer to the Spaniards’ feral cattle, then to enslaved Amerindians who escaped to the hills and, by the early 1530s, mainly to the many Africans who were escaping from slavery on the island. That New World Spanish word—which spawned English *maroon*, as well as French and Dutch *marron* (and English Siminole)—actually derives, he now argues from an Amerindian (Arawakan/Taino) root, making it one of the earliest linguistic coinages in the postcolumbian Americas. (Price 1996:xi)

Debein (1973) examined marronage in the French Caribbean referring to the size and organization of escaped groups of slaves. Debein (1973) argued that there were two types of marronage, “Grand marronage” and “petit marronage.” I use the term “maroon” (lower case) to refer to certain aspects of the group and “Maroon” (upper case to refer to the name of the group. Here, I also view marronage as an economic institution used to uphold slavery as Maroons were compensated for their labor.

Bilby argues: “In the Jamaican context, the designation “Maroon,” in this more specific sense, is comparable to such labels as “Chinese,” or “Indian,” or “Jamaican” for that manner, in that it represents something deeper than an extension of a unidimensional historical role or condition (in this case, that of an “escaped slave” or “descendants of escaped slave”), perhaps a distinctive cultural heritage, even a different language…Maroons in Jamaica, then, have long represented, as they still do, an ethnic Other” (Bilby 2006:28). A problem with Bilby’s analysis is his primordialist model of identity is somehow apolitical and a priori inherent in a social group. I believe that Maroon identity was first a primordialist model then changed to the “circumstantialist model” as developed by Barth (1969) in which ethnic identity is manipulated strategically for economic and political benefit from foreign and local organizations. Given that Maroons are historically exogamous with a high rate of migration, “maroonness” is now
inherited through a “one drop rule” policy.

I argue that the institution of marronage differed through time and space, from country to country and even between different groups within the same country. Each Maroon group had a different relationship with the colonial government and the later state. Similarly, the institution of slavery differed through time and space. There has been no study to examine marronage as an economic institution through time and space. Maroon groups differ from each other and fought with each other to better secure their place vis-à-vis the colonizers within the overarching system of freedom, marronage and slavery.

Although we don’t know the full story, the Accompong Maroons fought with the Trelawny Maroons in the 18th century for possession of the treaty and land, and aided the colonizers against the Trelawny Maroons. The Jamaican Maroons also supported the colonizers against the larger slave population as was required of them under the terms of the treaty. The Accompong Maroon continued land claim is their claim of the Trelawny land set out in the 1739 treaty. (Kopytoff 1973) However, despite their earlier resistance that has been replaced with rhetoric of resistance, the Accompong Maroons have now assimilated into the state. The relationship between the Surinamese and Guyanese Maroons and their states differs from that of the Jamaican Maroons and the Jamaican state. Suriname Maroons were forced to renew their treaties three times in the 19th century, and in 1980, they were engaged in civil war with the Suriname state. In contrast this was not the experience of the Jamaican Maroons.

Scholars differ on in their position as to whether or not the six Suriname Maroon groups are similar or different. According to Price (1979), each of the six Maroon groups
of Suriname has a distinct language, diet, type of dress and displays unique patterns of marriage, residence and wage labor migration. Hoogbergen (1990) argues that each tribe is considerably different from the others in terms of marriage patterns, religion, and language, but similar in terms of political structure and agricultural system. De Groot (1974) pointed out that there are cultural differences. Leerschool-Liong (1980) states that the cultures of all six Maroon groups are similar, but the groups are kept separate through the political and social institutions. In an earlier study, Kahn (1931) maintained that in spite of the common cultural background, different groups have historically not maintained extensive social contact with each other, preferring instead exclusive intra-tribal social relations. St-Hilaire (2000) argues that all “six Suriname Maroon societies maintain linguistic, cultural and political norms that differ considerably from those of the urbanized and densely populated coastal communities they visited” (St-Hilaire 2000:102). Based on the evidence provided, my position is that the groups differ from one another.

**Theoretical Resources**

My analysis of the Accompong Maroon community utilizes M. G. Smith’s (1956) “Community Organization in Rural Jamaica.” Smith examined eight “districts” in rural Jamaica in the 1950s and found that they were not homogenous, but comprised of different settlement types—dispersed and compact. These settlements had different levels of formality community structure that needed to be taken into consideration when attempting any type of development and welfare programs. “The levels of intensity of
social relations within a local group vary for spatial as well as other reasons. People living on the boundaries or margins of a local group may have their closest social ties with groups outside it. Class and wealth differentials are also important” (Smith 1956:177). Although over 50 years old, there are merits to examine Smith’s work in relationship to the Accompong Maroons. Accompong Town differs from Smith’s model for rural Jamaican peasantries in that the political system in Accompong Town is not the same. The Maroons has a legacy of marronage and therefore has a colonel that is an administrator for the village.

Beginning in the 1920s, Maroons have been the focus of anthropologists debating slave resistance, African heritage in the Americas, the processes of creolization and the historical knowledge among non-literate peoples. Herskovits’ (1941) argued that there were African retentions among different African groups, including Maroons in the New World. Herskovits and his wife conducted fieldwork in Suriname in the 1920s (Herskovits and Herskovits (1934) and visited Accompong in 1938, classifying African retentions among the group as follows: very African in its magic, folklore and music; quite African in its social organization, non-kinship institutions and religions; and finally, only a trace of African customs was found in the arts.

According to folklorist Bilby (1994) and German anthropologist, Zips (1999), the “cognitive orientations” of maroon culture contribute to the difficulty of learning about them. They argue that one can only learn about the maroon culture based on what one is told by the few individuals who serve as guardians of maroon cultural knowledge. I argue that we can learn about Maroons empirical structures as well as the ideological through participant observation, the methodology of the anthropologist.
Cultural knowledge is distributed throughout the entire group, perhaps unevenly, so that those designated by the group as guardians do not--indeed cannot—have full knowledge of the culture. There are others who may be more knowledgeable as references, depending on one’s domain of interest. For instance the perspectives, knowledge and orientations of women might be quite different from those of males in reference to foodways, kinship and land. This present study draws from a larger pool of informants than mere designated “guardians” with representatives from various age, gender, economic, residence and religious backgrounds. Archival research, including articles published in the newspapers by the Maroons at different periods, adds still another dimension to the Maroon voice.

Besson draws on Mintz and Price’s (1976) theory of creolization, arguing that Africans in the New World were incapable of conveying generalized cultural heritage but “cognitive orientations” as opposed to surface forms as Herskovits argued.

Besson (1997) writes that:

Accompong maroon common land tenure may be seen as reflecting pronounced Caribbean creolization, manifesting the “internal dynamism” of African cultures with “their ability to grow and change.” This culture-building is due in part to “increasing contact with the rest of Jamaican society as Price hypothesized, and partly derives from the history of the community as the hemisphere’s oldest corporate maroon polity.

Second, the case of Accompong suggests that institution-building among Caribbean slaves was not entirely “separate from the masters’ institutions” as Mintz and Price contended, even in marronage... The Leeward rebel slaves and their descendents appropriated and transformed the masters’ agrarian-capitalist institutions (a colonial treaty and a marginal reservation) into customary land transmission and an elaborate symbolic landscape. (Besson 1997:230)

I argue that the land tenure system is based on the history of the community and
that institution-building are not entirely separate from the masters’ institutions. The names of the Accompong Maroons leadership are those of the British military and African names of Maroons themselves began disappearing shortly after the signing of the treaty. Additionally, the majority of groups developed in the village have been prompted by outside agencies.

Price argued that, “Maroons indeed drew on their diverse African heritages in building their cultures. But unlike other African-Americans, who were unable to pass on integrated patterns of traditional culture, maroons could and did look to Africa for deep-level organizational principles, relating to cultural realms as diverse as naming their children on the one hand, or systems of justice on the other” (Price 1979:28). However, unlike the Saramaka Maroons, Price noted that the Jamaican Maroons had “increasing contact with the rest of Jamaican society” which resulted in creolization. “Exactly how much of the [Jamaican] Maroons’ distinctive cultural heritage, and which particular aspects of it remain alive beneath the surface is a question that only sensitive in-depth field work, carried out in the immediate future, can answer” (Price 1979:228-9).

If I utilize Herskovits’ model, Accompong’s social organizations are not African, rather, they mimic the European model. Similarly, the religion for the most part is not Christian; although there are interactions with the spirits on a daily basis as found in African religions and art is almost non-existent. Examination of the South American Maroons’ indigenous religion was found to be more African in structure.

In these articles Kopytoff outlined the political organization and economic base of the Maroons, their relationship vis-à-vis the British government, and, through document analysis, shows that the British government had no intention of granting the Maroons independence. In another article, Kopytoff (1976a) focused on the development of Maroon ethnicity as an organizing principle for a heterogeneous group of Africans, Arawaks, Amerindians, Mesquito Indians, and Malaysians and locally born Africans. The author argues that the 1739 treaty was a critical turning point for the development of maroon culture and ethnicity and created the space for a naturally reproducing population while “[T]hey also closed the membership of the Maroon societies, thus insuring that in time they would become entirely Creole” (Kopytoff 1976a:46).

Kopytoff’s third publication examined the “incomplete” political organization of the Maroons established as a consequence of the 1739 treaty with the British. She concludes that “[T]he inroads into Maroon sovereignty, begun in the treaties, had been carved to such an extent that Maroon autonomy had become a legal myth” (Kopytoff 1973:268). Kopytoff argued that the Maroon colonels were subjugated to the colonial governor and had very little authority, except within their own boundaries, a situation that continues today. Two other works of Kopytoff (1978 & 1987) focused on the 1739 treaty as a sacred charter for the Maroons, and on religious changes that occurred in Accompong resulting in the ascendance of the Christian God within the Maroons’ traditional religious cosmology. As you will see, my investigation of religious change differs somewhat from Kopytoff’s. In my examination, religious change and the ascendance of Christianity in Accompong in 1938 are situated within the context of the political changes then taking place in Jamaica and the wider Caribbean. This period was
one of intense political, social and religious ferment resulting in the formation of the Rastafarian religion, class consciousness, the National Movement, and unions to improve the life of Caribbean and Jamaican citizens, movements in which the Maroons did not participate. Although the economic position of the Maroons was the same as the Black population, the Maroons offered to aid the British against the larger population during the strikes of 1938. Kopytoff’s studies lack detailed information on the 1930s.

Robotham (1991) argued that three racial and socioeconomic groups were formed in Jamaica—“a white… group was consolidated at the top, an entirely new group of Browns…was established in the middle, and a black group…was established at the bottom” (Robotham 1991:36). I suggest four groups were consolidated: Whites, Browns, Blacks and Maroons because the treaty with the British establish Maroons as a special socioeconomic class of subjects. Although the Maroons were Black like the previously enslaved, they were in a different economic category and located above slaves in the British hierarchical pyramid—a position that changed after abolition of slavery and marronage. The Maroons had land and income from the colonial government, but lost the income and was threatened with the replacement of communal land with individual land title after emancipation. The maroons maintain an ideology of exceptionalism in order to remain above the large freed black population.

In addition, I draw on Robotham’s (1998) work on transnationalism in the Caribbean to correlate the Maroons’ economic, political and social transformation with that of the state and argue that stratification at the national level impacts on the local level where individual Maroon communities are situated so that Maroons are stratified along the lines of the larger society.
In his essay, The Development of a Black Ethnicity in Jamaica,” Robotham argued that “all the ethnicities which evolved were socially stratified” (Robotham 1991:37). Although Robotham was talking about the other ethnic groups in Jamaica, the same applies to the Maroons. This study of the Accompong Maroons presents several distinct indices by which social stratification within this rural community can be operationalized. These include the following: historical succession to the political office of colonel; the degree of familial concentration of other offices in the formal and informal organizations of the contemporary village; the existence of socio-economic strata based on occupation, income, “cultural capital,” wealth, access to land, and the ability to support out-migration; celebrations and food distributions; education; and participation in religious institutions.

Much of the early anthropological literature on Accompong Maroons was very narrowly focused and based on information coming from a small number of informants including whoever was Colonel during the period of fieldwork. I should note that the amount of time Dunham (1946), Hurston (1938) and Williams (1938) spent in Accompong spent was actually quite short, and that they had a very narrow range of chief informants, mainly Colonel H.A. Rowe with whom they all resided. In Accompong the colonel's role allows him to provide only a restricted range of information to outside observers.

In Besson’s (1997) “Caribbean Common Tenures and Capitalism: The Accompong Maroons of Jamaica,” the author argued that “their corporate landholding is a reflection of an enduring system of marriage, affinity, kinship and descent as well as being a mirror of maroon political organization, ritual and oral history reaching back to
the rebel plantation slaves who founded the community" (Besson 1997:203). Besson (1997) also examined the Myal ritual and reported that the ritual draws the boundary between Maroons and non-Maroons.

This ritual of incorporation is centered around ancestral burial grounds at and beyond a sacred grove called “Kindah,” at the edge of the residential zone, where the “Kindah Tree” (a fruitful mango tree) has a sign proclaiming “We are Family.” This common kinship is manifested in overlapping unrestricted cognatic family lines, claiming descent through both genders from the First-Time Maroons, articulating with bilateral kinship networks on both parental sides and with tendencies towards community endogamy and cousin-conjugality. (Besson 1997:214)

In my study I found that the function of ritual that takes place on Treaty Day is complex, along the lines of carnival in the Caribbean. First, there is a tension between the African Ancestral Cult veneration and Christianity, second, with a shift in African cosmology, the focus shifted from Accompong to the signing of the treaty by Cudjoe. With the elimination of the Trelawny Maroons, Accompong’s claim to the “blood treaty” became tenuous as the colonial government sought to nullify the treaty and continued to reject the Accompong Maroons’ claimed of Cudjoe’s land. Thirdly, Accompong Maroons stress a “maroon identity” with “rights and privilege.” With a Maroon identity, the colonel is able to negotiate with foreign non-governmental organizations for economic support. The group also views themselves as better than the rest of Jamaicans who they label “land renters.” Fourth, the ritual highlights the dependency of the Maroons on the state, although there is the rhetoric of resistance and rebellion. Fifth, the Maroons make a distinction amongst them and draw a boundary between “full-blooded” and other male maroons. Such a distinction points to the fact that the community is not endogamous as they claim. Sixth, a boundary of exclusion is also drawn between males and females
since females came in the group as they were necessary for reproduction.

The ritual incorporates the sacred geography of the Maroons where the separation takes place at Kindah, which signifies family for the Maroons. Kindah is midway between the sacred and secular areas of the geography. Full-blooded Maroon males proceed to the sacred area of Old Town where the Maroon ancestors are venerated. The party returns to Kindah where they are joined by other Maroons,—male and females, and non-maroons. There is a separation and re-affirmation of the hierarchical structures of the maroon group.

In my study, I also found that the systems of affinity, kinship and descent, political organization, ritual and oral history are indeed a basis for land holding. However, how this is operationalized in practice is extremely complex. Mating relationships included a combination of cousin-marriages, mating with non-Maroons in and outside of Accompong. Land tenure was based on residence and wealth, although this is rapidly changing to a system based entirely on wealth. There are variations of kinship and household structures due to migration.

**Description of the Community**

Accompong Town is a village (although it is called a town) with a population of about 1103 (according the most recent census of 2000), located at an elevation of fifteen hundred feet in the Cockpit Mountains of the parish of St. Elizabeth, and borders the parishes of St. James and Trelawny. This is a compact settlement with well-defined boundaries and membership. Residents are both Maroons and non-Maroons. The town is
Map I
Accompong Maroon Lands Laid out as 1000 acres by virtue of the 21 Geo II Cap 9
Passed 1758 but found by resurvey November 1868 to contain 1220 Acres.
Map shows Appleton Estates and other neighboring communities.
(Courtesy Jamaica Archives)
(Map II) 1976 Evaluation Map showing the ring round within Accompong
Courtesy of Lands and Evaluation Department
about 43 miles south east of Montego Bay, via extremely rugged roads, two and one half hours by car. The nearest town is 11 kilometers away, and the private estates of Appleton, Jamaica’s largest rum producer, are located about 5 kilometers to the west. (map I, page 19)

There are no distinctive features of the village in terms of architecture or residence pattern, as there are no phenotypic difference between Maroons and other Jamaicans. The road going into Accompong loops through the village with residential areas located along it in eleven segments called quarters. The effect from above is like two concentric circles. (see map II and photo, page 20 - 21) On Jamaican maps, roads are classified as “first class,” “second class” and “other roads and intervals.” The roads to Accompong are in the category of “other roads and intervals”. Inside the village, there is one main thoroughfare leading from one quarter to another and various foot paths. Historically, the state of the roads has been bad, because the colonial governments and the post colonial governments penalize the Maroons for refusing to pay taxes. Driving
five kilometers west of Accompong, one is immediately struck by the dramatic difference in the roads on the Appleton Estate that are wider, well paved, and regularly maintained.

The demography of the village is affected by historic trends in migration and contemporary decline in the reproduction rate. There is very little occupational specialization in the village and everyone is engaged in ‘occupational multiplicity’ with little room for social mobility. Few occupations are gender specific. As there is little opportunity for wage employment in the area, with the exception of occasional domestic work and seasonal farm labor. Migration out of the village for work is high. There is both long term and short term cyclical migration to the surrounding urban areas of Jamaica, regionally to other Caribbean countries, and internationally to England, the United States and Canada, with most transnational migrants leaving directly from Accompong. In many cases, there is at least one family member overseas, facilitating further migration. Women who migrate appear to be better able to obtain and keep work, and once gone they rarely return. This is confirmed by gender disparity in latest census data of 2001 for the most economically productive residents ages 16 to 44 with 256 males and just 188 females in their childbearing years.

Accompong Maroons migrate to the urban centers of Jamaica work as police officers, carpenters, masons, typesetters, lawyers, politicians, doctors, dressmakers, mechanics, bakers, rope twisters, unskilled laborers and in other service jobs. Some men who migrated locally and hold top civil servant jobs and occupations such as doctors, lawyers and politicians, have not returned to Accompong, nor do they identify as Maroons. Outside of Accompong, a maroon identity has no ‘cultural capital’.
The migration pattern of Accompong is similar to the South American Maroons and other non-Maroon communities in the Caribbean. “Male migration, both temporary and long-term, has been a standard pattern for almost 100 years and has had far-reaching consequences for many aspects of Saramaka social structure” (Price 1974:65). “The Djukas have always had to rely on their contact with the coastal area to procure additional provisions. As a result of this the population, especially the male part of it, was mobile; and money – for making the supplementary purchases – has always played a role” (De Groot 1969:34).

There were 252 houses counted in the 2001 census varying in terms of architectural style, age and size including wattle and daub, wooden, and cement houses. The wattle and daub houses are the earlier types of houses, and only a few remain. Not all the houses are furnished with running water and electricity. Other buildings include a community center, five churches--the United Church of Grand Cayman (the oldest building in the community), Assembly of God, Seventh Day Baptists Church, Zion Church, and Ta-ta Denue Church; three guesthouses, three schools, an herbal garden project hut, a café and fifteen shops. The café sells a variety of products including soft drinks, alcohol and ice-cream. Food is on a need basis.

General meetings are held at the community center which also houses a small museum, restroom, a clinic and the colonel’s office. Across the street from the community center is a monument dedicated to the community's hero–Cudjoe. (photo below) Public speeches and revival meetings are held in this location. It also serves as a hanging out place in the evenings.
General announcements in Accompong are conveyed by the blowing of the abeng, phone (land line and cellular), word of mouth, and messages on the notice board near the community center. The abeng is “a side blown horn, Maroon war horn which has been in use in Jamaica for three centuries” (Ralston Reid, 2001). There is one public and two private phones in the community and many individuals own cell phones, as two mobile phone towers were erected in 2008. The public phone requires the use of a
prepaid phone card and is dependent on the availability of electricity.

The modes of transportation include walking, bicycle, motorcycle, cars, minivans, and trucks. Although there are no large trucks carrying produce to the market, there is one truck that makes a weekly visit delivering supplies to the village. Taxis make several trips a day to the neighboring towns and so do the mini-vans that transport high school students. Most cars are 1970s model; however, there were a few 1990s models. There is no post office in the village and the nearest one is approximately three miles away in another community.

**Methodology**

The methodology for this study combines ethnography, archival research and the collection of census data gathered over a period of years – winter 1999 through 2009. An ethnographic account of the community as a means of recreating “the shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge and behavior” (LeComte and Preissle 1993: 2-3), was conducted through continued participation/observation of the daily activities and interactions of Accompong residents while living in the community during winter 1999, and summer 2001 and 2008. The name of the village has not been changed as requested by the Maroons. Names of public officials have not been changed, but those of other individuals have been changed to protect their privacy.

The language of the Maroons is Creole. Although I speak Belizean Creole, I was able to understand the Jamaican Creole of the Maroons. Interviews were conducted in Creole in order to get a better understanding and to avoid errors in interpretations. As
suggested by Bernard, “Informal interviewing is the method of choice during the first phase of participant observations, when you are just settling in and getting to know the lay of the land” Bernard 1994:209). These were followed by open-ended interviewing, semi-structured interviewing and structured interviewing. All structured interviews were tape recorded, a few were videotaped.

The unit of analysis is the household. A household composition census noted kin arrangements such as marriage, spouse equivalence, births and deaths, and visiting arrangements and the movement of children. The household survey also included data on the division of labor and handling of resources, work-teams and peer groups which make up units such as the political units, kinship, economic systems and foodways system. As such, all the institutional and non-institutional structures were investigated. Originally, my intention was to study the foodways of the Maroons, but given the poverty level, I focused on other aspects of the village.

A total of seventy-eight genealogies were collected. These included twenty-seven from males and fifty-one from females. Information gathered included kinship information, household income, land tenure, inheritance practice, labor and migration history, and patterns of remittances. Informants for this study were of various socio-economic backgrounds, religions, occupations, political positions; genders, ages and resided in different areas of the village. Non-maroons living outside the community were also interviewed. These included both academics and lay persons. In addition, thirty-five genealogies were collected from Cooper’s notes. Cooper, along with his wife, conducted fieldwork in Accompong in late 1938s; however, he died without publishing his work. This information was used to substantiate the genealogies I collected and in some cases,
drawing attention to particular relationships in the past.

Accompong Maroons view themselves as being special, an opinion that is reinforced in their minds by the “large number of individuals who hail from various parts of the world to study them.” Some believe that individuals who studied them returned home earning millions of dollars. Hence respondents frequently asked me for US$100 for an interview. One woman asked for US$500 since she claimed that the last person she worked with had promised to send her money but never did. Another individual threatened to “smash up” my camera if I did not give him any money. Given that I did not pay informants, these requests and several subsequent refusals to participate occasionally limited my pool of informants. However, most respondents were very cooperative and I take pride in the fact that, over all, diversity among my informants is much greater than in past studies.

In order to examine the community’s foodways, I performed detailed mapping of agricultural fields with several informants to determine what products were grown, where these products were marketed, by whom, and when. Food preparation was also documented. This included who carried out the cooking, what was cooked and when, and who shared with whom.

I also attended the Denbeigh Agricultural Show where farmers from all parishes compete at the national level on behalf of their village or town. At this 3-day event, I was able to gather comparative information on practices and goals of agriculture on the island not only on the micro but the macro level and the influence of the United States government. As a way of learning about the availability of produce that could be found, I kept a journal of foods prepared for my family since a journal of food preparation can
reveal daily and weekly meal patterns and the types of food available. In the field, I was accompanied by my husband and eleven year old son. The overseer of the café was hired to provide us with three meals per day. From the journal, it is then possible to determine if food is grown locally, or purchased outside the community. I also observed the butchering of a pig and a cow, noting the different roles of each individual, the individual in charge, and which portion of the meat was given to whom.

Inventories of several of the shops were conducted, noting cost and variety of items sold who was making purchases. I also took several tours of the community, and visited historic and sacred sites during which the oral history was narrated. These sessions were recorded. I took extensive photographic documentation of historic and sacred sites, as well as of housing exteriors and interiors.

During my fieldwork, several life cycle events took place and I participated in these. These events included graduation ceremonies, two deaths, and the celebration of Treaty Day. Mortuary practices and mourning obligations were also recorded since practices at death reveal information about the life of the deceased. These public events were photographed and in some cases videotaped for later analysis. I noted who attended, the relationships between various individuals, and the nature of rituals performed.

I attended meetings of various political and social organizations where the status and roles of attendants were recorded in addition to whether or not attendance and membership were closed or open, temporary, ad hoc, or perpetual, and the rules governing recruitment and exclusion. I took notes on transactions at the meetings as well as the stated interests and goals and any handouts at the meeting. I also noted overlapping
memberships and relationships between local organizations.

I examined a total of 142 clinic records dated from 1989 - 2001 to determine disease incidence and distribution. These records were also examined to obtain information about who goes to the clinic, the cost of the clinic, and the type of medical care available to the community. The records included 36 records of reproductive age females attending the family planning clinic, 31 adult males, 32 non-reproductive females, and 44 children (20 males, 24 females). Observation of the traveling dentist who makes three trips per year to the village was conducted.

In terms of obtaining further archival information, outside of the clinic records very little was available in Accompong. I examined records of births, deaths and marriages at the Office of Records of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Twickenham Gardens near Kingston. I also visited the Statistical Institute of Jamaica; the Lands and Evaluation Department; the Survey Department; the University of the West Indies Libraries; and the National Archives of Jamaica. At the Survey Department, I obtained aerial photographs of the community dated 1978 and 1992, and maps dated 1896, 1938, 1941, 1945, and 1991. At the Lands and Evaluation Department, I obtained maps of Accompong dated 1976 and 1991, the latter representing the most recent map the Jamaican government has made to facilitate levying property taxes. Census data from 1960, 1970, 1991 and 2001 was collected from the Statistical Institute of Jamaica. I obtained copies of the following documents from the National Archives of Jamaica: Maps dated 1757, 1868 and 1896; the 1739 treaty; and the 1842 Allotment Act. In addition, I was able to obtain copies of communications among a colonial appointed Secretary, other colonial officers, and Accompong Maroon Colonels, dated 1882, 1895,
1906 and 1920. At the University of the West Indies, I examined the papers of Archibald Cooper, and those of his wife Peachy Cooper.

Former village administrators kept very few records and there was little sharing of documents with incoming administrations probably due to ongoing factionalism. Also, historical record keeping was sparse as the village’s history is passed on orally. I had the opportunity to review the private small library of one former Colonel, Pastor Harris Cawley, which included records from his own term in office and published academic material on the Maroons. The Gleaner and the Jamaica Observer proved to be very valuable resources as individuals vying for power and the office of the colonel aired their grievances against each other in the newspapers.

**Significance of the Study**

I hope that my study of Accompong makes a useful comparative addition to the literature on land, kinship and identity within Caribbean communities in the tradition of Besson (1984, 1987, 1995 and 1997), Fog-Olwig (1997 and 1999) and Maurer (1997); also, on maroons studies along with Bilby (2006, 1996, 1994), de Groot (1969), Kopytoff (1973, 1976 a & b, 1978 and 1987), Mintz (1976), Price (1979), and Zips (1999, 19989, 1996). This is the first such study to examine the internal dynamics of the Accompong Maroon village, including the social organization. Besides the scholarly audience that exists for doctoral dissertations in anthropology, I expect that this study will find a readership among two other groups: First, I believe Maroons themselves will find the historical and political analysis of interest; second, policy makers working in both
government positions and nongovernmental organizations, particularly those involved with food aid organizations, may find the community development implications that I outline of use. The foodways of the Accompong Maroons have never been studied before and, to my knowledge, no detailed study any Maroon community has employed this strategic perspective. My experience in Accompong has convinced me that food aid organizations need to make real productive resources like seeds and technologies available to poor communities in order to successfully provide adequate nutrition rather than only distributing food, since that only serves as band aids on a more fundamental problem. Similarly, food aid organization must take into account the lack of technology in the village when distributing food. Food aid must be in the form of small, single use or family size containers. In addition, my study and analysis of the Accompong community’s values and social life suggest that nongovernmental organizations working in Accompong should not take an approach that relies heavily on the community’s ideology of egalitarianism and communalism, but instead provides training designed to support individual entrepreneurship. For example, both the failed projects spear-headed by OXFAM and the Canadian government discussed in chapter IV were based on the idea that community members worked together harmoniously rather than individually.

Organization of the Dissertation

In the next chapter, I provide a detailed account of the history and sociopolitical structure of the Accompong village. Since my discussion of the relevance and redundancy of Jamaican marronage relies on an understanding of the origin of the
institution in the history of the region, and to provide comparative notes, I include a
discussion of how the colonial plantation economy produced scattered and remote
Maroon communities throughout the Caribbean region. I then provide a very detailed
account of the history of the legal status of Accompong via an analysis of the treaty
agreements and correspondence over successive colonial regimes.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the economic activities of the village, including the
legal and economic history of the communal land holding. I also describe the differential
importance of residence proximity, land use history, with the latter becoming more
important in recent years. In Chapters 5 and 6, I provide detailed information on the
kinship system and village’s social organizations from an emic and etic perspective. I
found that systems of affinity, kinship and descent are indeed a basis for land holding,
political office and indigenous healing knowledge and practices. I describe strategic
marital practices (legal and non-legal), including cousin-marriages and marriages with
non-Maroons in and outside of Accompong. The majority of Accompong Maroons live
outside the Jamaican legal system in that their births and deaths are never recorded.
Hence, the number of legal marriages remains low. From the emic perspective, there are
no differences between legal marriage and common-law marriage. I discuss the historical
exogamous practices and the one-drop rule as it applies to “marooness.” A discussion of
variations in kinship and household composition due to migration is discussed.

Chapters 7 examine ideological aspects of community life that focuses on
religion, magic, witchcraft and healing. The religious life of the Accompong Maroons
differ from the South American Maroons, but are similar to the larger Jamaican
populations and other Jamaican Maroon communities and is very more Christian than
African in nature. Examination of the foodways is in appendix IV. The religion and foodways highlight the similarities between the Accompong Maroons and the wider Jamaican population. The foodways system of the Accompong Maroons has never been studied before. This study examines the foodways system of the Maroons, paying attention to the symbolisms, political economy and ecology, the construction of boundaries between different groups, gender divisions and power relationships. The treaty prevented the Maroons from having a market and growing sugar cane, the major cash crop of the day. In addition, the provision grounds of the Maroons and their neighbors were destroyed by the colonial government during the Maroon Wars to ensure that the Maroons did not have access to food for their continued sustenance. These acts highlight the measure of power and powerlessness between the two groups. The ability of the Maroons to reproduce their population is tied to the access to land and, through land, to food. While food is necessary for social and biological reproduction, food events in Accompong also serve as an encoded system of communication that regulates key social relations both within and outside the household, and in the larger political system. Food exchanges solidify socio-political alliances and food consumed at feasts serves as means for fostering communal solidarity and ties the community to their ancestral past.
New World Maroons

Jamaican Maroon Settlements

Map III.1 and II1.2 Courtesy University West Indies Press
Chapter II

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ACCOMPONG MAROONS:
PAST AND PRESENT

Introduction

This chapter examines the historical and contemporary political structure and context of the Jamaican Accompong Maroons. The analysis highlights the dependency of the village, and their integration into the Jamaican state and the processes that allow this to happen. I also briefly examine the history of other Maroon communities in Jamaica and South America in order to compare the different legal and political trajectories beginning with the treaty between the Jamaican Maroons and the South American Maroons. Like Kopytoff (1973, 1976b and 1978), I argue that the terms of the 1739 treaty with the British were never intended to grant the Maroons independence.

The Accompong Maroon socio-political system consists of the colonel, council, Accompong Maroon Federation, Accompong Maroon Foundation, and the Council of Elders. Added to this group is the abeng blower, a single individual, and legacy of the past, that provides an important ritual and symbolic service for the community. Some of
these groups are recent parts of Accompong Town’s social organization formed in response to programs initiated by the national government, and/or national and international agencies.

Kopytoff argued that the British found the cost of maintaining separate Maroon communities expensive along with the emancipation of all the slaves in the island. Therefore the British eliminated the cost of maintaining maroon communities. “Among the costs were the salaries and housing expenses of the superintendents and White officers; the wages and rewards for Maroon parties, their provisions while on duty, and their uniforms; gifts to Maroon chiefs; wages for road work, and the costs of surveying and purchasing lands for Maroon use” (Kopytoff 1973:270).

My position is that in addition to the expense with the abolition of slavery, there was no longer a need for the institution of marronage to uphold slavery. However, Maroons resisted a change to their status and maintained that the treaty was a ‘blood treaty,’ not to be broken. Not wanting to push the Maroons too far, nothing was done to disband the groups, especially since the British could not find land to distribute to each Maroon. Therefore, the Maroons were no longer in a special category legally, but de facto, remained with their land intact. Accompong Maroons continued to operate under two articles of the 1739 treaty while they have made accommodations and assimilated within the larger Jamaican society.

Kopytoff (1973; 1976b and 1978) repeatedly argued that the terms of the treaty did not allow Maroons to become totally independent and that independence suggested by the treaty is a “legal myth.” The author demonstrated that the treaty resulted in an “incomplete polity” where Maroon leadership was subordinated to the colonial government and later to the Jamaican government.
Zips (1996) argues that the “the political structures of Jamaican Maroon societies show similarities and parallels with West African systems of traditional authority that deserve further comparative research. One of these features can be seen in the gerontocratic aspects of traditional domination”(Zips 1996:290). In an interview with Zips in 1991, Colonel Harris noted: “The Colonel is the head of state. He assumes this position because of his popularity in the community or because of his awareness of matters related to the Maroons. He is elected into office for five years by the popular vote in a democratic system. The Colonel office is managed by a Council with its Major, its Captains and then you have the other members on the Council numbering sometimes more than thirty men and women.”(Zips 1996:291-2)

Zips also argue that “the system of authority among the Jamaican Maroons has undergone important changes since its regulation in the Peace Treaty. The official title of the political head of the society has changed from Captain to Colonel and in recent years to Chief, the last of which gives the impression of a conscious ‘re-africanisation’”(Zips 1996:291).

I found that the system of authority changed from captain to colonel and although there was an attempt at re-africanisation in 1994 after visits to and from Ghana, the name remained as colonel as many felt that this title was more militant than chief. My analysis demonstrates that the gerontocratic leadership is due to the migration pattern rather than an African survival. Young men leave for 20 or 30 years then return with capital and engage in political life of the village, a pattern that goes back to the nineteenth century. Mintz (1985) examined Caribbean peasants and noted, “one obvious answer for the Caribbean peasantry has been migration; but this is not, as many people believe, a new
answer. Caribbean people have been emigrating for nearly a century in search of work, and in some societies, migration long ago became an institutionalized cyclical phenomenon, with a large number of each generation of males emigrating in turn. (Mintz 1985:141)

Zips (1994) examined the Council of Elders and argued that “the competencies of the Council of Elders comprised the following tasks: constructive suggestions to the Colonel, approval of individual appointments, request for a Colonel’s resignation, denunciation of any action detrimental to peace and progress, and planning the election of a new Colonel”(Zips 1998:16). My research found that the council had fallen apart, was resurrected and did try to carry out these tasks but was unsuccessful. Similarly, the abeng blower was revived from the time Dunham (1942) visited the village in the late 1930s.

**Marronage in the New World**

Maroon communities in the New World grew out of resistance to the plantation economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Escaped slaves repeatedly destroyed plantations and waged war against the European colonizers. Because of the high cost of labor, slaves and time spent fighting, planters periodically declared truces and negotiated treaties. The first such treaty in Jamaica was signed on March 1, 1739 between the British and Cudjoe of the Trelawny Maroons following the First Maroon War (1725-39). Two years later, a similar treaty was signed with the Windward Maroons which included the communities of Moore Town, Scott’s Hall, and Charles Town, located near Port Antonio. (See Map III.2) In actual fact the present Maroon reserve at Accompong was acquired by
a legislative act in 1758 as opposed to the 1739 treaty. However, for our purposes we can act as if the treaty was signed with the Accompong Maroons, for it is the firm belief of the present day people that this is the case and they have abundance of what is to them irrefutable evidences in support of this proposition.

The Dutch in Suriname followed in the footsteps of the British and in 1760 a treaty was signed with the Njudka Maroons, in 1762 with the Saramaka Maroons and the Matawai Maroons in 1767. In 1791 a treaty placed the Surinamese Aluku Maroons under the supervision of the Ndjuka Maroons. Later, the Paramacca and Kwinti Maroons were placed in protectorate relationships with the preexisting Maroon groups. In 1801, the Dutch recognized the Aluku as a free people.

Other known Maroon communities are the Palenqueros of Colombia; the Garifuna of the Atlantic coast of Central America; the Maroons of the Costa Chica region of Mexico; the Quilombos of Brazil; the Cimarrones of Cuba; and the Seminole Maroons of Oklahoma, Texas, Mexico and the Bahamas. (Price 1979) (See Map III.1, page 33) Some of these groups are notably interracial, including indigenous people.

The legal status of maroon communities varied by country and through time and space. The different historical trajectories of the institution of marronage in different regions and colonial regimes account for some of the differences between present Maroon communities in the South American mainland and Caribbean island, and how they have been treated in the literature. While the British colonial government abolished the institution of marronage along with slavery in the late 1830s, the Suriname and Guyanese governments renewed the terms of the treaties with their Maroon communities. The Dutch renewed their treaties with the Maroons in 1835, 1837 and 1838. In the 20th
The Surinamese government argued that territories held by Maroons are those of the state and will be used as such. Between 1958 and 1961, a large portion of Maroon territory on the Suriname River due south of Paramaribo was flooded with the construction of the Afobaka Dam. The status of the French Guiana Aluku Maroons also changed again in 1969. “In 1969, the Inini territory was dissolved and the French imposed a number of arrondissements, cantons and communes. Suddenly the traditional Aluku villages came directly within the scope of the coastal territory” (Bilby 1989). The Aluku Maroons are now under French Guianese administration and many have left the villages for urban areas. Some of these shifts in the legal status of maroon communities correspond to the changes in the legal status of the colonial countries as they became independent from their colonizers.

**Marronage in Jamaica**

The treaty signed by Cudjoe contained twelve articles which outlined circumscribed maroon government and lifeways while providing certain rights, privileges and obligations. (See Appendix I for the full treaty.) This treaty governed the Trelawny Maroons, but the Accompong Maroons view this treaty as covering them as well. In addition to the land grant, the articles included the liberty to plant certain crops, breed livestock and hunt “except within three miles of any settlement.” Their status as military officers required Maroons protect the country from enemy invasion, and return all runaway slaves. “True to the treaty, the Maroons played decisive roles in the suppression of the Taki and Sam Sharpe rebellions, not to mention in the delivery of subsequent
runaways, and, following emancipation, in the suppression of the Morant Bay Rebellion” in 1865 (Chevannes 1995:11). The Accompong Maroons also offered to aid the colonial government during the 1938 rioting as reported in several issues of the Gleaner newspaper. However, the colonial government refused the offer.

The second article of the treaty limited the Maroons’ ability to expand through exogamous reproduction as it placed a restriction on new individuals coming to the group. The treaty also handicapped the Maroons as they were prevented from having their own market and planting sugarcane. The absence of a market along with the prohibition on producing sugar cane, the largest export item, severely impacted the group’s ability to become economically independent. In addition, Maroons had to apply to the Custos or magistrate of that parish for a permit to vend their goods at the market outside their boundaries. To date, the Jamaican Maroons still do not have a market, although they no longer need permission to sell their produce in other regional town markets.

The maroon leader was granted the authority to settle disputes in their community with the exception of murder, and to inflict punishment as he saw fit with the exception of the death penalty. In addition, shortly after the treaty was signed, British planters moved into the mountains and lived adjacent to the maroon communities, preventing their access to the resources of the larger forest. In effect, the British created a reservation and enacted rules only they recognized.

Two other crucial items of this treaty addressed the issues of road clearing and leadership succession. Maroons were responsible for clearing the roads from Trelawny Town to Westmoreland and St James, and if possible to St. Elizabeth, all in the west.
Cudjoe’ treaty stated that upon his death the position would pass to his brother Accompong, followed by Johnny, then Cuffee, followed by Quaco, whereafter the Governor would appoint someone fit to command. British officers were also stationed in the Maroon settlements to facilitate ties with the colonial government and were involved in the daily affairs of the communities.

The treaty granted Cudjoe and his group a 1,500-acres parcel of land in Trelawny (Appendix I, Article Three) but not the Accompong Maroons, under the leadership of Accompong, Cudjoe’s brother, who were already residing in the Cockpit Mountains. However, the then governor provided Accompong with a separate land grant. It was 1758 before Accompong Maroons were granted 1000 acres of land in the Cockpit Mountain region. Although the Trelawny Maroons were disbanded in 1796 and their land returned to the crown, the Accompong Maroons remained separate and tried to claim the Trelawny land from the colonial government.

Accompong Maroons are governed internally by a colonel whose title is derived from the British military system of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 17th century the title of Maroon leader was captain used by those signing the 1738-9 treaty, “whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quace...”(Appendix II: 1738-9). Later the colonial government recognized Cudjoe as leader of the leeward Maroon groups and was given the title of colonel. The nature of the relationship between the various maroon groups is unknown with the exception of the little information in the written record by the colonial administration.

The duties of the colonel, in addition to those mentioned above were:

That Captain Cudjoe and his successors shall wait on his Excellency or the commander-in-chief for the time being, once every year, if there upon
requires...full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted; in which case if the captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes. (Appendix I, 1738-9:XI, XII).

The fighters working most closely with the colonel bore military titles just like their British counterparts,-- major, captain, lieutenant, sergeant, private and constable--all held by men. We don't know the functions of the men holding these titles within Accompong. The colonel, as the leader of the Maroons, came under the jurisdiction of the colonial government. Maroons no longer serve in the military.

With the abolition of slavery, the colonial government also abolished the institution of marronage with the 1832 Law. Article two of that law reads: “And be it enacted\textsuperscript{1}, That the maroons shall be entitled to and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects, as fully and completely as the same are enjoyed by any other of her majesty's subjects in this island" (Appendix II). Maroons for their part, argued that the treaty could not be changed and viewed themselves as having all the rights and privileges they had before the 1832 law.

\textbf{The Jamaican Government}

The colonial powers changed from an administrative center in the Caribbean under military personnel during the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries to a representative government, to Crown Colony from 1866 until 1944, and finally, an independent nation in 1962. Simultaneously, the status of the Maroons changed from under the institution of

\textsuperscript{1} This section of the text in the original document is underlined.
marronage to British subjects after emancipation. With the changes in the structure of the Jamaican government the relationship with the Maroons also changed.

From 1655 to 1664, English-occupied Jamaica was run by the army, as a conquered territory with an administration of major generals and colonels. The settlers had internal autonomy, elected a House of Assembly, a governor--the Crown's representative on the island,--and a council nominated by the governor, using a modified British legal system to meet the needs of the existing population. Each governor served a term of five years, or less depending on certain life circumstances such as death.

Jamaica was a Crown Colony from 1866 until 1944 when Adult Suffrage was granted. Both the change to Crown Colony status and the granting of Adult Suffrage represent watershed periods in the structure of the Jamaican government.

Crown Colony government established the authority of the Governor to make laws with the consent of a Legislative Council consisting of official and unofficial members appointed by the Queen. The total number of unofficial members was not to exceed six. The Legislative Council then enacted a law providing that ‘All powers, functions, and duties heretofore...exercised by the executive committee...are hereby transferred to, and vested in the governor...

[T]his new Constitution was celebrated in a formal ceremony on November 20, when it was announced that elections under Universal Adult Suffrage to the new House of Representatives would take place on December 14, 1944.

The achievement of Universal Adult Suffrage must have been particularly gratifying to Norman Manley and the PNP. While no one can deny their role in bringing the struggle for Universal Adult Suffrage to a successful conclusion, history must record the pioneering work that had been done for over a century by William Knibbs, and the Baptist missionaries, Edward Vickars, Charles Campbell, Joseph Milward Gordon, Robert Love and Marcus Garvey. (Munroe and Bertram 2006:44)

Prior to the passage of Universal Adult Suffrage, Women's Suffrage “was passed
into law by a vote of 13 to 9. The qualifications for women to vote were made substantially higher than those for men. Only women of 25 years of age and over, who paid two pounds a year in taxes or earned 50 pounds annually, were allowed to vote” on May 14, 1919. (Munroe and Bertram 2006:44)

Jamaica was granted political independence from the United Kingdom in August of 1962 after a new political consciousness had arisen that, beginning in the late 1930s, resulted in political unrest and a series of strikes. Jamaica's parliamentary system is similar to that of the United Kingdom. Legislative power is vested in the government and parliament while the Judiciary is independent of the Executive and Legislative Branches. Queen Elizabeth II remains the Chief of State and appoints a Governor General, based on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, as her local representative in a ceremonial role. The de facto executive power is exercised by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet with general elections held every five years to elect a new government.

An appointed Senate and an elected House of Representatives together form the legislature. The Senate is a twenty-one member body with thirteen senators nominated by the Prime Minister and eight by the leader of the opposition. There are also fourteen ministries. Both the ministers and the senators have an economic infrastructure to support their portfolios.

Administratively, Jamaica is divided into fourteen parishes with each parish under the umbrella of one of the ministers. “Each parish (or precinct consisting of a union of two or more parishes) is governed by a chief magistrate, styled Custos Rotulorum... (Edwards 1807:264). The Custos reports to the Minister of Parliament for that area. Parishes are further divided into towns and villages. Accompong, located in the parish of
St. Elizabeth, is one of the villages of that parish. During the political changes in Jamaica, there were no Maroons from Accompong participating in these processes. However, in the 1970s, the colonel from Moore Town was a legislative member for Port Antonio as opposed to Moore Town which is located in that parish.

Based on Smith’s (1998) criteria for a nation-state, Jamaica is a nation-state with the following: complex ecology, developing industry, efficient communications, bank, currency, university, research, extensive market, occupation specialization, central courts and judiciary system. However, like the rest of the Caribbean nations, the Privy Council remains British. None of the above criteria for a state can be found in Accompong.

**Accompong’s Socio-Political System**

**The Office of Colonel**

The position of colonel was initially based on lifetime rule during which the presiding colonel chose a successor, usually from among his kinsmen. But in 1957, after nineteen years of internal power struggle, the colonel's position was changed from lifetime rule to a five-year term based on popular election. This change was instituted by the colonial government after repeated pleas from the Maroons themselves to settle the dispute. Accompong's elections then came under the supervision of the Jamaican Chief Electoral Officer and use the national government's voters’ registration list. Under the new system the colonel's supporting group became a council and their military titles were replaced with political ones such as Minister of Justice, Minister of History, or Minister...
of Agriculture. Health aides, generally Maroon women who have been trained to work along with visiting nurses provided by the Jamaican government as well as visiting international medical teams, are now also council members. The colonels come from the Wright, Rowe and Cawley families. The council was also kin-based. Until 1938, the colonel and some of the council members were also traditional healers, including obeah practitioners.

Under the quasi-military system of the immediate post-treaty era, the official group advising and supporting the colonel was entirely male, with the exception of Nanny as the only female in Moore Town. However, women served on the council in the 1920s.

Even though the colonel's position is now an elected one for a five-year term, all the colonels elected since 1957, have been the direct descendants of previous colonels and older men. H. A. Rowe was appointed colonel by Colonel H. E. Wright in 1920. Rowe collected taxes and levied fines for infraction of the law within the village. Maroon males were taxed at the rate of four shillings and women at two shillings per year for roads and the poor. Money was also used to offset the expenses incurred by the council members in their travels, for remittances to the constables and for donations and alms.

Colonel H. A. Rowe paid no taxes to the colonial government, but lobbied for medical aid, better roads, the establishment of a post office and more land, through the visiting writer Morley Roberts Cole. Cole, a white man, was viewed as a powerful and influential person capable of achieving support for the Maroons. Cole wrote:

As white men who ... had some powerful influence in the neighborhood of Kingston, he asked for our assistance. The community
wanted a Post Office. The treaty… promised medical aid. And, as we
have seen, the last part of the road to Accompong was a mere mule
track. The Maroons grew bananas and ginger and other products for
sale. They were hard pressed to get them to market. He was sure we
would mention these matters. He relied on us to do so (Cole, 1927:3).

From the above passage, it is clear that the Maroon colonel was incapable of
securing economic and medical aid for his community. Morley Roberts Cole was also
unable to secure aid for the community. The result was a disgruntled group and by the
late 1930s Colonel H. A. Rowe was faced with high unemployment rate; low earnings
from export crops; loss of the use of the unpatented crown land where logging took place;
food shortage resulting in food theft; and increasing pressure from the colonial
government to individuate Maroon land. After two hundred years of freedom, the
Maroons were in the same situation as the Jamaican masses.

Eventually H.A. Rowe resigned but, since no one took his resignation seriously,
his remained in office until 1938 when Thomas J. Cawley, supported by a group of 22
men and his mother, took over from him. These series of events in Accompong resonate
even more as 1938-39 marked the bicentenary of the signing of the treaty between the
British and the Maroons, and one hundred since the abolition of slavery.

In August 1938 a Daily Gleaner article appeared announcing Rowe's resignation.

Colonel Rowe has announced through our columns that he will no
more act as leader of the Maroons of Accompong Town, in the parish of
St. Elizabeth, because of the action and attitude of certain of the younger
Maroons within the Accompong Settlement…

Unfortunately, it seems that some of the younger Maroons have
rebelled against the counsel of their veteran leader and have seized hold
of some Government property (railway sleepers and also, particularly,
some Crown lands), proclaiming that they will hold these until their
alleged grievances are dealt with. Colonel Rowe understands very well
that this sort of thing will never do.
But there can be no seizing of either Government's or any private person's property, or the forcible holding of this by way of compensation for something which may or may not have been granted. That sort of thing is against any law, and cannot be countenanced by any properly constituted Government. Colonel Rowe is well aware of this; so are the older people amongst the Maroons. (Gleaner, August 14, 1938, pg. 12)

The government had no desire to take on the discipline of the Maroons and hoped that Rowe would remain as colonel. Although the internal political issues leading to Rowe's forced resignation are not alluded to in this article, the background against which the reporter sees it as significant is the Maroons' disputed claims to land. The author hopes that Maroons will listen to Rowe and settle their land grievances through the courts rather than by force.

In 1938, Cawley burst on the political scene and, once there, challenged the old leadership until his death. Cawley was supported by his mother, and an elderly Charles Reid who appeared to be knowledgeable about the maroon cause. Cawley was an ardent Christian and his coming to power marked not only a change in the internal selection process for colonel, but also a change in the religious cosmology that was to dominate in Accompong. That these things occurred in Accompong when they did is, I believe, linked to other political and economic currents affecting Jamaica and the Caribbean.

An important element of Cawley's agenda was to end the social control of the community by self-serving obeahmen. “In the early 1930's, it was said that the Old People, including Town Master, were being manipulated by obeah men who were using the power of the ancestors for their own purposes rather than for the good of the community”(Kopyttoff 1987:477).

An earnest young Christian Maroon, Thomas J. Cawley, became more and more disturbed by this practice. Finally, one night, he crept down to Old Town, set fire to the ritual hut and burned it down. The act
was a courageous one because Cawley believed in the power of the Old People and the obeah men and thought he was risking death. He also believed that the obeah men were putting Town Master to an improper and evil use, and he announced that Town Master must not be put to such use, must not be put “above God.” The chief obeah man predicted Cawley’s death within a few days. When he survived and thrived, it gave considerable impetus to Christianity, which Cawley had claimed as his protection and which had proved to be the greater power. (Kopytoff 1987:477)

After this incident, Cawley gained tremendous power within the community and Colonel H.A. Rowe was forced to resign. This action by Cawley not only disrupted the political and religious systems, it also disrupted the economic and the social order of Accompong. Cawley used the Maroon ideology of Town Master to discontinue the old religious practices and implemented a new order of Christianity, as sanctioned by Town Master. However, that is not to say that obeah practices were discontinued; rather, they went underground. With this move, the celebration of Treaty Day was banned for several years as a part of the celebrations included a Myal dance. (More on this later.)

After Rowe’s resignation, Cawley announced, not only his assumption of the role of Colonel, but also recent actions related to disputed lands.

MAROONS TELL CAUSE OF RECENT ACTIONS HAVE NEW TEMPORARY HEAD
The following letter was received at the Gleaner Office yesterday:--

THE EDITOR, SIR: The ejectment of we, the Maroons of Accompong, is not a matter of Vandalism but conditions are incomprehensible. In the same -- Where we, Maroons, cultivate and cut timbers claiming it as Maroon Territory, there is also Government tenants cutting sleepers and paying rent to the Government, because of unknown boundary. Several appeals have been made to our authorities and to the Surveyor General, but no attention resulted, hence our ejectment. (Gleaner August 18, 1938, pg 1)

Both Maroons and government workers were cutting timber and sleepers, used to make rope, in the same area. The presence of the government workers meant that they
were in competition with the Maroons for the same items at a time when there was an economic downturn. This dispute continued through to the end of 1938. Eventually, the land on which Maroons were squatting and logging was confiscated by the government and another piece of land was made available to them. In addition, an offer of 3,000 to 4,000 acres of land was made to the Maroons under the leadership of Colonel Cawley. The Maroons were required to pay minimal taxes on the land. Henry A. Rowe undermined Colonel Cawley and the deal was rejected. Nevertheless, the Maroons ended up with an additional 1533 acres of land.

In the 1930s, the global economy suffered under the weight of an economic downturn initiated by the United States’ stock market crash of 1929 and World War II. Between 1928 and 1933, the prices of Caribbean export crops bought on the global market dropped by half (Lewis 1978.) Under economic pressure abroad, Jamaican migrants including Accompong Maroons were repatriated from places such as Panama, Costa Rica and Cuba only to find drastic wage cuts, increased taxes, and high levels of unemployment.

These conditions were compounded by crop diseases and storms that destroyed crops that resulted in economic and political disturbances. Panama disease began to infect Jamaica’s banana crops in 1922. In 1935, the banana was infected again, this time with leaf spot disease; in 1937, it was a fungal disease in the ginger crop. The violent storms of 1933 and 1935 also destroyed many crops, compounding the problems of an agricultural economy that was already severely stressed. The picture in Accompong was even worse. In addition, the wild hog population that Maroons hunted was declining. During her mid-1930s sojourn in Accompong Katherine Dunham noted that “[F]or three
years there has been no hunting at all. For meat there are goats, a few stray hogs, and a few fowl” (Dunham 1940:62).

The economic impact of this period reverberated throughout the Caribbean, impacting the religious, political and legal institutions. In his book entitled Labour Unrest in the West Indies, Lewis (1977) uses 1935 as a benchmark for the series of upheavals in the Caribbean. The unrest began in St. Kitts and then spread to Trinidad and throughout the region as the largely Afro-Caribbean population reacted to lack of food and jobs. The strikes were led by agricultural workers, workers in oilfields, and other industries. This situation was exacerbated by mass migration from rural areas to urban areas. The late 1930s marked one hundred years after emancipation and the bicentenary anniversary of the Maroon peace treaty. However, the Afro-Caribbean population had not achieved economic prosperity. The result of the Caribbean protests brought their plight to the attention of the British public. In reaction to the strikes, the British government reacted with armed force which resulted in thousands imprisoned and killed. Although some events in each country differed, the underlying causes were similar.

The result of these events was a series of strikes throughout Jamaica, in the early months of 1938, in the parishes of St James, Westmoreland, St. Andrew, and Kingston. During this period, there was also a series of public meetings led by Alexander Bustamante, William Grant and Norman Manley resulting in the birth and strengthening of labor unions. The governor responded by forming a Commission to enquire into the wage rates and conditions of employment.

The fall in prices of export crops had a direct impact on Accompong because almost everyone there grew bananas and sugar cane. Accompong Maroons sold bananas
to the United Fruit Company for export but, and also processed sugar there in Accompong, although some farmers also sold raw sugarcane to the nearby Appleton Estates (Cooper, 1938-9.) Maroons who worked in outside banana fields and sugar estates also suffered. When the export prices for bananas and sugar fell, so did the wages of banana and sugar cane workers. Thus in Accompong, there was real hunger. Katherine Dunham (1946) described a case of food theft being tried in the colonel's court in Accompong. Food theft was a significant and common phenomenon during this period due to the high rate of hunger on the island and in this region.

Accompong was not isolated from either the economic privation or the political unrest experienced elsewhere in the Caribbean or the wider Jamaica. But Accompong's leadership reacted to these broader forces in a way that reflected the community's previous unique social and legal position within Jamaica and its distinctive political system and local values were upheld. Although the Accompong Maroons were in the same position as the wider Jamaica and the Caribbean, they offered to join the British government in policing the strikes.

Accompong Maroons reacted to these events in two very different ways. Rumors predicting that Accompong Maroons were going to attack large estates in their area had been spreading throughout Jamaica during the unrest. No doubt the existence of these rumors was significant for the larger Jamaican population. In one action H.A. Rowe, still the reigning colonel, affirmed the willingness of Accompong Maroons to serve the government as a reserve militia to put down political unrest, an affirmation rooted in the historic provisions of their peace treaty. Colonel Rowe placed a letter in the Daily Gleaner dated July 26, 1938, to the effect that the Accompong Maroons would come to
the aid of the government to suppress any violence by Jamaicans rather than join the strikers.

Strange News to Maroons

Editor: Sir: Kindly allow me space in your valuable columns to publish the following: It has been rumoured that the Maroons of Accompong in the parish of St. Elizabeth have joined in the rioters in this island, and that they are about to attack big properties on the first day of August. This is strange news to the Maroons. The Maroons in general do not have any right to go against the Government of Jamaica, as we hold ourselves responsible that if any outbreak occurs in this island, we are certain to give our help to the Government.

I am etc.,

R. A. Rowe
Colonel
Accompong, Maggotty P O July 30, 1938. (Gleaner: July 30, 1938)

No records suggest that Accompong Maroons actually were called upon or joined forces with the police and army in putting down strikes. Instead, the British sought help from the homeland, and several war ships were positioned in the Caribbean Sea, surrounding the islands. At the same time, Maroons were experiencing their own internal conflict as various men contended for power.

Internal conflict continued through 1957: Thomas Cawley was replaced by M. O. Rowe, brother of Henry A. Rowe. Then, in 1948, Man O. Rowe was upstaged by his brother H. A. Rowe. Although Thomas Cawley was the most dominant, between the years of 1938 and 1957 several men seized power, with possession of the Colonel's role shuttling between Cawley the Rowes and Robertson.

During the internal turmoil, Maroons repeatedly wrote the governor requesting him to settle the dispute. However, the Governor was still reluctant to choose another colonel. In the interim, a social welfare officer was appointed to live in the community and maintain stability. From 1951 to 1957, Cawley continued as Acting Colonel. The
dispute over the colonelship was discussed in the House of Commons in London on July 20, 1950. The issue was brought up by the Labour Minister of Parliament, Mr. Tom Driberg. The Secretary of State of the Colonies noted that he would have the governor settle the matter.

Dispute over leadership of the Maroons of Accompong in Jamaica was the subject of questions in the House of Commons today.

Tom Driberg asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps he proposed to settle it, and who at present was recognized as Colonel. James Griffith replied that according to his latest information, the question of arranging an election was still presenting difficulties but a further attempt is to be made shortly. He would ask the Governor if any further progress has been made.

Mr. Driberg queried whether it was possible for the Governor to take initiative in settling the unfortunate dispute among “these remarkable people” and whether he had visited Accompong personally.

Mr. Griffiths replied that he was in communication with the Governor. (The Gleaner: July 21, 1950)

After some deliberations, and with input from the resident welfare officer, the governor made the ruling that the position of colonel should be voted on by the people of the community. (Colonial Secretary Correspondence) Henceforth, the colonel’s position would be for a five year term. Council members came from all strata of the society. The first elections for colonel took place on June 12, 1957 under the supervision of the Jamaica Electoral Officer. The candidates were Robertson, Mann O. Rowe and A. Nicholas and had symbols, indicating a low level of literacy in the village. The symbol of Robertson was the star, a head for Rowe, and a hand for Nicholas. (Gleaner, June 12, 1957)

Under Article 15 of the treaty, it was the governor's responsibility to appoint the next colonel as he saw fit. What we see in 1957 is the Governor handing the people of
Accompong the mandate to choose their own leader. This ruling came 13 years after the island was granted a new constitution and Universal Adult Suffrage. Prior correspondence between the Maroon leadership and the Governor does not indicate any desire for independence on the part of the Maroons. Rather than becoming more independent, the Maroons became more integrated into the state when their new elections came under the supervision of the government’s Chief Electoral Officer. Previously, the showing of hands would have sufficed to elect a Colonel, but now the Maroons used a voters’ registration list and could cast their votes at voting booths located inside Accompong and around the country.

Discussions with several high ranking individuals regarding the reported 1938 incidents confirmed the personal fighting between Thomas Cawley and H. A. Rowe but informants were unaware of details and the continued power struggle. This missing data is also seen in the oral history Zips collected. Zips data suggests that the Maroons instituted these changes themselves which was contrary to the actual events.

There have been other, contrasting changes. Following a crisis of leadership after the removal of Colonel H. A. Rowe in the 1940s, a new system of leadership appointment came into force. Avoiding a split in political leadership, when two persons claimed to be entitled to the Colonelship, the Maroons turned to a process of legitimation by general elections (interview with Cora Rowe, 3.2.1994). (Zips 1996:291)

As Jamaica’s independence loomed closer, Maroons sought to clarify their legal status vis-à-vis the state. In a letter entitled “Maroons Want Status Clarified” that appeared in the Gleaner on February 5, 1951, the Maroons requested that their legal status be clarified. The Maroons also reiterated their call for economic development and continued independence. The article reads:
Thousand of Maroons at Accompong are now concerned about their status in the British Commonwealth of Nations and in Jamaica and it is expected that a petition will shortly be sent to the Secretary of State for the colonies asking for a clarification of their status under the treaty signed with the British Government during the days of slavery in the island.

Most of the provisions of that treaty are still observed in Accompong. No taxes are paid, for instance, and the leaders of the tribe have jurisprudence over misdemeanours committed within the compound, but there are other matters which are giving Maroons cause for concern.

Chief among these is a wish for economic assistance from the British Government, or from the Jamaican Government in the alternative, with a view to developing agricultural and other economies in Accompong and the providing of social welfare amenities. But before an application is made to the Colonial Office, the Maroons wish the terms of their historic treaty ratified and a declaration made for their present status in Jamaica and in the Colonial Empire.

Behind the proposed petition is a desire to remain an autonomous community within the island. (Gleaner: February 5, 1951)

The Maroons’ call for clarification of their status was echoed in the House of Commons by the Labour Minister of Parliament, Tom Driberg:

I am sorry to trouble the House with what some hon. Members may think a very trivial matter, but I do not think it is. It concerns a small minority of people in a Colonial Territory and the reason I have to raise it now is that it is a small community of people in the territory of Jamaica, which becomes independent in a few days time, as the Leader of the House will know. After Jamaica becomes independent it will presumably be out of order and quite impossible to raise in this House any matter concerning the internal policy or administration of Jamaica.

I am concerned about the future welfare and the fate and freedom of the people known as the Maroons of Jamaica - the Maroons of Accompong and of Trelawney Town. To remind hon. Members who may not recall their West Indian history, I should say that these Maroons have an extraordinarily romantic and interesting history. As far back as the eighteenth century they won their freedom: they won a treaty of independence from the British Government…

Whatever has happened since then, the Maroons have always cherished and tried to safeguard some degree of independence. Obviously we all welcome the independence of Jamaica as a whole,
and wish the Jamaican people well in the future; but I hope, first, that the Jamaican Government will deal tenderly with these interesting people, living as they do in a few remote mountain villages. Secondly, I hope that the Minister - although I know this is a lot to ask - will be able to say something today about them, because this is the last occasion on which it will be possible to discuss them in this House, in view of the impending independence of Jamaica. (House of Commons Debates Series 5 Vol. 664:cols. 620-621, August 1, 1962)

On February 24, a few weeks later in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for the Colonies reassured the Maroons that they would remain self-governed. “The assurance that Jamaica's maroons of Accompong will be enabled to preserve their identity and measure of Self-Government they have always enjoyed, was given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. James Griffiths, in the House of Commons…” (Gleaner: February 24, 1951)

Note that a distinction was made between independence and self-government. These are two distinct types of government the British maintained in terms of their colonial territories in the Caribbean. Self-government usually came before independence. In the case of the Maroons, independence has not been attained.

There was no further discussion vis-à-vis the status of the Maroons. Jamaica became independent on August 6, 1962, and inherited the British government's legacy. Three weeks later, on September 5, 1962, fearing a threat to their status, a group of Maroons, “comprised of Colonel E. A. Downer, Major R. Bernard, Captain Smith, Mr. C. L. G. Harris, Head Master and Forman of the committee, J. T. Harris, secretary, Moore Town Maroons and the Hon. Kenneth Jones, M.H.R. for the area,” (Gleaner, September 5, 1962, page 5) from Moore Town meet with the Prime Minister to discuss their treaty and their status within an independent Jamaica. However, Accompong Maroons did not meet with the Prime Minister at that time.
The Prime Minister noted that his government did not intend to molest or make the burden of the Maroons heavier—a policy that has continued. However, the government reminded the Maroons that they are citizens of Jamaica. On Treaty Day, government officials reiterate that the Maroons need to pay taxes in exchange for social services.

In 1957, W. J. Robertson, the first elected Colonel, (previously a major under Rowe), took over from Thomas J. Cawley. Although Robertson remained in office until 1967, his tenure was fraught with unsettled land deals. Robertson visited the governor to press for more land but was unable to secure additional land. Maroons unhappy with Robertson's leadership repeatedly wrote to the colonial Governor requesting his removal. (Colonial Secretary Office) However, he remained in office until the next election.

On November 16, 1967, Martell Wright\(^2\) was elected colonel. At fifty years of age, he was the youngest Colonel. Colonel Martin Luther Wright went on to serve three consecutive five year terms, and then another five year-term, following Harris Cawley.

On October 27, 1982, amid both violence and bitterness, Harris N. Cawley, son of Colonel Thomas James Cawley was elected Accompong's colonel. Harris Cawley served until 1987, returning to office briefly in 1993 after Colonel Wright was ousted.

Zips (1996) describe the structure of Colonel Harris Cawley’s government:

In the 1980s Colonel Harris N. Cawley sought to gather the most highly respected members of the community into his Council. According to his organizational outline of the Accompong Military Sovereign State, there were two differently composed Councils, one the Council of Elders and one the Privy Council, appointed in addition to the 'full Council' of all political officers at the time, called the Accompong Maroon Regiment Government...The functions designed for the Privy Council included making primary decisions regarding the state of Accompong and

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\(^2\) Later, Martell Wright was known as Martin Luther Wright.
counseling the Colonel as an advisory body. It was composed of the following officials, besides two members ‘without portfolio’ appointed personally by the Colonel: the Colonel as chairman, the Deputy Colonel, the Commissioner of Lands, the Officer for Internal Affairs, and the Minister of Culture. (Zips 1996:292-3)

The titles of Cawley’s administration as told to Zips differ from what Cawley told me. In addition, many of these titles were no longer in use during the period of my fieldwork. There were no minister of foreign affairs, electoral commissioner, speaker of the house, and auditor general.

In 1993 Merodie Rowe, a policeman living in Montego Bay, became Colonel. Rowe held both positions simultaneously and at times, his role as policeman superceeded his role as colonel. Rowe was followed by Sidney Peddie in 1999, who was elected colonel after running on a platform which promised “integrity, accountability, care for the children and the elderly, restoration of and protection of Maroon traditions, and respect for the people.” In 2004 after a bitter election drama played out in the Daily Gleaner and Jamaican Observer newspapers, Peddie was re-elected after Meredith Rowe failed to capture the necessary majority despite backing from the Council of Elders. This dispute generated a slew of newspaper articles with the publication of facts, similar to those of 1938, previously not divulged by chief informants, such as land sale and exogamous relationships. The main points of dispute were over who could vote in maroon elections, the location of polling stations, and accountability of the January 6 funds. Due to the conflict, the elections were postponed so that the election list could be certified to the satisfaction of all the candidates.

Maroons are registered to vote in the Jamaican general elections and this same electoral list is used for the election of a colonel. There are nine polling stations located
in the villages of the three parishes where Accompong Maroons are known to live. However, overseas Maroons are prevented from voting in the elections. In 2004, Colonel Peddie argued that polling stations should be located only in Accompong and only individuals living there should be allowed to vote because there was no way to tell if individuals voting outside of the community were really Maroons. “Colonel Peddie declared that he thought it was wrong to have polling stations outside of the Maroon village and indicated that he would be taking steps to close the stations in Aberdeen, Windsor, Cedar Springs, Elderslie, Garlands, and the EOJ's (Electoral Office of Jamaica) offices in Montego Bay and Kingston” (Jamaica Gleaner, May 19, 2004). However, it was agreed that the polling stations outside of Accompong would remain in place.

In addition to the dispute over the location of polling stations, the four candidates vying for the position of colonel, Meredie Rowe, Sidney Peddie, Hansley Reid and Ralty Salmon; argued that the voters' list compiled by the Electoral Office of Jamaica was inaccurate. Consequently, the Electoral Office of Jamaica turned to the Maroon Council to verify the electoral list. Due to the charges filed against Colonel Peddie by Meredie Rowe, Past Colonel, over allowing non-Maroons to vote, elections were postponed until 2005. Even after this, the issue remained unresolved. Salmon dropped out of the race during the conflict over the ballots and after the elections, Reid was prohibited from blowing the abeng because he challenged Peddie.

Colonel Peddie focused on heritage tourism as a mode of development. “It is my dream that Accompong can become one of, if not, the best tourist destination in the Caribbean if we get the proper infrastructure in place and we are moving towards that,” Colonel Peddie said” (Jamaica Observer, January 3, 2005). Colonel Peddie also proposed
a 400-room hotel and casino by American developers as a means of developing the economic infrastructure. He leased land to the three cell phone companies to erect reception towers in the village, and leased land to an American to construct a hotel and golf course. In addition to leasing land, land was sold to Maroons returning from other parts of Jamaica and England. Monies from these transactions are yet to be accounted for. Local support in the development of tourism has been supported by the Jamaican government and international non-governmental organizations. Despite the influx of local and foreign funds, little development of the village has taken place. The only visible improvement in the summer of 2008 was the community center roof had finally been completed and both the outside and the inside were painted and a mural added. There were also new benches installed, along with the TV and VCR from the Austrian government, and the bathroom in the clinic was functioning with running water. Despite the construction of the Jamaican highway 2008, the road to Accompong remained in disrepair and the infrastructure to support tourism had not materialized.

In November of 2006, a vote of no-confidence against Peddie was declared. However, Peddie remains in office. Peddie was charged with lack of accountability of funds and economic development. Cawley argued:

“The community needs to go forward. It is not to be bogged down with this man… He is not moving. He comes to meeting, he doesn’t come with any plan. He lacks vision for the community so that people want him to step down…

Funds have been earned on behalf of the town and there is no accountability, no transparency…Digicel and Cable & Wireless have installed transmitters here. Funds have been collected from them and the community knows nothing about the funds. Celebration comes, nobody knows about the money for the last six celebrations, we haven’t seen any expenditure and the community hall is the same as it was.”

(Gleaner: Sunday, November 12, 2006)
In response to Cawley’s charge, Peddie noted:

“It is not my council that is grumbling, most of them see eye to eye with me. It is my deputy and a group of people calling themselves ‘concerned citizens’ that are grumbling. This money thing, it was discussed before and they asked me to come clean with the transparency. I have nothing against coming clean, that is being sorted out, so I don’t know what this grumbling is for.”

(Gleaner: Sunday, November 12, 2006)

The group of ‘concerned citizens’ Peddie refers to is the Council of Elders. From his comments, the group was not respected. Despite input from the group, they were unsuccessful in removing Peddie from office. In 2008, several individuals noted that they had no knowledge of the amount of money Peddie collected from the telephone companies.

Although Peddie’s second term of office expired in 2008, no elections were called and with the economic downturn, the Jamaican Electoral Office argued that it did not have the money to pay for elections any time soon. However, elections were called in August 2009 after Peddie stepped down in May. In the interim period, the village was governed by the council under the leadership of Tyshan Wright. The candidates were Colonels Peddie, Harris Cawley and Meridie Rowe, Police Inspector Ferron Williams, abeng blower Hansley Reid and for the first time, a woman—Norma Rowe Edwards. Rowe Edwards, a retired public health nurse, lived abroad some time before returning home.

Shortly before the elections, Reid and Cawley withdrew their candidacy and threw their support behind Ferron Williams. Cawley argued that “it look too disgraceful for so much of us to run for one post here. When you check it out the colonel whom we want to defeat may end up returning to the post because the votes are going to split up”
He also protested changes that had been made to the election process. “They want us to name a deputy colonel when it had not been done before. When the colonel is elected you had time to elect a deputy colonel. But they want you to elect a deputy colonel now and write his or her name on the form” (Jamaica Observer, August 12, 2009).

On August 25, 2009, 53 year old Ferron Williams won the elections with 442 votes; Rowe Edwards received 245 votes, followed by Peddie with 230, and Meridie Rowe with 95 votes. Norma Rowe Edwards is deputy colonel as it is the de facto policy to award this post to the individual with the second highest vote count. For the first time, the Accompong Maroons have a female deputy colonel. Based on the number of votes for Meridie Rowe, it is clear that his popularity had declined to an all time low.

Williams ran on a platform of creating infrastructure, education and jobs. Police Inspector Williams is a 34 year veteran of the Jamaican Constabulary Force attached to the Westmoreland Police Division and does not reside in Accompong Town. This will be the second time a police officer will serve as colonel simultaneously, although Williams has promised that his role as police inspector will not interfere with his role of colonel—only time will tell. According to Williams, “People are calling me from everywhere and asking me to run… The community needs proper governance but Peddie cannot provide it because the people no longer support him… The young people need to be properly motivated and guided and I believe I am the man to do it” (Gleaner, February 19, 2009).

Unlike the Accompong Maroons, the structure of the Moore Town Maroons is that of a “Colonel or Chief, the Major, two Captains, a Secretary, and a Foreman of the Council. All these posts are elective and under normal circumstances are held for the rest
of the incumbents’ lifetime” (Harris 1994:44). Colonel Harris notes that there are elections, but no one campaigned for office in Moore Town and that the rules are those of the state, in addition to rules specific to Maroons. Those rules specific to Maroons are those regarding land issues. All judiciary issues except land issues are handled by the state judiciary system.

Thirty years earlier, Cohen (1973) described the Moore Town political structure as consisting of “the Colonel, the Major, the Captaqin, the Secreaty and a Council of thirty elected members. The dominant figure, without question, is the Colonel” (Cohen 1973:62). Colonel C. L. G. Harris, a full-blooded Maroon, was elected in 1964 by acclamation upon the resignation of Colonel Downer. One can infer that since an emphasis was placed on Colonel Harris being a full-blooded maroon, that some were not.

Cohen continues and described the colonel as being that of a mediator, and as the Maroon representative to the outside world.

A definition of the Colonel’s role indicates that the major function is a mediating one, and is concerned with the resolution of disputes between members of the community. As a result, the Colonel’s door is always open, and any maroon who has a grievance against another may come to the Colonel’s house for a hearing and perhaps for advice. If a man, for example, feels that a neighbor’s pig has been despoiling his garden, he will come to the Colonel’s home to ask for his intercession. The Colonel will listen and then speak with the alleged offender to get the other side of the picture. Ultimately, the Colonel acts as peacemaker, to try to restore harmony, so that a Maroon will have no inclination to seek for legal redress through the courts. The hope is that for all offenses, except grave ones, the Maroons will try to settle their own differences within the community. (Cohen 1973:63)

Although the description of the role of Moore Town’s colonel is more than forty years old, this description fits that of Accompong’s colonel as well.
The Council

Dunham noted that: “The council at one time consisted of twelve persons, nine men and three women...There are probably not over five active members now...But the whole organization is so loose that I doubt very much if anyone will trouble to suggest an election to fill the positions of the seven who have become indifferent or who have strayed away from Accompong, or who have publicly resigned.”(Dunham 1940:76). Later, Williams noted that: “when Colonel Rowe took charge, he appointed as a Staff Walter James Robinson as Major, J. C. Halliday as Captain, and Esaso Rowe as Lieutenant. He also appointed twelve young men as Constables. The people approved all these appointments”(Williams 1938:390).

Dunham’s description from the late 1930s was not much different from what I found in 2001. Membership in the council was just as loose then as in the 1930s. In fact the council and its leadership were in a state of disarray and membership was difficult to discern. Some individuals appointed to serve on the council left Accompong to go abroad, and a few handed in resignations that were declined by the colonel. For example, the deputy colonel handed in his resignation in 2000, but the Colonel refused to accept it, so he remained in office. On the other hand, Melvin Curry who had unsuccessfully run for colonel several times, appointed himself as deputy colonel and became a close ally of Colonel Peddie.

Through the years, it has been common for individuals to appoint themselves to office within the council. In addition to Currie, there has been Henry Octavius “Mann O” Rowe who had seized the Colonelship in 1951. Afterwards “Man O” tried several times...
to get elected as Colonel. Later, he became Secretary of State and kept a copy of the original treaty as a symbol of his authority and power. Rowe died on December 26, 2006 and his obituary in the Observer read: “Rowe served for several decades as secretary of state for the Accompong Maroon Council, and was keeper of the historic treaty between the Maroons and the British. He was particularly knowledgeable in the area of treaty rights. Rowe was also keeper of the records of transactions between the British colonial governments and the Jamaican governments.” (Observer, January 3, 2007)

In recent times the size of the council has differed with each colonel, varying from twenty-eight to thirty-two members. For example, in the 1980's, under the leadership of Colonel Harris Cawley, the government consisted of a colonel, and a total of thirty-two male and female council members, including a first and second deputy colonel, a treasurer, and a secretary. The council consisted of the following offices: culture and tourism, education, external affairs, health, agriculture and industries, finance and projects, community development, commission of lands, and law and justice. “The title of Commissioner of Lands remains the same from one administration to the other as there are unresolved land issues” (Harris Cawley, 2001). These titles and offices are of significance only within Accompong, and unlike the political offices of American or British political structure.

Ideally council members oversee various areas within the community to improve standards of living. For example, if a project based on outside funding develops to fill a community need, someone in the council will be appointed to be responsible for overseeing the project’s implementation. Some of the titles in the 2001 council were: minister of religion, minister of internal affairs, minister of external affairs, minister of
youth and culture, secretary of justice, minister of history and culture, minister of health and clinic, minister of environment and beautification, minister of agriculture and industries, commissioner of lands, minister of citizen affairs. (Deputy Colonel Robertson, council members Dudley Rowe and Mrs. Lawrence, 2001.) Individuals holding council titles are not involved in their activities on a daily basis: these are not in any sense full-time jobs, nor are they paid positions. However, council members do have access to resources coming into the community from governmental and non-governmental agencies for economic development for their personal benefit.

The titles of council members are sometimes misleading in relation to what they actually do; and not comparable to the Jamaican governmental structure. For example, the minister of health and clinic serves as a broker between the paid government nurse’s aide who services the community and the rest of Accompong. The minister of health and clinic keeps a list of those who are ill, unable to move around and require medical attention. The individual in this position will then relay this information to the nurse’s aide and ensure the sick person is attended to. If a medical team is visiting the community, the minister of health and clinic sees to it that the clinic was cleaned before the visit, collects a fee from the villagers for services, and maintains order during the medical team’s visit. The medical team did not charge a fee for their services. Nevertheless, villagers were charged $50 - $100 to see the dentist. From the arguments that erupted during the dentist’s visit, it was clear that there was no accounting of the monies collected since the money did not go to the medical team.

The minister of justice handles petty crimes in the community but is not, as one would expect, a Justice of the Peace. Accompong’s Justice of the Peace is an outsider
who was also the principal of the elementary school. This position is one of the few village positions held by outsiders and she has been in this position for over 35 years.

Evangelists from a variety of Protestant sects stage revival meetings in the village from time to time. Whenever a religious crusade like this comes to the village, it is the task of Accompong’s minister of religion to make the arrangements necessary to host the group, such as getting villagers to help set up the revival tent and securing a sufficient number of chairs. The minister of religion has no authority over the religious life of the village.

Colonel Peddie has spoken about the necessity for maroon traditions to be taught to the younger generation since older Maroons are dying without passing on their knowledge. This announcement was followed up with the creation of a minister of youth and culture, responsible for organizing programs to facilitate the transfer of knowledge from older Maroons to younger ones. However, there are no guidelines or protocol to say how this will happen.

Meetings were open, and could be called by the colonel, or another council member. Notice of upcoming meetings was placed on the notice board outside the community center. Like most meetings in Accompong, they never started on time, and usually only a few individuals attended. When my family first arrived in Accompong in 2001, the colonel promised to have a meeting with the council so we could inform the community about our study. However, he never called a meeting. Two months into the fieldwork Melvin Currie was dissatisfied that we had not paid him any money for our presence in the village and collecting data, and called a council meeting. I was most pleased to have the meeting, although I had attended other meetings with the visiting
group from the Tourism Development arm of the state. The result of the meeting was that the colonel and villagers determined that Currie was wrong to try and solicit money from us. The majority of those who attended the meeting already knew about the study, since I had spoken to them. A few others were disappointed that they did not know about the study earlier as originally conceived, there was a health survey that would have been carried out as well.

**Maroon Federal House of Assembly**

The Maroon Federation House of Assembly includes representatives from all the Maroon communities of Jamaica-- Accompong, Moore Town and Scotts Hall--, and ideally is linked to other Maroon groups in the Caribbean, and to several African countries. At present the Jamaican branch of the Maroon Federation is headed by Meridie Rowe, past colonel of Accompong. Like other Maroon organizations, membership is loosely defined.

The Federation was formed in the late 1980s and following the Festival of American Folklore organized by Ken Bilby and Diane N'Diaye at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, and there was a move to include other Maroons. Organizers of the Festival hoped for “the birth of the new pan-American Maroon nation (Price & Price 1994:69). In addition to the Jamaican Maroons, this event brought together delegations from other Maroon communities throughout the Americas,-- “Saramakas and Ndjukas from Suriname, Alukus from French Guiana, Black Seminoles from Texas and Mexico, Palenqueros from Columbia”(Price & Price 1994:13). Except
for the Jamaican Maroon groups, it was the first time that they had encountered Maroons from other countries. When the Maroon groups came together for various activities, they recognized the need for a central group with representation from all them. However, given the linguistic barrier of the Maroon groups,—French, Sranan, Saramaccan, Matawai, Ndyuka, Aluku, Paramaccan, Kwinti and Creole, with the exception of the Jamaican Maroons who shared a common language, and the remote locations of the groups, they have not been able to meet again.

The Jamaican branch of the Federation is fraught with ideological conflict. Meredie Rowe of Accompong, foregrounds a black nationalist, pan-Africanist stance for the Federation that is rooted in the philosophy of the Jamaican national hero Marcus Garvey. Marcus Garvey, the son of a Maroon woman, born in 1887 in St Ann’s Bay, Jamaica, advocated for Black liberation and the Back-to Africa Movement in the 1930s and traveled around the world advocating his position. He was the leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association which had an international following. Some other prominent Maroon leaders however, such as Colonel Harris of Moore Town, opposed Meredie Rowe’s vision of the organization because they believe the Federation should be concerned primarily with promoting the history, culture and achievements of Maroons rather than with any broader political agenda. Again, this is another instance of Maroons’ involvement in national and global politics. It is also ironic, and points to the complexity of the Maroon/Jamaican relationship since the Accompong Maroons did not participate in the nationalist movement in the 1930s. Even though Garvey was a half-Maroon, this fact has always been down-played during his life and even now as the Maroons try to embrace his philosophy.
Although there is talk of the need to draw one up, presently the Federation does not have a constitution; neither, for that matter, do any of the Maroon communities. It is hoped that a constitution, once drawn up, would clearly define Maroon citizenship and rights.

“There needs to be a Maroon constitution to say who is and is not a Maroon” (Carlton Smith and Colonel Cawley, 2001). “One could become a ‘naturalized’ Maroon if one lived in Accompong for 15 years or more, or if they married a Maroon woman” (Carlton Smith, 2001). A Maroon is entitled to the use of communal land for farming, and to build a house and vote in the election for colonel.

According to Zips (1998), the Accompong Maroons had a constitution.

In an attempt to provide by statute for the constitutional basis for (self-) government, a Maroon Constitution was drafted on 3rd August 1942. It contains, in its four articles with different subsections, provisions on the composition of the Government and which meetings should be called 'Council' meetings (article one), a catalogue of duties for the officers as Council members (article two), a short description of the posts of Administrator, Colonel, Assistant Colonel and Town Clerk (article three), and some general instructions for the conduct, duties and rights of the Police Department (article four).

I interpret the political meaning of the Maroon Constitution of 1942 as directed primarily at a demonstration of sovereignty and far more than at the internal legal regulation of self-government. This constitutional effort came just at a time when Jamaica was slowly getting under way for independence. Its motivation was the vision of a future independent national state that was unlikely to feel bound by a treaty concluded by the colonial power. This post-colonial successor was to be met with statutes and other legal evidence of prior independence. I suggest that the Maroon Constitution was formulated largely to provide symbolic support in the predicted competition for sovereignty over Maroon territory. This thesis is based on the observation of the limited status which the Constitution acquired in the regulation of internal politics. Today it seems to be forgotten or ignored altogether. It is the Peace Treaty which all claims of sovereignty refer to and not the Constitution. (Zips 1998:4)
At the time of research, none of the informants knew about a constitution and lamented the fact that there was none. In 2004, a constitution was drafted. This new constitution was rejected by Colonel Peddie as he felt that it restricted his power and authority and that it needed to be changed. In addition, the candidates in the 2009 elections had issues with the new constitution as they argued it was drafted by the Maroons living overseas.

“We are at the moment saddled by a constitution which is written by overseas maroons. That constitution needs a lot of changes so we have that as a priority the colonel who is successful will have six months to sort out those issues in the constitution because it is not just sensible," he [Peddie] said.

But Edwards, a public health nurse who lived abroad for some time, threw cold water on Peddie's claims.

“That is incorrect information, totally despicably incorrect information. It took eight months to amend that constitution here. The fact that it may have been liaised with other people does not mean that the constitution is an overseas constitution. Every member of the community contributed in the drafting of that constitution. Here we have a document that for the first time is going to hold the leader accountable. What has happened the is the previous colonel ran on that constitution yet when the time came for him to institute it he did not want any part of it,” she said, pointing out that the document had been slightly amended in 2004.

“If I am elected I will adhere to the constitution that came into being 2004. That document gives some succinct guidelines as to how good governance should operate. That is not happening. I am in this to bring us back to a sense of civility, bring us back to who we are, bring us back so we can get full recognition of our culture, bring us back so we can recognise if not in Jamaica as the cultural icon, but internationally as the cultural icon,” she added. Police inspector Ferron Williams who will benefit from the support of Cawley who cited dissatisfaction with the conditions outlined on the nomination form as his reason for withdrawing, promised that if victorious, he would address housing issues and road repair.

“I will bring honesty must emphasize honesty, transparency, accountability, not an autocratic but a democratic style of leadership. You can know how a government treats their people by the way how they take
care of their elder and young ones. If you could traverse the community you would find people without proper roofing. I would make sure they are fixed as well as the roads,” he said.

Rowe promised to honour the treaty signed between the maroons and the British in 1838.

“To honour the treaty which our foreparents signed in 1838 and to live by that treaty and no other document in maroon community can and should supersede the treaty. The developmental agenda will comprise an attractive 20,000 seat multi-purposed facility for all sports and other entertainment. The educational trust is also a must,” he said. (Jamaica Observer, August 13, 2009)

No doubt there will be ongoing discussion and disagreement over the new constitution. From the arguments, it appears that some of the articles of the constitution differ from the treaty. The constitution was drafted and signed off by Colonel Peddie in front of a Justice of the Peace with the Jamaican government. However, he refused to abide by the constitution. The conflict surrounding the constitution is reflective of the general status of maroon affairs.

Meetings are held irregularly, either in Accompong, Moore Town, or Montego Bay. The leader of the Federation is seeking a seat in the Jamaican House of Representatives. In 1988, the Maroons stepped up their demands on the Jamaican government. They were demanding over a half million dollars, more land, roads, water supply, and a seat in both the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament.

The, Maroons who have preserved their self-government status and operate a system known as the Federal House of Assembly, has served a five-point ultimatum on the Government of Jamaica.

In addition to a voice in Parliament, they have also asked for an allocation in excess of $500,000 to be made to their Members of Parliament for improved roads, a proper water supply system and that the full amount of lands signed over to them by the British Government be handed over for their use.
The call was made by the vice president of the MFHA, Mr. Meredie Rowe as he addressed a meeting of Maroons in Montego Bay, Sunday March 6.

Mr. Rowe quoted a clause in “the treaty signed by Maroon leader, captain Cudjo, which states; “Maroons are entitled to all privileges and rights as any of Her Majesty's subject.” These were not forthcoming, he said, as there were still a lot to be done.

There are some 100,000 Maroons living in some 11 settlements all over the country, he said, and there were plans to form a federation of all these settlements to make joint representation to the government and to lobby for their claims.

According to him, seats in both the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament should be reserved for the Maroon leaders as their needs were not being taken care of within the present system. “It is time that our voices are heard, as we were being treated like second class citizens in their own country,” he said. He cited the cases of Tobago and Quebec, both of which have asked for statehood from Trinidad and Canada respectively, and compared them to Accompong Town.

Steps have been taken, by Rowe to have dialogue with the Nigerian High Commissioner (who was a guest of honour at their January 6 celebrations), in an effort to see what could be done to assist them. Mr. Rowe also said that it was a shame that their hero, Captain Cudjo, was not a national hero of Jamaica. Captain Cudjo was the first black man in Jamaica to fight for and gain freedom and yet he was “still being ignored as a hero,” he stated. (Gleaner: March 19, 1988)

Rowe’s demands are quite large, and the number of Maroons and Maroon settlements are grossly inflated. Rowe solicited the help of the Nigerian High Commissioner who had only just recently chided the Maroons for their in-fighting and failure to govern themselves. (Gleaner, January 6, 1994) But more importantly, after over 150 years of refusing “all privileges and rights of Her Majesty’s subjects,” Rowe is now demanding these privileges. We can’t be sure that this is the position of all the Maroons since they hardly ever agree as a body. The question then becomes: “Are the Maroons now ready to pay taxes?” Or is this just political posturing on Rowe’s part? The
demands by Rowe were made as head of the Maroon Federal House of Assembly before he became colonel. During his term in office as colonel, these demands were muted.

Unlike the Accompong Maroons, the Moore Town Maroons have had a closer relationship with the government to the point where Colonel Harris was elected a senator of Port Antonio Parish. With this appointment, Colonel was able to secure additional benefits for his people.

In addition to the mediating function, Colonel Harris serves, too, as the Maroon representative to the non-Maroon world. Appointed as a member of the Senate, the upper house of the Jamaican Parliament, he is concerned with government and the legislative process as it affects all Jamaicans. His position as Senator also provides him with the opportunity to press for guarantees for the rights and status of the Maroons. (Cohen 1973:63)

The Jamaican government and the Jamaican people have never fully embraced the Maroons, with the exception of Nanny, as heroes. A statue of Nanny was erected and placed downtown in New Kingston in 1977 and her face appears on the $500 dollar bill. One can argue that the myth of Nanny shooting bullets from her buttocks is more acceptable than that of Maroons hunting down runaway slaves and slaughtering them or returning them to the British for compensation.

The flyer on the next page was taken from the October 25, 1981 edition of the Gleaner that depicts the Jamaican National Heroes: Marcus Garvey, Sir Alexander Bustamante, Norman Washington Manley, Nanny of the Maroons, Paul Bogle, Sam Sharpe and George William Gordon. In the 19th century, the Maroons aided the British during the rebellions headed by Sam Sharpe and Paul Bogle. In the 1930s, the Maroons served notice that they would aid the British during the protests organized by Manley, Bustamante, and Gordon. Marcus Garvey advocated for people of African descent to
JAMAICA SALUTE
A tribute to our National Heroes
TODAY
OCTOBER 25
5 p.m. at the National Stadium.

FEATURING:
- Military salute with fly past by the Air Wing, mass band parade and 21 gun salute.
- Presentation to the Air Force of a handsome saluting rifle by President Michael Manley.
- Police Jamaica Constabulary Band.
- 2,000 members of uniformed groups — scouts, guides, cadets, schoolchildren, Bantu cadets.
- Members from Mento Town and Acccompany.
- Ahpong Shewee.
- Human formation by school groups.
- Patriotic songs by Collegiate choir.

CITATIONS TO THE HEROES
Gates open at 3.00 p.m.
Schoolchildren in uniform with passes pay reduced fare on JOS BUSES.

Norman Washington
George William
Monckton
Manley
Nanny
Gardner

ADMISSION FREE

Image credit: Jamaica Information Service Ltd.
become independent and was also active in the 1930s protests as well. Clearly, the politics of Jamaica and the politics of the Maroons have not fully engaged each other.

For the most part, the story of the Maroons has been one of the ‘noble warrior’ resisting domination. The other half of the story of the Maroons aiding the British is only spoken about in certain circles. We have seen that in 1938 when Jamaicans were mobilizing for improved living conditions and better wages, the Maroons offered to come to the aid of the government. They refused to join in struggles similar to those they were faced with. As more and more countries are facing their past and apologizing for atrocities committed on their peoples, an interesting question is whether or not the Maroons will apologize for their role in putting down slave revolts?

**The Accompong Maroon Foundation**

The Accompong Maroon Foundation was formed by Colonel Sidney Peddie on January 6th 2006 “as part of efforts to create sustainable development within the community...We as a people will be moving to ensure that visitors to our community see more of the Maroon heritage and culture...The Maroon Foundation is the first step towards bringing back some level of respectability to our ancestors who fought for their freedom” (Jamaica Gleaner, January 6, 2006).

In large part the foundation was formed as a means of dealing with the dilemmas that Accompong faces as it seeks to become a tourist destination. As the emphasis on Treaty Day focuses more and more on developing it as a tourist attraction, the historical and symbolic meanings of the event are being lost. Peddie contends that the Treaty Day celebration has taken on the atmosphere of a flea market, something he wishes to counter.
“Starting next year and beyond, the flea market atmosphere, which now prevails on the January 6 celebrations, would be significantly reduced and more of the Maroon heritage and culture displayed” (Jamaica Gleaner, January 6, 2006). The question then becomes how do you attract larger numbers of tourists and still maintain the historical and cultural focus of the celebrations? It is unclear how the foundation will function. In 2008, Meredith Rowe called for the celebrations to be extended to two days, as a means of drawing a larger crowd—a move that will only compound the problem.

**The Council of Elders**

The Council of Elders is an ad hoc group of Accompong Maroons, with very loose kin ties to each other, that ensures that the colonel and the council address the needs of the village and is called upon from time to time to settle disputes among the Maroons of Moore Town and Scotts Hall. This group appears to function when needed and in 2001, it was resuscitated by a group of concerned citizens. Their goal was to remove what they determined was a dysfunctional colonel and raise badly needed funds for the community. However, the group was unsuccessful in removing Colonel Peddie from office during the elections.

The 2001 Council of Elders was comprised of two former colonels, a former expatriate Maroon, and senior members of the community who were dissatisfied with the performance of the colonel. The colonel was unable to secure funds from the government or non-governmental agencies to improve the infrastructure of the village. The Council of Elders was also responsible for the accounting of funds collected during the Treaty
Day celebrations. The main function of the group was to ensure the functioning of the local government and to secure funds for capital projects such as the newly built vocational school. The vocational school had been built with funding from an American, a Mr. Peterson, but the community did not have the funds to hire the teachers and administrators needed to staff and run it (Mrs. Lawrence, 2001).

The following is a description of an intended meeting of the Council of Elders is similar to most meetings in Accompong Town.

At about 1:00 PM on June 13, Mr. Harris Cawley (past colonel) showed up at the café, and waited a few minutes for the meeting of the Council of Elders. This venerable institution is independent of the Council and had fallen into disuse in recent years. However, no one else showed up and he went home. Later, there were a few young men hanging around outside and they came in the shop once Mr. Cawley left as it had started to rain. Once again during the lull in the storm, two more older women showed up, evidently for the ill-fated meeting. The older women were given seats in the room and engaged in friendly conversation with the young men about recent goings on or rather the lack of them.

This group or some skeletal version of it had met previously on January 7th, the day after the annual celebration to receive an initial accounting of the moneys collected from the celebration; and then again in February for a final accounting of those moneys and to get and give ideas on how they might be used to benefit the community. A third meeting was hinted at but no definite date as to when it occurred was given.

The Council of Elders included Maroons living outside of Accompong in Kingston and Montego Bay…

Once the rain came to a stop, the women left. The young men present were joined by other young men and they began drinking beer, Malta, soda, and white rum. Meridie Rowe (past colonel) later joined the group, no doubt he was there for the meeting as well. The conversation then turned to politics and the group became polarized into two groups, – Peoples’ National Party and Jamaican Labour Party. Eventually, the rain stopped completely and I left after three hours. (Brandon, 2001)
The above description again highlights Maroons’ participation in Jamaican politics through the Peoples’ National Party and Jamaican Labour Party, the major political parties of the island, rather than as an independent polity.

Given the Council’s dissatisfaction with Peddie, “the board⁴ decided to throw its support behind Mr. [Meridie] Rowe because incumbent Colonel Sidney Peddie’s rule has been autocratic and lacking in transparency and leadership,” in 2004 (Sanford: Jamaica Gleaner, March 13, 2004). However, Rowe lost to the incumbent, Colonel Peddie. In effect, the Council of Elders were ineffective in executing its goals.

**Abeng Blower**

Dunham feared that the abeng would fade away and persist only as a dim memory. However, the abeng remains very much in use today. According to Dunham prior to 1935 the abeng blower was a Maroon called Ole Galleo.

Ole Galleo who died last year was the last really expert horn blower. A long and arduous training is necessary to send messages as they were sent in the old days…

The present horn man is quite inefficient. He is in training, but unfortunately has no teacher. A few evenings ago I heard the strange blasts, which are wildly discordant and decidedly eerie and will be until his use of the horn is more perfected. I regret old Galleo’s death-for it is likely that the abeng will never be used again for the “talking messages” and that soon it will be a part of Maroon history, or simply continue to be used as a signal for deaths and meetings at the council house. (Dunham 1946:54-55)

The abeng blower is always a male and occupies a unique position in the Accompong community, one that links Maroons to their African past. The late Colonel

⁴ Although listed as the board, the reference refers to the Council of Elders.
Martin Luther Wright has described the abeng’s communicative function as well as its African origin: “The abeng is made from the horns of cattle and at full blast it can be heard clearly over a distance of approximately fifteen kilometers and is one of the traditions that our ancestors brought from Africa where it is still in use as a means of message communication” (Wright 1994:68). While the abeng is connected to the African past, it is also related to the history of the Maroon wars in Jamaica and continues in use today as an important symbol of Maroon cultural identity. According to the current abeng blower, the abeng is “a Maroon war horn which has been in use in Jamaica for three centuries” (Hansley Reid, 2001).

The abeng blower manipulates the pitches the instrument produces by covering and uncovering a thumb hole and the pitch combinations, in conjunction with various rhythmic patterns, allow him to send messages to both the living and the dead. The abeng sounds whenever the colonel wishes to call a special meeting. The abeng also sounds during the Treaty Day celebrations in which the abeng blower is a prominent member of several processions. When a Maroon dies his death is announced by the blowing of the abeng and the abeng blower is a necessary fixture during all the stages of funeral rites. The abeng blower communicates with ancestral Maroons on behalf of their living descendants and travels to other nearby communities to perform whenever a Maroon dies.

“There are two abengs,—one with a mouth piece and a leather strap that is blown on the death of a male, and the other without a mouthpiece and strap is blown to announce the death of a woman”(Hansley Reid, 2001). “For a child one year and older,
the abeng is blown to announce the death, but it is not blown during the grave digging and the funeral. Anyone less than a year, the abeng is not blown”(Ettis Wright, 2001).

On the morning of July 16, 2001 at 7:30 AM, while I was getting dressed, I heard the sound of the abeng. According to Hansley Reid, the abeng blower, the abeng had been sounded to notify the community that “another soldier gone long”(Reid, 2001). Levi Rowe, 93 year old, had died in the early hours of the morning. At 8:00 AM on July 25, I heard the abeng once more. On this occasion, the sounding of the abeng signified that the digging of Levi Rowe’s grave had begun. The delay of nine days between Rowe’s death and the digging of the grave was due to the fact that, except for Mr. Rowe’s wife and one daughter, the remainder of his family was living in England, Canada and the United States.

Five men, accompanied by the abeng blower, were digging the grave when I arrived at the cemetery. Work continued until 11:00 AM when a man came by with a lunch of potted meat sandwiches and Kool-Aid. At this point, the abeng was sounded so that the workers could take a break for lunch. After an hour, the abeng sounded again and work resumed. The men continued digging until the hole was six feet deep, then they packed the bottom and the four sides of the hole with bricks and plastered everything with cement to form the walls and bottom of a tomb. At 4 PM the abeng sounded again to signal that the grave diggers’ work was over for the day. They covered the tomb with a large piece of plastic and sheets of zinc on top, held in place by several large bricks

“If difficulties are encountered during the digging, the abeng is again sounded to call community members to come out, and sing in Coromantee, and to call on the ancestors to alleviate the difficulties” (Hansley Reid and Constantine Foster, 2001).
At 1:00 pm on July 29, four days after the completion of the grave, I heard the abeng indicate that Levi Rowe’s body had just arrived at Accompong’s Seventh Day Baptist Church from Santa Cruz where it had been prepared by an undertaker. An hour later, the abeng sounded the beginning of the funeral or Thanksgiving Service. In addition to singing and prayers, the service included testimonies about Levi Rowe’s life. Rowe had lived in Connecticut before returning home. He was a farmer, an artist who worked with mahogany, and a mason. Levi Rowe was the son of Emmanuel Rowe and Louise White.

A thunder storm broke out during the service forcing many people inside the already full church. As the service continued, rain blew in from the windows and the roof began to leak just above the doorway. People had to open their umbrellas inside the church to keep from getting wet. Mr. Rowe’s granddaughter incorporated the storm into her eulogy commenting that Levi Rowe had been a great man, and that the tumult manifested by the elements was a sign of his greatness. She also noted that while some people had felt that the church was too small to hold everyone, when it began to rain those outside were forced to seek shelter inside no matter what their religion was. I left the church about an hour and a half later, just before the service came to an end, because I wanted to see the abeng being blown.

The abeng blower, Mr. Reid, took a small soda bottle from his pocket, took a swig from the bottle, and then sprayed it out. I smelled rum. After this he blew the abeng to signal that the service was over. The funeral procession lined up and left the church heading towards the cemetery. Colonel Peddie and the minister who had presided over the Thanksgiving service were at the head of the procession with Reid at their side.
blowing the abeng all the way to the cemetery. At the grave site, the minister briefly said prayers, followed by “ashes to ashes, dust to dust,” before the casket was lowered in the tomb with the head pointing west and the feet to the east. The abeng sounded again before the mourners began to sing.

The sound of the abeng announces the beginning of the annual Treaty Day celebrations and the abeng blower plays a significant role in several important rituals. Early on Treaty Day morning a party of Maroons takes a food offering out to the grave sites of the ancestors in Old Town. The abeng blower accompanies this group and uses his instrument to summon the presence of the ancestral spirits during a Myal ceremony held on the spot. Should an ancestral spirit take possession of someone in the group during the ceremony the abeng blower must carefully control the spirit through what he plays on his horn. Although several people can blow the abeng, only one performs in this role at any given period of time.

The current abeng blower has played the instrument for the past fifty years.

I started to do the blowing of the abeng in 1955 until this day. I got the gift to blow it from my fore-parents and, if you check through the settlement here, I taught lots of guys to blow it. They can’t blow as well as me because their gift-time not yet come. Women are not allowed to blow the abeng as they are polluted. There are two abengs, one blown for women, and one for men. (Hansley Reid, 2001).

Ideally, there was little conflict or competition over the role of abeng blower because access to the role is said to depend upon the bestowal of a special gift from the ancestors. However in 2007, Reid was replaced by another abeng blower after he fell out of favor with Colonel Peddie for challenging him in the elections earlier that year for the office of the colonel. (Reid, personal communication: 2008)
In the late 1930s in Moore Town, “the abeng or village horn is blown, calling the men at the town square, after which they are divided into groups and sent to different sections of the ‘town’ and then the billing commences” (Thompson 1938:474).

Colonel Harris of Moore Town also describes the abeng blown before township meetings. “Some time before the set hour on the appointed day, the abeng or akikreh is blown and this means that all adults attending will be free to take full part in the proceedings. As regards Council meetings, the obraafu (town crier) does not shout the information; the abeng is not blown and only members of Council and those summoned to appear may attend” (Harris 1994:45). During the 2007 Accompong Treaty Day celebrations, the abeng blower and Colonel Wallace Sterling from Moore Town participated in the festivities.

Among the Njuka Maroons, there is also an abeng. Gazon, one of the Njuka who traveled to the Folklife Festival in Washington, D. C. noted: “we Njukas have it too…It talks.” (Price and Price 1994:74)
The Political Structure of the South American Maroons

There is information on the structure of the South American Maroons, but not their function, or their relationship with the South American colonial or post-colonial governments especially since these governments have seized maroon lands in the 19th century as they see fit. The political structure of the South American Maroons differs from that of the Jamaican Maroons. Except for the Kwinti Maroons, each maroon group of Suriname and Guyana has its own chief (granman) and formal government (Price 1976). The function of the granman is often combined with that of high priest (Groot 1974). Each group is further broken down into clans called the lo. The lo is a matrilineage whose members can trace back to a common female ancestor. The paramount chief, or granman, of each tribe is chosen from within the different lo of the group (Goslinga 1990). Most Maroon villages are culturally homogeneous, inhabited by members of the same lo. Kabiten, or headsmen, have lower rank than the granman and are the villages’ most important political leaders. The various village kabiten is appointed by the granman, in consultation with village elders (Bilby 1991). The number of lo differ for each group, with the Ndjuka being the largest. The Ndjuka have 14, the Saramacca 12, the Matawai 4, the Paramacca 4, the Aluku 7 and the Kwinti 2 (Hoogbergen 1990). The lo is further broken down into smaller matrilineages called the bee or bere. The bee or bere enjoys greater solidarity and a deeper sense of belonging than the lo (Jozefzoon 1959). Traditionally, Maroons get their primary social identity, their rights to land and associated resources and their many social obligations from clan
membership, primarily through the bee or bere and secondarily through the lo. Membership in the bee or bere may vary from 50 to 200 (Thoden van Velzen 1990).

The political structure of the Djuka is a hierarchical one, involving twelve clans or los, remaining intact during the period of 1918 - 1928, but changed in 1969. The five clans of the upper river are the elite, compared to the lesser status of the other seven los or clans that live down river. “The Djuka tribe is subdivided into matrilineal, exogamous clans, named los…There are twelve clans, the one from which the Granman is chosen, the Oto-lo, being the most important, followed immediately by the Missidjan-lo” (de Groot 1969:17). In 1969, there was a Granman, leader of all the clans, a Grand Chief, vice-chief and forest chief from each clan. At the forest chief level, there are usually one or two females from each clan. “Chiefs, just like Granmans are chosen from the matrilineage of their predecessors, but the number of relatives from whom the Granman may be chosen seems less restricted than in the case of a chief: the latter usually succeeded by a son of his mother’s brother’s son” (de Groot 1969:18). Next, I will examine the Accompong council which works to support the colonel in his administrative duties of the community.

**Summary**

It is clear that the treaty was not intended as a document that granted sovereignty to the Maroons in order to create a state, it granted freedom from slavery. At the time of the treaty, Jamaica itself was not a state. An argument based on the ideology that the maroon enclaves were states before Jamaica became a state is bound to fail as we
continue to see today. The international courts have also failed in reconciling the two interpretations of the legal system as these systems have changed. The treaty gave the Maroons certain rights and privileges in return for ceasing warfare, at the same it institutionalized the groups that was outside the colonial administration. Jamaica came about during the age of imperialism and colonial expansion. As the relationships between the different super powers changed, so did the status of many of its colonies and outpost throughout the world. During this period, people of African descent and Indigenous peoples have continued to fight for political sovereignty in the face of colonialism and imperialism.

The political system of the Accompong Maroons is different from other rural communities is Jamaica and from the South American Maroons. Accompong Maroons could be considered at best, a “semi-autonomous zone” on the periphery of the periphery of the world systems. The concept of “semi-autonomous social fields” was developed by Moore (1978) in her work among a Swahili-speaking ethnic group, the Chagga, living at the base of Mt. Kilamanjaro in Tanzania. Moore found that the group retained local kin-based ‘bounded units’ encompassing several sets of families and community groups in which senior male members continued to mediate disputes involving property, family, and neighborhood matters despite experiencing a history of formal laws and rules externally imposed by the Tanzanian state in the early 1970s. These included the official abolition of landed private property and tribal chieftainships along with proselytizing by Protestants and Catholics missionaries over an 80-year period.

The concept of “semi-autonomous social fields” was also used to characterize the garment industry in New York City which produced ‘better dress line’ for women
Moore (1978) argued that although the garment industry was regulated by state and municipal authorities, as well as national unions, the industry maintained a set of informal rules and obligations (some illegal), to regulate the designers and contractors. Both the Chagga and the garment industry were resistant to external forces while preserving internal independence at the same time appearing outwardly committed to flexible broader institutional arrangements. The cases of the Chagga and the garment industry are similar to the Maroons who have maintained local kin-based “bounded units’ despite pressure, - first from the colonial government, and then later the Jamaican government, - to assimilate and abolish communal property and also through proselytizing by various religious groups. Accompong Maroons make the case that they are independent and sovereign at the same time as the colonels and their kin-based networks gain dominance within various governmental institutions such as the religious and educational systems.

Through time, the Accompong Maroons have become more integrated into the state. The election for colonel relies on the election list used for national elections and supervised by the Jamaican Election Officer, although the election list does not identify Maroons as a separate group. More specifically, they are registered by location, and it is up to the Maroon administration to determine who is and is not a Maroon. More recently, this has posed a problem, especially where voting occurs outside of Accompong. A move was made in 2004 to change the voting practices so that only those living in Accompong can vote for colonel. However, because of the disagreement that followed between the various political factions, elections continue to be held in various locations outside of Accompong where there are Maroons residing.
Beginning in the 1990s and the United Nations’ push for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Maroons were thrust on the global stage. With this new recognition, Maroon colonels began negotiating with foreign non-governmental bodies for economic aid. With the increase in foreign aid and travel, the competition for colonel has intensified as there are large sums of money to control and free trips abroad. In addition to the control of land this gives the colonel added ‘cultural capital’ and prestige without power and autonomy. With the increase in economic aid, the call for more land has been muted as described in chapter 4. The exercise of power and execution of duties are dependent on the personality of the administrator himself. There is also a correlation with the amount of aid coming in at the time. The aid is perceived by Maroons as an indication of the power of the colonel.

The Maroon administration is very loose and meetings, when they do occur, are open and poorly attended, often ending with loud arguments and accusations of mismanagement of funds. This village has a history of factionalism. The functioning of various groups is far from the descriptions provided by informants. The council and the colonel are ideally responsible for the well being of the village, but instead it is for the well being of individual members.

The case of the abeng blower and the Council of Elders raises the question of “invention of tradition.” In the mid 1930s, the abeng blower died without passing on the skill to another individual. This is followed by the present abeng blower who argues that he inherited the “gift.” Yet, this gift is taken away from by Colonel Peddie when challenged during the 2007 elections. In the case of the Council of Elders, despite the ideology that the group oversees the function of the colonel and the council, they were
unable to remove Colonel Peddie from office even with a vote of no confidence. In effect the group meet occasionally and tries to institutionalize change but without success.
Chapter III

THE ECONOMIC FACTORS: PAST AND PRESENT

Introduction

The most recent research on Accompong’s economy is that done by Besson in the 1990s. Besson (1997) wrote that “the contemporary maroon economy focuses on the cultivation and grazing of the commons for subsistence and peasant marketing on the plains; supplemented by income from cash-cropping, lumber felling, shop-keeping, migration and the tourist industry” (Besson 1997:214).

Although not entirely in error, Besson’s description of Accompong’s economy notes the existence of a number of economic activities without describing their production and gives the impression that Accompong has a relatively independent and self-sufficient economy that can be adequately understood and described without considering its external relations. Nothing could be further from the truth. My argument in this chapter is that Accompong has not had an independent economy in the past, that it
does not have one now and that the quality of its economic activities reflects the
dependence and vulnerability of its external relations.

Earlier research on Accompong’s economic system conducted in the 1930s by Dunham (1940), and Cooper (ms) was sparse. However, they highlighted its limited economic infrastructure and the absence of a market. “Maroons participate more as buyers than sellers at the [Maggotty] market” (Cooper, ms). Kopytoff (1973) who examined the pre and post-treaty period, argued that “the Maroons had never been wholly independent in their economy” (Kopytoff 1973:161). In the immediate post-treaty period, the Accompong Maroons were engaged in subsistence agriculture, hunting, sale of goods and services, and slave holding. Although the division of labor was comparatively undifferentiated, women were primarily engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Dunham (1940:62) found the economic activities consisted of subsistence agriculture, hunting and commercial production of bananas and raw cane sugar for the global market through the United Fruit Company and the Standard Fruit Company. Hunting was waning due to deforestation and income from logwood cutting was declining. The mill for processing the sugar was owned by Accompong’s ruling families who charged a small fee for their use.

From the Gleaner, we learn that in the 1930s, the maroon economy suffered under the weight of the economic downturn initiated by the United States’ stock market crash of 1929, as well as the Second World War with which Britain was pre-occupied. During this period, the prices of export crops sold on the global market decreased by half and immigrants were repatriated back to Jamaica from other areas in the Caribbean. Added to this, the ginger crop became infested with a fungus and could not be sold.
Barker and Spence (1988) argued that “modernization has led to increasing levels of vulnerability” for Accompong (1988:198). According to the cultural geographer Spence, “in the 1960s the commercialization process incorporated coffee production, and by the mid 1970s it was extended to traditional ground provisions through the expansion of the Agricultural Market Corporation (AMC) to market traditional food crops on the domestic as well as export markets” (Spence 1989:220.) But rather than leading to greater prosperity and self-sufficiency, the government’s economic development policies led only to further instability and the erosion of traditional agricultural and labor practices that left Accompong more and more at the mercy of external market forces.

I found Accompong’s economy was based on land—in terms of land sales as well as for subsistence agriculture and cash crop, migration and remittances, small shop keeping, small-scale livestock rearing, with increasing reliance on tourism and non-governmental aid. “The point is that no peasant society is economically homogeneous”(Mintz 1985:139). They also rear a small number of goats, chickens, pigs and cows. There are a few arts and crafts produced in the village.

The village is best characterized as a peasant community on the edge of a plantation complex—Appleton Estates. Mintz wrote, “Traditionally, any kind of agricultural infrastructural improvement in roadways, marketing facilities, agricultural extension and credit, crop variation, etc.—went to the plantation sector rather than the peasant sector. But these embattled cultivators, like those blades of grass, have also been tougher. Perhaps the most unusual thing about Caribbean peasantries is than any of them survived at all; but so they have”(Mintz 1985:131-2). Appleton Estate produces Jamaica’s world renowned rum, has paved roads, and its own electrical generators to
cope with the blackout that plagues the country while Accompong has very bad roads and no electrical generator. A great number of Accompong Maroons are engaged in “a system of occupational multiplicity which maximizes as well as protects their limited economic opportunities and which in turn influences the nature of their social alignments and organization” (Comitas 1973: 163-4). This occupational multiplicity is not new and was observed in the 1930s in Cooper’s notes. The limited economic opportunities also result in high rates of migration.

**Land as an Economic Asset**

Maroon landholding is enmeshed in kin relations and undergirded by an ideology of communal ownership. Land is mediated by the political system in which the colonel and town council ideally distribute communally available land. The ideology of communal land holding was set out in the treaty and has proven to be a useful counter to the government’s attempts to impose taxation on individual landholders and to distinguish themselves from other Jamaicans. All Maroons born in Accompong, and those born outside of Accompong who have lived in the community for 15 years or more, are eligible for land. Land is inherited bilaterally. However, base on a variety of kinship patterns as discuss later in the chapter 5, there are also additional methods of inheritance,--matrilineal ultimogeniture, patrilineal, grandmother, or adoptive father. Access to land is unequal, and there are landless individuals.

There are three geographical zones. The first consist of homes and maybe a small agricultural plot, the second for agricultural use and the third zone is comprised of
‘communal land’ least used and distributed by the colonel. Although the third zone is the furthest away from the cluster of homes along the ring road surrounding the village, there has been some construction of dwellings in this area. Landmark areas such as sacred sites are all owned communally.

The colonel’s absolute control of the access to land is more of an ideal than an empirical fact much of the time. Research conducted by geographers Baker and Spence in the 1980s found that with the expansion of sugar cane and banana cultivation, permanent individual rights increased considerably in the middle zone. Barker and Spence report that “The Maroon colonel argues that this is a deliberate strategy by farmers to accumulate land. Farmers suggest that they are trying to ensure they have sufficient land to pass on to their children” (Barker and Spence 1988:201). Colonels, then, certainly were aware of this imposition of claims of permanent individual rights on lands in the middle zone, and even appear to have understood why it was happening, but they do not seem to have been able either to control or successfully oppose it. From life history data collected, this practice goes back to the 1930s and beyond. For the Saramaka Maroons of South America, “decisions about the distribution of most lands for farming are made by a handful of elders in each lo, who usually include its older kabitenis [headman].” (Price 1975:139-40)

Of the total acreage of 2876, less than half is currently under cultivation. This total includes 1523 acres of land granted in the late 1930s. A section of the land holding is comprised of limestone and unsuitable for agriculture. About 400 acres are taken up with homes and other buildings--there are about 263 houses on 1/2 to 2 acres of land each. The average land holdings vary from 5 acres to 60 acres with a few individuals with
more than 100 acres of land. Some individuals hold additional land bought from the state, and pay taxes on this portion of their land. For example, one informant owned 37 acres of non-Maroon land and paid taxes on this portion of his land. What is important for the Accompong Maroons is the symbolic communal holding of the land rather than its economic value as discussed in the next chapter.

Given the lack of economic infrastructure, small quantity of accumulated capital, no available credit for crops and fertilizers, and low numbers of personnel, it is not possible for Maroons to farm all the land they hold in their possession. Farming is undertaken through a system of wage labor and the traditional system intertwining labor relations and social relations.

In an article appearing in the 1938 Gleaner, it was noted that “All the reserve (except certain favoured tracts ruled off by and kept for the headmen) is in a forlorn and neglected condition” (Gleaner, September 23, 1938:1). Historically, Colonels had been allocated particularly desirable landholdings for their own use. The only colonel who has not sought additional land is Colonel Peddie—instead, there have been numerous land sales and leases. There is a strong correlation between the amount of money that has flowed through his hands from local and foreign governments and his lack of interest in additional land. Beginning in the late 1990s large sums of money for various development projects was given to the Accompong Maroons.

Land sales and leases made by Colonel Peddie between 2001 and 2008 were not that of land held communally. Instead, the plots of land were held by individuals who were compensated by the purchaser. These sales highlight the colonel’s lack of knowledge regarding private property. In the past seven years, there have been at least
three cases of leasing land to non-Maroons and two land sales. Land sales, even those between Maroons, and leasing land to non-Maroons breach the traditional system of land distribution and sever the links between residences; kinship, Maroon identity and access to land that are knitted together in the ideology of the communal ownership of Maroon land.

Colonel Sidney Peddie is the first colonel in the history of the Maroons to approve these kinds of transactions; as a result of doing so, he is also the first Maroon colonel to have two lawsuits brought against him by other Maroons in a Jamaican court of law. These lawsuits were filed by Past Colonel, Meridie Rowe. One of the suits was reported in the Jamaica Observer: “Rowe charges that Peddie is the only colonel in Maroon history that is the defendant in two court cases brought by residents. One of the suits involved a parcel of Maroon land owned by Mervin Robertson, which was sold with Peddie’s approval” (Observer, December 24, 2005).

In 2005 Colonel Peddie approved the sale of land owned by Mervin Robertson to Elizabeth Campbell, a Maroon who had returned to Accompong from England some time before. Several things about the sale angered villagers. There were rumors that the colonel had profited personally from the sale. Some people were not convinced that Campbell was really a Maroon; others objected that, whether she was a Maroon or not, it was simply wrong for Maroons to sell land. Council member Melvin Currie maintained that Campbell was indeed a Maroon and had been born in the village, and that the ban on land sales only applied to sales to non-Maroons. Currie noted: “What the law says is that lands must not be sold to anyone who is not a Maroon, otherwise it should be leased…The person who bought the land was born and always live here” (Jamaica
Observer, December 24, 2005). While Ms. Campbell may have been born in Accompong she definitely had not always lived there. Campbell had spent at least 20 years in England, and as a result may well have forfeited her right to claim or inherit land in the village, something that would explain why she did not have land of her own and needed to get some. Currie told the Observer that the land sale had been ratified by the town council and that Maroon land had been sold before without provoking the kind of reaction this sale had (Jamaica Observer, December 24, 2005).

This case underscores the symbolic aspect of Maroon land as home for any Maroon. However, it is also a contradiction to the ideology of land for any Maroon. If every maroon is entitled to land, then Mrs. Campbell should not have to buy land, rather, she should have been given a piece of land.

Given the pattern of emigration at working age (especially in families who are well-enough-off to stake it) and return at retirement age, pension in hand, there will be growing numbers of comparable cases – probably too many to settle each on an ad-hoc basis. Even speculatively, what will these conditions do to the legal system? Also, this is yet another indication of the increased stratification of this community.

Meredie Rowe took this case to the Resident Magistrate’s Court in Black River but there was nothing the courts could do. Neither the upholding nor the destruction of the Maroons’ traditional values concerning the disposition of land are matters of Jamaican law. The land belonged to the Maroons. If they chose to sell it, there was nothing in Jamaican law that said that they couldn’t do so. The sale was upheld but Rowe contested the ruling.
At some time during 2002, Colonel Sidney Peddie initiated negotiations to lease land to Jamaica’s two leading cellular telephone companies, Cable and Wireless and Digicel, for the construction of transmission towers. In 2008, a third cell phone tower was constructed by Bmobile. In September 2002 Accompong Maroon Dawn Quarry wrote a letter to the Observer noting that the land was communally owned and that one or two individuals could not give permission for such a transaction. Besides her desire to protect traditional Maroon values of communal land ownership threatened by the land lease, and safeguard traditional ideals of decision-making, Ms. Quarry also foresaw economic problems that construction of the cell towers might pose to the community as well dangers from its effects on the water supply and people’s health.

First, I must for the information of that cellular company and second, for any other person or organisation that may be thinking or utilising lands in Accompong for any investment (albeit ought to be on short term in the first place) that the Maroon lands are communally owned. The land is from our ancestors and as such, no two or three people cannot give consent, permission or sign any deal to any outsiders without first engaging the Maroon Board of Elders, the Maroon Federal House of Assembly, but more so call a town meeting to inform and get the consent of our people.

Another serious concern is that we are not comfortable with having cellular sites mounted on our land as we are concerned about the possible radioactive waste that must have serious health threat. Also we need to protect our underground water source.

I am saying that landline telephone (home phone) is the better way and this is far more economical for the Maroons who will need telephones in their houses. To my mind, the cellular service gives the respective providers more money than anything.

Our community does not have a lot of money either, and so it would be a totally different scenario if the negotiation between the Accompong Maroon Council and the given telephone company were for providing landline phones for homes and commercial enterprise and this would be costing far less to us as against the cellular service which will mean erecting high antennas on cell sites.

I am calling on those involved in the negotiation to let transparency
and democracy be the order of the day. (Observer, September 21, 2002)

Colonel Peddie eventually closed the land lease deals for the sum of $100,000 for two of the towers as reported in the Observer. Informants noted that they had no knowledge of where the money went as the colonel has not told the villagers of the income, and where it was spent. However, during my 2008 trip, the community center had new benches and roof, was painted, and had fully functional toilet. My guess is that some of the money was spent to repair the community center that had long been in disrepair. In a newspaper article, Colonel Peddie noted that money was being set aside in a bank for the village’s poor. If money is in the bank, then there is no way of the poor having access to it since there are no banks in Accompong Town.

During the construction of the towers, property belonging to Michael Genas, Cleon Rowe and Clive Robb was destroyed. Colonel Peddie did not seek any redress from the two telephone companies, nor did the colonel and the town council make any attempt to compensate the aggrieved Maroons financially out of the $100,000 that had been collected or otherwise remedy the damage that had been done. At least one of the Maroons, whose land had been damaged by having a cell telephone tower built on it, claimed that the land was leased without his permission.

When Colonel Peddie did not demand redress from the Cable Wireless and Digicel for the property damage suffered by Maroon landholders, the Maroon Council of Elders, represented by Meredie Rowe, acted instead. The Council of Elders have also tacked on a demand that the telephone companies repair the roads leading into the town, in addition to restitution for the damage done to private property due to the tower construction. Soon the issue was in the newspapers:
“They (the cellular phone companies) should make some attempt to compensate these private owners, because the agreement reached by the companies and the colonel would only include the lease of land,” Mr. Rowe said. Rowe also said the Maroons were now disgruntled over the issue and “people affected were seriously considering personal redress.”

...While pointing to large cracks in the wall of his house and a section of his land that had been destroyed allegedly by tractors, Clive Robb insisted that if he was not compensated for the damage done, cell site owners would not be allowed back in Accompong.

Cleon Rowe said he gave no one permission to take possession of his land where a cell site now stands. “All that happen is that one day mi get up and hear seh dem bulldoze di place,” he said.

Meridie Rowe told The Sunday Gleaner that both companies were sent letters as early as February this year, asking them to meet with the Maroon Board of Elders to hear the grouses, but to date there has been no response.

When contacted, Everald Edwards, Corporate Communication Officer at Cable and Wireless Jamaica Limited, said that the company had already completed a number of repairs in that community.

“Repairs were made to the access road leading up to our cell site located in the community and we have erected a retaining wall for one resident whose property could have been affected by our work to erect the site,” said Mr. Edwards in a statement released to The Sunday Gleaner on Friday.

Mr. Edwards said however, that the company was not aware of any commitment to repair the community’s main road which was in a state of disrepair prior to the start of work on the cell site and “it was no worse off upon our having completed our work,” the statement said.

According to Mr. Edwards, representation for the erecting of another retaining wall in the community would have to be investigated to determine the company’s liability.

The company, Mr. Edwards says, is preparing to visit the site as soon as possible to determine whether its work has resulted in any damage to property in the community which may have been overlooked, and where necessary, they will effect any needed repairs.
The Sunday Gleaner was unable to reach Digicel for a comment but some residents said the company had done some repairs to the road near to their cell tower site. (Gleaner, November 2, 2003)

This case highlights the conflict between private and communal property and the lack of accountability of the colonel. The fact that Accompong has both communal land ownership and private property creates contradictory situations like this one in which individual landholders claim the right to dispose of their land as they wish or to not dispose of their land at all, while the colonel claims the right to dispose of all land as he wishes on behalf of the community as a whole. Outside institutions generally perceive the colonel as the head of the town and as the leader of a group of people, someone who has the right to represent the group’s decisions to them or has the right to make decisions on the group’s behalf. This presupposes an underlying democratic structure for decision-making that does not actually exist in Accompong because the internal political system is so poorly developed and has few checks on the power of the colonel and has no customary means of holding colonels accountable for their actions other than refusing to re-elect them. There is little to keep a colonel from using the powers invested in his office and title to pursue his own individual personal advantage rather than community development, particularly if he is able to use the appearance of promoting group interests as a smokescreen while doing it. In this case, from all indications, the colonel acted as a single individual rather than as the leader of a group of people. The colonel may have profited individually from this land lease transaction; certainly, the aggrieved Maroon landholders did not. Although there is a Council of Elders as described in chapter 2, they were not able to provide the checks and balance in reference to the colonel’s actions.
As late as four years after the Digicel/Cable Wireless land leases, even the colonel’s own deputy did not know what had been done with the funds. Colonel Peddie had this to say to Sunday Observer two years later: “This money thing, it was discussed before and they asked me to come clean with the transparency. I have nothing against coming clean, that is being sorted out, so I don’t know what this grumbling is for” (Observer, November 2006). Informants I spoke to in 2008, had no idea how much money the cable company had paid the colonel since they did not read the newspaper, nor were they told by the colonel.

In 2006, American investor Richard Anthony Kuhn leased three-and-one-half acres of land from the Maroon council to build a tourist resort. This land was leased from one Mr. Reid. The resort would be an ecolodge powered by solar energy and consist of a restaurant, four bungalows and camping grounds. Kuhn expected the clientele for the ecolodge to be mainly tourists from Europe and the United States. According to Colonel Peddie, the resort development was approved by the majority of the Maroons. The land and buildings would revert to the Maroons after 30 years and, in the meantime, Accompong would benefit from the profits generated by the lodge.

Construction of the development is in an advanced stage and the resort is expected to be opened for business in time for the upcoming winter tourist season and the January 6 Maroon celebrations, the most eagerly anticipated event on the community's calendar…

“When he came here first and we spoke I welcomed the idea and the majority of persons here are receptive of it as well,” he said. Peddie explained that under the lease agreement, Kuhn would provide accommodation to the visitors while the community would provide entertainment.

“He (Kuhn) would have accommodation and we would entertain them with our culture and we would get funds from those who stay with him,” said Peddie. “If tourists come in and wish to stay with him we would get money from them for the community... it is an arrangement.”
Peddie said that when the lease expired, the premises would be returned to the community. “Certainly it is not that we sold it to him (Kuhn). If he is pulling out he would not be taking anything with him and the community stands to benefit,” Peddie said.

Added Kuhn: “Everything that is built there, at the end of 30 years it goes back to the Maroons” (Observer, November 19, 2006).

Presumably visitors would pay Kuhn’s resort for their lodging, other services and meals, while the Maroons who entertain the guests would be paid for performing heritage shows. Several things remain unclear, though. Land leased to Kuhn did not come from the pool of communally distributable land that always has been at the colonel’s disposal. This reflects estimation that leasing land to monied non-Maroon entrepreneurs is more profitable than providing land to indigenous Maroons for subsistence agriculture or cash-cropping, and would be just one more aspect of the displacement of agriculture by tourism. Who would actually manage and run the place? Would the people employed in the establishment be local people? How would the village receive money from the payments of guests staying at the ecolodge? Does the arrangement also include a fixed amount to be paid to the village on a regular basis for the length of the lease? None of this is clear from recent reports. What is clear, however, is that as more and more land is sold or leased to outsiders the number of Maroons with access to land will significantly decrease. Already there are families with insufficient land to farm and to pass on to all their heirs.

Marketing

Despite the fact that Maroons were prevented by treaty from having a market in the post-treaty period, there was nothing preventing them from establishing one over the
past 250 years; the principal reasons why they have not done so are: lack of diversity of crops, lack of large quantities marketable goods that would result in increased income, limited income, and lack of a transportation system. Markets are 19th century phenomenon as earlier trade was dependent on redistribution and reciprocity. “A market is a meeting place for the purpose of barter, or buying and selling. Unless such a pattern is present, at least in patches, the propensity to barter will find but insufficient scope; it cannot produce prices. For just as reciprocity is aided by a symmetrical pattern of organization, as redistribution is made easier by some measure of centralization, and householding must be based on autarchy, so also the principle of barter depends for its effectiveness on the market pattern.” (Polanyi 1944:56)

From 2000 to 2001, Accompong marketed no sugar, banana or coffee on the global market. However, some of the younger men were growing ground provisions for export. Crops grown include: ground provisions, banana, breadfruit, peppers, ginger, dasheen, ackee, pawpaw, and other fruits. When the Jamaica Defense Force burnt most of the village’s marijuana fields late in 2000, it destroyed a prime source of cash for the community and there was little else in the way of cash crops compared to previous years. Crafts is in the form of the gombay drum, a small square drum whose head was made from goat skin, which retailed at JA$2500 for a small one and JA$5000 (US$84) for a large one, and baskets made to order by a couple of men.

Despite participating in the local and global economy, Accompong remains on the periphery. Several factors have contributed to this: the poor condition of the roads; the high cost of fertilizers; negative internal effects of economic development schemes from
the national government; dependence on unstable global market conditions; and a shrinking labor force due to migration.

Most items consumed by Accompong Maroons are purchased outside of the village. Transportation has always been a matter of economic concern to the Maroons because it is necessary for marketing. Collective produce is carried in a taxi to market in Maggotty, or sold to higglers, itinerant traders who come to the village to buy produce for re-sale in a market elsewhere. Since the cane must be shipped within 72 hours of cutting, the neighboring Appleton Estates, internationally known for the quality of its rum, no longer buys cane from Accompong.

Due to the cost and the time involved in taking produce to market, the practice in 2001 was that there was a single designated individual who collected produce to take to market twice per month. Unlike the women of Falmouth and other areas in Jamaica, marketing is done by both men and women. “Food marketing in Falmouth is mainly in the hands of women, as it is throughout Jamaica and the Caribbean. This predominance of women correlates with tendencies in the gender divisions of labor in other dimensions of the peasant economy. In Martha Brae, and throughout the island and the region, female marketing activities complement the mainly male cultivator role” (Besson 2002:206).

Farmers with produce for the market gathered the produce on Friday nights. The individual who went to the market picked them up and early Saturday morning headed off to the market. Depending on the amount of produce, the individual spends the day at the market or sells the items to someone else. At the end of the day, each individual is given the earnings from the sale of the produce, and the seller in turn is paid a fee for the services. Having one person go to market minimizes the loss and increases the profit
margin of everyone involved. The other form of marketing depended on higglers coming
to Accompong either on their own, or with a Maroon, and purchasing directly from them.
A bunch of bananas sold for $300 JA directly to higglers during the week. Taking a
bunch of bananas to market involves cost of transport, time at the market, and the cost to
the individual making the trip. The net price for a bunch of banana at the market is $200
or less.

A Government Agricultural Scheme

The following account is an example of the Accompong community’s
vulnerability in the global market. It describes a discussion I witnessed during my
fieldwork in Accompong one evening during the summer of 2001 when a parliamentarian
for the parish of St. Elizabeth came to the village hoping to interest local farmers in an
agricultural scheme. In it one sees how the farmers evaluated the costs and benefits of the
scheme as well as their distrust of government representatives.

The Member of Parliament had come to the village looking for farmers to grow
papaya because farmers in other areas had not been able to grow enough to meet the
demands of the foreign market. He wanted the community to plant 100 acres of papaya.
The farmers did not want to undertake such a labor intensive and costly project. Papaya
cultivation is very labor intensive; it also requires adequate irrigation and plenty of
fertilizer. Most of the farmers were unwilling to undertake this scheme even if provided
with papaya seedlings, fertilizer, and help in terms of planting techniques. Instead, they
preferred to plant peppers, ackee and dasheen which grew in less time, are less labor
intensive, cheaper and require less irrigation.

The MP related papaya’s advantages: Papaya yielded fruit after only six months, and continued to do so every week afterwards, while an akee tree had to grow for eighteen months before yielding any fruit. Once an akee tree bears fruit, it can be harvested only once every three months. The profit from papaya could be US $200 per week or more; akee would return a lot less.

Still, some farmers were skeptical: The MP might not return with the fertilizer he promised, and the demand of the foreign market is not always stable. Most of the farmers considered participating in such a project a very high-risk undertaking. It was extremely labor intensive, required lots of water, and fertilizer. Although the MP promised to return with the fertilizer, most farmers did not believe that he would do so; this would result in the farmer having to buy the fertilizer from his own limited funds. Laboring on the papaya also meant that the farmer could not work on other crops, or take a construction job if it came up. Some of the farmers could not have participated even if they wanted to: their land was not properly irrigated and it would have cost them too much to buy a pump suitable for getting water into the area to be cultivated. In the end, only three farmers agreed to plant the new fruit. Each farmer planted his own crop on his land as opposed to working as a group although one farmer did offer a section of his land that was irrigated, for others to plant the crop. The farmers that chose to grow the papaya were those who had arable land with adequate irrigation. Six weeks later, the MP had not yet returned with the fertilizer as promised, leaving the farmers in a bit of a bind and one farmer was seeking my help to purchase fertilizer.
Boni Maroon women of Suriname tend to the agricultural plots, while the men fish, hunt, and migrate to the coast for work (Hoogbergen 1990). The result is that the Boni women tend to live together. Women also collect fruits such as lemon, banana, plantain, mango, nut palm, coconut and other fruits planted in the village. In addition to cultivating garden plots, women do most of the fishing among the Matawai of Suriname (Green 1974).

According to de Groot (1974), Maroon groups made regular trips to urban centers of Suriname and French Guiana to purchase basic foodstuffs such as flour, rice, salt, biscuit, sugar, canned goods and alcohol. For the Suriname Maroons, getting produce to the market or the coast was difficult given the isolation of villages and the mode of transportation. It takes several days to get to the coast. More recently, some Suriname Maroons have bought outboard motor boats as they are engaged in mining, logging, or tourism and produce could be moved more efficiently this way. However, it is highly unlikely that agriculture could complete with tourism, logging and mining.

It is common for people in Accompong to have a number of occupations in addition to their primary one of farming. Maroon males also work as construction workers, house painters, ministers, logging, schoolteachers and administrators, tour guides, healers, domestic workers, seamstresses, hairdressers, and taxi drivers.

Government employment is most closely associated with the village’s schools. The Jamaican government pays all salaries for the teachers, administrators and security guards at the school. The government also pays the salary of the colonel. Government, rather than local workers undertook projects such as the construction of an addition to the Basic School in 2001.
There were various types of small shops in the village including a poultry shop. Unlike the rest of Jamaica where grocery shops are usually owned and run by ethnic groups other than Afro-Jamaicans (primarily Chinese), the shops in Accompong are all Maroon owned. These shops varied in size and structure and were scattered throughout the village. Of the fifteen shops, only three were well stocked. They all carried more or less the same items at the same prices. With the exception of the poultry shop and two of the general purpose shops, the others are owned by older men who had migrated and returned with capital. The day to day maintain of the shops are run by kinsmen of the owner. The shopkeeper is responsible for the upkeep of the premise and extends credit to patrons. However, the capital to restock originates from the owner. One shop is owned by someone living abroad, therefore the shopkeeper has total responsibility and reports to the owner on a weekly basis via telephone.

The shopkeepers operate with a keen perception of the local dynamics of supply and demand, and the appropriate units of commodities for sale, so that only the exact amount of produce that customers can afford is sold. For example, one can purchase a quarter loaf of bread or bun (sweet bread), a tablespoon of margarine, or a cup of flour to make a meal. Beans are sold in a bag weighing 12 ounces, the amount needed to cook with one pound of rice to make rice and beans. Codfish or salted pork was sold in small quantities. The most commonly sold items are soft drinks, white rum, beer, and functional drinks such as Nutrament and Lucoze. Refrigerators in the shops were uncommon and freezers are used instead. The freezer is turned on, and then turned off
once all the goods are frozen, a practice resulting in bad tasting food products, or spoilt food. Very rarely is local produce sold in the shops; they are exchanged or sold separately.

Shops do not buy a large quantity of produce for resale since that requires a large sum of money with slow rate of return. Meats and fish are salted, or canned, since the technological development in terms of food preservation and electricity to support refrigeration has not progressed to the level of the First World countries. Shops extend credit to their patrons, allowing them to pay what they owe on payday. Only individuals at the top of the economic structure are able to shop outside of Accompong because it requires driving to the nearest town to make the purchase.

Balancing personal relations, multiple occupations and the local dynamics of supply and demand is a delicate but necessary art for these shop-keepers but not all of them master it, as is illustrated in the following account concerning the village’s café.

The one café sold soft drinks, candy, ice cream and alcoholic beverages daily; and on weekends or on special occasions, fried chicken. My family contracted with this café overseer to provide three meals for my husband and me on a daily basis for the first month, and then our son for the length of our stay in Accompong. By the end of the third week, the money we had paid for providing meals for the first month of our stay had been spent. While the overseer was providing us with meals, he was also cooking large quantities of food to give to his network of friends and acquaintances who were also his regular Friday night customers. The result was slow chicken sales on the weekends and a drop in profits. After all, why should his friends pay for his food on the weekend, when they could get it for free during the week? In effect my family was subsidizing the
overseer and his network. But impressing his friends had left him without enough cash to fulfill his contract with us. In addition, because he was involved in ‘occupational multiplicity’ - he was a tour guide and occasionally farmed, - the café’s overseer sometimes had to make a choice as to what he would do from one day to the next. If a tour group was coming to visit, that represented income to be capitalized on immediately in terms of conducting a tour and maybe providing meals. There were times when the overseer conducted tours and could not cook for us and in those instances, someone else cooked dinner for us. The last two weeks of the fieldwork became intense as we were only receiving breakfast on a regular basis and lunch had long disappeared after the third week. In effect, our meal pattern mirrored that of the Maroons—two meals per day. The original deal was brokered by the colonel who felt that payment for the first part of our stay should be paid in a lump sum rather than on a weekly basis. Clearly, a week by week payment would have been better for all involved.

This case highlights the role of the colonel in the daily life of villagers, and his lack of knowledge in dealing with the restaurant business. It also demonstrates the complexity of obligations and relationships the shopkeeper has as he tries to make a living. By insisting that half the money be paid up front, the colonel assumed that the shopkeeper would be able to provide the services he promised at the same time he may be thinking that he was protecting the shopkeeper from being cheated by us. In terms of the shopkeeper, he had obligations to his friends and kin, therefore his personal profit margin was limited—he could not maximize what he could not see. He also had to juggle his multiple jobs.

The overseer of the café was not the owner, but did have control of stocking up,
and making decisions as to what was sold when, and extending credit. The café was previously owned by the uncle of the mother of his child. However, the uncle, a Rastafarian, died in England, and the café became the property of one of the decease’s brother-in-law who had paid for the funeral. This made it so that a portion of the profit of the café eventually made its way to the owner who lived in England.

**Remittances**

Anyone driving into Accompong Town is immediately struck by the extremes of wealth and poverty typified in the size and designs in houses. People’s political and economic position could easily be discerned by the structure and location of their homes. In general, houses are located along the ring road. Some newer and grander houses located away from the roadside signify a rapid increase in wealth. With the increase in extra income from cash crops, remittances and pensions, houses are becoming grander in size with elaborate designs. In the past, houses were constructed with wattle and daub, of which only one remains. The construction of newer homes began in the 1990s. Houses are constructed with wood and zinc roofing or cement, with the latter becoming more common.

One informant viewed the development of the various housing types as evolutionary stages of development.

In old ancient days, we did not know any type of the modern houses. We used to make our house out of round stick, dug the earth, put the stick there, use wisk and tie the stick together. Use thatch and make the covering of the top of the house like how we use the zinc now. We would use round stick and build up some tough wooden bed like a barbie and got some of those grass that you grow on the face of the earth and trash it to
lay it on. By steps going up, we gather the experience that we could cut those round sticks, split it, and make a wattle hut.

From the wattle hut we gather the experience that we could dig our red soil of the earth, mix it with cow shit, and burn stone and get some white powder from it called white lime and we will rub it together with our tuck axe and take it and plaster those wattle and it will come in like a Spanish wall house like what we are inhabiting today. (Hansley Reid, 2001)

When pressed further about when the wooden houses were built, the informant noted that:

The wooden houses is completely ended in 1940. [We] don't build no more. What was there we still use it until it completely mash down. We construct a distinct kind of house made out of stone and maul cement and we don't have it like how we did it within the ancient of using the cow shit, the red dirt and the white lime till we get to the modern stage of building the brick. We leave from the brick and go to build block and use the block with steel structure. (Hansley Reid, 2001)

At the same time there is an increase in wealth, the increase is not steady and reliable. The result is a handful of incomplete structures. That more than half the present-day houses are in a state of incompletition is typical in Jamaica as a whole. Tony Hendriks noted: "Everywhere you look in Jamaica you see brand new ancient ruins, half-built promises, demolished stop-gaps and obscene growths. In some cases ground was broken in a purple patch of financial assistance but the erection couldn’t out-run the gallop of inflation "(Jamaica Gleaner July 5, 2001:A4).

Let me examine some of the different types of housing that are representative of the extreme between the lowest and the highest strata as shown in the following eight photographs. There are three categories: One, upper strata: large new cement houses built with money remitted from abroad by Maroons or non-Maroons not now living in Accompong or built by returnees with a pension from outside Jamaica. These may have
two stories and feature single-function rooms (including indoor kitchens and bathrooms) and often very distinctive architectures that mark them off from other structures. This category also includes a small number of guest houses funded from abroad that are oriented towards tourists. Two, lower strata: wooden houses with outdoor bathrooms and cooking facilities, often zinc roofs; and, at the lowest extreme, a single house of wattle-and-daub construction with thatched roof and cooking and bathroom placed outside the house. Three, in the middle strata are a variety of older cement and wooden houses with zinc roofs, external kitchens and/or bathrooms, with or without piped water and electricity, often having an adjacent ‘kitchen garden’ or provision ground. The lower and middle strata of houses are older than the first, had to be financed domestically at much lower levels and were built mainly by local families and local laborers who reside in the village.
Maroon owned guest house

American owned guesthouse. The architectural style is unlike anything else in Accompong as it is circular, with cement walls and thatched roof

Earlier housing stock (wooden)
Wooden house with provision ground across the street

House showing backyard with outdoor kitchen

Ta-Ta Denue Assembly of God Church that is in a state of incompleteness
The cement houses which have been completed are owned by individuals who have lived and worked outside Accompong, sending back money to build their homes. These houses are grand when compared to others in the community and fitted with steel gates and burglar bars although one is told that there is no crime in the village. One can interpret this as returnees bringing the style of housing which prevents the stealing of one's property that is common in urban centers as well as the reality that once others see their property people will want to take it. The newer houses are equipped with refrigerators, dining and living room sets, TVs, china closets with complete sets of chinaware, gas stoves with ovens and even washing machines in a few. Some homes had the picture of the queen and Alexander Bustamante along with the picture of a maroon that is representative of Cudjoe or Juan de Bolas depending on whom one talked to. One home I visited had the pages of an old British fashion magazine as wall paper. Another house had a picture of previous Prime ministers Norman Manley and P. J. Patterson. No one I visited had a picture of either past or present colonel. Once could conclude that the prime minister of the state had more prestige than the colonel of the village.

There were 252 houses of which 230 have electricity. It was common for two or three houses to share electricity through one meter. Individuals without running water had to carry water from the large cistern, or from the taps located on the premises of the churches.

The bigger houses were bigger than any one of the churches in the community, which were in desperate need of repairs and a paint job. The United Church pictured on page 299 is the oldest church in the community and from all appearances, has not been repaired in many decades. The Zion Church on page 295 is wooden, and has not been
painted either. The other church buildings are either in a state of disrepair, or are falling apart even before their completion. These buildings, like the community center, leaked when it rained.

In the 1970s, Cohen (1973) described the houses in Moore Town as:

“single story, rectangular houses, 100-150 feet in area, with one or two small rooms for sitting, dining, and sleeping. These houses are wooden structures, usually set on posts sunk into the ground, and with a roof of corrugated, galvanized iron. The interiors are sparsely furnished, with the main items a bed, a table and chairs, and a cabinet for dishes, cooking utensils, and knick-knacks. Newspapers and magazine pages and greeting cards often served as a kind of wall covering.” (Cohen 1973:39).

When I visited Moore Town in 1999 and again in 2001, the architecture in Moore Town had changed from wooden structures to mostly cement structures like those in the surrounding areas. Most houses were 2 stories high and for the most part, the disparity of village’s wealth as displayed in Accompong was not as pronounced. During my visit to Colonel Harris’ home, the house was comprised of several single function rooms.

![Saramakan Houses, 1998 (courtesy of Dr. George Brandon)](image)

Comparison of the housing design of the Jamaican Maroons with the South American Maroons indicates that the design of the Saramakan Maroons of Suriname is
distinctively different. The picture above is the house of a Saramakan Maroon taken in 1998. The Saramakan house is a single, multi-function house with a roof made of thatch and an apex at the top and open sides. The kitchen and bathrooms are outside the main structure. Given the high rate of migration among the South American Maroon men, one could speculate that the housing style will change in the near future.

**Tourism**

Tourism as a mode of development has increased since the mid 1990s—this is at least twenty years after Jamaica became a tourist destination. Rupert Robinson, the former deputy colonel and the village’s spokesman on tourism, said to a magazine reporter: “the Accompong Maroons... are yet to fully capitalize on the world’s growing heritage tourism.” Robinson continued by noting that, worldwide, heritage tourism earns millions of dollars each year that, in turn, fuels employment and stimulates economies. He hoped that this would happen in Accompong. For this to happen, he observed, there would need to be increased marketing as, at present, there is “inadequate marketing of the product” (Hospitality Jamaica, March 2, 2006). However, for tourism to be successful the roads into Accompong must improve and other infrastructure, including telephone and internet services, needs to be put in place.

As noted earlier, the roads in and out of Accompong are in very poor condition. While it is possible for a few tourists to stay with Accompong families, there are only two guesthouses for tourists, although more are now under construction. The owners of both of these guesthouses lived outside of Accompong, and had relatives overseeing
them. One was owned by a white American man and was being run by a Maroon woman who had borne his child. The American’s guest house had hot and cold running water and two bedrooms but since it is a split-level house, it could only be rented out as a single unit. A stay in this guest house cost $200US dollars a night, more than a four star hotel in Montego Bay. The second guest house was owned by a Maroon living abroad in England and was overseen by his father-in-law. This second guest house had three bedrooms, a bathroom, kitchen and living room. The living room had been converted to a shop for selling soft drinks and beer. The house was sparsely furnished and, even when it was rented out, the overseer had the run of the place and sometimes slept there. A third guest house was under construction in 2006, owned by an American on land leased from the Maroons. Eating in Accompong on a regular basis is problematic as there are no restaurants, except the café that provides food on a need basis for large events.

Some infrastructural development and upgrading of standards and human resource for increased level of socio-economic improvement is currently being implemented with the aid of the Jamaican Tourism Product Development Company (JTPDCo)—that is, the state. A major emphasis is on the January 6th celebrations but the overall goal is the development of the community through several other projects as well. As Colonel Sidney Peddie said to the Daily Gleaner in 2004:

Over the last five years, I have spent a great deal of time working with the Tourism Product Development Committee (TPDCo) in a bid to make Accompong a tourist destination,” said Colonel Peddie. “If we make our village a good tourist destination, then we will be able to provide more job opportunities….Colonel Peddie also stated that he hopes to solicit Government help in building a factory to process agricultural produce in or near Accompong. “We have too much agricultural produce going to waste,” the 71-year old colonel said. “A factory would help to minimise waste and create employment. (Gleaner: Thursday, June 10, 2004)
During the period of my fieldwork, TPDCo met several times with members of the Accompong Maroon community. One such meeting convened six TDPCo members, along with personnel from the Environmental Fund of Jamaica and the Rural Agricultural Development Association, to discuss the amount of work required for such an undertaking. Personnel from the Tourism Development Product Company visited guest houses, rooms set aside for rental and the café. The personnel from the Environmental Fund of Jamaica (EFJ) were pursuing additional possibilities for the community in terms of ecological conservation, sustainable development and children’s issues. The Rural Agricultural Development Association planned to work with Accompong on setting standards for the production of jams, jellies and wine for sale. Jams and jellies are made from local fruits such as rose apple, sorrel, mango, and guava; the wine from rice, ginger and other fruits. Production of jams, jellies and wine under controlled sanitary conditions could be one way of utilizing the excess fruits that the colonel mentioned earlier. Some of these products ended up in the garbage due to spoilage from fungal growth, indicating unsanitary conditions during production.

This issue of standards was also an important one for TPDCo. After their inspection visit, issues relating to the changing of bed linen, fresh water, clean rooms, garbage disposal, and proper food handling including animal slaughtering practices became topics of discussion in the meetings. TPDCo discussed the guidelines for proper conditions with community members including how they might raise the standards for accommodations, sanitary conditions and service to the level that would merit registration with the national tourist board.

Maroons were taught their history from written documents, along with basket
making and ethnomedicine. There was an emphasis to teach younger community members as a means of reviving the cultural heritage. Another part of this heritage tourism development project is Bickle Village—consisting of four houses made of wattle and thatched (grass) roofs representative of earlier housing styles. Money for this project came from the Jamaican government with Maroon labor.

Another economic development project being investigated by Colonel Peddie involves the construction of a 400-room casino-hotel on fifty acres of communal land by the Florida-based developer Hal Brooke and Associates. This latest project has generated conflict among community members to which the colonel has responded by using the new language recently adopted by the casino industry in the US. According to him the project being considered is “a gaming resort and not a casino” (Hospitality Jamaica, March 2, 2006). The fact of the matter is that a ‘gaming resort’ is a casino where gambling takes place. An interesting aspect of the reaction to the casino proposal is that it is Maroons who have lived in the United States who object to the Accompong casino-hotel proposal the most, while Maroons who have never left the village see it as a boon to the local economy as it would provide them with jobs and income, something that was desperately needed. Also, those who never left Accompong had no knowledge of the scope such a project would entail.

In January 2009, former Colonel M. Rowe told the Gleaner:

“I don't think any investor would be compelled to take a casino to a place like Accompong Town where we are lacking in infrastructure… Kingston, Montego Bay, Negril and the other towns have water, adequate light and adequate infrastructure, so I don't think any investor will want to think about finding so much money to put up casino in Accompong Town when it can cost them a whole lot less to do it elsewhere in Jamaica.” (Gleaner, January 9, 2009)
According to Colonel Peddie, the Maroons could benefit since the Jamaican government would legalize gambling. However, gambling had not yet been legalized and no developer would undertake such a project without the entire necessary infrastructure in place. “Peddie also said he was still hoping to go to Canada to get more information on casinos” (Gleaners, January 9, 2009).

The single largest income-generating event in Accompong takes place on Treaty Day, usually held on January 6, when thousands of people from all over the world visit Accompong and pay an entrance fee of $10 US to enter the village. The cost of the limited accommodations available in Accompong rises to more than the usual price of $200US a night. Some Maroons sell cooked food during the celebration but far more income is generated by the large number of outside food vendors who must pay an additional vendors’ fee. From all indications, there has been little or no accountability for income generated from this event. A large portion of the monies generated by Treaty Day’s economic activities leaves the community, while the remainder ends up in the hands of only a few Maroons. During the period of my fieldwork, working meetings with TDPCo usually came to an end abruptly after a series of arguments about the lack of accountability. This issue has a rocky history that continues to be played out in recent elections.

When Sidney Peddie challenged then Colonel Meredith Rowe in the 1997 elections, he accused Rowe of stealing the funds earned during the January 6 celebrations. Peddie’s campaign flyer on the following page reads: “We need a colonel who is “NOT MEREDIE ROWE.” But three points down, it continued: “Vote against the “PARAMOUNT CHIEF-THIEF” Vote to save Accompong Town Now.” In a report
TDPCo personnel gave to the Jamaica Observer, we learn that a number of community members were actually paid after the celebrations. It says: “The 2002 celebration was the most successful, in that the Maroons had money in the bank... Everybody who worked in the community was paid, so income came into the community says Lindo-Pennant” (Jamaica Observer, August 18, 2002). However, the fact that some people were paid for their work did not settle the matter of the lack of accountability for the majority of the Treaty Day revenues. Indeed the issue continued. In a May 31, 2004 newspaper article entitled “Accompong Maroons to Elect A New Leader Brief – Controversy surrounds this election.” The reporter wrote: “2000 Accompong residents recently voted to elect a leader, or “colonel” amongst charges of mudslinging and typical nasty western-style politics… What’s at stake is that the new colonel will lead a Maroon council, as well as oversee a tourist-funded budget” (Your Caribbean Online, Monday, May 31, 2004.).

During the bitterly fought 2005-06 elections, reports appeared in the Daily Gleaner and the Jamaica Observer with Meredith Rowe charging the incumbent Colonel Peddie with stealing millions of dollars. “Over $3.5 million is collected per year from tourist visits and other sources, said Rowe. ‘Where is it?’ he demanded” (Jamaica Observer 12/24/06). While I am not sure that $3.5 million is an accurate account of the revenue generated by the Treaty Day event, both Rowe and Peddie have been in the office of colonel and are supposed to have had control of these funds which constitute the source of the budget they oversee from year to year. While both men are fighting each other for control of this money by accusing each other of stealing it, one can read between the lines and draw the conclusion that, while money is being made, and the colonel controls the money, very little if any of these funds are trickling down to the
WHAT DOES ACCOMPONG NEED?

A COLONEL WITH INTEGRITY
A COLONEL WHO IS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PEOPLE
A COLONEL WHO CARES ABOUT OUR CHILDREN
A COLONEL WHO CARES ABOUT THE ELDERS
A COLONEL WHO IS RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY
A COLONEL WHO RESPECT THE PEOPLE
DÉMAND THAT ALL VOTERS MUST COME TO ACCOMPONG TO VOTE
WE NEED A COLONEL WHO IS "NOT MEREDIE ROWE"

VOTE YOUR CONSCIENCE---SAVE ACCOMPONG
VOTE FOR NEW LEADERSHIP---NOW!

VOTE AGAINST MEREDIE ROWE NOW!
TO PROTECT THE HERITAGE OF THE MAROONS
VOTE AGAINST THE "PARAMOUNT CHIEF-THIEF"
VOTE TO SAVE ACCOMPONG TOWN NOW!!!!!

VOTE TO SAVE THE JANUARY 5 & 6 MONEY
VOTE TO RESTORE AND PROTECT MAROON TRADITIONS

~ VOTE AGAINST MEREDIE ROWE ~

Put the X beside the Bird  VOTE PEDDIE 🐸 ✗
majority of community members or being used to actively provide economic infrastructure or public services.

Another source of disagreement that arose at meetings with TPDCo was the expectation that community members would work collectively to prepare for the January 6th celebrations. While this expectation was based on TPDCo’s perception of the Maroons’ ideology of egalitarianism, Maroon egalitarianism did not mean that people working together did not expect to get paid. The problem was that any economic rewards gotten by this collective labor would not be enjoyed until after January 6. Under TPDCo’s interventions in the development of heritage tourism, it became common for people to work on a project during the year with expectations of being paid right after January 6th but this delay often caused serious economic hardship.

For example, during the summer of 2001 six men were hired to remove several large boulders near one of the guesthouses in order to construct a driveway. The work was done at the end of July and the men could not be compensated until after January 6. They were particularly unhappy about this arrangement since they needed money to purchase school supplies for their children in mid-August. If the January 6 revenue were as great as expected, and was channeled into community development, their reasoning goes, people working on community development projects shouldn’t have to wait until the next January to be paid. So, at the same time as people are being asked to work harder to promote heritage tourism, they continue to reference the thefts made by both colonels.

How sustainable is tourism, of any kind, as an engine of long-term economic development? Tourism is volatile and subject to fashion, oil prices, and airfares. It is questionable whether a community of four hundred and forty-four people in the 15 - 44
age range could support a four hundred room hotel; and what about infrastructure; reliable electricity, phones, cell phones and internet access? The overall unemployment rate for Jamaica in the third quarter of 2005 was 11.2% and a rate of 5.2% for those seeking employment. (www.statinja.com) Since the population of Accompong residents in their prime productive years is small, outsiders would flock to Accompong in search of jobs. Such an endeavor would no doubt result not only in rapid culture change, but impact negatively on the community as a whole since their role would now be to cater to tourists and gamblers. There's dubious wisdom in turning a community of peasant cultivators into one of waiters and bellhops. No doubt the Maroons will need to explore this option in more depth before proceeding. According to de Groot (1975), the Suriname Maroons were also engaged in tourism, but there are no descriptions of the type of tourism.

**Non-Governmental Aid**

Accompong receives nongovernmental aid from both domestic and foreign sources. Indeed foreign aid from the United States, Canada and Europe-- in a variety of forms ranging from building funds, donations of surplus food, medical services, books, training, technical equipment, conservation and preservation projects, to foreign trips--has increased dramatically since the 1990s.

In 1988, the United Way of Jamaica, a private, voluntary organization registered with the Jamaican government, contributed funds to Accompong’s health clinic (Gleaner: January 8, 1998). During the period of my fieldwork a dentist from Kingston and a team of volunteers he had recruited came to Accompong to provide dental work free to both
children and adults. Although similar aid comes from the charitable activities of a few other organizations and individuals inside of Jamaica, much more comes to Accompong from nongovernmental organizations located outside of the country.

In 1992, the Jane Finch Concerned Citizens Organization sponsored a group of Maroons to Canada. The Jane Finch Concerned Citizens Organization is based in Ontario, Canada where it provides social services and programs geared to youths and adults from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds. (www.jane-finch.com) The Maroon tour was aimed at forging a link between the Jamaican Maroons and Canada, the country to which the Trelawny Maroons were exiled in 1795. Maroons toured seven cities: Calgary, Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Saskatoon, Toronto and Winnipeg.

OXFAM and the Center for Natural and Traditional Medicines (CNTM), located in Washington, DC worked with elder Maroon healers to preserve traditional ethnomedical practices and transmit this knowledge to Maroon youth. As part of this jointly-sponsored Maroon Health Project, three Maroons also traveled to the United States for additional training.

In summer 2001, the Christian international aid organization Food for the Poor contributed donations of food and paid for the construction of an additional room for Accompong’s Basic School. Food for the Poor was started by Ferdinand Mahfood in 1982 to help destitute people in Central America and the Caribbean. Food for the Poor describes its own activities: “FFP collects funds from North American and European benefactors, purchases goods cost-effectively on the world market, ships the items duty-free and arranges for their distribution to the poor through churches, missionaries and charity organizations in 16 countries” (www.foodforthepoor.org). Food for the Poor
sponsored four distributions of food, one each through the United Church, the Pentecostal Church, the Basic School and the Maroon Council. Accompong’s Basic School had only a single room that housed both its pre-kindergarten and kindergarten classes before the additional construction provided by Food for the Poor was undertaken.

UNESCO made a commitment to contribute to the development of Jamaica’s Maroon communities and in 2004, donated some computers to the community center in Accompong. Representatives of UNESCO visited Jamaica that year and linked their presence to the organization’s research and documentation projects, specifically the ‘Slave Routes’ project. They also hoped to promote UNESCO-organized or -supported events related to reflecting on the global dimensions, as well as the local histories and consequences, of the international trade in enslaved Africans. While UNESCO representatives clearly saw the ties between their own efforts and the development of Jamaican Maroon communities as sites for heritage tourism, one of them made some cautious comments of warning reported in the Jamaica Daily Gleaner. “While acknowledging that the tourism industry was an important aspect of development, he warned, "We have to be careful how tourism takes place." He said: “It is good to have the visitors come and experience the celebrations of the land, but we should be careful not to destroy the environment, by putting up huge buildings and huge hotels…” (Gleaner: January 10, 2004).

The year 2004, also saw the visit to Jamaica of Helen Gehrer, the Austrian federal minister for education, science and arts. She had been stimulated by anthropologist Werner Zips to pay Accompong a visit and donate some expensive audiovisual equipment to the Accompong Maroon Council for use in the community center and
museum. In her remarks on the occasion, Gehrer stressed the connection to heritage tourism as did Colonel Peddie.

Visiting Austrian federal minister for education, science and arts, Helen Gehrer, has donated a brand new big-screen TV/VCR set, valued at over $100,000, to the Accompong Maroon Council in St Elizabeth. The equipment was handed over late last week…

The local Maroon museum, the Austrian minister said, could benefit from the use of the new audio-visual equipment she had presented. “This will allow visitors and Maroons alike to see parts of the extraordinary cultural heritage. We are also planning to copy all material that has been assembled by our Austrian researchers and deliver them to you next time,” she promised.

In accepting the gift, Colonel of the Accompong Maroons, Sydney Peddie, outlined the need to preserve and document his peoples heritage, history and culture. “This gift will go a long way in helping us to highlight, for our many visitors, a lot of what we have documented,” he said. “We, in Accompong, have long recognised that we have to make use of modern technology, such as computers, to inform the world about the Maroons.” (Observer: Thursday, February 12, 2004)

In January 2006, Colonel Peddie announced the formation of the Accompong Maroon Foundation, a non-profit company that, with the help of local and overseas agencies, would be responsible for the village’s development. The eleven development priorities of the Maroon Foundation include coordination of the annual festival, a 20-year plan of action for protection and preservation of Maroon heritage, a sports complex, redevelopment of early Maroon trails as tourist attractions, upgrade of a trade center for information and technology, the development of a history club and documentation unit, culture club and film unit, and the improvement of educational opportunities (Jamaica Observer 1/8/06). It is clear that Accompong will be dependent on outside agencies to provide the economic support for these expansion projects.
From the failure of some of the new projects, it is clear that the funding agencies often lack knowledge of the structure of Accompong and of the real conditions of life in this community. For example, Food for the Poor purchases much of the food it donates in 5-pound cans. During the food distributions, the team handing out food has to open these big cans and distribute much smaller amounts to each person who has come to get food. Even if each one of them were given an entire can of food, they would not be able to consume it all before spoilage occurred. Most people in Accompong do not have refrigeration of any kind and even the small number of individuals who do have refrigerators, experience frequent electricity blackouts which also contribute to food spoilage. While it is more economical to ship items in large quantities, if the receiving community is to utilize the donations, then they must be provided in small containers.

Accompong’s community center, where the health clinic and now the museum are located, has received more external funding than any other building in the community. It has received funding from Canadian Save the Children, CNTM and from the United Way. But the lack of a reliable supply of electricity, and a community center whose roof leaks, do not support the use of some of the electronic equipment that has been donated to it, such as the large TV and VCR donated by the Austrians. For this reason most of the computers that had been donated previously remained in their boxes unopened for years and are now, outdated. Training on electronic equipment needs to be ongoing. Similarly, training in other areas also requires continuous support. The Accompong health clinic’s herbal medicine garden, though sponsored by Oxfam and CNTM as part of the Maroon Health Project, was effectively abandoned when the project was terminated by OXFAM, because of the lack of such continuous support.
Summary

A close examination of the economic system in Accompong demonstrates that, historically, the village has been consistently underdeveloped with limited economic infrastructure unable to sustain a market. The economy is also heterogeneous. Income generated is limited, and not enough to support a state or all the community’s members need resulting in high rate of migration and dependency on remittances.

In the 1930s, the Accompong Maroons experienced the Depression like the rest of the Caribbean. Beginning in the 1960 through 1980s, there was modernization of agricultural production but instead of resulting in increase production and income, the Maroons experienced vulnerability on the global market. Beginning in the 1990s, the wealth of some of the villagers increased and the disparity between the top and bottom tiers has widened. In the 21st century, there has been a shift to tourism as a mode of economic development. However, with the economic downturn in 2008, there has been little or no tourist activity.

Farming in Accompong is based on traditional labor patterns were kin work each others’ farm without wages and the ability to claim produce from their labor. However, with the increase in cash crops, there is an increase in wage labor, and a decrease in traditional labor patterns.

This analysis highlights the shift from subsistence agriculture to tourism and non-governmental aid similar to other Jamaican Maroon communities but different from the South American Maroons. The South American Maroons are now engaged in tourism,
logging and mining for state supported multi-national corporations. After the civil war and encroachment by multinationals engaged in logging and mining, there has been a decline in agriculture as the Maroons are forbidden from accessing their ancestral lands. There are no data on remittances to the South American Maroons.

Unlike the rest of Jamaica and the Caribbean, both men and women in Accompong are engaged in marketing. From all indications, it is the men who are engaged in marketing among the South American Maroons. Rather than leading to greater prosperity and self-sufficiency, the government’s economic development policies led only to further instability, and the erosion of traditional agricultural and labor practices. By 2000, export agriculture was non-existent. This coincided with an increase in non-governmental aid, foreign and domestic and an increase dependence on tourism as a mode of development. With this shift in economic activities, the economic value of lands has significantly increased. No doubt, the number of individuals without land will increase and the lost of agricultural land will also increase the village’s food insecurity.
CHAPTER IV

LAND HISTORY

Introduction

Lowenthal argued that for people in the Caribbean land represents not just economic value, but also other values as well that may ultimately transcend economic values and may even be counter to them. These supra-economic values include:

….freedom, pride, status, continuity, solidarity, sovereignty—acquires greater dignity, even self conscious glory. Land symbolizes community solidarity and strengthens family ties...Land also links past, present, and future generations, as the abode of the dead and the still unborn… The Maroons’ possession of territory in the Jamaican interior symbolized independence from planters and governments and secured them against re-enslavement. (Lowenthal 1961:4-5)

Like Lowenthal (1961), I found that for the Accompong Maroons, land is symbolic of the freedom gained from plantation slavery with a 1757 land grant. These values transcend the economic value, and at times are counter to them. Maroons’ connection to the land is maintained from birth to death and beyond through certain rituals performed at key locations symbolizing community solidarity and continued family ties linking the past, present and future. However, some of these rituals have
fallen by the wayside as 92% of all births take place outside Accompong Town. Similarly, all preparation of the deceased for burial is handled outside the village. The possession of land provides the Maroons with dignity and self conscious glory that distinguishes them from landless Jamaicans.

Besson (1987) writes, “land use is governed by a complex of symbolic and economic values forged in the peasant village. Family land is not governed by the values of capitalist monoculture, but provides inalienable freehold rights, kinship identity, house-sites, a place for absentee to return in time of need, a spot for a kitchen garden and, traditionally, a family burial ground” (Besson 1987:104). Besson (1997) later argued that “Accompong corporate landholding represents a pronounced case of Caribbean creolization or “indigenization” in response and resistance to the capitalist world-system” (Besson 1997:206). However, as document here, Accompong’s landholding is no longer representative of resistance to the capitalist world-system. The economic value of land is increasing with land sales and leases to non-Maroons and this value may supersede the symbolic value as discussed in the previous chapter.

Zips (1996 and 1998) and Besson (1998) argue that there is legal pluralism in Jamaica in reference to the country’s land policy. Zips (1996 & 1998) also argues that the land tenure in Accompong is similar to that found in Suriname and West Africa. My analysis found that there is no legal pluralism in Jamaica and the land situation is different in Accompong than it is in Suriname. De jure, the colonial government legally dissolved communal property with the 1842 Land Allotment Act, but did not distribute individual land titles de facto. Caribbean scholars tend to only examine the legal system in reference to land tenure and legal unions (marriage).
Besson (1997) does not argue one way or another in term of the land boundaries. She notes:

The still on-going boundary disputes with the Jamaican Government, reinforced by the maroons’ continuing and controversial exemption from land taxes, are the most powerful rituals of separation. In 1996, the view remained in Accompong that the Jamaican state has deprived the Leeward polity of some of its treaty lands by falsely imposed boundary. Such claims vary: some say the Leeward Maroons were allocated land “from coast to coast” —that is, from the southern coast of St. Elizabeth to the north coast of Trelawny—and that they should therefore “have access to” the seaports of these two parishes. Others locate the true boundary nearer to Accompong, with disputed lands being those just beyond the imposed boundary, especially the land of Aberdeen. (Besson 1997:211-12)

My analysis supports Besson’s (1997) findings in that there are multiple arguments. Some Maroons do not argue that they were cheated by the number of acres specified in the treaty, but rather they claim the 1500 acres of land set out in the treaty for the Trelawny Maroons. Others argue that they were allocated land “from coast to coast.” The amount of land claimed differed from colonel to colonel and others in the administration. The amount of land claimed also varies depending on who is conducting the interviews with the Maroons. Since this event took place over almost 300 years ago, and no one was present, it leaves room for multiple interpretations without resolution. More recently, after making maps of the village available, some Maroons refuted the details of the maps located in Jamaica, and are asking for maps from England that they believe would show land totaling 15,000 acres. The bottom line is no matter how many maps are produced, the claim will remain since it is tightly bonded to the Maroon identity. Copies of maps acquired during my research were hand delivered to the Accompong officials (as they had no copies), and the maps took on added symbolic value at the same they are refuted. Maps were delivered to one individual with letters
containing copies of the maps, with instructions to pass on to Colonel Peddie (then colonel and Past Colonel Cawley) but this individual kept the letters with copies of the maps. In 2008, I was told by the individual in question that the letters were not delivered and they were considering running for the office of colonel. In effect, the maps along with a copy of the treaty then served as ‘cultural capital’ for this individual to run for the office of the colonel. Since, then, I made copies of the maps available to those I had promised.

Stanfield, Barthel and Williams (2003) in their paper entitled “Land Policy, Administration and Management in the English-Speaking Caribbean,” argues that “Like the institutional framework for land governance, the legal framework is often like a dusty library, with laws and regulations passed in responses to problems long ago in the colonial period which litter the legal landscape as their relevance has receded. In some cases, the importation of legal codes also implies the importation of concepts which do not include the subtleties of land tenure arrangements in the Caribbean, such as family or generational land” (Stanfield, Barthel and Williams 2003:39). The authors also argue that the colonial government never totally implemented the legal system on the ground due to lack of personnel and structure to support the collection of taxes from the total population. My position is it is not only the legal system in reference to land, but pretty much the majority of the citizens live outside the legal system. In the case of Accompong, very few births, marriages and deaths are registered with the state as discussed in the next chapter.
Land as a Symbol of Accompong Maroon Resistance and Freedom

Land is symbolic of freedom and resistance from plantation slavery for the Accompong Maroons represented by the 1739 treaty. With the abolition of slavery and marronage, the possession of communal land sets Maroons apart from other landless Jamaicans as there are no other distinguishing features between those who were and were not enslaved.

Accompong Maroons were given 1000 acres of land in 1757. However, the land area actually measured 1220 acres since Peace Cave would have been excluded from the Maroons’ land holdings during the survey of the land. Trelawny Town, or as it was usually called, Cudjoe’s Town, which is no longer in existence, was located about fifteen miles from the present site of Accompong’s Town. The latter is apparently an offshoot from Cudjoe’s Town and seems to have been founded by Accompong sometime between 1738 when the treaty was signed and 1742 when I find the first mention of Accompong as the leader of a separate town bearing his name. Strictly speaking, therefore, the treaty does not really apply to the Accompong Maroons, nor does the land grant contained in the treaty.

There are no records indicating where individual Maroons lived, or how large their lots were in the early days. Accompong Maroons have also maintained claim to the Trelawny Maroon land which was returned to the crown in 1796 after the Trelawny Maroons revolted against the British. Every colonel, with the exception of Colonel Peddie has tried, unsuccessfully, to gain this land. However, land offered in the 1939 and 1950s that required the payment of taxes were rejected.

Offers of land made in the 19th century were linked to the division of the communal land already in the Maroons’ possession, and the change of maroon status to one with “all the rights, privileges and immunities of British subjects as fully and
completely as the same are enjoyed by any other of Her Majesty’s subjects in the island”(CSO).

The first treaty was signed between the British government designees, Colonel John Guthrie and Lieutenant Francis Saddle, and Cudoje on March 1, 1738-9. This treaty granted Cudjoe and his group a 1,500-acre parcel of land in Trelawny (article three, Appendix II). This treaty did not include Accompong Maroons, under the leadership of Accompong—Cudjoe’s brother—already living in the Cockpit Mountains. Later it was recognized that Accompong Maroons lived in a separate area and the then governor promised to provide them a separate land grant. “Governor Knowles had promised a separate and additional block of land for the other town, but there had been no survey, and, after Knowles was recalled in 1756, the Accompong Maroons became increasingly nervous about the uncertainty of their title” (Kopytoff 1973:146). The Accompong Maroons petitioned the new governor for a treaty as land surrounding them was increasingly being occupied with new land owners. “Section 2 of 31 Geo Cap. 9 passed in 1758… gave 1,000 acres setting out the boundaries at Accompong in St. Elizabeth to ‘Colonel Accompong’, his Captains, adherents and men (being other part of the negroes formerly in rebellion)”. Section 3 provided that the lands shall be vested in the maroons and their heirs for ever.” (The Jamaica Law Report 1956)

A search by the new Governor found that the land was not surveyed as promised by Governor Knowles (CSO 7400, 07/18/1906), but was completed at a later date\(^1\). A tract of land was surveyed and laid out for Accompong Maroons (Map IV), dated August

\(^1\) Here there are discrepancies in the records.
10, 1757 and signed by William Wallace as directed by Governor, Sir Henry Moore.

This tract measured 1,000 acres and read:

In Obedience to an order from His Honor Henry Moore Esquire, Captain General, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief his Majesty's of Jamaica and the Territories thereon depending __, Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same bearing date of the 9th day of Dec. 1756.

I have surveyed and laid out for Accompong Town in parish of St. Elizabeth One Thousand Acres of land, bounding North-easterly on Land owned by James Smith and partly on land patented by George Baxted Esquire, South Easterly on land patented by Edward & Frances Smith now belonging to Mr. Samuel Smith, South on Land patented by Alexander Stanhope & partly on Land laid out for George Curry, West and North-west on Rocky Mount and Cockpits as appears more fully by the above Plot. Protracted by a Scale of 20 Chains in an Inch.

Performed this 10th day of August 1757

Part of the boundaries of the above Diagram Surveyed in September 1807 by the desire of Sir Eyre Coote K. B. & K. C. G. G.

Sgd. F. N. Fullerton C. S.

(CSO)
Other records noted that the land was not surveyed until 1807 although the Maroons were living in the area. In any case, when the land was surveyed in 1807, it measured 1125 acres. (JAJ:4:602, 644-5) Here, the land held by Accompong Maroons had increased by 125 acres. The surveyor and the colonial secretary wrote the governor advising him that it would be in his best interest for the Maroons to keep the land they had in their possession as the Peace Cave and other historical landmarks would be excluded from the land grant and that they did not want to have any more conflict with the Maroons.
I attach a copy for your Excellency's information. On the face of that plan it will be seen that Wallace during the administration of Sir Henry Moore in August 1757 laid down certain lines on earth purporting to allot 1000 acres to the Accompong Maroons and that in September 1807 during the administration of Sir Eyre Coote, John Fullerton, Crown Surveyor, retraced a portion of those lines.

I have examined Wallace's plan and find that while it purports to represent 1000 acres it actually measures 1125 acres. I also find that Mr. Harrison in making his survey of Accompong in 1868 did use Wallace's plan and laid down the line in accordance therewith, finding this actual contents by careful survey to be 1220 acres.

It was undoubtedly the intension of the Legislature in 1757 to allot the Accompong Maroons 1000 acres only but it is quite clear that the lines Wallace laid down embraced 1220 acres which they have had possession of for the past 150 years. I see quite clearly now what must have been Wallace's reason for allotting them land in excess of his instructions. If he had allotted them only 1000 acres extending from the Patents recorded in the Act 31 Geo. II. Cap.9 the Maroon Village or settlement of houses would have been omitted from the grant/it was in a different place then to where it is now/ and such an omission would very likely have led to another serious Maroon outbreak. (CSO 899: Signed, Surveyor General, July 18, 1906)

During the period when Accompong was without a treaty, they quarreled with the Trelawny Maroons “over the physical possession of their common treaty” (Kopytoff 1979:510). In 1795, the Trelawny Town Maroons revolted against the British, resulting in the Maroon War of 1795. (See Patterson 1970 and Carey 1997) Subsequently, the Trelawnies were exiled first to Nova Scotia, Canada and, ultimately, to Sierra Leone, West Africa. Accompong Maroons on their part, did not come to the aid of the Trelawny Maroons, but instead aided the British hoping to claim the Trelawny Maroons' land.

The British viewed the war as cause to revoke the treaty, but did not reward Accompong with the land. Instead, the land was returned to the crown and no Maroon or Maroon descendant could lay claim to the land once held by the Trelawny Maroons. Act 36 of George the Third, chapter 33, passed in 1796 reads:
That the negroes [sic] heretofore residing on or inhabiting or having or holding possession of any part of the lands of Trelawny Town in the parish of St. James aforesaid, shall be, and they and each, and every of them and their and each and every of their posterity shall be, and are hereby declared to be, deprived of and be debarred from all and all manner of claim, or pretense of claim of, in, to, or upon the hereinbefore mentioned fifteen hundred acres of land, or any part of parts thereof; anything in the hereinbefore mentioned Act notwithstanding. (Colonial Secretary Record copied for hon. Kerr-Jarrett)

The Land Allotment Act of 1842 altered among other things, the special status that Maroons possessed because of their treaty. This Act sought to give each Maroon two acres of land, the same rights as other citizens on the island, and remove the white superintendents living in Maroon enclaves. The superintendents were to receive 10 acres of land and 4 acres of land would also be set aside for a chapel, a school and a burial ground. Sections III and V of the Land Allotment Act of 1842 read:

III And whereas it is expedient that the several tracts of land allotted to the several maroon towns, and now enjoyed by the Maroons, should resumed by and be re-vested in her majesty for the purposes hereinafter mentioned: Be it enacted, That all and every the lands heretofore allotted and granted unto or for the use and behoof of the Maroons shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be, revested in her most gracious majesty, her heirs and successors, for the purpose of being allotted and granted as hereinafter mentioned.

V And be it enacted, That every maroon, of full age, shall be at liberty to apply to the commissioners of the parish in which his or her township or settlement shall be situate, who shall, and they are hereby required to grant, convey, and allot two acres to each such maroon, to and for the sole and absolute use of himself or herself, and his or her heirs and ensigns, and also where such party shall have, or be reputed to have, any children or grand-children, legitimate or illegitimate, a further quantity of one acre for each such child or grandchild: Provided, that in the event of there being more than one application for land on behalf of any such child or grand-child, no more than one acre of land shall be granted or allotted for the same child or grand-child, and such grant and allotment shall in such case be made to the person who, in the opinion of the commissioners, shall have the preferable right or claim thereto.
The Land Allotment Act was never successfully implemented in Accompong due to the Maroons’ resistance and the government’s inability to find sufficient land in the surrounding area to distribute. Below is an excerpt from a letter from the Director of Public Works, J. N. Mann, to the Colonial Secretary dated January 21, 1884. The letter speaks to the inability of the director to find land that was reasonably priced to disperse to the Maroons.

“With reference to your confidential letter No. 5264 SS779 dated October 1883, I beg to state that I am unable to propose any satisfactory arrangement for purchasing small parcels of land to which the Maroons of Accompong might be induced to remove, and so disperse themselves among the general population” (C. S. O. 4GO/458). An earlier correspondence from the government surveyor attached to the above letter reported that the Crown did not have land in the area ready for forfeiture and that other properties were expensive, or just plain rocky and inhospitable.

Between 1895 and 1904, nine cases are cited where Maroons illegally occupied privately owned or Crown land. The government offered to sell land to the Maroons, but they twice refused the government’s offer and the land was eventually sold to someone else; after this the Maroons could no longer squat on it. However, Deputy Colonel Harris N. Cawley (2001, 2003 & 2008) argues that the land belonged to the Maroons in the first place. Therefore, the government could not sell what was not theirs.

How do the Accompong Maroons maintain their claim on the Trelawny treaty? They do so through what is in effect an origin myth linking certain areas of the village to pass events and their ancestors. There are a number of land marks nearby to the present day village that related back to what they call the “Old Time”, when all the Maroons had
magical powers, when they fought the British and won their freedom. First there is “Ambush Cave” or “Peace Cave” which represents the chief spot where the British forces, if they came from the east, were waylaid. As Peace Cave it represents the place where the Treaty was signed. In the latter connection it is a sacred spot, and is considered a favorite hangout for the “Old People”, that is the ghosts of the old war-time Maroons. In the rear of the cave is hidden a bottle of rum for the use of the spirits when they visit there. Another sacred spot is called Kindah, and it is here that the “soldiers” were buried, that is the original Maroon warriors. Kindah has certain uses in ceremonies involving the ghosts of the Old People, and it is a favorite place for the practice of obeah. It is also the place where food is prepared for the ancestors as discuss later in the religion chapter.

Finally there is Oldtown, which is the place where the Maroons lived back in the days of the “Great War”. It also contains the graves of those of the Old People who have been remembered by name: Accompong, Nanny, his sister, and his two brothers, Quaco and Cuffee. Oldtown is about five acres of flat land entirely surrounded by cliffs and steep hills reaching about 100 feet or more. The outstanding feature of the place is four tremendous cotton trees which have large gnarled roots which are partially above ground. Under each of the four trees lives the ghost of one of the four siblings; Accompong, Nanay, Cuffee and Quankee. Nearby to Accompong’s tree, which is near to the back wall of Oldtown is a flat stone. This marks the grave of Accompong. The area immediately around his grave is the holy of holies and in military fashion called the “camp” and until recently there was a house built over it in which were kept all the sacred
paraphernalia of the Accompong cult. It was in front of this house that the annual feast in honor of Accompong’s birthday was held.

The stories about the Old Time people always stress the wonderful magical powers they had. The best example of this is the explanation that is given as to how the Maroons were able to defeat the British so consistently. Nanny, the sister, had the greatest science (magic) of them all. During the war it was always impossible for the British forces to surprise the maroons, for Nanny could always see them coming. And it was impossible for any British bullet to hurt any Maroon, for if a bullet hit any of them, it fell harmlessly to the ground. The source of this invulnerability was two-fold; The Maroons soldiers were protected by a magical guard, consisting of a drink made of rum, weed, and blood.

Another superiority of the Maroons was that they never could run out of ammunition. The power they obtained from dried spices, and the bullets they got from the British, simply picking up the bullets fired by the British after they had fallen to the ground. Accompong’s sister Nanny was a specialist at this. She would go out in the open, attract the full fire of the British force, and catch as many as fifty bullets at a time. Before these bullets were used they were purified with a concoction of rum and weeds to remove any magical charms the British may have upon them. Then the bullets were fired and because of their treatment they were infallible—they missed their mark. So when one considers that the maroons could always tell when the enemy were approaching, that they were invulnerable to enemy bullets, and that all of their shots always found their mark it is not surprising that the British had considerable trouble in suppressing them.
The signing of the treaty at Peace Cave is an event that is well remembered to the present day. Captain Cudjoe “signed” for the maroons, Col. Guthrie for the British. They each cut their arms with a knife and the blood of the white man and the blood of the black man was mixed with rum, and this is the link with which the treaty was signed. Afterwards the mixture was drunk by both sides. Then Accompong stepped forward and presented Col. Guthrie with a puzzle. First he called for a quart of strong coffee to which he added an equal amount of milk. Then he said to the Colonel, “Now you must divide the milk from the coffee.” But Guthrie answered, “No, now that they have been mixed they can never be separated”. And Accompong answered, “It is the same with us today.” The white man is the milk, and the Maroons is the coffee. We have mixed or blood as the coffee and milk are mixed and they can never be separated.” This myth serves to establish the equality of the whites and the blacks, and assures that they will live in peace for all time.

This story is essentially an origin myth and a charter. The treaty establishes the physical extent of the land under Maroon domain, and it defines the Maroons’ relations to the colonial government and to the outside world, absolutely. The Maroons are to live in freedom and liberty forever, paying no taxes. This absolute quality of the treaty is stressed in all present day conversation concerning the treaty. The treaty is a blood treaty and can never be broken.

The traditional account of Maroon history culminating in the account of the signing of the treaty is essentially an explanation of how the village came into being through the wonderful efforts of the miraculous ancestors of the present day maroons. This sense of genealogical continuity is expressed, among other ways, in the concept they have of a “Royal Maroon”. A Royal maroon is one whose parents and grandparents and great-grandparents and so on, ad finitum, were maroons, and married endogamously within the village. He is a superior person than one whose
grandmother, let us say, came from outside. The latter is a Maroon, all right, but not a Royal one. The treaty, a copy of which is today a part of the paraphernalia of the village’s ritual leader, serves as a present day proof of the validity and authenticity of the origin myth, as the origin myth serves as a sacred sanction to the current force of the provisions of the treaty. (Cooper n.d.)

**Land Claims**

There is no consensus among Maroons about the validity of the present land boundaries of Accompong and total acreage. Instead there are a variety of opinions concerning what the land provisions of the treaty actually were, how much acreage was promised, and where this land is located. Altogether, the Accompong Maroons now hold 2876 acres of land as opposed to the 1000 acres originally granted.

A reference point for many arguments about the amount of land Maroons can claim is the fifteen hundred acre amount explicitly spelled out in the 1739 treaty. Many of the Accompong Maroons’ arguments and demands upon government have concerned whether or not they actually possess this amount of land and the amount of additional acreage to which they are entitled. Although the fifteen hundred acre figure remains a reference point for the original land grant, the colonial government repeatedly made the Accompong Maroons land offers that amounted to more than 1,500 acres and these offers were always rejected as they were also expected to pay taxes on the land being offered.

Some Maroons have argued that the present boundaries do not add up to 1500 acres. There are also individuals who acknowledge the present land boundaries and even appear to accept them, initially. But these people go on to note that, whatever the amount of land may have been that was granted to the Maroons in the beginning, the government
has been gradually stealing it back over the years and that whenever the government surveyed Maroons’ lands, their actual acreage decreased. For this reason they think that is important for Maroons to be present when their land is being surveyed. Carey (1997:358-360), Campbell (1988) and Rupert Robinson go much further and argue that the 1500 acre figure is incorrect and that the treaty actually gave Cudjoe 15,000 acres of land instead.

Further complications stem from oral traditions relating to a disagreement between Cudjoe, the major war leader and chief signatory to the treaty, and his brother Accompong. Exactly what this argument was about is not something that has come down to us but, whatever it was, it resulted in Accompong establishing a separate territory outside of Trelawny where he exercised authority. The social and political distance between the two groups of Maroons was such that, when the Trelawney Maroons revolted against the British, Accompong aided the British against the Trelawnies. The Trelawney revolt was a violation of the 1739 treaty and many but not all of the Trelawney Maroons were deported to Canada because of it; they also lost the lands ceded to them by this treaty which reverted back to the Crown. Some refugee Trelawney Maroons took up residence in Accompong’s territory and became part of his group. The forfeiture of the Trelawney Maroons’ lands to the British government following the revolt is not something many Accompong Maroons remember nor, if they know of it, do they recognize it as valid; consequently some Accompong Maroons claim that the land formerly belonging to the Trelawney Maroons also should belong to them. This group argues that the total land should be 2500 acres consisting of 1500 acres granted to
Cudjoe, in addition to the 1000 acres granted to Accompong. According to one informant, Hansley Reid:

The real home of the Accompong Maroons is not St. Elizabeth but Trelawney. The treaty was signed between Edward Trelawney and Edward Kojo and really granted the Maroons from 7 miles out to sea at Falmouth seaport in the north, west out to Alexander Open to Troy and Hanover, south to Black River. So the real extent of the land that should be theirs by right extends from Black River to Falmouth and west of where Accompong is now. All treaty agreements were signed by King George III, written in the House of Commonwealth. (Reid 2001)

This account includes an important historical inaccuracy. The 1739 treaty was signed by the British officers Sadler and Francis, not Edward Trelawney who, although he may have given his name to the area, did not sign the treaty; also Sadler and Francis signed on behalf of King George III, who did not sign the treaty himself.

The boundaries Reid invokes differ from what other Maroons, - even those who agree with him that the Trelawney lands belong to Accompong, - have to say about this issue. More recently, in an argument concerning bauxite mining in the Cockpit Country, Accompong Council member Melvin Currie argued that Accompong was not a part of St. Elizabeth at all, but a sovereign country. “He insisted that contrary to the long-held public view that Accompong Town was a part of St Elizabeth, the Maroon village and the surrounding Cockpits were a “sovereign” and separate area surrounded by the parishes of St Elizabeth, Trelawny and St James and should be treated as such”(Observer, January 8, 2007).

Barker and Spence see a latent function in the Maroons’ vagueness about the boundaries of the land claim. These authors write: “Their land claim is deliberately couched in vague geographical terms as a bargaining counter, and extends northwards into the forested and uninhabited regions of Cockpit Country” (Barker and Spence
1988:201). However, the Maroons’ refusal of land ensures their continued existence as a distinct group. The symbolic meaning of land as a symbol of maroon resistance far outweighs the economic value of land.

Land offers made in the 20th century required Maroons to pay nominal taxes on at least some of the additional land being offered. These offers were refused. Colonel Henry A. Rowe petitioned the government in the mid 1930s for additional land and for a survey that would set out its boundaries. Colonel Rowe’s position was that the Maroons were due 1,500 acres, but had only received 1,220. He was confident the government and the lawyers would settle the dispute and make an offer of 280 acres. (Gleaner, August 16 & 19, 1938) Nothing came of this. When the bicentenary celebrations of the treaty signing came around, some Maroons were angry that additional land was not being made available despite their two centuries-old claim. This period was also the Depression. The resulting internal conflict prompted Colonel Rowe’s resignation.

In his letter of resignation published in the August 14, 1938 issue of the Gleaner, Colonel Rowe questioned whether or not the Maroons were granted the land they were claiming, or whether they had failed to take claim earlier when the land was granted. This position was different than his earlier position. Rowe continued to note that the Maroons should not use violence against the colonial government since they had maintained peace for two hundred years.

As we have said, if the forefathers of these people were granted a certain amount of land, which they failed to take up at the time, and which since then has not passed into the hands of private persons but is still in the possession of the Government, there should be no difficulty in their successfully maintaining their claim. Of course, if men and women have for generations neglected to take over land once given to them, it may technically be contended that their hold on that property has ceased; but such bare technicalities are not in the least likely to
weigh with any Government if it is dealing with people who sincerely believe that special privileges they enjoyed a century ago are still in existence, and whose forefathers were indubitably presented with some land as part of an agreement between them and the then existing Jamaica Government…

The younger persons of the Accompong Settlement, therefore, would do well to leave the adjustment of this matter in the hands of those who understand the situation better than they do and who are anxious that their good name of a century's standing should in no way be tarnished at this date. (August 14, 1938:12)

After Colonel Rowe’s resignation Thomas Cawley took the colonelship. Under Cawley’s leadership, Maroons seized timber and sleepers (material used to tie railway tracks) from government contractors who were working on crown land where Maroons were squatting and claimed as their own. The Maroons declared that they were going to keep the lumber and sleepers until the land was re-surveyed. They repeated these acts again in November 1938.

In February of 1939, Major Robinson visited the governor to press the case for more land. The position Robinson espoused was that the Maroons were entitled to 2,500 acres of land. It was only upon this visit that Robinson learned that the land previously held by the Trelawny Maroons had been returned to the crown. Robinson argued that such a reversion of land was invalid; the Maroons’ treaty was a ‘blood treaty’ and not just a piece of paper; the blood oath has made its provisions eternally binding. He continued to press the 2,500 acre claim.

On June 17, 1939, Governor Sir Arthur Richards visited Accompong and offered the Maroons 3,000 to 4,000 acres of land that would be held communally. The 1,300 acres of land already in the possession of the Maroons would remain tax free but the additional new acreage would be taxed at a nominal rate. The Maroons would have only
agricultural and surface rights on this property; the crown reserved all mineral and oil rights. In the event that the new parcel of land was divided into individual plots, the taxes would increase to the market rate. Governor Richards made an official offer in writing in a letter dated June 20, 1939. This same land offer was published in the Gleaner on March 5, 1940 by Colonel Thomas Cawley.

Cawley and his officers thought this was a reasonable offer but the former Colonel Rowe opposed it. Rowe published a letter in the July 5, 1939 Gleaner, arguing that the Maroons would not know what to do with so much land. Recall that Rowe only argued for an additional 280 acres of land. Later, he changed his mind and argued that what the Maroons really wanted was 1,500 acres of tax free land contiguous with the land they already possessed. Some Maroons wanted the land the government offered; others did not. In the end, there was no consensus and Cawley rejected the land offer.

From September 3, 1938 to February 1, 1939 the colonial government conducted a survey of Maroon land. On March 4, 1941 they surveyed Cockpit Country lands belonging to the Crown. As a result of these two surveys Maroons lost unpatented land west of Accompong where previously they had been recognized squatters. The government took this land and sold it to individual non-Maroon buyers since the Maroons had refused to purchase it. But the Accompong Maroons gained land too when, following the surveys, the government turned over to them 1523 acres of unpatented land to their north (see Map V, pg. 330).

In 1945, at the request of Charles Kirlew who was seeking to purchase property in the area, H. H. Brandon surveyed the land once more. It took him from March 2\textsuperscript{nd}
through July 21st and from December 12th through 15th to do it. The resulting map showed Peace Cave as belonging to the Maroons but did not change Accompong’s boundaries. However, three years later, H.A. Rowe was in disagreement over the Maroons’ boundary.

In 1948, H. A. Rowe, who was once again back in office as colonel, sent a deputation consisting of a Mr. Cascoe², then Accompong’s Social Welfare Officer, his wife, and a Mr. J. Patterson to visit the governor to settle the land dispute. The event was reported in the Gleaner.

A land dispute in Accompong Maroon Town, St. Elizabeth brought a deputation from the settlement to the Colonial Secretary yesterday. Later the office of the Director Surveys was communicated with. The Director was not in and the matter was postponed for today…

The deputation was cordially received at the Secretariat. Mr. Cascoe said. “Colonel-in-Chief” H. A. Rowe, Major Cully and all other officers of the Maroons are anxious that the dispute should be settled at the earliest possible date. (Gleaner, May 12, 1948)

In 1952, Thomas Cawley was colonel again and he lodged a complaint calling for clarification of the Maroons’ land boundaries. He warned that the Maroons would take action against the government if the matter was not settled. From Cawley’s letter to the Gleaner we learn that the government had seized and jailed six Maroons for trespassing on government property. Cawley does not mention the additional land in the north that had been given to the Maroons after the 1939 and 1941 surveys. So there is no knowledge of what happened to this land.

“Colonel” T. J. Cawley made the complaint that from 1938 the Maroons called upon the Government of Jamaica to “justify” their boundaries and it had not up to now been done.

² Mr. Cascoe was appointed by the governor to live in Accompong to resolve the leadership crisis.
Colonel Cawley says the Maroons themselves had obtain a Surveyor to “justify” the boundaries and the Government Surveyor and objected to it.

Subsequently, six Maroons were sent to prison as trespassers “on our own land,” and on March 12, “Government Forest men attacked some of our own men cutting timber on our own land and took away their tools.”

“Failure by Government to “justify” their boundaries will be the cause of a striking headlines,” states Colonel Cawley. In relation to the allegation concerning the Forest men he said: “had we got the call in time the headlines would be O.K.” “We are also asking the Lands Department to advise their Forest men not to put foot on our land.”

Contacted yesterday, the Conservator of Forests told the Gleaner that the matter was in the hands of the Government. Other Government sources questioned could throw no light on the situation at the moment.

(Gleaner, March 20, 1952)

These threats never went any farther than Thomas Cawley’s words as no ‘striking headlines’ appeared in the Gleaner. Fourteen years, and several new governors, after the 1939 land offer, the colonial government made another attempt to resolve the land claim. The Governor, Sir Hugh Foot, sought a peaceful reconciliation with the Maroons, and invited Colonel Cawley and his wife to King’s house [governor’s house], to discuss the continuing conflict. The governor hoped that the Maroons would settle the dispute in the spirit of Cudjoe and Governor Trelawny of 1739 and promised to visit Accompong on January 20 the following year. Sir Hugh Foot’s land offer totaled 4,000 to 5,000 acres of land, of which the 1,353 acres that had never been in dispute, and the 1,523 acres of crown land that had been turned over to the Maroons after the 1939-1941 survey, would form a part. Under Governor Foot’s plan, a team would first visit Accompong to assess the Maroons’ needs and implement an economic development plan intended to improve their living conditions. There would be no new survey of the land (Gleaner, October 6,
1953.) This offer represented an additional 2,124 acres of land which is almost equal to the amount of land already in Maroon hands.

Examination of Accompong’s economy as discussed in chapter 3 demonstrates that the governors did manage to implement some economic incentives; but in the end the maroons refused his land offer. The land they wanted and claimed lay elsewhere in a vague location within the Cockpit Country. Nine years later Jamaica became independent and for the most part the Maroons were more anxious about their legal status in the newly independent nation than acquiring more land.

The Bauxite Conundrum

Land in the Cockpit Country (adjacent to Accompong Town) is valuable not only to the Maroons, but other national and international parties as well. In 2006 and 2007, Alcoa Minerals of Jamaica set off a full scale storm when it sought to begin mining bauxite in the Cockpit Country. The Cockpit Country boasts a rich biodiversity and there is no doubt that the state of the ecology and the conditions in which people live would be severely compromised by extensive bauxite mining. The aquifers under the Cockpit Country feed five major rivers, - the Black River, Cabarita River, Great River, Montego River, and the Martha Brae; five parishes, - St. Elizabeth, Hanover, St. James, Westmoreland and Trelawny, - all derive their water supplies from this forested area; so any mining undertaken in this area would pose a threat to the water supplies and other areas of the environment of most of western Jamaica.
Various stakeholders have come together and launched a national and international protest against bauxite prospecting in the Cockpit. The stakeholders include various scientists, educators, Birdlife Jamaica, Dolphin Head Trust, Bluefields Peoples’ Community Association, Bluefields Bay Fishermen’s Friendly Society, Southern Trelawny Environmental Agency, Caribbean Coastal Area Management Foundation, Countrystyle Community Tourism Network, International School of Jamaica, Jamaica Environment Trust, Manchester Environmental Protection Association, Negril Environmental Protection Trust, Northern Jamaica Conservation Association, the Plant Conservation Centre, Portland Environment Protection Association, the Sustainable Communities Foundation, and Windsor Research Centre. The Maroons have also joined the fight to save the Cockpit Country from bauxite mining and Colonel Peddie has promised a third Maroon war should any mining take place. “This bauxite digging will not be permitted or allowed in the Cockpit, it would be a dreadful fight,” he said. “I tell you it would lead to the third Maroon war because we live in the area and we know the destruction that this would cause and we are not in for it at all” (Gleaner: Saturday December 30, 2006). “We do not want any bauxite mining up there at all and we will have to fight it until the last Maroon is dead,” said a determined Melville Currie, Maroon Council member. “It is a sacred area where our ancestors fought and died - so we think it should be preserved”(Gleaner: Monday, May 21, 2007).

Peddie noted that:

“The World Bank came in a couple of years ago saying that they wanted to make the place a protected area, but when we found out that in their plans they would want to bar the Maroons, who the place belong to, from going in, we did not sign and they left,” he said.
“Now they are coming back through the back door talking about digging bauxite—that will not happen.” (Gleaner: Saturday December 30, 2006).

Since May 2007, the government has suspended talks about mining in the area until more evaluations have been conducted.

Other Maroon Communities

There is little information on the inheritance pattern of land in Moore Town and Scotts Hall, located in Jamaica and the South American Maroons. The Moore Town Maroons hold a portion of their land communally, and families own their own land with titles, but there is no information on inheritance patterns.

The Jamaican Scotts Hall Maroons was a splinter group from Crawford Town who were granted permission to settle in the middle of the island near Scotts Hall with permission from the colonial government on 610 acres of land. In 1754, dissident Maroons destroyed the settlement resulting in some of the Maroons settling elsewhere, and named the settlement Charles Town. The government purchased land for the group in 1770. All total, Charles Town Maroons were given 867 ½ acres of land. This group continued to experience boundary disputes with the white settlers and requested to move to another location. However, their request was denied. After the 1842 Land Allotment Act, the Scotts Hall Maroons complied and divided their land although they upheld the corporate nature of their land holding. Boundary disputes continued until 1964. In 1938, Charles Town Maroons demanded land from the St. Mary’s Custos arguing they were
ejected 30 or 40 years previously on Emancipation Day. However, no additional land was
given to this group.

In the 18th century, the Dutch and French signed treaties with various Maroon
groups—Saramaks, Aluku, Djuka, Matawai, Kwinti after several decades of fighting.
Some Saramaka and Alukus live among the Djuka on the lower Marowijne (Maroni
River), and there are several Saramaka, Djuks, and Matawai villages on the lower
Saramak River. The Kwinti live on the lower Coppenname River. There do not appear to
be any fixed boundaries for these groups as they lived well into the interior. There are
disputes between the several Maroon groups and later by the colonial and post-colonial
governments.

Price writes about the Saramaka Maroons:

Problems of land rights have been of concern since earliest
runaway days. It is on the basis of claims “staked-out” by the leaders of
the various los as they first moved into the interior that much of Saramaka
territory is divided into large sections among the los today. Many other
sections, however, are now controlled by los other than the original
owners, sometimes by rights bestowed on them as “fathered children” or
wife-givers, more rarely by de fatco settlement without previous
permission -- which has often led to serious disputes. Problems of large-
scale land tenure along the river have long been complex because of
gradual, ongoing resettlement, during the last two centuries since peace
was declared, of the northern areas through which the runaway had once
moved. (Price 1975:139)

These groups face challenges now from multinational corporations and their own
governments. In the 1960s, pre-independent Suriname dispossessed Saramaka Maroons
of their lands in collaboration with multinational corporations involved in mining and
logging. For example, in order to construct a hydroelectric dam and lake, Alco
dispossessed some six thousand Saramaka Maroons. After Suriname gained
independence in 1975, both Maroons and indigenous communities, were stripped of their
rights to land (and its potential riches) endangering their rights to exist as separate peoples by successive governments who pursued an increasingly militant and destructive policy. The Maroons and the indigenous peoples have no rights or say about the land on which they live, as they are being denied access to their agricultural lands, hunting grounds and sacred sites and facing genocide.

The Aluku or Boni Maroons of French Guiana is the only Maroon group that chose allegiance to the French government. “The traditional territory of the Aluku is now divided between three communes: Maripasoula, Grand-Santi-Papaichton, and Apatou. The establishment of these communes has superimposed a French administrative structure- one still poorly understood by many, if not most, Aluku – over the traditional Aluku social system”(Bilby 1989). These changes came about due to assimilation and emigration. Large numbers of Aluku Maroons migrated to urban centers. Villages with a population of 100 or more now number 5 or 10 full-time residents. In addition to out-migration, the interior is now being mined and logged by multinationals, drawing large number of immigrants from Haiti, Brazil and Suriname. The Aluku Maroons were also running large goldmining operations. The position of the Aluku of French Guiana is slightly different from the Maroons of Suriname. It is more than likely that these groups will cease to exist as a group in the very near future unless the United Nations increases its commitment to the indigenous peoples.
Summary

Land in all Maroon communities is an economic asset and symbolic of freedom set out in their treaties, and ritualized in particular geographic locations. As demonstrated, these relationships are complex. In the case of the Accompong Maroons, the symbolic aspect of land in terms of a continued land claim outweighs the economic aspect of land of more land that would be taxed. They have been successful in resisting paying taxes on their land. This claim is of added value since the Accompong Maroons did not a treaty as the Trelawny Maroons did. The communal land distinguished Maroons from non-Maroons and reinforces the Maroons’ relationship with the state that differs from other communities. Communal land among the Maroons is similar to family land found throughout the Caribbean. However, the relationship between the Jamaican Maroons land tenure differs from the South American Maroons.

The only maroon community that has continued a land claim against the colonial and post-colonial governments is the Accompong Maroons. Their continued land claim stems from the problem that there was one treaty with the British that covered both the Accompong Maroons and the Trelawny Maroons. In this treaty, the land boundary and size was set out for the Trelawny Maroons but not the Accompong Maroons. Additionally, the Trelawny Maroons were disbanded and their land confiscated by the crown. However, the post-colonial government has not proved them with more land.

In Suriname and Guyana, the post-colonial governments simply made deals with multinational corporations from countries such as Indonesia, Brazil, the United States, Canada, China and the World Bank to mine, log and create dams in the interior, without
regard to the Maroons and other indigenous groups. This has resulted in the displacement of entire Maroon groups with the creation of dams, and military force used to keep Maroons away from their ancestral land. These Maroon and indigenous groups have no rights to land in the eyes of the state. In effect, the treaties are not binding to the post colonial governments as they claim that all the land in the country is state property.
Chapter V

KINSHIP AND HOUSEHOLD

Introduction

There is very little data on the kinship system of the Accompong Maroons so there is no information as to whether Maroon women were having children with the white British Superintendents stationed in the village, creating the class-color divide found in the wider Jamaica. However, we do know that presently there are Maroon women having children with white Americans.

Information from Dunham (1942) and Williams (1938) focused on the low marriage rate and high rates of illegitimate children, as it was the anthropological theoretical framework of Caribbean ethnology. However, they don’t tell us about the kinship patterns. In the 1930s Rev. Joseph Williams was informed that “most of the Maroons [were] married by the Presbyterian Minister. There are few illegitimate children, but this is usually with the intention of getting married. Most children are thus legitimate, and most of the rest are made legitimate by the subsequent marriage of their parents” (Williams 1938:391).
Cooper’s fieldwork was interrupted by WWII, but his notes and correspondence to his advisor detailed findings on rituals, myth and kinship structure found what he thought would “probably be hard even for Durkheim to swallow” (Letter to McKim Marriott, September 2, 1948). One learns from his letter and notes, the difficulties he encountered in trying to make sense of his findings and framing them in the theoretical framework of functionalism. Cooper tried to compare the Accompong Maroons to the Australian Aborigines among whom he did fieldwork earlier and the North East Algonquins based on the work of Ruth Landes, but without success. His genealogical data included cross-cousin cohabitation, men with multiple partners and Maroons mating with non-maroons.

Anthropological work in the Caribbean from the 1940s to 1980s focused on the organization of lower class Afro-Caribbean families and households following the Monye Commission of 1938-39. Early kinship studies of the Caribbean were that of the social pathology school and included Simey (1946) and Henriques (1953) who viewed Caribbean kinship forms as “deviant” because they did not fit the Western model of legal marriage. The cultural-diffusion school where Afro-Caribbean social patterns originated in West Africa with practices of polygamy and female headed household with economic independence followed. Debate began between Herskovits (1941) and E. Franklin Frazier (1939). They both argued that African Diaspora families in the New World were ‘maternal’ and ‘extended,’ with a high frequency of common-law unions and high illegitimate rates. Additionally, the mother-child bond was the primary one that survived slavery.

Herskovits (1941) argued that the structure of the family was based on African cultural patterns while Frazier (1939) argued that traces of African culture were wiped
out by the black experiences in America which included slavery, emancipation, post-
slavery racism and continued oppression.

The structural-functionalist school which included R. T. Smith, (1956, 1957 &
1988); Edith Clarke (1957); Fernando Henriques (1953); M. G. Smith (1962); Whitten
and Szwed (1970); Whitehead (1978) argued that Afro-American family patterns are a
functional adaptation to economic marginality as opposed to dysfunctional unit. M. G.
Smith (1962) wrote that there were a variety of mating relationships such as “extra-
residential relationships,” and their effects on household structure. Douglas’ (1992) study
found that extra-marital mating was found among middle class Jamaicans and there was a
class/color hierarchy dynamics at play.

Dirks and Kerns (1976) who added a historical dimension to their study argued
that mating patterns was an ‘adaptive strategy’ in response to the changing economic
opportunities over the years. J. Gussler (1996) in her work on St. Kitts, and other
Feminist scholars also argued that the female-headed hold households were an ‘adaptive
strategy’ to survive in circumstances of poverty, unemployment and male migration.
Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) argued that African culture was replaced with self-hatred
and dysfunctionalism.

Gonzalez (1970) argued that the mother’s potential for maintaining supportive
relationships with her consanguines and other men is restricted by the presence of
unemployed conjugal males. Whitehead (1978) argued that “the absence of local
employment also frequently leads to the out-migration of workers, usually men, for
temporary periods or permanently. Often, the permanent emigrants are young single men

without familial responsibility” (Whitehead 1978:118). I found that both men and women, with and without familial obligations migrated from Accompong.

In her pioneering work conducted fieldwork in three Jamaica communities, Clarke (1966) argued that there was a positive relationship between land ownership, local occupational opportunity and conjugal stability and legitimate births. Economic conditions and land were necessary for marriages. Clarke (1953:40) views family land as a survival of Ashanti kinship system with joint inheritance, equal rights of all the family and the inalienability of land.

In the 1970s, Mintz (1974) focused on peasant formation and the creolization concept was born. Mintz argued that:

A core feature of the argument rest on the assumption that Caribbean populations, whether slaves, indentured laborers, or contract laborers, have consistently struggled to define themselves either within culturally distinctive communities or as members of family lines…A key to this assertion is the significance of land for Caribbean rural folk – a significance that far exceeds any obvious economic considerations…the creation of peasantries was simultaneously an act of westernization and an act of resistance. (Mintz 1974:154-5)

The discussion on the relationship between kinship and land as “African cultural survival” or legacy of colonialism continued as well. Greenfield (1960) argued that Barbadian family is based on the English cultural heritage; namely the upper-class legal technique of the “settlement” and the associated ‘seed to seed’ clause. M.G. Smith (1960:12; 1965:261) family land in Carriacou is a functional adaptation to the island’s social structure. R. T. Smith (1971:254-255) interpreted family land in Guyana as derived from the Roman-Dutch property code of joint rights in undivided land.

Mintz (1974:242) argued that the problems of land tenure and the transmission of land rights among Caribbean peasantries remain largely unsolved, in spite of interesting
and careful work by such scholars as Clarke (1953, 1957), Comhaire-Sylvain (1952), and M. G. Smith (1956), Price (1967) on the mysteries of Caribbean peasant land tenure.

Besson wrote that “while minor variations exist in these rules (inheritance), Caribbean peasantry share similar systems of inheritance based on an ideology of cognatic descent; that is, all children of both sexes inherit rights to land from both parents. When combined with the transmission of such rights in perpetuity to the descendants of a common ancestor these rules result in the creation of the institution variously known as ‘family land’, ‘generation property’ or ‘children’s property’ widely noted throughout the Caribbean (Besson 1979:86)

If all children inherited land equally, this would create serious problems and eventually, someone would be left without property, appoint raised by both Leach and Davenport. Leach (1960:117) and Davenport (1961:449) both argued that inheritance based on equal rights from both parents for all children would lead to total confusion.

How is the inheritance of land and other property operationalized? Fox argued that when land is bequeathed bilaterally to all children, there needs to be a mechanism in place for such a system to be operationalized. He noted that this is “achieved by restriction on residence: only those who reside with the group are members of it” (Fox 1967:152). In Accompong, the mechanism in place includes both residence and wealth, wealth to maintain one’s property during absence or to purchase land on returning home after an extended absence.

The relationship between land and kinship in Accompong is similar to other rural non-Maroon Jamaican communities, the non-maroon communities of the Bahamian Out Islands, Barbuda, the Black Caribs of Belize, St. Vincent, Danish island of St. John as
identified by Olwig (1981 & 1985), and other Caribbean islands. However, if differs from the Caribs of Dominica. The Caribs of Dominica own land communally as a reserve and their status vis-à-vis the state differs from the Accompong Maroons as they “do not hold deeds to the plots that they cultivate; the five and one-half square miles of land which comprise the Carib Reserve have been in trust by the government since 1902. But Caribs have exclusive rights to the use of this land…Residents who were born in the Reserve are considered by other Caribs to be Caribs, regardless of racial appearance” (Layng 1985:213-5). This inheritance pattern is to ensure that land remain in the hands of Caribs rather than returning to the state.

The legacy of marronage resulted in a population not naturally reproducing and predominantly male which is similar to the legacy of slavery where natural reproduction would not have been the focus of the society as argued by Caribbean historian Curtin (1998); but with land. In addition to this legacy, the Maroons experienced population decline in the post-treaty period since they: 1) had been prohibited from taking slaves (including women) and other individuals within their boundaries; 2) experienced food insecurity caused by sustained repeated attacks on their provision grounds by British forces before the stalemate resulting in the cease-fire and the treaty; and 3) poor health caused by disease outbreaks.

Sheridan (1986) examined the livelihood, demography and health of the Maroons from 1730 to 1830 and compared these variables to the enslaved population during the same period. He found that the Maroon population was all male before the treaties, and then a population decline followed. He hypothesized that the population would increase in the post-emancipation period as health and well-being increased with the “convergence
of Maroon and freedmen lifestyles and improved demographic performance” (Sheridan 1986:170). However, the capacity for any population to grow depends on the number of women of reproductive age. From the demographic information, the number of women in Accompong Town remained less than the male population. Consequently, the community increased its female population through raids on neighboring plantations and the retention of runaway slaves. In the contemporary period, the demography is compounded by migration and later with a decline in reproduction rates.

The one hundred years of freedom the Accompong Maroons experience allowed for their kinship system to change and more resemble the kinship structure of other Caribbean societies. However, the kinship system differs from the Saramaka, Djuka and Aluku Maroons of South America that are matrilineal and practice polygyny. (Price 1976 and de Groot 1969). The migration pattern of Accompong is similar to the Saramaka and Djuka Maroons and other areas in the Caribbean. “Male migration, both temporary and long-term, has been a standard pattern for almost 100 years and has had far-reaching consequences for many aspects of Saramaka social structure” (Price 1974:65).

The Djuka, if he were to depend entirely on what his own territory yields by way of provision, would eke out a scanty living. Even the supply of primary necessities is insufficient. Consequently, the Djukas have always had to rely on their contact with the coastal area to procure additional provisions. As a result of this the population, especially the male part of it, was mobile; and money – for making the supplementary purchases – has always played a role. (De Groot 1969:34)

In her discussion of the newly freed slaves, Clarke (1957) argued that “the fact of Emancipation did not itself create a set of conditions, social or economic, in which the freed Negro could at once assume the role of father and husband in the new society” (Clarke 1957:19). Similarly, the treaties signed by Maroons severely limited their
economic independence resulting in high migration rates, and their ability to reproduce naturally despite land ownership.

This analysis is based on emic and etic perspectives. The complex kinship system observable on the ground in Accompong can be analyzed as being the product of the interaction of number of factors. Among these are: 1) demographic factors such as declining birth rates due to contraceptive use; 2) migration; 3) mating patterns and the various forms that conjugal unions take; 4) the role of the genitor and pater; and 5) the basic principles of Maroon kinship organization, all of which distribute individuals among a variety of household forms. Kinship mediates access to the possession of the most culturally significant Maroon resources: land, political office, and medico-religious knowledge and leadership roles, inherited bilaterally. Kinship and households of the Maroons are similar across social economic stratum. Like Fortes (1949), I argue that household forms change through time since there is the natural cycle of birth, maturation and death, around the processes of social and physical reproduction.

**Basic Principles of Maroon Kinship**

Demographic factors such as declining birth rates, a sex ratio in which the number of males exceeds the number of females of reproductive age, and the economic and social effects of migration all tend to exacerbate the economic restrictions that poverty already imposes on mating. In the context of lives built around subsistence farming, limited opportunities for even poorly paid nonagricultural work, and frequent unemployment and underemployment, conjugal unions take a variety of forms. Most people go through a
Consensual cohabitation unions can be stable and last for many years and Maroons blur the distinction between such long lasting consensual unions and legal marriages. While a few visiting relationships or consensual unions eventuate in legal marriages, children may be and are born from any of the forms of conjugal union and have a legitimate and recognized place in the community. Marriage occurs late in life, if at all, and for comparatively few people across economic strata.

While the principles of consanguinity and affinity are both important for Maroons, it is clear that consanguinity is the dominant factor in the composition of households whether these households are headed by females or by males. Bilateral kinship allies the consanguines of both members of a conjugal union that produces a child. Bestowal of the father’s surname links the child to the father and the father’s consanguines thus strengthening the relationship between both groups. But some fathers’ surnames have status associations that make them particularly desirable and dominant over other surnames, and a variety of economic conditions and social situations may affect how they are transmitted between parents and children. The effect of the link established with a particular male (or the residence of a particular male in the household) may have beneficial or detrimental effects for the female’s consanguines (i.e., the man’s affines) depending upon whether his relationship with the woman brings in or drains off resources from her household. The tendency then is for several consanguineally related households to form networks of exchange through which resources can flow and among which members can be redistributed when it is necessary. In situations where there are
sufficient economic resources available or needed, these networks can be extended to include the affines created as the result of current or past conjugal unions.

Affinity also has an important ideological role in Accompong Maroon’s conception of village life. In their own self-conception, the Maroon marriage rate is very high and Maroons are endogamous. However, the marriage rate is high only if you blur the distinction between consensual unions and legal marriages as the Maroons do. A long standing pattern of local and national circulatory migration and mating undermines the ideal that Maroons are maritally endogamous, especially if you include consensual unions in which one of the partners resides outside of Accompong. These claims and the values underlying them were emphasized by many individuals in the village, were seen as necessary for the maintenance of its social structure, and undergird the idea that Accompong Maroons constitute a ‘family’.

As we shall see, kinship, in conjunction with other factors, mediates access to the possession of land, political office and other organizational leadership role and medico-religious knowledge. Consanguinity seems most important in the bilateral inheritance of land and in access to religious and medical roles, while both affinity and consanguinity are important in restricting access to the highest political offices to members of a small group of families. Ideally consanguinity and residence go together; high rate of long term and short term cyclical migration patterns and exogamous relationships, however, has put these two principles of Maroon identity and social organization into conflict with each other. Maroons migrate to other areas in Jamaica, the Caribbean, United States, England and Canada, and are having children with non-Maroons outside of Accompong and some
of these children enter Accompong later in life, seeking property as a means of residing in the village. The synergistic result of all these factors is increased social stratification.

**Consanguinity and Affinity**

**Conjugal Unions**

There are various types of conjugal union. These include ‘extra-residential,’ ‘consensual cohabitation’ and marriage. Analysis of genealogical data indicates that the pattern of having several children before settling down with one partner dates back to the mid 1800s; roughly one hundred years after the Maroons were free. From genealogical data collected, there are a few long-term stable common-law relationships between young adults in the 20 – 40 age range. A woman may live at home with her young children before moving out later in life to live in a common-law relationship. From genealogical data collected, there are long-term stable common-law relationships between young adults in the 20 – 40 age range. Usually, a woman’s first three children are the offspring of different males, while the rest of the children are from the male to whom she is married or is more frequently, in a long-term common-law relationship. (See genealogy 1, II and III, page 177-9)

There is no stigma attached to common-law unions. When marriages do take place between Maroons, they tend to be at a later stage in the life of adults and are linked with “making things right with God before I die” (Constance Foster, 2001). Marriage patterns are complex, and include some cross-cousin marriages. In 1938, Cooper noted
GENEALOGY I
Genealogy, Mr. E and Mrs. E
Accompong, Jamaica 2001

Legend
▲ Ego
▲ Male
○ Female
= Marriage
— Common-Law
◊ Unknown gender
✓ Deceased
Genealogy II: The Wright Family
Accompong. Jamaica 2001

Legend

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<td>—</td>
<td>Common Law</td>
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</table>

Informant: John Wright
Genealogy III John Wright
Accompong, Jamaica 2001

LEGEND

△ Male
○ Female
= Marriage
/ Deceased
= Common Law
that some individuals frown on this type of union. During my fieldwork, one informant, the daughter of the male in one of the cross-cousin marriages frowned on the union. A few marriages took place when the individuals, because of their social standing in the community, were forced to do so by the church. One such example would be that of Colonel M. L. Wright, pressured into getting married. The church minister felt that it did not look right if the colonel was not married. Individuals who are married are not necessarily from the upper levels of the community, but from the lower ones as well.

**Marriage Rates**

In Accompong there is no system for the registration of births, marriages and deaths. Registration takes place in the neighboring town of Retirement. Only about 10% of the population lives within the legal jurisdiction of the Jamaican state. The same is true of other rural communities. Nonetheless, maroon ideology equates common-law relationships with legal marriages. Ideally, legal marriages are strived for. The number of legal marriages and divorces are actually was very small. From Cooper (m.s.), we learn that three years prior to 1938 there were no legal marriages. Marriage records for 1947 indicated only seven marriages and there were none for the first eight months of 2001. Overall, marriage records were difficult to get from the Office of Birth, Marriage and Death. If we examine the 2001 census data on marriages, we find a total of 174 married persons in the village population. Given that the Accompong Maroons view marriage and common-law marriage in the same light, there is no way of determining if the numbers quoted to census takers are legal marriages sanctioned by the state.
Table 1 on page 182 details the female population sixteen years and older and their marriage status and figure 1 (page 184) is a pie chart of these figures. Females aged 16 to 80 total 287 and, of this number, 173 (61 percent) had never been married; eighty-one (28 percent) were currently married, 31 (11 percent) were widowed and one woman (close to zero percent) was legally separated from her husband. One woman did not report her marriage status. The age category in which the highest number of married females is found is the 30-34 year age group with a total number of ten, and then peaked in the age group 50-54 year age group. Twelve of the thirty-one widows were in the 75-79 age group, which is to be expected since people marry late in life and deaths occur frequently at this advanced age. No divorces were reported.

Turning to table 2 (page 183), and figure 2 (page 184), we see that there are a total of 421 males in the group 16 to 80 year range. Of this number, 309 (74 percent) have never been married, 93 (22 percent) were married, 14 (3 percent) widowed, four (1 percent) divorced and no legal separations. For males, the highest number of married males is found in the 60-64 year age group. The thirty-five to thirty-nine age group includes eleven married males and 11 married males are found in the 55-59 age group. There are fourteen widowers starting in the sixty to sixty-four age category and this continues to 80 years of age.

There are more currently married males than currently married females residing in the village, but this is not just because there are more males than females overall. The village is also impacted by migration. Both males and females are often married to spouses who do not reside in the village permanently, or who no longer reside in the
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<th>Legally Separated</th>
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## Accompong Male Population Marriage Status, 2001

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<th>Legally Separated</th>
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<tr>
<td>70 - 74 years</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>75 -79 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>80 years &amp; Over</td>
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Tables 1 and 2 (Jamaican 2010 Census)
Figure 1, Female Marriage Status, 2001

Figure 2, Male Marriage Status, 2001
village at all, so these spouses could not be counted among the village’s resident population. In any case, of the 708 Maroons who were of marriageable age (16 to 80 years) in 2000, only about 31.6% were currently legally married, or had ever been legally married.

For a number of reasons, long term consensual cohabitation unions are much more common. There is an economic component to marriage. Having a church wedding and the attendant festivities is expensive and requires the kind of financial outlay many Maroons cannot afford. Marriage also requires a steady income as the woman would have already had several children living with her and the husband must be able to support all those in the household. Many younger Maroon males do not have a steady income and do not achieve this level of economic security until later in life, if they achieve it at all. These kinds of factors, among others, tend to delay contracting a legal marriage. In the meantime consensual cohabitation represents a locally legitimate, culturally approved, unstigmatized alternative for long term conjugal unions.

**Maroon Endogamy**

In 2004, former Accompong Maroon Colonel Meredie Rowe spoke to a Jamaica Observer reporter and noted that: “the changing times have dictated the need to change some of the tribes’ ways. In previous years, he explained, Maroons were not allowed to marry outside the tribe. Now that has changed” (Observer, February 26, 2004). While Meredie Rowe implies that Accompong Maroons were strictly endogamous up until recently we learn from other sources that certainly this has not been the case, since the
post-treaty era some men have had long-standing conjugal relationships and even legal marriage with non-Maroon women. We learn from the Cooper Papers that Colonel H. E. Wright had children with a non-Maroon woman, and Josiah Gillett had five children with a non-Maroon woman (Cooper m.s.) Colonel Thomas J. Cawley married Bernetta Morris, a non-Maroon from St. James (Dunham 1946:109-110 and Djedje1998:68).

From Dunham, we also learn that there were non-Maroons living in Accompong. “Mai is comfortable too. She is not a Maroon. She was brought in from the outside, I learn, by the sister of the owner of the house, to care for an invalid mother while she herself went to Kingston to marry. The invalid died and Mai stayed on. Though her position in the community is uncertain, she always finds a hut to sleep in and breadfruit to roast” (Dunham 1942:16). I also found non-Maroons living in Accompong.

Regardless of the degree of endogamy that may or may not have existed in the past, certainly migration has tended to reduce it. When young males or females migrate, they often have children with non-Maroons in the places where they migrated to. When or if, the males return because they were successful, or unsuccessful in finding or keeping a job, they usually return without the children they sired and may lose touch with them. On the other hand, when females return in most cases they bring their children back with them. Children remained in communities with their paternal or maternal grandparents. All of these children born of exogamous unions are classified as ‘half-Maroons.’ What this means, then, is that there are many half-Maroons, including some colonels, and that many, if not most of them, reside outside of Accompong. It is possible, however, for ‘half-Maroons’ to become ‘full-blooded Maroons by marrying another half-Maroon.
**One-drop Rule**

Who is a “true born Maroon?” Although not stated in these terms, everyone with a drop of maroon blood is a Maroon. In the context of slavery and its aftermath, a system of “one drop” was constructed to designate anyone with black ancestry as black. Similarly, based on the criteria for a maroon, the percentage of maroon blood one carries never decreases mathematically as it should. Rather, it increases. “An offspring of two maroons or two half-maroons is a full-blooded maroon. The offspring of a full-blooded maroon and a non-Maroon is a half-maroon. ‘Half-Maroons’ can become naturalized as ‘full-blooded Maroons’ if they marry someone already recognized as being a full-blooded or half-maroon, or if they reside in Accompong for fifteen years or more. A non-maroon living in Accompong Town for 15 years or more is granted maroon citizenship and eligible for land.”(Colonel Cawley, Reid and Smith, 2001) Because maroon heritage is important, in effect, one finds the “one-drop” rule in play where anyone with one drop of maroon blood is a Maroon. One need not live in Accompong Town to retain one’s identity.

**Family Names**

In the past, African names could be found in Accompong. However, in the 1930s Dunham (1946) found the practice no longer in use. “In the old days a Maroon baby was given a “day name” as well as a Christian name. This is done only rarely now, but the list of names which Mr. Reid and Ba’ Weeyums checked over with me corresponds
identically with that which Miss Beckwith has recorded from Goss as being in use in rural Jamaica. With the exception of “Cuben a” all of the names ending with “o” are for girls.” (Dunham 1946:114)

The Accompong Maroons never kept records of their members despite a request from the colonial administration as they no doubt felt that such a roll would be used to their disadvantage. In correspondence dated August 15, 1895 from the surveyor general to the colonial governor, he thought that the rolls should be used document all the Maroons and their property, including any shops and other businesses and to levy taxes on those non-Maroons. He felt that if the roads were not repaired, eventually the village would decrease in size and all the Maroons would leave, and taxes could be levied on those who remained.

If I may be permitted I would respectfully indicate what purpose the Roll may serve if expedient.— Only those persons whose names appeared thereon would be permitted for life, the privilege they now enjoy of freedom from taxes.—Those born hereafter would be liable to pay.— The present holders of houses and shops now on Accompong would not be liable to house tax, trade license, or holding tax, but any houses, or shops built after a date to be fixed on completion of Roll would be liable.—In this way, and if no new roads be made for them, nor repairs made to their present roads, the Town could be kept from increasing and all the persons there gradually made to pay taxes.—Till the Accompong lands are subdivided and held in fee it will not be possible to collect land-tax.—They all now hold in common.

As matters stand, the place is subsidised to grow and its natural disadvantages alone have prevented a larger growth. (CSO #1036: August 15, 1895)

The closet the Maroons came to a roll was that discovered by Cooper in Appendix III. Cooper speculated that the names were that of full-blooded Maroons. This list was taken from the back of a copy of the treaty in the possession of Charles Reid. These
names are not African, and most of the names can still be found in Accompong today and
a few were also found on headstones in the cemetery.

I found that there are no differences in the family names among the Accompong
Maroons with that found throughout Jamaica and among the other Jamaican Maroon
communities. The Accompong Maroon names are however, different from what one
finds among Suriname and Guyanese Maroons. Although the Akan names of early
Maroon leaders such as Cudjoe [Kojo], Accompong, Cuffy [Kofi] or Quaco [Kwaku] are
remembered, no one bears these names today. The same is true for the Spanish names of
the earliest Maroons of Jamaica such as Juan de Bolas. Instead maroons’ forenames and
family surnames are mainly English or Jamaican in origin.

In Accompong, names such as Anderson, Cawley, Rowe, Robertson, Robinson,
Smith, Wright, Foster, Pryce, Taylor, Halliday, Reid, and Lawrence can be found.
Names in Moore Town are: “Anderson, Pasley, Philips, Roberts, Sterling, Brown,
Crawford, Douglas, Sutherland, Valentine, McFarlane, Pryce, Robinson, Bernard, Burke,
Deans, Downer, Thompson, and Ireland” (Harris 1994:43). Suriname Maroons
(Saramaka Maroons) names are African-derived: Avo Abenkina, Pamo, Arabi, Oseisie,
Tonnie, Bambey, Bijman, Blijmoffo, Aguma, Sakka, Kanape, Amatodja, Gazon, Akonyu
Felanti, Asinfu, Martin Misiedjan, and Matodja Gazon.

How are names transmitted in Accompong? Dunham wrote that descent was
recognized through one’s father. “Owing to the great amount of illegitimacy, one might
imagine difficulties in reckoning descent, but a child identifies himself by his “pappy”
even before he thinks of his own name. And even after he is grown and has children of
his own, the word of his pappy is law… The illegitimates are given the name of the
father, and are recognized by the entire community as part of his family. In the rare cases where a man refuses to recognize a child as his own, the child is known as ‘she mammy Mis’ Ma’y Weeyums.’” (Dunham 1946:116)

My analysis found that in most cases a child born from any of the types of conjugal union is given the surname of its father. Here we must distinguish between two roles, that of the *genitor* or biological father and that of the *pater* or social father, the male who actually takes on a parental role and responsibilities and is recognized socially as doing so. Although this is not phrased as such by Maroons, a number of their social practices make this distinction implicitly and it also underlies the maxim, - which I will examine in a moment, - that the woman gets to choose who the father is, a practice which affects the choice of a child’s surname.

In the most typical situation, however, pater and genitor are the same man and that man recognizes and is recognized as such by all through exercising his right to give the child born from the union his own surname. In effect, to extend the family name is tantamount to acknowledging paternity. Acknowledgement of paternity, however, does not guarantee the fulfillment of the paternal economic and social responsibilities that ought to spring from it except in relatively stable long lasting consensual cohabitation arrangements or in legal marriages. In the past the socially recognized paternity known in the village and shown by giving the surname did not always translate into legal paternity as evident by the genealogical data.

The most binding social recognition of paternity is the legal registration required by a birth certificate. These certificates request the names of the child’s mother and father and also the name of an informant, someone who can testify that the woman who signs
the certificate did indeed give birth to the child she is registering. Records of births in Accompong for the year 1947 showed four instances where the names of children’s fathers were not recorded. In those cases the child’s surname was the same as that of the male informant but the male informant’s surname was different from that of the mother. In these cases the child was registered with the state without any legal claim of paternity being made by the genitor, the informant or anyone else for that matter.

These records yield no clues that can explain how these situations arose but there are a number of practices that are known to result in a number of children carrying family names deriving from males other than their biological fathers. This happens in the case where a male with financial means but no children gives a child his name. According to Hansley Reid, “It was not uncommon if an adult take a special fancy to a child, for that person to register that child under his name. That person would also assume financial responsibility for the child” (Reid 2001.) It seems in this case that, not only does the financially able male have no children, but the child has a genitor who is unable to provide economically for the child or may not even be present or alive—a form of adoption.

One case: a Maroon whose family and land were so poor that people described them as ‘not being able to make food.’ (Here food does not mean any kind of food at all but rather the basic kinds of root crops and ‘ground provisions’ that are the foundation of rural Jamaican diets. Throughout the entire island it is these particular foods that are meant when Jamaicans use the word ‘food.’) The man remained quite poor, even by Accompong standards, all his life. When he produced a child from a visiting union with a Maroon woman, it was clear that he had no means to provide anything of economic
substance for the child but he did give his surname to the child. The woman later was able to convince another man who was better off economically to give his name to the child. At this point the genitor was displaced and cut off from further relationship with the child, the child’s surname changed, and the child grew up and lived in the Accompong without ever knowing who his biological father was.

In another case, a man gave his name to a child born from a conjugal union whose genitor was someone else and assumed years of economic obligations on the child’s behalf. The man was sufficiently prosperous not only to shoulder these obligations but also well off enough to migrate to England and over several decades continue sending remittances for the child’s care back to Jamaica. However, he left Accompong so early in the child’s life that they never really knew each other and remained estranged despite the economic support rendered to the child and the mother. Other cases involving the adoption of a child by a well-off male occurred during the period when men were going off to WWII without heirs. There were three other known cases of children who were given the names of their pater as opposed to their genitor.

One suspects that in these cases what has happened is that, in effect, the woman has ‘chosen who the father is’ and that this choice is based on an evaluation that is constrained by poverty and is fundamentally economic. In instances like this, because women tend to have children by several men in succession, there may be a period of overlap during which a woman may be having sexual relations with more than one man, or when the interval between monogamous relationships with partners may be short enough that there is uncertainty about who the genitor is. In still another scenario, the one outlined by Reid, a financially able male comes to the aid of a woman who is not in the
economic position to care for her child or children and, out of generosity, chooses one of them to sponsor and provide for economically. In Reid’s account he spoke of this alternative chosen by a man who is childless. Childless or not, the extension of the surname into succeeding generations is important enough to most men that this is an attractive option for childless men with sufficient economic means to do so.

The relationship between the man and the child does not require that there be a sexual relationship between the man and the child’s mother. The man registers the child with the state, as the father. In most cases the woman does not transmit her surname to her children anyway and the economic support she receives (as well as the assistance in parenting, should she also receive that) is a great boon that does not necessarily impact on her ability to have future sexual partners or even eventually to marry a different man.

Finally, not all Maroon family surnames are of equal status and value—internal stratification impacting on transmission. Family names such as Rowe, Wright and Crosse have been connected to elite positions in Accompong’s political structure and have had powerful religious roles since the 1870s. Having these family names is a kind of cultural capital that elevates a person out of the mass of Maroons and allies one with a variety of powers, knowledge and privileges. Although they do not usually pass them on to their children, women bearing these last names may retain them when they marry simply by adding the surname of their husband after their own. In cases like the ones described above where a man takes upon economic and parental responsibilities for child who is not his biological offspring and then extends his family name to the child, he may preserve the status value of the genitor’s family name by replacing the child’s first name with his surname. Indeed, the example that Hansley Reid described as an example of this practice
in which a man whose family name was Chambers took on a child named Peter Rowe and extended his name to him. However, because Rowe is a high status surname, when Chambers renamed the child he called him, not Peter Chambers, but Chambers Rowe.

**Households**

Households are the basis of the community and there are a variety of household types based on economics, social characteristics and religion. “Households are units, the members of which eat and dwell together as a rule. Normally those persons who maintain a common domestic economy, and occupy common dwelling share common productive resources and liabilities, but this need not always be the case.” (Smith 1962:13) I also found that there were a variety of household structures varying in social characteristics subject to change. Households consist of a decision-making group responsible for its maintenance and reproduction through a division of labor based on sex and age. The cultural patterns of the households were similar, although there were differences in terms of newly acquired wealth displayed in the architecture of the home and the contents as discussed in the economics chapter. The meal patterns differed in terms of the quantity of food consumed, and where it was consumed as opposed the different. The household structure varies in the ways in which it engages in reproduction, economic, social and religious activities; access to and the utilization of land; and finally, the legal status of its members. Household varied in size from one to fourteen individuals, generational depth, and gender composition, and may also cluster in a yard.
Few occupations are gender specific as there is little occupational specialization in Accompong Town. In the public and private domain, both males and females prepared food, as there were quite a number of households of single males, with and without children. In households with both parents, the female is responsible for childcare, cooking and housekeeping. In single male-headed household, the male does all the chores. In multigenerational households, the oldest female does all the cooking while the adult daughters take care of their own children, including the laundry. Adult males also do their own laundry. Women share childcare and hairdressing activities and children help with the house chores and in the field. Those who own goats through the 4H program also tend their animals.

Households utilize strategic resources and labor and one such activity is sharing labor on the farm. Traditional labor patterns included such arrangements as ‘morning work’, ‘day-for-day’, ‘day work’ and ‘partner.’ These were all essentially forms of reciprocal labor exchange, sometimes accompanied by gifts of food and drink. In this labor pattern, younger men frequently worked for older men, but within the group everyone took turns working on each other’s plots. However, as Accompong shifted from agricultural practices to increase its production of cash crops, the traditional labor patterns are being replaced with wage labor.

Households with large numbers of adults between the ages of 15 and 44 are faced with the situation where there is an excess labor pool without an economic structure to support them. Households with individuals born in the 1930s, had between 10 and 16 children. Although the children are a reserved labor pool, the families did not have the necessary income to increase farming capabilities. In the early stages of the children’s
life cycle, they are removed from school to work in the fields, but as they age, they then become a liability to the household in that there is insufficient labor to keep them occupied and insufficient food to feed them. Therefore, they turn to migration as a means of earning wages. Only 1 or 2 remained at home to maintain their land claim while the others migrated either seasonally or long-term. Even if one does to send money back home, their absence means that the meager resources do not have to be stretched. The result is the family is a little bit better off.

Beginning in the 1970s, households had fewer children on a whole stemming from the use of contraception to lower birth rates. There has been local success in national family planning campaigns. My examination of medical records indicates that during the periodic visits from a visiting medical team, contraceptives were given to women of childbearing age. Prior to 1960 women gave birth to an average of sixteen children with four average deaths in childhood per family. From 1960 to 1990, the decline in the birth rate was 3.24%. Child mortality also declined. Between 1991 and 2001 the population dropped eight times more than in the previous decade. During this period, the average number of births was 2.2 for each woman. The replacement gross reproduction rate follows a similar trend, dropping first 6.65% from the figure thirty years earlier, and then 28.49% from 1991 to 2001. The ratio of children to women also declined precipitously, especially between 1991 and 2001 when it fell 29.21%.

Without remittances, most individuals in the village would not be able to survive. One informant noted that she used to receive £15 per month from her father. The money was used to pay the electricity and water bill, about JA$3000 per month for each utility service. Another informant received money from his brother and sister in the United States. He used this money, along with income earned from selling dasheen, to live. Occasionally, he supplemented his income with money earned as a tour guide.
Remittances are also used to pay for a child’s education, but the most visible consequence of remittances is the construction of new homes and graves. The homes are similar in style to large homes in other areas in Jamaica, including Moore Town. However, they are unlike the architecture of the Suriname Maroons as discussed earlier in the economics chapter.

Household boundary definition is sometimes difficult since individuals may sleep in one location and eat regularly in another. A young man may live in one household and sleep in another—either with other single males, or with a female with whom he is in a visiting relationship. When one informant was asked where he lived, he responded: “Do you want to know where I live, or where I sleep?” Children circulated between the mother, grandmother, father and other kinfolks. An example is where a mother is engaged in live-in domestic work outside of Accompong and returns home on weekends. During the week, the children circulate between the maternal grandmother and an older sibling.

Household types include: single men or women, a combination of non-related single males and/or females, female-headed households, male-headed households, three-generation, extended families, and nuclear households. The adults in nuclear households were either in common-law relationships or legal marriages. Households also consist of elderly single women and foster children.

Information collected from 61 households found: 8 multigenerational female-headed households; 2 widows with adult children; 1 single widow; 1 widow with children ages 2 through 20; 1 widow with a grandson; 1 single female; 16 households with single males over 30 years old; 8 single males over 20 years old; 2 female headed households; 4
nuclear households with adults under 30 years old and legally married; 4 males over 30 years old in nuclear households in common-law relationships. Common-law relationships were often long termed and last well over 25 years. There were also 8 male-headed households and 4 female-headed nuclear households with adults over 30 years of age. There was one household that consisted of at least 5 males in their 30s and 40s who shared with two females in the 20 to 30 year age range.

Multigenerational households were all female headed. The single males in the age range of 40 to 60 + years all had children that resided either in the village, or other areas in Jamaica or abroad. The single males under 40 years of age all tended to work together and share resources and may sleep in one house from time to time.

It is more difficult for older single men to change their status as most of the women in their comparable age group usually have several children by other males, and sometimes had their grandchildren living with them as well. One informant noted that he wanted to marry the woman with whom he was having a relationship, but the woman lived with two of her grown daughters and their children, in addition to the children of another daughter who had migrated. “The children have no respect for me,” he said. In the meantime, he continues to live alone and his five children with five different women all live outside of the village with their respective mothers. Two male informants in their 40s and living in long term common-law relationships noted that “It was too expensive to keep more than one woman. Having one woman and all four children in one household was cheaper.”

An example of a multigenerational household is that of Miss S. Miss S’s household comprises 3 generations totaling fourteen individuals. Miss S has ten children
but they don’t all live at home. The household includes Miss S, her common-law husband, two adult daughters, two adult sons, five granddaughters, and three grandsons. The oldest daughter lives in Montego Bay but her two children live with their grandmother, but spend the summer with her. During the week, the children sometimes sleep at the father’s house. Miss S’s oldest son lives in Kingston with his family. The second oldest daughter has five children, two older girls and a boy with the same father, and two younger children with another male who now resides in England. The youngest daughter has one son of her own and is in a visiting relationship with the father of the child who lives in Accompong. The males do not have any children yet, but are in relationships with women in Kingston. They work in Accompong as well as in Kingston and sometimes are gone for periods of three weeks or more. While Miss S is the head of household, the daughters take care of their own children. However, Miss S would verbally discipline the children from time to time. As Miss S continues to age, the oldest daughter at home is taking on more responsibilities and it is more than likely that she will become the head of the household.

Miss S does all the cooking and shares the food to the males first, followed by the children and then the women. She does the laundry for herself and her common-law husband. Each of Miss S’ children does his/her own laundry and the grandchildren help with the chores such as mopping and shining shoes. The girls mop the house, and sometimes do the dishes while the boys clean the shoes. Both girls and boys tend their goats obtained through the 4-H Program at school. Seven years later, the boys had left school and were farmers. Miss S owns the property and her common-law husband (of maroon heritage) had moved to Accompong from another community. In this house,
money is coming in from all the children living at home, and from the older daughter living in Montego Bay, and two of the children’s father who lived in England. Miss S received money from her father when he lived in England.

In Miss S’s case, the young adult males are home, but in other cases where their parents are not in Accompong, the younger men are more likely to sleep with their friends from time to time or stay at the houses of older, ailing single men in order to ensure their safety. Older single men never go to the houses of younger men to sleep since it is difficult for them to move around.

Remittances play a big role in the everyday life of the individuals. Money is used to buy clothing, school books, for payment of bills and to buy groceries. Remittances also contributed to the construction of a new home as discussed earlier in the economics chapter, and later here. The daughter who lives in Montego Bay sends money and clothes for her children and the father makes contributions when he is able to. The other children’s father is living in England send remittances from time to time. Individuals were rather reluctant to divulge the amount of remittances they received as they could become a target from others wanting money and goods.

Born in 1938, Miss S, along with her first four children, stayed with her parents. The other female siblings also remained at home. After Miss S’s mother died, her father migrated to England and the eight other siblings also migrated. Eventually, Miss S’s common law husband moved in and the couple had six more children. Her first four children were each with a different male and the children carry the surnames of their fathers.
Miss S later moved into a house that was constructed next door to the house of her parents and eventually the parents’ home was rebuilt from remittances sent home by the father and other siblings. The house was a two-storey cement house, unlike the older house that was one storey as described earlier in the economics chapter. Although this situation sounds like family cooperation, it is fraught with conflict. The father returned home after about 30 years and lived in the new house he built with help from the daughters and their spouses. Ownership of the new home is constantly being challenged by one of the daughter’s spouses who makes period visits and contributes to the general maintenance. To compound the family dynamics, the father remarried a woman with several sets of adult children.

Another household is that of Mr. and Mrs. E. Mrs. E had eight adult children. (See genealogy I, page 177) Of these eight, six have migrated to local surrounding communities to support their parents. Mr. E is blind, suffers from hypertension and has limited mobility. The remaining son does the farming along with his mother, while the daughter takes care of both parents. In effect, the daughter has become the head of the household.

Mrs. E. owns 25 acres of land inherited from her parents. Only one of her siblings remained in the village and lives next door to her, sharing resources. They both live in a single-storey wooden house. In addition, Mrs. E’s husband also has land he inherited from his parents. Mrs. E, her sibling and her husband were all born in the late 1930s and inherited land from their parents. All of Mr. E’s siblings are deceased.

The third household is that of Mr. John Wright (genealogy III), son of Colonel Martin Luther Wright, John’s grandfather, Henry Ezekiel Wright and granduncle, Robert
J. Wright were colonels, and his lineage is traced back to the 1800s. (See genealogy II, page 178) This family has had tracts of land amounting to more than 100 acres going back to the late 1800s. John lives alone since his father died a few years ago and his siblings lives outside of Accompong.

John’s two brothers and their spouses live in the United States, another brother live in Jamaica, while the sister and her family lives in Canada. John had migrated earlier to Kingston, but later returned home. His nieces and nephews were born outside of Accompong where their parents are residing. This migration pattern predates the 1960s, indicating that out migration is not new, and that there was the economic means to support emigration and in turn increase one’s economic growth.

Mitchell (1991) and Cohen (2004) argued that families that are better off are the ones most engaged in out migration. Poor families are not likely to migrate. If they do, they migrate locally. One example of local migration is that of Dee. Dee left Accompong at 18 years of age and went to Goshen in South Manchester, Jamaica where she was a dressmaker. There, she was abused, so she left and went to Pepper. From Pepper, she went to Prospect, where she continued making dresses and had a child with a non-Maroon. While in Prospect, Dee had two more children with another non-Maroon. During the fifteen years since she left Accompong, Dee’s mother died and left the property for the first grandchild. This allowed Dee to return home with the three children. At home, she has a house and land on which to farm and support her family since she receives very little financial support from the children’s fathers. Recently, she set up a small grocery store to supplement her farming income since income from dressmaking is sporadic.
Households of the colonels and those of the political administration resemble the rest of the population. For example, one colonel lives with his wife. However, they both have an adult child from previous relationships, each of whom lives independently of them. The two adult children both have three children, each with a different male. Until his death in early 2001, another colonel lived with his youngest son—this son now lives alone, or sometimes shares his place with other single males. This colonel’s wife had died several years before him and the other children migrated to the US and Canada. Another colonel lived with his wife, son and a relative of the wife. Another previous colonel is married with children and lives outside the village. Since many council members are elderly, they live alone since their adult children are either dead or migrated to other locations. For example, there were two males who were elderly and married. A few of the older council members are legally married and did so in the 1930s after returning home from Cuba or Panama.

**Residence**

In addition to living in Accompong Town, there are Maroons living in other communities such as Aberdeen, Whitehall, Windsor, Cedar Springs and Elderslie—all in St. Elizabeth; and Garlands in the parish of St. James. There are Maroons in the urban areas of Kingston and Montego Bay. Maroons are also found in the United Kingdom, United States and Canada. Polling Stations are set up in the Jamaican locations for election of a new colonel going back to 1957 when voting replaced life term colonels. On treaty day, Maroons come back to celebrate and the full-blooded males can cook food for
the ancestors. The abeng blower goes to some of the nearby communities such as Aberdeen, Whitehall, Windsor and Elderslie to blow the abeng whenever there is a death. However, the Maroons are buried in the location where they were living before death. Maroons living overseas do not vote for colonel although more recently they were involved in drafting a constitution. Some of the older Maroons from surrounding communities also visit for special occasions.

Besson writes that:

During slavery the Mountains of Aberdeen, on Accompong’s southern horizon, were the backlands of the Aberdeen sugar-plantations established by Forbes of Scotland’s Aberdeen… [T]he oral history of the Accompong Maroon maroons states that their ancestors forged alliances with these “proto-peasants” to assist maroon livestock-raids on Aberdeen estate. Conjugal relations between male maroons and Aberdonian slave women are also said to have been established; an oral tradition reinforced by the historical fact that the Leeward polity suffered from a shortage of women during marronage…

Aberdonians, many of whom are of maroon descent or have ties of marriage, kinship and affinity with Accompong maroons, support Leeward treaty claims, asserting that some of their ancestors were maroons who “came out” from Accompong after emancipation to live on former maroon land nearer to the plains. (Besson 1997:212)

At the individual level, the majority of females remain at home with their offspring before they move into their own homes later in life. Some males remain at home, but most reside as single males, or several sharing a home. Children are moved from parents or grandparents, or an older sibling.

There are also a few non-Maroons living in Accompong Town, and “after 15 years, they are given maroon citizenship” (Smith and Cawley, 2001). However, this privilege is not bestowed on teachers entering the village. Some non-Maroons are entering as mates (some males and females prefer non-Maroons as partners), and others
are those who admire the Maroons’ history. Some of these individuals purchased land in order to live in the village.

**Inheritance and Succession**

**Kinship and Land Tenure**

All Maroons born in are eligible for land and ideally, land is inherited bilaterally. Given the number of children a couple may have and the small size of the property, there will be some children without land, once they leave. However, in the recent past, individuals have returned home and bought land. Others that are better off hire kin to tend their land while they are away. Therefore, the pattern of land inheritance is affected by wealth and residence. Analysis indicates that access to land is unequal. Of the informants interviewed, only one individual (whose father was a Maroon), who had lived outside the village for some time, had returned to Accompong and was given 10 acres of land by a previous colonel.

As discussed previously, Miss S and her common-law husband both owned property that the inherited from their parents. All of Miss S’ kin migrated, so she had the use of all the land for her and her children that remained in Accompong. In the case of Dee, her children inherited the land from their grandparents therefore she had access the land. In the third household, both Mr. and Mrs. E inherited land from their parents. Mrs. E. had one sister who remained in Accompong and lived next door to her and all the other siblings were either dead or had migrated, leaving the land to both of them. As Mr. E’s siblings had all died, he inherited the land. The two children that remain in Accompong are both from Mrs. E’s previous mates, but they have access to land from their mother as well as their stepfather. Finally, Mr. Wright inherited land from his father, who inherited land from his father before him. All John’s siblings migrated, leaving him all the land
to farm. Should either of his siblings or their children return, they would have access to a portion of the land. From time to time, John received money from his siblings.

Base on a variety of kinship patterns, there are also additional methods of inheritance,—matrilineal ultimogeniture, patrilineal, grandmother, or adoptive father. Additionally, land is acquired through sales and as compensation for sponsoring funeral costs. For example, two informants inherited land after sponsoring the funeral expenses of a relative or friend. One individual inherited 15 acres and the other inherited a house from one individual and a shop from another. The father of the first individual also inherited 10 acres of land for sponsoring the funeral of a relative.

In some cases where a woman holding a large tract of land marries a man who also has considerable land measuring 25 or more acres, the woman’s land is passed down to the grandchild of her choice while the property of the husband passes on to the household’s children. Two informants inherited land from their fathers as well as their grandmother. One individual owned 70 acres of land and from time to time allowed kin the farm on certain sections of his land. In cases where a child was accepted by a male other than the biological father, that child inherits the property of the pater. During the late 1930s when men were going off to war, their land was bequeathed to the child they adopted. In two other cases, mother’s brother passed on his land to the sister’s child since they themselves did not have any other kin. This pattern of inheritance results in unequal distribution of land even for those who stay behind, but it also preserves the land holding of the family since it prevents fragmentation. It also reveals that all descendants were not equal, as one person inherited more land than a sibling.
As a result of all these factors, - (the low productivity of the land, a pattern of unequal inheritance among large numbers of siblings, and the requirement of residence despite much migration,) - there are a few cases where, there are no next of kin residing in the village, the house and land have simply remained there unclaimed, and many more cases of women and men who have no access to land and are renting, or squatting.

Take the case of Jim Brown (not his real name): He has four brothers and they all inherited the 10 acres of land equally from their parents. Two of the brothers migrated about 15 years ago to England, and the third brother five years ago. Jim himself left Accompong seeking employment in Montego Bay, while the youngest brother remained at home farming the land. After a few years, since he was unsuccessful in keeping a job, Jim returned to Accompong without any capital. Upon his return, Jim had no house. The property inherited from their parents was in the possession of his youngest brother and his common-law wife, effectively ultimogeniture. Since Jim had no economic resources, he ended up renting a shack owned by someone else for whom he is farming, and does odd jobs around the village, including cooking for public events for other better off relatives. In addition, Jim has two sons, eight and ten, to care for and who live alternately with their grandmother and with him. Jim is waiting for his other brothers to send him money so he too can migrate to England. Jim’s is not an isolated case. There are a number of single men in this position. Ultimately, Jim’s children will inherit land from him, and their mothers. Who eventually live on the property will depend on who remains in Accompong. The migration pattern of Jim’s family mirrors that of other families, resulting in only one or two individuals remaining to work the land, and in turn this prevents fragmentation and competition.
Kinship and Medico-religious Knowledge

All the traditional healers’ roles are inherited through kinship. These include the herbalists, obeah practitioners, midwives and bone setter, all involved in the earlier village political system. However, the practice of traditional healing is falling by the wayside as few of the younger generations are engaged in learning the practice. Households participate in the religious system without distinction as there are no boundaries between the formal and informal institutions.

Knowledge is gained through a lengthy apprenticeship with an older healer. Some of the healers such as the Chambers and Reids are closely related. While all the healers are descendants of healers, they often described their ‘healing gift’ as acquired from God, through a dream or vision. Science man ‘Jaffet’ Chambers described his healing lineage to me, as well as how a vision led him to an important healing tool. “I got a vision one night to go to Ole Town from Nanny. There, I found this crystal ball. I had it for nine days when it light up like a bulb. I use the vision to heal people - look after people all over the world. My father, uncle and great-grand uncle were herbalists...I learned from my father” (James ‘Jaffet’ Chambers, 2001). Herbalists not only possess a healing gift, but must know the properties of the herbs used for healing, and when to harvest the herb for optimum potency.

Carlton Smith, an herbalist and adult leader of the Accompong Youth Group shared a similar history of visions: “I was spiritual very early - had visions, but I did not follow up on it. At fourteen, I could not sleep - I had a dream. Later that day, I left Kingston for Manchester. There, I held my uncle’s hand who said I had come too late.
Shortly after my uncle passed away” (Carlton Smith, 2001). Smith’s father, grandmother and great-grand mother were healers. His great-grandmother was also a midwife.

The midwife, Constantia Foster did not receive her gift through a dream, but she does dream when a woman is pregnant. That way, she is able to assist the woman very early in the pregnancy. Ms. Foster’s mother, with whom she apprenticed, was also a midwife. However, none of Ms. Foster’s daughters were apprenticing under her. The other midwives have died without apprentices as well. Midwives are being replaced by maternity wards in the hospitals of nearby communities. Examination of Accompong clinic records revealed that from 1989 to 2001 only three babies were delivered by the local midwife in Accompong. Currently, there are currently no young women apprenticed to the one midwife remaining active. Traditional Maroon midwifery may well fall by the wayside on the road to modernity since kinship links can no longer provide a sure channel for transmitting traditional knowledge and continuing the healing practices.

In the more extended segment quoted below from an interview with Adrian Foster, Accompong Maroon bonesetter, we see the interplay of personal experience, observation and instruction, and divine dispensation in his assumption of the role of healer.

My father had an accident in St. James and broke his leg. He went to Montego Bay Hospital. For three weeks he could not walk. He broke his leg again and reset it. I watch him as he took a long board and measured from ankle to knee and clamped together the pieces, back, front, and two sides. He wrapped it with long pieces of cloth...kept moist with cane vinegar with herbs. He kept cloth moist until foot healed as normal. God who gave me the gift. (Adrian Foster 2001)

Adrian Foster, who was in his eighties, died recently and there is no one in line to replace him.
Kinship and Leadership Roles in the Educational Domain

Kinship is also the basis for recruitment to the leadership roles in the various groups. Only a few Maroons are able to complete higher education and return to a teaching job within the community. Members of the families of past Colonels have been pursuing education and assuming leadership within Accompong’s schools for some time. The schools are currently under the leadership of members of the Cawley and Rowe families, with Harris Cawley holding the principal leadership role.

Harris Cawley’s father, Colonel Thomas J. Cawley, was closely related to the United Church in 1938 and no doubt this relationship aided his son’s access to higher education. Cawley holds several certificates in teacher training and theological training. Cawley was a teacher in the elementary school before becoming its vice principal in 1982. Cawley was also the principal of the Basic School for a while before retiring due to poor health. “I taught for about 30 years at the Basic School. While I was teaching, I served at the United Church. During my period of service, I took seminars and various courses until I was commissioned to become a pastor five years ago. In 1995, I retired from teaching due to poor health and vision” (Harris Cawley, July 15, 2001). A relative of Cawley’s wife who lives with them was also pursuing a degree at that time. Cawley’s wife, the principal of the Basic School, was pursuing a BA in 2001 while her son was studying for a science and technology degree. It must be emphasized how exceptional this level of educational attainment is for Accompong. The overwhelming majority of Accompong Maroon children do not complete middle school and, even if they do, fewer
still surmount the competitive national examination that could gain them admission into one of the regional high schools to which they would then have to commute by bus.

Mr. Garth Rowe, the great-grandson of Colonel H. A. Rowe, as well as being the scout master and middle school teacher, is clearly the choice for principal once the present one retires. Rowe says:

I received my Bs. Ed. from the University of the West Indies in 2000. The principal is the only other person with this degree here. I graduated from school in 1990 and then went on in 1991 to study at Michaels’ Teachers College, and finished in 1994. I came back and taught for three years before pursuing my bachelor’s degree. I went to UWI in 1997 and graduated in 2000, after which I returned here. I intend to pursue a master’s degree and maybe a doctoral degree in the future. (Garth Rowe, 2001)

There is one exception to this pattern of kinship ties to past colonels: Mr. Garth Chambers. Chambers is the son of an obeah man and is not affiliated with the United Church. Chambers was the acting principal of the Basic School during the period of my fieldwork. He is a trained teacher, but must earn another CXC (Caribbean Examination Certificate) in order to pursue a BA degree.

Migration, and educational and personality requirements have made many members of the families of past colonels ineligible for these roles. The younger generation of the Wright and Peddie families lives away from the village or lack leadership potential. Two of Colonel Martin Luther Wright’s sons live in the US and Canada, respectively, and the one remaining in the community does not have the education necessary to enter the educational system in a leadership role. Colonel Peddie has only one daughter. She lives outside the community and possesses neither the education nor character for a leadership role in the school system. As the case of Garth
Chambers shows, while kinship resources have facilitated access to higher education and educational leadership roles for some members of Accompong’s elite families, their effects are countered by the importance of innate intellectual and leadership potential and the fact that access to credentials recognized by the state does not itself depend upon a kinship connection to any of ruling families.

**Kinship and Political Office**

Based on oral history and archival records it is possible to assemble a list of Maroon colonels and their administrations as laid out on pages 219 - 220. There is a gap between 1750 and 1870 but after 1870 it is pretty much continuous up to the present. Cooper had a list of Accompong Town’s residents dared 1915-16. When one examines this list, the recurrence of a small group of family surnames among colonels and village administrators is clearly evident. Upon closer examination the kinship links among men who have held the position of colonel since the 1870s become particularly striking.

First, let’s examine the Rowes: Henry D. Rowe was Colonel in the 1870s. In 1920, Henry Augustus Rowe was colonel, although we do not know what the relationship between the two was. Esaso Rowe, a lieutenant under Colonel Henry Augustus Rowe was also this colonel’s brother. Mann O. Rowe was also Henry Augustus Rowe’s brother and later went on to declare himself Colonel in 1951. Edgar Rowe, a cousin of Colonel Henry Augustus Rowe, joined the council assembled by Colonel Thomas Cawley (1938.) Colonel Meredith Rowe (1993 – 1998) is the son of Mann O. Rowe, Colonel Sidney Peddie (2001 – present) is the son of one of Henry Augustus Rowe’s sisters. In August
2009, Norma Rowe Edwards ran for colonel. As the runner up in this election, she became the first female deputy colonel.

When we turn to the Wrights, we see that Robert J. Wright was Colonel in 1896 following Henry D. Rowe. Robert J. Wright then was followed by his brother, Henry Ezekiel Wright, who was Colonel from 1896 until 1920 (see genealogy chart II). Henry Ezekiel Wright’s son, Martin Luther Wright, would become Colonel from 1967 to 1982 and then again from 1987 to 1993 (See genealogy II and III). There were also Wrights serving in the Accompong village administration between 1897 and 1920.

An apparent exception that may prove the rule is the case of Isaac Miles, whose tenure as Colonel remains controversial. Some Maroons maintain that he was never a Colonel at all, while others state that he was a Colonel briefly in 1944, but only for two weeks as he was not a Maroon. However, letters to the colonial secretary indicated that Miles was colonel in 1897. In April of 1905, he was taken into custody for selling spirits, practicing obeah, and assaulting an officer. Miles’s case was heard in Black River where the case of obeah was dropped as the Acting Inspector General had no knowledge of obeah. However, Miles was charged with selling spirits which was contraband at the time. According Cooper’s notes, Miles was no longer alive in 1938, but he was listed as a Maroon on Reid’s list, 1915-16. (Appendix III)

Despite, the confusions as to when Miles served, Miles had connections: He was the common-law husband of the daughter of a later colonel, Henry Ezekiel Wright. He also was Wright’s apprentice in obeah, a relationship likened by some to kinship. However, a quasi-kinship apprenticeship relation was not the same as the consanguinal tie that legitimated succession in that era, nor was consensual cohabitation the same as a
legal marriage. The Wright family may have favored Isaac Miles as Robert Wright’s successor, and may even have been able to get him into office, but they couldn’t keep him there very long once challenges to Miles’ legitimacy came up. In short order Isaac Miles was forced out of office in favor of someone with a more legitimate claim: Henry Ezekiel Wright.

When interviewed by the celebrated writer Morley Roberts Cole for the Gleaner in 1927, Colonel Henry A. Rowe traced his lineage back to Accompong, showing how the Rowes and the Wrights were closely related, and outlined his expectation of the continuity of their rule into the future. Genealogy II (page 178) demonstrates the close relationship between Rowe and Wright, who were two siblings, but different father.

Cole writes:

Rowe himself is the great-great grand-son of Accompong, a brother and war-chief of Cudjoe’s. His grandfather himself left no son. His two daughters married; the elder a man called Wright, the younger a man called Rowe. Wright died leaving a son, who also died, but left a boy age six who could not inherit…

Colonel Rowe succeeded to the chiefship…Rowe is no regent. He is keeping the place warm for his grand-nephew, who will be capable of holding it at the age of twenty-one. The boy must wait until Colonel Rowe dies. (Gleaner: March 29, 1927, p. 3.)

The genealogies I collected show that the Wrights and the Rowes are related, but there is no way of tracing either of these families back to Accompong. Cole linked the descent of the colonel to a Koromantyn system of matriarchy. “It must be noted that the descent through these women counted. This suggests, I think, some curious system of Koromantyn matriarchy” (Gleaner, March 29, 1927, p. 3). Cole’s definition of matriarchy is incorrect in that the colonelship is passed down bilaterally as opposed to through the female line as he himself describes. In effect, he is describing matriliny.
The year 1938 introduces a new family name into the succession of Colonels: Cawley. By that point there had already been several years of dissatisfaction and conflict with the previous administration and several factions were poised to take control. Colonel Henry A. Rowe himself at resigned earlier in the year, but argued that no one would take up the office as they could not read, nor even spell “Gleaner”, the newspaper of the time. A 1938 article from the Jamaica Daily Gleaner reporting on this, describes one of the factions, also names one of the conflicts, a land dispute. “A rival group led by Mother Cawley, who is bedridden and her son James [Thomas] Cawley, seeking the honour, of the colonelship, has for years been gaining popular favour, but their position was not strong enough to demand an abdication, so they seized upon this disputable land as a means of forcing one”(Gleaner, August 19, 1938). Thomas J. Cawley eventually did force the reigning Colonel, Henry Augustus Rowe, to abdicate and became Colonel himself in 1938 but it is instructive to examine why it is that Mother Cawley and Thomas J Cawley initially lacked the popular support to do so.

Although the Cawley family name is a new one among the succession of Colonels, Thomas J. Cawley did not appear on the scene without important ‘cultural capital’. First, T.J. Cawley’s mother was from the Wright family; his surname came from his mother’s marriage to a non-Maroon. T.J. Cawley was also known as Thomas Crosse Cawley. Crosse is a high status family name, too, and the Crosses had for several generations intermarried with both the Wright and the Rowe families. To a certain extent then, what the Gleaner reported upon were factions within the network of ruling elite families as opposed to factions between elites and nonelite groups. The complicating factor was, despite significant family links that T.J. Cawley had to the ruling elites
through his mother, he did not have full blooded Maroon ancestry on both sides. As we will see later, T.J. Cawley’s seizure of power and the legitimization of it ultimately depended upon other factors in addition to kinship.

Another name is that of Robinson, a major under Colonel H. A. Rowe’s administration in the 1920s and colonel in 1963. Walter Robinson’s son, Rupert, who made several electoral bids for the office of Colonel but was never elected, was deputy colonel under several Colonels. One author, Bev Carey, contends that Rupert Robinson is the great grandson of Colonel H. A. Rowe (Carey 1997:359.) If this were so, it would indicate that Walter Robinson could be within the Rowe family line also; and that, even under their electoral system, kinship still controls access to the office of colonel by restricting the range of viable candidates for election to males who can trace consanguine links to a small number of intermarrying families.

Still another name that initially does not appear to have family links to the Colonelship is that of Walter Robertson. Walter James Robertson became Colonel in 1957 and was the first Colonel to be elected to the office as opposed to inheriting it. There are no records that connect him consanguinely to the either of the elite families.

In August of 2009, Ferron Williams was elected as colonel. William’s family lines are that of the Fosters, a very old family line going back to the late 1880s. Williams lived outside the village but the village residents were fed up with the old guard, and repeatedly sought him out to run for colonel.

The position of colonel, then, has been occupied by males who could trace consanguinal ties on one or both sides to one or more of the elite families that had held the position before. Within the pool of eligible males birth order is irrelevant but it is
clear also that consanguineal kin ties are not enough by themselves to secure the position. Prior to 1938, many of the colonels and the members of their political administrations were also the major ancestral religious practitioners and obeah men, roles that conferred prestige and authority of their own and, as we shall see, also tended to be transmitted down family lines. For reigning colonels it is the character of each of his sons or other male relatives of the succeeding generation that ultimately determines whether or not one of them will be able to contend for the Colonel’s position. Beyond this, the majority of colonels have spent considerable time outside of Accompong before taking office and this contact with the wider world beyond the village is a source of prestige that grants a candidate ‘cultural capital’ that is important in the competition for the colonel’s post. The colonel needs the ability to negotiate with the government and with foreign dignitaries, experience that can only be gained outside the village. While the colonel gains prestige and is assumed to possess valuable knowledge through his past contact with the world outside, when he is colonel he has to reside in the village.

None of the contributing attributes discussed above overwhelms the force of the kinship tie; they merely add criteria for selecting among the males who are eligible because they possess it. The present colonel, for example, lived in England for about 30 years, and had only recently returned to Jamaica, when he was solicited for the post and convinced to run for election. Despite the fact that he had been abroad for thirty years, and did know what had been occurring in the community all that time, the greatest objection to his candidacy was the fact the he chose not to reside in Accompong when he returned and was not living there at the time of his election campaign. The most significant mitigating factors working in favor of his being elected to serve were the fact
that he is the grandson of past Colonel R. A. Rowe, and that he is also married to a Rowe.

To cite another recent example, some Maroons have approached one of Martin Luther Wright’s sons to return from the United States in order to undertake the position of Colonel. That such an agreement is more than likely to create the same problems the community is now faced with under the present Colonel Peddie does not appear to be significant; what is more important is that he is the son of a previous Colonel.

Despite the continuation of certain family lines, others have disappeared as a consequence of migration. For example, Captain Halliday was in office between 1920 through 1938. Halliday himself had migrated to Cuba and Panama, but returned in the 1920s. His father was also a captain in 1897. On Halliday’s death in 1938, his two sisters had married out and were residing in Kingston, and the whereabouts of his daughters are unknown.

Not all of Accompong’s political offices are so closely tied to kin relations or to the village’s elite families. In addition to the offices of the colonel and the council, Accompong’s political administration consists of the Council of Elders, the Maroon Federal House of Assembly and the judicial system. Although past colonels have been part of the membership of the Council of Elders and the Federal House of Assembly, access to these positions does not seem to be controlled by kinship ties. Nonetheless, it is through the strategic use of kin relations, and the accumulation of locally significant ‘cultural capital,’ that Accompong’s elite families have been able to maintain a hold on village’s dominant positions of power for the past hundred and forty years.
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<td>1739 - 1750</td>
<td>Cudjoe, Colonel</td>
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<td>July 1897</td>
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<td>Walter James Robertson, Major</td>
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<td>Esaso Rowe, Lieutenant; 12 Constables</td>
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<td>August, 1938</td>
<td>Thomas James Cawley, Acting Colonel</td>
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<td>Mother Cawley; Charles Reid, Commander-in-Chief;</td>
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<td>Edgar Rowe</td>
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<td>Samuel Peddy</td>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>Walter James Robertson, Acting Colonel</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>Mann O. Rowe, Colonel</td>
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<td>1951 – 1957</td>
<td>Thomas James Cawley, Colonel</td>
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<td>1957 – 1963</td>
<td>Walter James Robertson, Colonel</td>
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1 The spelling appears as is in the various records.
1963    Colonel Robinson
1967 - - 1982 Martell (Martin Luther) Wright, Colonel (3 terms)
1982 – 1987 Harris N. Cawley, Colonel
        Samuel Anderson, Deputy Colonel
1987 – 1993 Martin Luther Wright, Colonel
1993    Harris N. Cawley, Colonel
1993 – 1998 Meridith (Meredie) Rowe, Colonel
1998 – 2005 Sidney Peddie, Colonel
        Rupert Robertson, Deputy Colonel
2001    Sidney Peddie, Colonel
        Rupert Robertson, Deputy Colonel and Minister of External Affairs
        Samuel Cawley, Deputy Colonel and Treasurer
        Caroline Laurence, Assistant Treasurer and Minister of Culture
        Ivor Whyte, Minister of Environment and Beautification
        Dudley Rowe, Environment and Health
        Elizabeth Campbell, Minister of Tourism
        Adrian Foster, Secretary of Justice
        Joshua Anderson, Minister of Forestry
2005 – 2007 Sidney Peddie, Colonel
        Harris N. Cawley, Deputy Colonel
2009    Ferron Williams, Colonel
        Norma Rowe Edwards, Deputy Colonel
        Avis Rowe, Secretary and Minister of Health
        Sylvia Salmon, Minister of Health
        Clifford Foster, Minister of Religion
        Hutchinson, Officer
        Ornel Rowe, Officer
        Man O. Rowe, Secretary of State and Historian
        Caroline Laurence, Assistant Treasurer and Minister of Culture
        Ivor Whyte, Minister of Environment and Beautification
        Dudley Rowe, Environment and Health
        Elizabeth Campbell, Minister of Tourism
        Adrian Foster, Secretary of Justice
        Joshua Anderson, Minister of Forestry
Summary

This analysis of the kinship and household of Accompong highlights the existing emic and etic perspective on endogamy and marriages. Accompong Maroons view non-legal cohabitation as marriage. The lack of an economic infrastructure results in high rate of migration similar to the Guyanese and Suriname Maroons, which ultimately affects the kinship and household structure as the group practice exogamous relationships and those at home sometimes receive remittances. Matrilineality among the South American Maroons is linked to their female ancestors who escaped slavery as opposed to migration. In Accompong, migrants are both males and females, with and without familial responsibilities and the bonds between individuals remain intact for some families with return migration, remittances and visits. Consanguinity and kinship are important for inheritance of land, medic-religious knowledge, dominance in the educational setting and political office.

Mating patterns are complex, and this no doubt, adds to the factionalism among the colonels. The adoption of children and naming patterns further adds to the complexity of family dynamics. For Maroons, consanguinity is important and the group follows the ‘one drop rule’ in determining who is and is not a Maroon. The number of legal marriages is low, and marriages usually occur late in life when a male has acquired the means to build a house for his wife, and desires to ‘make things right with God’ before death. Overall, the majority of Maroons live outside the state’s legal system where births, marriages and deaths are recorded for less than 10% of the population. Women are still entering the community as mates at higher numbers than males are entering. Maroon
males are also having children with non-Maroon females outside the village. Males who enter tend to be better off than the average Maroon male, providing them some type of security and therefore making them more attractive than poorer Maroon males. Some males assume parental responsibility for their offspring while others do not. Overall, the mother-child bond is an important one. Other males go the additional lengths to take on the responsibility of children that are not their own. There is a clear hierarchy of kinship in the community with women choosing the pater of a child and passing on the family name.

The office of the colonel and medico-religious knowledge has remained in particular kinship lines throughout the history of the community despite interruption between 1938 and 1957 and change from inheritance to election. However, this is changing with migration and death of the older generations where indigenous knowledge is lost. Attempts to ensure the passage of knowledge from one generation to the other have failed as laid out in the following chapter. Individuals in political office also have access to higher education, and in turn have taken administrative and teaching in the educational domain.

The social characteristics of a household change as the individuals in the household age and their roles change. For example, a young male may be engaged in extra-residential relationship before moving out and into a common-law or legal relationship. Similarly, a female may live at home with her children until she moves into her own house with a male partner, or remain at home through the death of her own parents and then becomes the head of household. Children circulate between kin households. Young men earning a steady income are more likely to be in a stable, long
term relationship as opposed to single males with limited financial means. Some households are female-headed while others are male-headed.

The color-class divide is not pronounced in Accompong as it is outside of the village. However, it could become more pronounced as there are a few women who are having children with the white Americans coming in and building the guesthouses.

Christianity and assimilation was rejected by the South American Maroons well into the 20th century as opposed to the Accompong Maroons where Christianity was present in the early 19th century. Hence, there are more African survivals such as names and African religions among the South American Maroons. And Christian ministers pushed for legal unions among the Accompong Maroons. I conclude that the South American Maroons are more African in their kinship practices than the Accompong Maroons.
Chapter VI

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

This chapter examines the village’s social structure, focusing on a variety of groups, formal and informal, that provide the community “some hierarchic patterns of integration” (Smith 1956:309), and improve welfare. These groups are: Senior Citizens’ Group, Healers’ Group, Cultural Group, Tour Guide Group, and Youth Group along with education. Education in Accompong is the oldest organization and is thoroughly part of the national system that molds people, first as students later as citizens and finally as potential leaders. Such a system may either transmute or perpetuate a status quo. These schools are Jamaican government schools, and as such, act to perpetuate the social stratification of the country and the community and can be found in Moore Town and other Jamaican Maroon communities. Community claims of “Maroon exceptionalism” are effectively obviated by the participation of Accompong in the government system, to which students—as they do elsewhere in Jamaica—have differential access. Maroon
children are enculturated into a state system that takes no account of their “differential status,” something that suggests that their “difference” may be best analyzed in terms of the national stratification pattern.

The other informal groups are social in nature with an economic component. Membership in some of these groups is determined by a “gift” from God inherited from parents, while in others are voluntary. Membership in the voluntary groups tends to overlap. Some of the groups described here are recent parts of Accompong Town’s social structure formed in response to programs initiated by the national government, national and international agencies. The formation of these groups by outside agencies again highlights the dependency of the Accompong Maroons. All the organizations serve to improve the welfare and standard of living of the community. These groups have a president, treasurer and a secretary and minutes are recorded. The leadership of each group is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. Smith (1956) described organization leadership in rural communities: “the associations themselves vary a good deal in survival value. Some of them seem to go through continuous successions of death and re-birth without any increase of effectiveness. Attendance is also often depressingly low.” (Smith 1956:305) His description is similar to what I found. The majority of the groups with the exception of the schools were formed in response to specific projects and have long since fallen apart. Attendance is low, and meetings often poorly attended.

Smith also found various formal organizations and noted,

such formal organizations as the Jamaica Agricultural Society branch, the local branch of the Women’s Federation, the Parent-Teachers’ Association, Banana Growers’ Association (AIBGA) Pioneer or 4-H Clubs, and various commodity or cooperatives associations, normally have teachers or prominent local folk at their head. In areas where the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission has been working for time, there may also be a
Community Council, and one or two special craft or project groups linked in with the welfare agency…

In communities where there is a prominent middle-sized farmer, he and his wife may dominate most of the organizations in which they are interest. Such domination is often directed to some extent toward political targets with which the leaders are sympathetic. (Smith 1956:186-7)

In Accompong, one of the Maroon teachers headed the scouts, and the Parent-Teachers’ Association while the school ran the 4-H program. The last Welfare Office stationed in the village died in 1957 shortly after the first election of a colonel. The colonel’s wife keeps a very low profile in the village and is not involved in any of the organizations or church. The Cultural Group and the Healers’ Group was forged as a response to international projects.

First, I will examine the social stratification of the village, and followed by the groups that through which individuals are able to become socially mobile. The groups are: Senior Citizens’ Group, Healers’ Group, Cultural Group, Tour Guide Group, Youth Group. No one has examined the social groups of Accompong. Similarly, there are no comparable data on the formal and informal organizations of South American Maroons. However, we do know that their schools are all run by religious organizations and do not take into consideration the Maroons differential status.

Social Stratification

This study of the Accompong Maroons presents several distinct measures by which social stratification, within a single rural community, can be operationalized. These include the following: kinship system, the political system with historical
succession to the political office of colonel; familial concentration of other offices in the kinship and various social groups and the educational system; socio-economic strata based on occupation, income, ‘cultural capital’, foodways, wealth, access to land, and the ability to support migration; size and elaborateness of residential architecture, including house furnishings; and the religious institutions--formal and informal. What is significant is that all these measures reinforce each other strongly, and reveal an obvious and longstanding pattern of stratification in a community where one would not expect to find it. And where, ideologically, it is anathema.

Dunham’s (1946) study was the only to give a fleeting glimpse of the stratification of the village. From her we learn that “the colonel lives just outside the village, on his own personal property. This, I believe, gives him a slight feeling of superiority. He is a Rowe, and the Rowes have held chieftain more than once, and have always been a little more acquainted with the outside world than the rest of the Maroons” (Dunham 1946:7).

Smith (1956:306-7) found that “rural community organization is defined in terms of stratification and segmentation...in class and wealth variables and power and influence.” Four sectors are identified in the Accompong, —a small public sector, a petty commodity sector made up of small farmers, another consisting of petty traders with varying degrees of success and a very poor sector.

In Accompong, the top stratum has wealth, symbolic power and influence within the village as they control political, educational and religious offices. These individuals are the colonels and their immediate family members. Those in the educational system are paid by the state, and earn additional income from farming, and have access to
additional goods through the religious institution and political affiliations. Members of this stratum have several family members living abroad, and they themselves have travelled abroad. These positions are maintained through control of access to land and political office, out-migration to increase wealth, and prestige and what Bourdieu (1984) calls ‘cultural capital,’ maintained by marriage alliances. ‘Cultural capital’ includes a copy of the treaty, and an amicable relationship with the Jamaican head of state, or other outsiders, such as university professors and researchers. Few researchers discuss their relationship with their research subjects in terms of the financial benefits they provide. Accompong Maroons rely on the researcher for additional income long after the period of study to pay for funerals. Having “foreign” money provides families with additional “cultural capital” and influence. Wealth is acquired from jobs held during the period of migration. An individual with 25 acres or more of land who has not spent at least ten years outside the village in steady occupation is worse off than an individual with the same amount of land who accumulated a savings while working outside the village.

Smith (1956) noted that head teachers “exercises a virtual monopoly of these advisory functions with respect to the needs of the citizens…The teacher’s area of power therefore spreads outward from the school to different levels of community life, both formally through the associations, and informally through his personal influence and knowledge”(Smith 1956:308). In Accompong, the head teacher was an outsider, and the local Justice of the Peace. She did not participate in any of the groups; however, her husband was the president of the Senior Citizens’ Group.

Maroon foodways act as a status marker; there is a clear hierarchy in terms of mortuary obligations, meal patterns, food preparation, cooking methods, where food is
consumed, as well as the securing and storing of food. Families in the top segment of the village are able to cook indoors on gas cookers and store their food in refrigerators. They are also able to purchase food outside of the village on a weekly basis as opposed to the meal-by-meal basis of those in the lower segment. Those in the middle maintain the old fire hearth that they revert to when money is not available to replace the gas for the stove.

In the kinship system, a distinction is made between pater and genitor, which exclude males from lower income brackets access to their offspring via a woman’s de facto ability to choose a higher-status surname for her baby. The families producing the colonels sometimes have children with each other. See genealogy II, page 178 where we have Rowe, Reid and Wright.

In the late 1930s, the colonels and their kinsmen continued to control access to land, and controlled the means of production in they held the contract with colonial government to cut timber, owned the few shops and collected taxes from the villagers. The colonels also owned the three mills that were used to press sugar cane and charging a fee for its use. During WWII, some Maroons traveled to England and served in the military before returning home with some accumulated wealth.

In the contemporary period, the colonels are civil servants--policemen, school teachers and administrators), minister of religion, retired returnees, and they control non-governmental aid, earnings from land sale and leases, tourism, earn income from farming and the sale of goods and services. The previous colonel had a pension from a former British working class job. (A working class pension from Britain goes a long way in Accompong.) The present colonel is a police detective and lives outside of Accompong. The men and women in the top tier of the socio-economic stratum hire younger kinsmen
to oversee their farms. Members in these groups are successful farmers. The colonel, like other Maroon colonels in Suriname and Guyana, still continues to earn a stipend from the government for his position, a post-treaty practice.

Migration impacts on the already vulnerable structure of households. Families that are better off send their children to the US, England and Canada where they are able to further accumulate capital and return home upon retirement, continuing the cycle. Although return migrants are bringing in money, there is little or no trickling down economics. The elite use the concept of kinship to exploit the labor of the poor who are paid with food and/or used clothing along with the promise of money depending on the income from Treaty Day celebration in January. The result is a group that remains in power, displaying their new found wealth, with the lower classes never able to achieve any capital.

The second stratum has wealth, and little local power and influence. Some of these individuals are engaged in the social groups, formal and informal. Others in this group were older men who are retired, and set up shop with kinfolics engaged in the day to day running of the business. They also have farms being worked by kinfolics. Because of age, and limited mobility, these individuals are not engaged in the public life of the village. However, they control credit and local employment opportunities. Other individuals are successful farmers who may or may not be involved in the production of illegal cash crops, teachers, healers, construction workers, painters, loggers, rope makers, small shop keepers and ministers of various religious denominations.

The third stratum is engaged in farming and odd jobs from time to time. Some members at this level have a very tenuous hold on their position. As discussed earlier in
the economic chapter, this group maintains outdoor cooking areas as they do not always have the means to support an indoor stove.

Those involved in the growing of illegal cash crops offer wage labor and their own wealth is rapidly increasing. Although their wealth is increasing, their income is subjected to periodic loss when the crops are destroyed by the Jamaican militia. As early as 1956, Maroons have been growing marijuana and on March 19th, 1956, Man O Rowe was charged with having “three and one-half sacks, in a carton, and in two paper parcels, and as well, ganja seeds” (The Jamaica Law Report 1956-60). (Man O Rowe was one of the self declared colonels during the period of 1938-1957, and later declared himself “Secretary of State”.) In March 1964, a reporter from the Gleaner was told that the village used to plant marijuana. Although the crops have been grown over the past 50 plus years, the income has fluctuated. The successful young men in this category flaunt their newfound wealth through conspicuous consumption and are not interested in promoting a Maroon ideology.

The fourth and poorest stratum may or may not be engaged in farming; some are shopkeepers and are engaged in other low end jobs. Some in this group have no access to land since the land they inherited can no longer be divided to support the number of children there are, or work the farm of an absentee owner, or absentee shop owner. There are even a few individuals who are homeless. With the recent increase in land sales and leases, it is more than likely that the level of homelessness will increase. Men are more visibly homeless and landless than women, since women may continue to live at home with their parents for a long time. Some shopkeepers live in a small room that is a part of the shop, or of the house of an absentee owner. Men in this group have no access to any
children they may have sired. Although access to land is based on an ideology of communal land tenure, as demonstrated earlier, in practice not everyone has access to land.

As an example of the economic extremes separating the top and bottom tiers, is demonstrated in the architectural style of the home along with furnishings and the foodways. The new homes constructed from cement all belong to individuals in the first and second strata while those in the third own the older, wooden structures.

Another means of stratification is education which provides a route for upward mobility. However, very few have access to education beyond the elementary level because of its high cost. In order to pursue higher education, one must leave the village. Once the educational training is completed, there are very few jobs to return to in Accompong as was the case with two previous colonels. Their kinfolks have been educated and returned to teaching positions in the community.

Recent years have seen increased stratification and intergenerational tensions. Younger adult men with cash are able to command more and better labor than the few older farmers who still depend upon traditional labor arrangements or are able to recruit labor only from within their households. For younger Maroons with minimal education the picture looks pretty bleak at this point. Income earned from subsistence agriculture is insufficient for them to support themselves while Accompong remains on the periphery of the periphery of the world market. This is a worldwide phenomenon that results in mass migration.
Education

Accompong’s schools are the same as those of the other Jamaican Maroon communities and part of the larger Jamaican educational system administered by the government since the 1820s and does not represent resistance to the colonial administration. The Jamaican educational system is patterned after the British system, although there have been some changes in the last ten years.

In the late 1930s Dunham noted: “After "comin' out"of school, the average Maroon young boy will enjoy several years of apprenticeship. This means that he will continue to help his mother carry bananas, sugar cane, and ginger to market”(Dunham 1940:121).

Education in Jamaica is available at four levels-- the basic level which consists of nursery school, pre-K and kindergarten, the primary level that includes grades one through six with an agricultural component through the 4-H program that teaches life skills. The third educational level may be called the All Age School, where the students are in grades 7 through 9. And the fourth level is secondary school. There are various types of secondary schools: comprehensive high schools, private schools, trade and vocational training schools, and technical high schools. In the intermediate level, there is traditional high school or sixth form (grade twelve and thirteen) which prepares one for university or a series of vocational training institutes such as teacher training, colleges of agriculture, science and technology, a theological college, schools of nursing, and schools of art, drama, music and dance.

Economic means and examination results determine a route from one level to another. The national educational system is highly examination-oriented. National
examinations govern the transitions from the primary to secondary, and secondary to tertiary levels. Strong academic high schools have high prestige and provide a direct route to a university education.

The Jamaican Constitution does not recognize a separation between church and state, so all Accompong schools, while government-funded, are affiliated with the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman and most of the schoolteachers are members of this church as well. In Accompong, there are three schools: the Basic School, Accompong Primary School, and the Junior High School. The Basic School comprises pre-K and kindergarten levels; the primary and junior high school are elementary schools. These schools are not different, however much they want to be, from other schools in neighboring communities and their teachers receive the same state-mandated training as other Jamaican teachers. The curriculum is the same although it includes the role of the Maroons in the history of the country.

Thompson (1938) noted that a school was present in Moore Town in the late 1930s with most of the teachers of Maroon descent. Almost forty years later, in the 1970s, the school’s headmaster was Colonel C. L. G. Harris. (Cohen 1973) Colonel Harris was headmaster for almost thirty years before he retired. The school system consisted only of kindergarten through ninth grade. “For those children who wished to continue their schooling, there are a variety of secondary schools available, but outside Moore Town: High Schools; Comprehensive Schools; Technical High Schools; Trade and Vocational Schools” (Cohen 1973:65). Presently, the town also has a middle school.

Schools among the Surinamese Maroons are also church affiliated with an agricultural thrust and a civilizing mission. However, Djuks Maroons of Suriname
resisted the schools and Western religion for a long period of time. “The Djuka resistance to Christianization lay at the root of the trouble which arose when the Moravian Brothers tried to establish a Christian school (with support of the authorities). The Government put an end to the attempt and blamed its failure of sabotage on the part of the Djukas, without recognizing the true cause” (de Groot 1969:79). Attempts to educate the Djukas between 1935 and 1969 failed. The Djukas objected to the schools because they felt that the children would leave the community and never return. Indeed, those who left almost never did return.

More recently, Bilby (1989) argued that the young Aluku Maroons of French Guiana passed through the French school system having learnt only the bare minimum while not learning the traditional system either.

The policy of francisation, which has had little success, has managed nonetheless to add to the accumulating pressures facing the Aluku. Although the teachers at the government schools in Maripasoula, Pompidouville, Grand-Santi, and Apatou do their best, they can promise pupils only the very beginnings of competence in the French language and only the most rudimentary understanding of French society or the wider world; few pupils are able to pursue their education beyond this level. At the same time, students receive an incomplete education in their traditional society and culture, which in any case they come to devalue after being exposed to the French educational system. (Bilby 1989)

Bilby also argues that the French educational system must be adapted to meet the needs of Aluku and that Alukus fluent in both cultures must help the others.

If the Aluku are to become full and equal participants in the larger society of French Guiana, then policies affecting the process of integration must give careful consideration to their special status. Most importantly, the Aluku themselves should be educated in what is at stake, and should have a say in how this process is to be achieved. The alternative - to exclude them from the planning of policies that affect them, and to ignore their cultural specificity - can only hinder integration and contribute to
their transformation from a once autonomous, well-balanced society into a marginalized minority or, worse yet, an entrenched urban proletariat, despised by and despising of the wider society. (Bilby 1989)

The position of the Aluku is significantly different from that of the Jamaican Maroons. Some Jamaican Maroons have been able to complete higher education and return to become teachers. Hence, the number of Maroon teachers has increased. In Accompong, the only traditional system to learn is farming and the ethnomedical system.

The Accompong Basic School

According to Acting Principal Garth Chambers, the Basic School “first met in the United Church before a separate building was built” (Garth Chambers, July 2, 2001). This practice of meeting in the United Church’s building continued until only very recently. Although the Basic School was initiated by a non-Maroon living in the village in the late 1930s, the school’s administration is now all Maroon. According to Katherine Dunham, Mrs. Allen, the outsider, “opened a kindergarten for children at penny-ha'penny a week” (Dunham 1940:122). In the 1990s, the school expanded and a pre-K section was added in 1997. In an interview with Garth Chambers, a teacher in the Accompong school system in July 2001, he described the Basic School in this way:

The school building is currently undergoing construction of a second room, as both classes met in one room. This construction is funded by Food for the Poor, who also provide food for the lunch program…The pre-K and kindergarten have two different curriculums. The pre-K is skilled based, speaking, listening and manipulation. Kindergarten is more advanced, writing, reading and math…There are two teachers (one trained), one principal, and 31 students in the Basic School. The enrollment used to be 50 children, but more and more parents are finding it difficult to pay the fee so only a few children attend school regularly. Basic School students must pay JA$50 ($1 US) per week for
fees and JA$20 for lunch. In addition to the fee, the children must wear uniforms, another expense. The ages of the students range from 3 years and 8 months, to 6 years before they graduate to the first grade. (Garth Chambers: July 30, 2001).

In 2001 the principal of the Basic School was on leave in order to complete her bachelor’s degree and Mr. Chambers acted in her absence. The other teacher, Darcie Huggins, had not yet been formally trained and also served in the capacity of school cook. In 2008, Ms. Huggins was no longer employed as an assistant teacher as she declared, “there was no money in it” (Huggins, 2008).

On July 2, 2001, nine students graduated from the Basic School. The ceremony was scheduled to begin at 3:00 pm, but began fifty minutes later. The five girls and four boys graduating from the Basic School were going on to Accompong’s primary school. The ceremony began with the children marching down the aisle of the United Church to music. A boy was paired up with a girl, and one girl was on her own in the back. The children were dressed in red robes, with yellow piping around the yoke. Mrs. Cawley, the Mistress of Ceremonies, was most upset that the ceremonies did not start on time—3:00 PM. As the children walked down, cameras flashed while whispers and gestures came from family, friends and invited guests.

The event began with the song “Praise the Lord”, followed by reading from Ephesians 1 and 3, then prayers. The words were read out loud in order for the audience to sing them. Next, greetings and welcome were given.

Mrs. Rowe, the Chairperson and teacher of the first grade, noted that the ceremony was not a graduation because it was only the beginning of formal education. She called on the parents to encourage the children to study and to groom them to
become productive citizens. She said it was the duty of the parents to teach their children.

This was followed by a recitation entitled: “A Child Learns,” and then a song. The graduates were joined by a few of the children who would be graduating the following year. In her talk, manners were stressed by Mrs. Cawley. The twins Ramon and Remon Rowe (known as “likkle man and big man”) sang their ABC. Camesha Johnson then presented a recitation.

Colonel Peddie brought greetings to the graduates and the guests. He stressed the importance of basic education as the cradle of any community. He said that the parents, much more than the government, were responsible for the education of the children. He talked about the frightening experience of a child entering school at the age of seven years without prior school background. The colonel hoped that there were a few leaders amongst the graduates, including a prime minister. He called for the support of the parents, in particularly the fathers who did not show up at PTA meetings. The colonel felt that they did not show up because they were ignorant, or that they did not want to pay an extra $5. He continued to note that the times were changing, and that computers were necessary to keep up with the times. The noise level increased during the colonel’s speech—although there was some agreement with him.

In the colonel’s speech, we see that not only is he looking (to the class) for leaders within the community, but also for a leader of the country, in the person of a prime minister. This highlights and acknowledges the prime minister as the head of state, rather than the colonel himself.
Mrs. Rowe reminded the parents that basic school was a community school. She called for contributions of fathers to school, and noted that there were only a few fathers who attended the Basic School Committee meetings. The children then sang a song, “Shapes,” followed by “Violence in School,” a commentary on the increase of violence in school made by Mrs. Rowe. The Teacher's Report was presented by Mr. Chambers, Acting Principal.

Basic School Graduation, July 2, 2001 (Acting Principal Garth Chambers & Darcie Huggins along with the graduates)

The Primary and Junior High Schools

In 2001, the primary and elementary school served 179 children, including children from neighboring communities. There was one principal and nine teachers (four of them non-Maroons from outside the community), the remaining staff of three administrators, three watchmen; two cleaners and one cook were all Maroons.
Veronica Smith-Harris, the principal, was a non-Maroon from outside the community and had been there for over thirty-five years. She noted that “the teacher-to-teacher relationship is good and the teachers from outside the community usually stay for a long time, rather than moving to another post” (Mrs. Harris, 2001). With the exception of the principal, the teaching staff is young.

The curriculum is Jamaican and includes the role of the Maroons in the history of the country as indicated by a chart of the curriculum hung on the wall of the classroom “The Legendary Accompong Maroons” was integrated in religious education, music, science, social science, language arts, art and craft, and mathematics. The poster examined the culture of the Maroons and included information on the foods eaten, transportation, religion, instrument used and songs sung.

On one of the walls of the classroom, there were pictures of the abeng, a drawing of Cudjoe, a copy of the treaty, the early structure of the political system, foods that Maroons ate and key historical dates. The early structure was that of colonel, major and captain. The following names where listed as colonels: Kojo, Accompong, Austin, White, T. Crosse, H. D. Rowe, R. J. McLeod, K. T. Wright, H. R. Rowe, C. Reid, M. L. Wright, H. N. Cawley, Meridie Rowe and Sidney Peddie. Foods that Maroons usually ate included: land crab, cocoon, wild hogs, pigeons, cassava, sugar cane, yam and plantains. The key historical dates are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1663</td>
<td>A full pardon and freedom from slavery was offered to the Maroons by the English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>Well armed camps placed near to Maroon hide-outs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>200 Indians brought over from Mosquito Coast to hunt Maroons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The order of colonels listed above differs from that in the socio-political chapter. Most Maroons noted that some of the individuals listed above were not colonels.
1738-9 Colonel Guthrie made treaty with Maroon Chief Cudjoe.
1796 Last Maroon uprising, Maroons surrendered
1980 Unveiling of Cudjoe’s monument

During my visit to the school, I was asked by the Principal Harris to inform the ninth grade students of the reason for my being in Accompong, and some details about anthropology. I spoke about the four fields of anthropology, and that I was studying the culture of the Maroons. When talking about archaeology, I used Jamaica’s Maime Seville site as an example of the use of history to tell about the life of Africans. I also explained about the steps necessary to study anthropology in answer to a question I was asked.

The children wanted to know where else beside Accompong I studied. I told them I had studied in Chiapas, Mexico. They then asked about the differences between the Indians in Chiapas and Maroons. The teacher, Mr. Parkinson, then enquired about the relationship between different ethnic groups of students in the university in the United States.

Students are introduced to a second language in high school. They wanted me to speak in Spanish for them after they found I could speak Spanish. I asked if they learned any Kromanti songs in school, or at home. A few of the children said they learnt them at home or at a funeral.

There were nine girls and five boys in the class seated two per bench at a desk. The girls sat next to each other and the boys likewise. There was a computer at the front, in the left hand corner of the room where some of the children were working when the teacher and I entered the room. The door and window is on the right side of the room. There were charts hung up around the room. The teacher sat in the back of the classroom
during my presentation. At the end of the presentation, one girl from the front row stood and came up to the front of the room to thank me, and expressed the hope that there might be a few future anthropologists in the room.

The middle school is also home to the Aberdeen Scout Troop and membership is open to all boys and girls, twelve years and up. In practice, however, membership is much more limited because only a small number of students are able to purchase scout uniforms and pay for scouting activities inside and outside the community. Children from neighboring villages who attend school in Accompong also participate in the scouting program. At the time of my fieldwork, the troop was led by the social studies teacher in Accompong’s middle school, Mr. Garfield Rowe, and had an enrollment of 30 students.

There is pride and prestige attached to scouting. The scout uniform is a navy blue skirt and blouse or navy blue pants and shirt with the scout insignia of the *fleur-de-lis* worn above the right breast and an international navy blue neckerchief with red and white piping. The scout troop meets on Wednesdays after school and on that day children belonging to the troop wear their scout uniforms to school instead of the school uniform shared with their schoolmates on other school days. The normal school uniform is much less colorful and the scouts really stand out.

The school in Accompong also has a 4-H club. The 4-H Club is an extension of the national agricultural program through the Jamaica Agricultural Society. The 4-H club began in the 1940s and the programs for youngsters “formed the catalyst for a new breed of agricultural training, aimed at developing skills and techniques in practical tasks at a
time when there was constant deterioration of recreational and social amenities in rural areas” (www.jamaica4h.com). The 4-H Club is part of the Jamaican educational system and is open to both girls and boys. All the 4-H Club’s activities send the message that farming is a viable occupation.

Among other things, the 4-H Club provides students with goats and teaches them how to care for the animals and maintain their health. The Canadian Fund began sponsoring the 4-H Club’s goat program in 1985. Since individuals or families own only small numbers of goats, and an even smaller number of cattle, it is possible for a family to increase its stock of animals through their participation this program, something that makes it very popular. During the school term, students have to bring their goats to school for health inspections. It was quite a sight to behold the large number of children who took their goats to school on June 14, 2001. The older goats were tied, and a child held on to the rope, running behind the goat. In cases where the goat had kids, the kids ran along side the goat without being tied.

The cost of elementary education starts from $5000JA for fees, $1000 for rental of books and the additional cost of uniforms, costs which limit access to education. For those attending school outside the community, there is an additional cost for transportation since the Jamaican government does not subsidize transportation in rural areas. Education is out of reach for Maroons who are impoverished. In US dollars, this amounts to $60 per year and therefore not every family can afford to send its children to elementary school. In addition, very few continue on to tertiary level education due to the high cost
Other Levels

At the tertiary level, only a small number of students were presently pursuing education, a total of five individuals: one female attending beauty school, and two males and two females in college. Beyond this figure, there is no other information on the school system. The following figures and graphs (pages 244-246) are based on data from the 2001 Jamaican National Census. These figures include information from neighboring villages as well as Accompong itself. From a total of 1052 individuals, forty five percent completed the primary levels, consisting of 165 females, and 260 males. At the secondary level, forty six percent or 222 females and 266 males completed school. The figures also show that more males than females complete elementary school. As we move up the educational ladder, the number of individuals pursuing higher education decreased significantly and the number is extremely low, at one percent. At the university level, there were three females and one male; and four females and four males at the tertiary level. (See table 3 and figures 5 and 6) This again is a function of stratification. Even when schooling is free – and it isn’t here – there are still opportunity costs. Although Accompong may be poorer than other areas of rural Jamaica, in principle it conforms to a national pattern.
Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Accompong Town in Jamaica, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Pre-Primary</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Other Tertiary</th>
<th>Other Not Stated</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 (Source: 2001 Jamaican census)
Figure 5 (Source: 2001 Jamaican census)
Figure 6 (Source: 2001 Jamaican census)
Social Groups

Senior Citizens’ Group

The Senior Citizens’ Group is comprised of Accompong residents over sixty years of age. The group provides its members with assistance in securing social services from the Jamaican government and sponsors and/or participates in social activities. The leaders of Senior Citizens’ Group (i.e. its Secretary, Treasurer and President), are not themselves seniors but are younger Council members assigned to work with the group. Another task of the leaders is to visit the house-bound elderly. Mr. Harris, the chair of the Senior Citizens’ group, visits the Custos of St. Elizabeth Parish and, when necessary, goes to Kingston in order to negotiate with the social security system in order to file for benefits for many of the members; because Maroons don’t pay taxes, or are engaged with the state system, they are not able to receive social security.

I attended a meeting of the Senior Citizens’ Group on June 18, 2001. According to the community’s notice board the meeting was scheduled to begin at 5:00 pm but, like all meetings in Accompong, it did not start on time. The meeting got underway at 5:45 PM and was chaired by Mr. Barry Harris. Present were three women and four men, – Winny Crosse Smith, Avis Rowe (a council member who recorded minutes of the meeting), Clifford Foster, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Currie and another unidentified male and female. None of the women in the group were senior citizens.

The meeting was an emergency meeting because there was no quorum at the previous week’s meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the group’s
participation in the Senior Citizens’ Cultural Day event in Santa Cruz coming up on June 21. Activities planned included display of various arts and crafts, performances, along with a Miss Golden Age beauty pageant. Chairman Harris noted that the cultural day would include exhibits from seniors in all the towns and villages in the parish of St. Elizabeth, and that the day’s winners would later participate in the national exhibition at the agricultural fair in Kingston. Crafts for exhibition included: crochet, knitting, embroidery, wines, jams, jellies, pickles, and chutney.

It was noted that the scout troop would participate in the event along with the seniors. There would be a bus arriving in Accompong at 8:00 AM on the morning of June 21 to take the groups to Santa Cruz, free of charge. During the meeting, the chair asked me if I had any suggestions or advice for the group. Since I was an outsider, I declined to comment.

On the day of the trip I boarded the bus with the scout troop and the Senior Citizens’ Group to participate in the Cultural Day activities in Santa Cruz along with other neighboring groups. At 8:35 AM., the bus left Accompong fully loaded. During the ride, the group sang church songs and there was drumming as well. Once at the grounds, the day was full with events. The only break was between 1:00 and 2:15 PM for lunch. Some of the senior citizens from Accompong had made fruit wines (ginger, gongo, mango, rice and rose apple) and jellies to enter in the contests. At the end of the day, the winners were announced. However, none of the Maroon women won any prize, but they were able to sell their produce before returning home. At the senior citizen day event, the Maroons were not treated any differently did than the groups from other neighboring groups.
The Healers’ Group

The Healers’ Group consists of all of Accompong’s practicing traditional healers along with three health aides. The traditional healers include a number of herbalists, a bone setter, two midwives, and an ‘obeah’ or ‘science’ man. One of the herbalist is also an health aides; the other two aides work with a traveling nurse’s aide who circulates among other rural communities in the area and assists the medical teams that visit Accompong periodically. The objective of the group was to provide education and management in health care that would strengthen maroon traditional medical and agricultural systems. The Healers’ Group has an economic component to it since the healers earn money for their services.

According to medical anthropologist Cecil Helman, “Traditional healers are either sacred or secular, or a mixture of both...They share the basic cultural values and world view of the community in which they live, including beliefs about the origin, significance and treatment of ill health” (Helman 2000:53). Accompong’s traditional healers mainly fall into the category of ‘sacred.’ Their work is closely related to Maroon ancestral cult practices and to specialized religious or magical knowledge passed on by kin who were traditional healers themselves as discussed in the previous chapter.

M.G. Smith (1965) in writing about rural Jamaican communities noted that the “local herbal and magical specialists enjoy a high degree of freedom from local competition by the clergy as well as from the physicians” (Smith 1965:180). While this is true as far as it goes, it doesn’t accurately describe a situation in which some traditional healers have joined their competitors to some degree. The relationship between
traditional healers and both the clergy and biomedical practitioners in Accompong can best be characterized as cooperative as opposed to independent. The Christian churches, which have their own healing practices and practitioners, have some traditional healers among their members. Indeed, some of the traditional healers hold high positions such as deacon in the local Christian churches and combine Christianity with traditional healing. Carlton Smith, for example, is a deacon of the Seventh Day Baptist Church, combines traditional healing with Christianity and would pray over an herb before cutting and using it. The bonesetter, Adrian Foster was also a deacon of the Seventh Day Baptist Church. There are even traditional healers who are members of the United Church, after the 1938 cosmological break, the most highly regarded of them all. Furthermore, the Christian practitioners possess a level of prestige that is much higher than that accorded to the practitioners of traditional healing who do not belong to these churches. One of Accompong’s herbalists, Mrs. Sylvia Salmon, was also trained by the state as a health aide. This woman works with the government’s traveling nurse’s aide who circulates among rural communities in the area and visits once a month; she also assists the volunteer medical teams that visit Accompong three times a year. None of the healers are engaged in healing as a fulltime occupation and the amount of income gained from healing varied from practitioner to practitioner. There are no set fees; competition exists among the kinds of different healers; and some of them are better off than others. The healers are viewed as more effective than that provided by the biomedical system, and some healers have better reputation of healing than others.

Accompong’s herbalists practice in relative freedom not only because there is so little competition from biomedical practitioners but also because their work as healers is
viewed as being distinctively Maroon. People travel from other areas in the immediate surroundings to seek the assistance of Maroon healers because of their reputations, and because Maroon medicine is supposed to be especially powerful and effective. Healers treat the sick and, at the same time, embody traditional Maroon knowledge, culture and values.

While kinship links no longer provide a reliable pool of recruits for traditional healing roles, the roles themselves still retain both their practical and their symbolic importance. The national government provides little in the way of health services to the village; the health care provided by non-governmental organizations is sporadic and unreliable; and the people are poor and cannot easily afford to travel long distances to urban health facilities whose user fees are beyond their means. Often traditional medicine is the only medicine available to them. But knowledge not transmitted is knowledge lost, and Maroons fear the loss of traditional healers in a situation in which there is nothing forthcoming with which to replace them. Nonetheless, because of traditional healing link to ancestral cult beliefs and practices, and Maroons’ national reputations as healers and magicians, the traditional healer remains a significant emblematic symbol of Maroon heritage and cultural identity. Despite this image, traditional healers can be found throughout Jamaica, especially in rural areas where western medicine is unavailable.

Rather than relying on now fragile kinship links to recruit aspirants to the traditional healer roles, Accompong healers have attempted to organize cooperatively and recruit youth from beyond their own individual family lines through the formation of a Healers’ Group. Traditional herbalists are the most prominent members of the Healers’ Group. The work of the Healers’ Group was an attempt to maintain traditional Maroon
medicine as a resource capable of rooting future generations in their past as well as being a possible avenue for entrepreneurship in the present, whether in the form of the commercial production of traditional medicines or via heritage tourism. Although an effort has been made to teach traditional healing practices to the younger generation, it has not been successful so far and the medical practices are still falling by the wayside.

Prior to 1993, the healers operated independently and serviced different segments of the community. However, the healers formed an ad hoc group titled ‘The Healers’ Group’ in 1993 as part of The Maroon Health Project, a traditional medicine and conservation project funded by OXFAM America and individual contributors, and coordinated by the Center for Natural and Traditional Medicines then based in Washington DC. Healers passed their knowledge of traditional medicine on to the younger generation of Maroons by working closely with the Youth Group. Together the two groups planted a garden of the most commonly used local medicinal herbs behind Accompong’s community center “as a resource for education and herbal supply for clinic use. The upkeep is promoted by a youth and elder co-operation and monthly work days”(Maroon Traditional Medicine:1).

The Accompong community medicinal garden was begun in April, 1993, as the center of an integrated primary health-care program which incorporates Maroon Traditional Medicines as its foundation. It is a youth and elder program which assures that the knowledge of the medicinal plants, which has been passed on through generations of use, is preserved and upgraded...

By providing educational experiences in the wild bush, the community garden, and the laboratory, the youth and adult supervisors are building a strong future for the medicinal plants of the Maroon. These activities will support economic incentives for the cultivation of careers in Maroon Traditional Medicine. (Maroon Traditional Medicine: 1)
The Youth and Healers’ Groups were assisted by a group of Americans including Dr. George Brandon, medical anthropologist; Dr. Gerrald Douglas, naturopathic physician; Norman Francis, ethnopharmacist and botanist; Kaiya Montaocean, program coordinator and co-director of The Center for Natural and Traditional Medicines; and Farika Birhan, writer and cultural worker. The Healers’ Group was involved in marketing their knowledge and herbs as a “product” for consumption through an Herbal Garden Project funded by a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency. By 2001, the garden had fallen into disuse. The Herbal Garden Project was discontinued in 2008 due to infighting among the group members. Melvin Currie, declared deputy colonel, maintained this land belonged to him, and wanted a large portion of the profits without doing any work. There were other individuals who did not want to do any work but enjoy the profits. Given that there has been very little in the way of tourism in the past few years, there was no money to be made.

In addition to the work done locally as part of the Maroon Health Project, three males (Lawrence Rowe, Carlton Smith and Shadrack Blackwell) were chosen to travel to the US for additional training. Smith and Blackwell were traditional medicine practitioners while Rowe was an apprentice and member of the Youth Group. The training included work with solar energy, potable water systems, herbal farming, raw foods preparation, and natural products processing. While they were in the United States Smith, Blackwell and Rowe offered symposia on Maroon culture and health care.

All three individuals received full tuition scholarships to Solar Energy International’s 1994 Renewable Energy Education Program in Carbondale, Colorado and participated in the “Photovoltaic (PV) Design and Installation” and “Advanced
Photovoltaics” programs. At the end of this program, Smith and Blackwell interned at Peace in the Valley Herb Farm in Hedgeville, West Virginia and learned organic and medicinal farming, drying and processing. Shaddrock Blackwell also interned at Delights of the Garden Restaurant and Green City Market and Deli, both near Washington, D.C., to learn raw foods preparation and presentation. Lawrence Rowe wished to study at Coppin State College in Baltimore, Maryland and was given the opportunity to prepare for the SAT exam before he returned to Accompong. Eventually, Rowe returned to the United States to pursue higher education, but has difficulties and was eventually expelled from school.

Once back in Accompong, the three were responsible, along with a team from CNTM, for teaching others in the village how to transform their traditional lifestyle into a self-sustaining cycle of life that would allow the Accompong community to grow and safeguard its abundant natural resources, while preserving the culture (Brandon, personal communication.) The new technologies were never taken up in Accompong and this project has since been abandoned.

These problems all failed for several reasons. One, there is no infrastructure to support these projects once the funding organizations pull out. Two, organizations operate on the premise that the Maroons are communal as opposed to individualistic. Three, the raw foods project was unsuitable since the Maroons’ diet consist of high starch tuber roots that cannot be eaten raw. Most importantly, the level of education is low, and therefore people lack the vision to see far into the future. Based on the level of poverty, people are looking short term economic gain.
The Cultural Group

The Cultural Group represents the Accompong Maroons at various local, national and international cultural events where it presents traditional Maroon music and dance to audiences. Members of this group are all adults. Like the Youth and Healers’ Groups, Accompong’s Cultural Group was formed in the early 1990s in response to growing national and international interest in Maroon history and culture. Following the Maroons’ participation in the Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C., increased opportunities for travel have made competition for membership in the Cultural Group quite intense.

The Moore Town Maroons also have a Cultural Group that travels throughout the island and internationally to perform. As a community, the Moore Town Maroons are better off economically than the Accompong Maroons and, as a result, take part in more international trips. Prestige and status was gained from the travels and sometimes the two communities in competition with each other to travel. The Moore Town Maroons also participated in the Folklife Festival, along with other Maroons from Suriname and French Guiana. Occasionally the Accompong Cultural Group performs with the Moore Town Maroons but there has been no international travel in the past ten years.

The Charles Town Maroon Drummers and Dancers - who have been acclaimed for their performances - are another feature of the community. Colonel Lumsden and two members of the group, Cashaine Richards and Rodney Rose, earlier this year journeyed to Ghana as guests of the Ghanaian government, which was celebrating 50 years of independence. (Gleaner, June 24, 2007)

Being in the Cultural Group can be a demanding commitment in ways that have little to do with art. In order to travel abroad with the Cultural Group one needs to have a
passport which, in turn, requires possession of a birth certificate. To own either of these documents your parents had to have the means to register you at birth and pay the appropriate fee. Securing a birth certificate later in life is a very cumbersome process. Doing so requires that the application form be filled out in triplicate, with three witnesses at least ten years older than the applicant testifying to having knowledge of the birth. These forms must be signed in front of a Justice of the Peace. Additional required information includes the names of parents and grandparents, school records and a baptismal certificate. If the parents and grandparents are deceased, their death certificates must also be provided. The cost to file the necessary documents, $2000JA, represents a substantial outlay of funds. Needless to say, very few people living in Accompong own a birth certificate. What this means is that competition for opportunities to travel with the Cultural Group depends as much on economic wherewithal and the possession of travel documents as on cultural knowledge and skill as a performer. This group of individuals is representative of Accompong’s middle class.

During my stay in Accompong, the Cultural Group was scheduled to travel to the United States during the last week in July 2001 and return on August 1. In preparation for the trip, six females and four males traveled to Kingston to apply for visas in early July. The group was accompanied by Farika Birhan who, acting as Cultural Liaison, was negotiating to take the group to the US. Two of the males had been in an earlier group that had traveled to Canada and the United States in 1992. Arrangements changed; the trip was postponed until the end of August; and the entourage was to include ten Maroons from Moore Town. Eventually, the entire trip was cancelled due to lack of funds on the
part of the sponsors. Since then, no foreign trips have been made by the Accompong group.

I have no expertise on dance forms so I can’t say whether or not the dances performed by the Jamaican Maroons are fundamentally different from the remainder of the folk dances in Jamaica. Also, no one has compared the dance forms.

**Tour Guide Group**

In 2000 the Jamaican Tourism Product Development Company (TPDCo) began training young Maroons to conduct tours of Accompong as a means of promoting heritage tourism there. At the same time as TPDCo views heritage tourism in Accompong as a mode of economic development, it also sees maroon history and culture as a “product” to be sold. The group is headed by three presidents and a secretary, and functions under the auspices of the Accompong Council’s minister of culture. Forty young men and women belong to the Tour Guide Group.

While the tour guides are supposed to be under the minister of culture, in 2001 there were no guidelines or rules governing the relationship between them, a situation that sometimes led to arguments over the monies generated by tours. For example, in July, a group of students from Northeastern University in the US visited Accompong. After the tourists left, I watched a loud argument erupt when several individuals wanted to know how much money was collected and who received money. One individual claimed that $600US was paid, while another claimed that only $300US was paid, and that the money was divided up among three individuals: the colonel and deputy colonel and the tour guide. Although the argument continued for a while, there was no proof of
who gained from the tour. No policy of the council stated whether or not the minister of
culture was entitled to a percentage of the money made from a tour or if the money went
into some kind of community fund. In practice, for the most part, the money collected
from tour groups stayed with the guide who had actually conducted the tour. Before
TPDCo began training tour guides, anyone residing in Accompong could conduct a tour
of the village. This function is now concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, not all
of whom have been trained by TPDCo.

A tour of Accompong costs between $20 and $25US per person. This is more
than it costs to visit other historic sites and buildings in Jamaica. For the Maroons, a visit
to the sacred and historical sites is comparable to a pilgrimage. Individual tourists and
tour groups pay the tour guides directly so competition for a position in the Tour Guide
Group, and among those inside the group, is very intense. One individual, Mark Wright,
tended to dominate the tour business. He ran the café located at the crossroads entering
the community and would take over tourists as they came in by first selling them
refreshments and then establishing himself as their tour guide.

In addition to the fees they pay to tour guides, visiting tourists, shocked by the
bleakness of rural poverty, sometimes gave out money to whoever approached them or
was standing nearby. (One such scene reminded me of a similar scene in San Cristobal
de las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico where a busload of tourists was mobbed by the local
people looking for handouts.) As a result, a few young men contrive to dominate among
these bystanders by spending much of their time hanging around the crossroads and at the
café in order to meet tourists the minute they enter the community and perhaps beg some
money from them.
The tour focuses on visits to the historic sites of the town, the grave sites of past Maroon leaders, Kindah, the United Church, the Basic and Elementary Schools and an arduous five-mile climb uphill to Peace Cave where the peace treaty was signed. Whether or not tour groups stopped at the herbal garden depended on who the tour guide was. There might also be other stops during the tour depending on the guide’s knowledge. If there has been advance notice of the visit of a large tour group, they were provided with food at the conclusion of the tour for an additional fee. Tour guides’ knowledge of Maroon history and the uses of medicinal plants varied a great deal. During a TDPCo tour led by Melvin Currie, a senior council member, Currie stopped at an herbal garden he claimed was on his property where he pointed out some herbs and discussed their uses, which many of the younger guides are not capable of doing.

TPDCo is endeavoring to make the tour guides’ presentations more uniform by training them to use Standard Jamaican English, rather than the Creole Accompong Maroons normally use. TPDCo also promotes certain versions of Maroon history it considers ‘politically correct.’ This sometimes leads to spontaneous alterations of history and interpretation with which not everyone is in agreement.

During one of the walking tours with TPDCo, a conflict emerged over whether Cudjoe or Juan de Bolas should be the focal figure for Accompong Maroon history and it was clear that some of the history was being changed. A statue of Cudjoe had been erected and unveiled in Accompong in 1980. A newspaper account of the event appearing at the time clearly identified the statue as representing Cudjoe. “A monument to a great Jamaican Maroon was unveiled recently. The monument was built in memory of Cudjoe. He was a well known freedom fighter who led slaves against the English” (The Daily
Gleaner, January 14, 1980). In 1999, when I first visited Accompong, this statue stood in front of a monument in the town square and everyone asked identified it as Cudjoe. At some point between 2000 and 2001 the statue was moved from the front of the village to a place near the Kindah tree located in the village’s rear. In addition, the statue was no longer identified as Cudjoe, but as Juan de Bolas, leader of the Spanish Maroons. TPDCo has also attempted to link the early Maroons to Islam and this, among other things may have affected the way in which they prefer to have the killing of the pig served during the Treaty Day celebrations described. (One could make the argument that, since Moslems did not eat pork, how the pig was killed is irrelevant.)

On one TPDCo tour that I attended, - the one led by Council member Melvin Currie that I described earlier, - when Currie described how the pig slaughter took place, a TPDCo representative interrupted him and countered his description by stating that the pig was not stabbed in the jugular vein but killed in a humane manner after the utterance of prayers. (In point of fact, Maroons usually do dispatch pigs by stabbing them in the jugular vein with a knife and letting them bleed out until they die.) The TPDCo representative was trying to present to the tour group a sanitized version of the event, one she viewed as ‘politically correct’ and more palatable to visitors unused to Maroon practices. On another occasion one member of the TPDCo team managing the development of Accompong a heritage tourism product recounted a dream she had that told her that visits to Maroon leaders’ graves should no longer be part of the tour.

TPDCo is not alone in its worries about standardizing tour guides’ presentations. Some community members concerned about TPDCo’s cultural and historical innovations also complained that not all the tour guides were telling the correct history of the
community, while some were not even going to the correct historic sites to narrate it. Their fears are indeed justified. I took four tours with different individuals, and none of the tour guides provided the same information.

**Youth Group**

This group was formed in April 1993 along with the Healers’ Group as part of The Maroon Health Project. Members of this group vary in age from teenagers to young adults but are primarily young adult males and a few females beyond school age with few responsibilities and primarily children of elite families. Some members of the group have developed a strong agricultural focus and are working with the Member of Parliament for the area on various agricultural schemes. This group also appears to serves as a bridge for young adults to move into various roles in the council, and even become colonel. For example, both Harris Cawley and Meredith Rowe were leaders of the Youth Group at different times before becoming colonel. The majority of the members in this group are also in the Tour Guide Group. Leadership is loose, with different individuals taking the lead in the various projects depending on their interests. There is nothing distinctive about this group, and like the other groups formed in the 1990s, they have fallen by the wayside.
The village organizations in Accompong serve educational and cultural functions, as well as being adaptive strategies for ensuring economic success and minimizing losses. The schools in Accompong’s are part of the national educational system. Nevertheless, about half the teachers in the schools are Maroons, particularly Maroons from the kinship networks of past colonels. The small number of non-Maroons holding teaching positions in the village has lived there for extended periods of time, indicating not only their acceptance of the Maroons, but also the Maroons’ acceptance of them. The Basic School, begun by an outsider, has since become entirely Maroon run but financed by the American religious organization, Food for the Poor. The result is that for the first two years of schooling, young Maroons are taught by Maroon teachers. Similarly, the teachers and the principal of the elementary school were non-Maroons until the 1980s when Maroon teachers increased.

Higher education provides a route for upward mobility in most countries and this is true in Accompong, but only a small percentage of the population attends school beyond the primary level. Children of families who cannot afford to pay for education will have to farm or leave the community, seeking employment elsewhere. However, while in school, children receive lunch and goats, along with animal husbandry training, all of which adds to a family’s well being. The few Accompong Maroons who pursue higher education are unlikely to return to the village unless there is a teaching position or some other job with a steady salary from the Jamaican state waiting for them.
Accompong the educational system perpetuates the social stratification of the country and the community.

The schools in the Jamaican Maroons are that of the state and have been a part of the fabric of these communities from very early on in the nineteenth century based on their request. The educational system of the Surinamese and French Guianese Maroons is also church-run with a forced assimilation policy. Despite this, the South American Maroons resisted assimilation and education that was linked with the church until the 20th century. The younger generations of the South Maroon groups are not learning the traditional ways and are experiencing anomie. There is not much in the way of traditional practices in Accompong.

There is nothing that makes the Cultural Groups, Healers’ Groups, Senior Citizens’ Group or the Youth Group in terms of practices that are distinctively Maroon. For example, traditional healers are found through rural Jamaica and in some urban areas but have not formed a group. These groups were formed through outside influence that fell apart when the agencies left. The Moore Town Maroons have a Cultural Group that participate in Treaty Day activities in Accompong Town and have traveled to the Untied State to perform in the 1990s.

The Youth Group move Maroons from one generation of offices to the next and from one office to another, as a form of age grading. Membership in the groups is voluntary, and age-specific. Group membership between the Youth Group and the Tour Guide Group overlaps and there is an agricultural thrust to the Youth Group. Modernity is impacting on the transition of healing knowledge through kinship ties as individuals participate in state-run institutions. With the loss of indigenous knowledge, the
community is vulnerable because there is not enough income to pay for the Western medical care that is replacing the traditional system. Free medical care from international organizations is only available three times per year.

Small numbers of individuals are members of several groups, and the groups as a whole serve to improve the community’s welfare and agricultural practices. Members of these groups are representative of Accompong’s middle class. They also serve as brokers between the community and the national government. One example is the leader of the Senior Citizens’ Group who helps the elderly to obtain governmental assistance with medical coverage. Basically, older Maroons did not receive government social services and they do not have the means to travel to the nearby town and apply for these services. Some individuals hold administrative positions in the Women’s Group, Senior Citizens Group, and members of the council, while their children belong to the Scout Troop, the Youth Group, and the 4-H Group. The 4-H and Scout groups are found island-wide. Although other Maroon and non-Maroon communities are engaged in tourism, they do not forms groups like Accompong.
Chapter VII

MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, HEALING AND RELIGION

Introduction

Examination of the religious institutions of the Accompong Maroons reveals that they are a part of the wider Jamaican religious institutions with only minimal differences. As a means of demonstrating difference, the Accompong Maroons perform their Myal ritual to commemorate the signing of the peace treaty and the birthday of their past heroic leaders, Accompong and Cudjoe. Comparison of Accompong’s religious institutions with those of the Djuka and Saramaka Maroons of South American Maroons indicates that there are vast differences between them. The only religious system they have in common is obeah, but analysis of obeah as practiced by the Djukas of Suriname reveals that the two systems are in structurally different.

The earliest account of the Accompong Maroons’ religious life is described by the 19th century British historian Byron Edwards. Although the early descriptions emphasized were that of African origins, the Accompong Maroons soon adopted some aspects of Christianity shortly after religion arrived in Jamaica. Edwards described various Maroon
deities. ‘Accompong’ was a name for the God of the Heavens, not sacrificed to but praised and thanked. Assarci was god of the earth receiving libations and first fruits offerings. Ipboa was the sea god to whom a hog was sacrificed upon the arrival of delayed trade ships on the coast. Obboney, a malicious deity, was the author of all evil whose anger could only be averted by human sacrifice of captives or slaves. In addition to these deities, each family had a ‘peculiar tutelary saint’ who was supposed to have been originally a human being and first founder of their family. The anniversary of the burial of this figure was venerated at the grave site by all of his descendants with the oldest man offering up praises to Accompong and the other deities then sacrificing a cock or goat and spilling its blood upon the grave. (Edwards 1807:85-86) While the deities were described as maroon deities of African origins, the Maroons were not engaged in naval trade. Therefore the deities probably would have taken on new meanings of which there is no information. Following Edwards, there were no other accounts until the twentieth century; by then things had changed considerably.

What Edwards described in the 19th century seems like a kind of neo-African cult group with a strong component of ancestor worship. When Joseph went to Accompong in the 1930s, he found myal, obeah and the Presbyterian Church. Nonetheless he still quotes Edwards’ description of the deity Accompong, noting that Accompong was the “God of the Heavens, the Creator of all things, and a deity of infinite goodness” (Joseph 1938:383.) However, Joseph then goes on to complicate Edward’s attribution of the deity’s name by three arguments: By giving the name an Ashanti origin he first argues that Accompong is not really the deity’s name but is merely an appellation or primary title assigned to it. “The Supreme Being among the Ashanti is Nyame, and his primary title is Nyankopon, meaning
Nyame alone, great one.” Secondly, Joseph then noted that Nyankopon is not only a primary title of the Supreme Being but is also a personal day name that could be given to any male child born on the appropriate day of the week. And lastly, the name Accompong is a corruption of the original Ashanti name, the result of the “white man’s effort to transliterate the spoken Nyankopon heard from the early slaves” (Joseph 1938: 383.)

During Dunham’s visit, she also found myal, obeah and Presbyterianism, noting that there was no Revival group in Accompong. Only two Maroons were Revivalists: “Father Gillett and the Colonel’s (H. A. Rowe) daughter” (Dunham 1946:74). Then colonel, H. A. Rowe was actively discouraging Revivalists from setting up meetings in Accompong and tried to restrict the practice of obeah, despite - (or perhaps because of) - Rowe being an obeahman himself. Nevertheless Maroons traveled to nearby villages to participate in revival meetings and obeah continued.

Hurston (1938) argued that there were no difference between the Maroon and the larger Jamaican population. In her observation of nine night celebrations, she noted that the nine night celebrations was found island wide with variation from parish to parish. Dunham (1946) argued that the nine nights celebrations were on the decline. I found that the nine night celebrations were still celebrated, but varied by the class and religion of the deceased. However, although the younger adults attended the celebrations, they did not participate in the rituals themselves. Therefore, it is possible that the ritual will be discontinued when the elderly die. Similarly, the younger generations did not participate in the ancestral offering on Treaty Day in 2001.

In the 1980s, Galloway once again quoted Edward’s description of Accompong and
the other deities among the Maroons. But in addition, she found the following churches: Zion Church, Seventh Day Baptist Church, Ta-Ta Denue Assembly of God Church, New Testament Assembly of God Church, and the United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman. Galloway was told that obeah practice had disappeared with the death of the older Maroons. However, others noted that while there were no longer any obeah practitioners in the village, there were still people to whom one could turn for advice when they were sick.

Galloway noted that the United Church was part of a system that included churches in St. Elizabeth parish presided over by a Rev. King who did not reside in Accompong but came in to the village on the third Sunday of each month but spent most his time at the main church in the neighboring community of Retirement. There were Sunday services, church school, Watch Night New Year’s Eve service but no youth programs. The church building itself doubled as the village’s primary school and most of the teaching staff for the church was the same as for the primary school. During my research, the school had its own building and the teaching staff was engaged in the church activities.

According to Galloway, Ta-Ta Denue Assemblies of God aka Assemblies of God and Ta-Ta Denue Assemblies of God was pastored by Rev. James Rowe, then the only native church minister residing in Accompong. There was a Sunday evening fellowship, a youth program and a midweek service. “Rowe has been at the church approximately five years. He claims to be a ‘self-educated’ man. The church’s previous pastor chose him for this leadership role.” (Galloway 1981:175) This church held services on Wednesday and Friday mornings at 6:00 AM and had a strong youth program. At that time, Colonel Martin Luther Wright was the Sunday school teacher.
Kopytoff (1987) found that shortly before emancipation in 1825, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), an arm of the Anglican Church, began working in Jamaica spreading Christianity to the free and enslaved and later to free Blacks. In 1827, CMS established a center in Moore Town, and a year later, in Accompong. “The Maroons valued the association with the Established Church, which in their minds, was closely associated with the power of the colonial government…When in 1839, the CMS permanently withdrew its catechist at Accompong after ten years of frustrating and relatively unrewarding labor, the Maroons complained of being left to the Baptists who were then working nearby” (Kopytoff 1987:470). Other religions later took up work in Accompong, although the ministers did not live in the village. In the 1870s the Church of Scotland was established. Other Jamaican Maroons and non-Maroons also welcomed Christianity.

In addition to Christianity, there was the practice of an ancestral religion. Kopytoff (1987:475) described the ancestral religion as arranged in five tiers with Accompong, the Supreme Being at the top. At the second level is a different Accompong, the leader and founder of the village, along with his siblings—Cudjoe, Nanny, Cuffee and Quaco. At this level, Accompong is referred to as “Town Master” and the siblings as “Old People”. The third level comprised the spirits of great obeah men and women, and the fourth and fifth tiers consisted of the spirits of the immediate dead. Ultimately the Maroons came to believe in the Christian God as well as the world of maroon ancestral spirits.

In 1938 Thomas J. Cawley challenged colonel and obeahman, Henry A. Rowe, and seized the office of colonel. Cawley used the Maroon ideology of ‘Town Master’ to argue that ‘Town Master’ was displeased with the actions of the obeah practitioners who were
using obeah to control the Maroons and for personal economic gains. Cawley destroyed the hut that had been built on Accompong’s grave and used by obeah practitioners and where the ancestors were fed.

Spirit possession and interactions with the spirit in daily life of the Accompong Maroons are similar to the Moore Town Maroons of Jamaica, and to the Aluku Maroons of Guyana. Interactions with the spirits are conscious and unconscious. For Accompong, spirit possession takes place at the grave of their ancestors, while in Moore Town, the scene is the central cemetery and among the Aluku, the site is the central village shrine of the clan. Among the Accompong and Moore Town Maroons, spirit possession takes place during dance, and ceremony, unlike the Aluku.

Kopytoff (1987) argued that “[T]he ideological change – the ascendance of the Christian God – in turn, led to social changes. Because the spirits functioned to enhance community integration, provide social controls, and impose sanctions, the undermining of their power weakened the consensus on which traditional political authority in the community ultimately rested, and hastened processes of social change already underway in the community” (Kopytoff 1987:479).

In reference to the annual myal ritual, Kopytoff (1987) describes this as a ritual of integration.

In addition to the intermittent dances held whenever Old People wanted to make their wishes known, there was an annual celebration of Accompong birthday in January. This had the form of a classical community ritual of integration. The Maroons came together to share ritually cooked food with the ancestors and to dance and sing songs about their glorious past. They established contact with all their ancestors at the site of the original settlement called Old Town. The chief dancers communicated with the Old
People telling them what was happening in the community and receiving instructions from them. The dancing was held in front of a ritual hut that had been built on top of Accompong’s grave. (Kopytoff 1987:476)

In addition to the hut described above by Kopytoff, Cooper’s (n.d.) description indicated that the hut over Accompong’s grave was a shrine which individuals visited seeking redress from injustices done to them while obeah practitioners visited the shrine to gain more powers. In studies of the Cottica Djuka Maroons of Suriname conducted by Kobeen (1967), he found that “each village has a shrine to the ancestors (faga-tiki) where libations are made on occasions of illness or misfortune, or before starting on some important undertaking, such as leaving the village for some length of time. The ancestors make no distinctions: they will help a stranger who lives in the village and makes them an offering, even a member of another group or a white man” (Kobben 1967:18).

Besson’s (1997) analysis of the myal ritual on Treaty Day differs from that of Kopytoff (1987). Besson argues that the ritual is one of separation, transition and incorporation in the face of threat and change.

In the Myal Dance, which is performed around this tree (Kindah), the drummers and abeng-blower are male; while chosen maroon women are perceived to be possessed by the spirits of the male ancestor-heroes. This spirit possession is enacted directly beneath the Kindah Tree, highlighting the central role of scarce but precious women in reproducing the maroon polity. The symbol of the Kindah Tree therefore incorporates both the generational links and the complementary male and female principles perpetuating the corporate community and embedded in its enduring system of descent, kinship, marriage and affinity. (Besson 1997:217).

Besson (1997) further argued that there is a relationship between the Presbyterian Church and the Rastafarians in Accompong that accounts for the change in date of treaty day to that of January 6th.
The 6\textsuperscript{th} January is the date of Epiphany. Given the presence of a Presbyterian church in Accompong since the late nineteenth century, the choice of the 6\textsuperscript{th} January to symbolize Cudjo’s birthday and the ending of the War may represent an appropriation of this Christian festival … In addition, this date is said by some Rastafarians to be the birthday of Jesus Christ (with the 7\textsuperscript{th} of January being Christmas Day), a tradition which, in view of the growing presence of Rastafari in Accompong. (Besson 1997:216)

My analysis demonstrates that the commodification of Treaty Day is direct and a conscious decision of participation in capitalism. So much so, the date was changed to January 6\textsuperscript{th} to capitalize on tourists and families returning for the Christmas holidays. December and January are peak vacation time for most Caribbean countries because it is warm, as opposed to colder northern areas. The few Rastafarians in Accompong are marginal in the village and have no influence on the politics of the community to change the date of largest public event with historical symbolism. In addition, Chevannes (1995) argues that the Rastafarians originated from the Revivalists and practiced many of their rituals and no doubt dates for particular rituals and celebrations.

This analysis of the myal ritual on Treaty Day is more complex than either Kopytoff’s (1987) or Besson’s (1997). I argue here that Accompong was not immune to the external global political, economic, social and religious changes that were occurring in the 1930s and that these changes played a role in the shift in the Maroon social order and its African-based religious cosmology. It is in relation to these larger scale social currents we can best understand the processes of social change Kopytoff describes as “already underway in the community.” Contrary to Price’s (1979:30) assertion that “with rare freedom to extrapolate African ideas and adapt them to changing circumstance, maroon groups include what are in many respects both the most meaningfully African and the most truly ‘alive’ of all Afro-
American cultures,” Jamaican Maroons actively sought Christianity as a means of getting closer to the British government.

The ritual on Treaty Day highlights the hierarchical structures and the paradox of dependency of the village, adaptation and accommodation, despite its rhetoric of resistance and rebellion; the incorporation of sacred geography and the continued tax exemption claim. In the performance of the ritual, there is a tension between an unconscious African practice with Christianity. The process of separation, transition, degrees of hierarchy, inclusion, exclusion, incorporation and accommodation takes place. First, Maroons are separated from non-Maroons then Maroons are separated by gender, and finally, full-blood males vs. other Maroon males. Only full-blooded Maroon males are allowed to cook, and partake in the communal ancestral meal. Later on, older females are permitted to help in the serving of the food. Kojo’s treaty is incorporated in the Accompong Maroon oral history, along with certain geographic locations that highlight the Maroon Wars and distinguish the Maroons from other Jamaicans.

This analysis of religious practices present in Accompong found a wide variety of forms ranging from African-derived cults to more orthodox forms of Christianity similar to those seen elsewhere in Jamaica with varying involvement of the state in the religions. Religion functions as a means of interacting with the spirits, obtaining spiritual knowledge, ensuring spiritual and material well being and protection from misfortune, and maintaining social control. Ancestors are venerated and libations are made frequently in addition to an annual sacrifice. Religion also promotes and maintains social stratification. Beginning in the late 1970 and 1980s, the number of Christian denominations increased significantly. All the
Christian churches found in Accompong are found throughout the island and are branches of international churches and they hold revival meetings in the summer with visiting personnel. Beginning in the late 1970 and 1980s, the number of Christian denominations increased significantly.

Among most Maroons, there are no rigid distinctions among the religious practitioners and their affiliations. While individuals may have formal membership in a particular church that is not to say that they don’t cross religious boundaries, depending on the circumstances. For example, during revival meetings held in public spaces, many attend with no regard to the sponsoring church, since a revival meeting provides community members the opportunity to gather and meet outsiders, and obtain resources that could result in social mobilization. Similarly, some adherents of state sponsored religions participate in myal and obeah rituals.

In terms of George Simpson’s typology of Afro-American religious forms (Simpson 1987), the religious institutions now found in Accompong community fall under the categories of revivalistic churches (Zion Church and Pocomania), ancestral cults (Myal), politico-religious cults (Rastafari) and Afro-Christian churches (the Seventh Day Baptists, Ta-Ta Denue Assembly of God, New Testament Assembly of God and the United Church of Jamaica.). This is not to say that individual Maroons do not move across and between these categories; it is just that when they do so they leave and enter distinct class and status zones and distinct forms of ritual practice. Variants of these same religious forms occur throughout rural Jamaica as well as in the cities and often differ in little other than certain details from their counterparts in Accompong. Although there is some evidence that one may have existed
in Accompong’s past, there is now no religion that conforms to the characteristics of Simpson’s category of neo-African cult. Even though various Christian religions have been practiced in Accompong for some time, ancestral cult practices were dominant until 1938 the decisive shift in Maroon religious cosmology occurred. Despite this shift, ancestral practices are still visible in everyday life, at wakes and on Treaty Day when ancestral offerings are made.

There is a distinct status hierarchy among the churches in Accompong with the United Church of Jamaica on the top and Rastafarians at the bottom. The Seventh Baptist Church follows the United Church, and a few members of the colonels’ families are members of this church. Although the United Church has a higher status than the other religions, it reported a relatively low number of members in the 2001 census.

There are no boundaries between religion, magic, witchcraft, and healing. “In many non-industrialized societies health is conceived of as a balanced relationship between people, between people and nature, and between people and the supernatural world. A disturbance of any of these may manifest itself by physical or emotional symptoms” (Helman 2000:84). Kin-based traditional healers such as the herbalists, bone setter, midwives, the abeng blower and obeah practitioners all obtain their spiritual knowledge from the spirits and used it to heal the sick, maintain relationships between people, nature and the supernatural world. Medicines used all occur in the natural world and are harvested at certain times of the year and under special conditions. For example, some herbs are picked at midnight during a full moon.
Religious Practices of the Accompong Maroons

Ancestral Cult

Myal

Myal was the dominant form of religion developed by African slaves in Jamaica before their exposure to Christianity, and so is one of the first indigenous Afro-Jamaican religions. There was no dogma or orthodoxy in Myal belief. Neither is there a centralized organization. According to Edward Seaga (1969) the word Myal comes from the Hausa word ‘maya’ meaning sorcerer, intoxication or return (Seaga 1969:4). But Myal is usually translated as meaning “spirit”, and also refers to justice, fair administration and to the healing capabilities of human beings. Myal is simultaneously a belief system, an organization, and a religious movement. To a far greater extent than most people realize, Myal and its later manifestation, Revival, have shaped the worldview of the Jamaican people, helping them to forge an identity and a culture by subversive participation in the wider polity (Chevannes 1995:21)

What is now the celebration of Treaty Day began as an annual myal ritual and offering made to the Supreme Being, Nyankopon, and other “First Time Maroons.” The shift from an African cosmology to one of Christianity following the political, social and economic upheaval in 1938 resulted in the suspension of the celebration for a few years. When it resumed, its focus had shifted from Accompong to Kojo, who signed the treaty with
the British, and other Maroon warriors, including Nanny. Since the Accompong Maroons have appropriated the 1739 treaty signed by Kojo, this is incorporated into their oral history and ritual practice.

Not only did the focus of the celebrations shift, but the date of Treaty Day changed as well. The Maroon’s peace treaty was actually signed on February 24th; corresponding to March 1st on the old calendar. The 1938 annual celebration of the bicentennial of the treaty signing, was attended by the Governor General and other colonial officials on March 1st. The celebration of the treaty signing now takes place on January 6th, the Day of Epiphany in the Christian calendar, and an important holiday throughout Jamaica. This timing allows the community to profit from tourism related to the Christmas holidays reflecting the community’s commodification of its religious ritual for tourist consumption. Sometimes, one is told this is the birthday of Kojo, or the birthday of Accompong, or the signing of the treaty. In 1978, Colonel M. L. Wright, speaking to the Gleaner reporter, noted that the celebrations commemorated Kojo’s birthday. In 1994, Colonel Meredith Rowe also noted that the celebration commemorated Kojo’s birthday and called for a two-day celebration and noted: “Making it a two-day affair will allow for more events and more focus on the two-fold purpose of the celebration: to commemorate the signing of the peace treaty and to mark our hero, Kojo’s birthday” (Gleaner, January 6, 1994:3 & 11). However, there are no records of Accompong’s or Kojo’s birth, and it seems unlikely that January 6th was either of their birthdays. In other words, the event serves to commemorate and enact an origin myth.

Although the celebration was resumed under Christian hegemony, there is still a continuing tension between Christianity and those aspects of the event rooted in African
cosmology. On the evening of January 5, 1999, while the United Church was having a special church service, other events, very different in character, were occurring outdoors at Parade where the middle school is located. Each group was preparing for the next day’s events but did so separately. While members of the United Church sat in pews, read the Bible and prayed, the women and men that gathered together outside the middle school at about 10:00 p.m. sang, danced and performed libations to ancestral spirits. Although no one speaks the language or understands the meanings of the words any more, the older women down at the middle school, some of them wearing colorful, red-patterned skirts, and white blouses, their heads tied with brightly colored cloths, led songs in Kromantee. The singing of these African style call and response chants continued well into the night and picked up again early the following morning. On that day, there was more singing and dancing as preparations were made for a party to perform the ancestral offering.

The United Church’s service and the dance ritual played out at Parade could not be more different. In the past they stood starkly and symbolically opposed to each other. Only in 2006 did the church services in the United Church officially become a part of the Treaty Day celebrations (Jamaica Observer: January 1, 2006).

The late Colonel Martin Luther Wright has succinctly summarized the events of Treaty Day during which time offerings are made to the ancestors.

Firstly there is prolonged singing, chanting and dancing in traditional Maroon style in preparation for the visit to the sacred grounds and the grave of Kojo, Accompong and other past Maroon Leaders. Secondly, there is the visit to the sacred grounds and at which only full-blooded male Maroons are allowed on the day of the celebration. Next is the return march to the Kindah Tree where ritual food is prepared by specially selected Maroon men assisted by elderly female maroons. Finally, there is the march along the main roads
of Accompong (Wright 1997: 69).

Wright continues:

It is during the preparation for the visit to the sacred grounds, that the sprinkling of the sacred grounds with rum and the pouring of libation takes place. During that time there is preparation of the food to be carried to feed the spirits of the Maroon heroes. The food includes pork as the meat and boiled yam. At the graves of the heroes, in addition to pouring libation (which among the Accompong Maroons is basically the sprinkling of rum over the sacred grounds) food is thrown around the area. A tense moment comes at the place when the visiting Maroons must have a period of spiritual communication with their ancestors but must be preceded by a long period of silence and meditation--what among them is referred to as a 'reasoning session.' The return to the Kindah Tree is made by following what is known as the 'Old Town Path.' (Wright 1997:69).

Everyday food of yams, chicken, pork and plantains are fed to the ancestors. On this day, the foods are assigned added value in order to transform them from profane to sacred. The black pig and red rooster slaughtered are male, and prepared without salt. The yams and plantains are boiled without salt, and must also be male.

At Ole Town the visiting party makes a food offering, the abeng blower summons the ancestors by blowing his horn, and spirit possession takes place at their graves. Since non-Maroons are prohibited from participating in the food offering that takes place at the graves in Old Town, I visited the site of the offering the morning after the celebrations. Remains of cooked pork, plantain and yellow yams were still visible on banana leaves atop a stand near the ritual hut located over the ancestors’ graves.

This Myal ritual in the form of a communal meal is used to venerate Maroon ancestors. The communal meal symbolically affirms present day Maroon males’ connection to the male warrior heroes of their ancestral past while maintaining gender and ethnic
boundaries that exclude women and non-Maroons from participating in the ritual. The rules for participation in the ancestral offering even draw a distinction within the group of all Maroon males, since it is only ‘full-blooded’ Maroon males that can be present to make the offering and communicate with the ancestral spirits at their Old Town graves on that day; even ‘full-blooded' Accompong Maroons living in other parts of the country are allowed to return and participate in this ritual.

Following rituals at Kindah and Ole Town, a procession then moved to the town square where various dignitaries and invited guests listened to speeches and musical performances. During the celebrations of January 1999, the procession was led by Colonel Sidney Peddie, with Hansley Reid (Rupee), the town crier, blowing the abeng. The abeng blower was covered in the vine leaves of the cacoon, as a reminder of the camouflage worn by Maroon warriors during war time.

The activities at the town square are the most public and the most secular parts of the day's formal events. They were essentially a series of political speeches, sometimes interspersed with musical selections from visiting ensembles, or performances from the Cultural Group of traditional Accompong Maroon song and dance.

Sign with copy of treaty
In 2001, it appeared that the practice of Myal was on the decline. When one informant was asked if Myal is still practiced, he responded by saying that it was in decline but noted that the abeng player was instrumental in conjuring up the spirits during Treaty Day celebrations. In addition to conjuring spirits, sometimes spirit possession of one or more individuals takes place and therefore caution should be taken when conjuring the spirits. “There is only one person still know Cudjoe that know to give the myal. It’s the abeng player\(^1\) because he has to direct the message right round and round. He is the one that takes them out there. So he cannot let everyone into difficulties because, then, who will release him?”(Carlton Smith 2001) This information was substantiated by the abeng blower himself:

> I have to just stop and look and see when [how to see certain motion and when time] I blow the abeng and when time I stop blow and when I listen and I hear the voice of Captain Cudjoe and Nanny say unto me: tell them to

\(^1\) The abeng player is regarded as a great science man.
sprinkle sugar and water over those people to get their release out of that myal. Cause we dealt with rum, sugar water and clear water. The more rum you use, the more spirit come down on you. And the more you blow the abeng when you are in negromantee is that more negromantee hold them down. So you have to know to discharge the spirit of the abeng sound and you have to know when to compel them because if you want a person from Whitehall and you blow and get him, you must know what you go and got him for. When you finish with him you must know for to tell him that you finish with him so that he can have you dismiss him. (Hansley Reid 2001)

In the above passage, the word “negromantee” is used to mean that one is spiritually possessed. Informants noted that individuals under Myal spiritual possession can speak, but they did not speak from themselves, but from the spirit. “When people they talking, they are not talking of their own head. The spirit that dancing, them tell you what to say”(Reid 2001).

**Obeah/ Science**

Obeah, or science, is a major sorcery tradition practiced throughout the Anglophone Caribbean. Although the white planters sought to eliminate the practice through a series of laws beginning is 1781, it remains in practice underground to this day. The term obeah derives from the Twi/Akan word “obayifo” meaning sorcerer. In Jamaica there seems to have been a particular appeal to Akan magic which may have led to adoption of Akan sorcery practices beyond the Akan group. Deriving initially from Fanti/Ashanti magical traditions, Obeah has evolved over the centuries in contact with non-Akan African influences, such as Myal, as well as other non-African influences, the most important of these being European Christianity and magic. Members of ethnic groups other than the Akan were often highly regarded as practitioners of obeah in the past (Alleyne 1988, Barrett 1976, Ryman 1984,
Curtin 1970). In Accompong, the obeah practitioners claim the ethnic status of Congo Maroons. Obeah tradition tends to overlap or merge with Myal and needs to be considered in relationship to it. Many scholars consider the relationship between Myal and Obeah to be fundamental to understanding the development of African religion in Jamaica.

In Obeah ideology, both the Christian God and Devil are significant figures and some of the present day practitioners clearly utilize some European magic and occultism. The Devil is a complex and ambivalent figure in Obeah. As the chief practitioner of magic the Devil is the master of magic both good and bad. Rather than being resolutely evil, the Devil is regarded as a resolutely powerful being. The Devil is thought to give Obeah people their powers to invoke the dead, to practice malign magic, to become a night flying spirit, and to receive any of a number of familiar spirits in the form of animals—in essence, the power of the Devil himself is transferred to the Obeah man or woman.

Obeah, as practiced in Jamaica, refers to both a tradition of sorcery and a healing system. It is also a system of social control and, since practitioners sell their services, and a tool for economic advancement. There are no organized obeah groups and the practitioner is a sole individual, male or female, hired for a specific purpose. Obeah practitioners are adept at herbal medicine, can bring supernatural threat to bear to control people's behavior, and are hired to help clients gain social and economic goals in societies where any individual's gain is always achieved through someone else's loss—a zero-sum game that is common in peasant societies. Accompong is well known for having obeah practitioners and individuals come from far and wide to seek their services. “People from all over come to see me,—Canada, US and England"(Chambers 2001).
Duppies figure prominently among the Maroons and other Jamaicans and are said to be used by obeah practitioners. Duppies are “A spiritual aspect of the self that remains in the grave after death. If the proper funeral rites are not done, the shadow becomes a duppy, a dispossessed, dissatisfied ghost that brings misfortune upon the community, mainly but not solely through illness. The Devil afflicts mainly sinful people. God can also visit sickness upon a person as punishment for wrong doing, especially for knowingly and intentionally causing harm to others” (Brandon 2004:754-765).

During the period of fieldwork in 2001, I interviewed one of the obeah men, James Chambers, who asked that I place an advertisement in the newspaper in order to inform an international audience that he was capable of curing cancer, diabetes and high blood pressure. I was asked to bring a bottle of rum and before the session began, the obeah man took some rum and poured it in his hands and rubbed his hands over his face. During the interview, the Obeah practitioner said: “Read this here, read it out loud. I would like to set you up with something to prosper” (Chambers, 2001). I was handed the banned book entitled The Mysteries of the 8th, 9th and 10th Books of Moses, published by L. W. deLaurence and asked to read “Seal to Prosper in Business.” However, I read the passage silently as I was unsure what would happen if I read it out loud. I was most uncomfortable since I was in uncharted waters. In addition, a charm to be placed over my doorway which would prevent harm, and bring good luck was made. Book of Moses, along with herbs and oils such as olive oil and balm oil, were used. Other paraphernalia included red and blue

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2 de Laurence Company published various books on the occult, including the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses which were banned.
candles and a small crystal ball. The obeah man then recited the same passage out loud. Here, the charm works both ways—preventing harm and providing good luck. One could argue that the absence of bad luck results in the presence of good luck in terms of one's outlook in life. In addition to using the Mysteries of the 8th, 9th and 10th Book of Moses, the Bible, by way of the Book of Psalms is also used. “There is Psalms for home, for luck, Psalms for good and all many of evil and Psalms to heal people” (Chambers, 2001).

Chambers argued that the one thing he was not capable of doing was giving life, this power was reserved for God himself. When asked if he went to school in Accompong, Chambers said no: “My parents did not have it to send me to school at that time. We were very poor.” Chambers identifies as a Congo Maroon.

Here, we see obeah being used to perform magic, witchcraft and healing while utilizing Christian paraphernalia, albeit, paraphernalia that has been banned by Christian leaders.

Researcher Alice Baldwin-Jones and Science Practitioner, James ‘Japhet’ Chambers Obeah Practices in Jamaica’s Moore Town
In his work on the Moore Town Maroons during the 1930s, Thompson argued that they were against obeah. “They say they are entirely against the practice of Obeahism, in fact they are afraid of it, and claim that if any of their race mingles with such abomination and thereby becomes entangled, they have nothing to do than to leave him to die a victim to his wickedness” (Thompson 1938:478). We don’t know how accurate this statement is since Obeah was banned, and no one would readily admits to an outsider that they were performing Obeah. In addition, there are no new studies on obeah practices in Moore Town.

Nine Nights in Accompong Town

In small villages, funerary obligations are an ideal place to examine community and familial obligations, religious rituals, rites and social stratification because as in life, so in death, the position of an individual’s life is visible. At the Nine Nights celebration, one can see the interactions of the living with the spirits of the dead. It is important that the spirit of the dead is laid to rest so that it cannot return, result in misfortune for the remainder of the family, nor be manipulated for witchcraft. Hurston (1938) found no difference in the nine nights practice in Accompong compared to other parts of the island. She argued that the nine nights was an African survival found throughout the island with some variation from parish to parish and across class. Dunham also found that the nine night ritual was in the decline but there was still belief in duppies. “The Maroons do not take the ninth night very seriously,
I concluded” (Dunham 1946:139-42).

I was fortunate to observe the rituals of death of individuals in both the lower and highest strata of the village – both different in nature than that described by Hurston. The first description that follows is that of the nine night ritual which took place on June 9, 2001 along with the Revival ritual, the second took place in July. The individual for whom the first nine night was being held was extremely poor, never left the village and his relatives lived locally and in nearby villages. The second ‘ninth night’ was for Levi Rowe, a prominent member of Accompong’s elite.

Previously, celebrations were held for nine nights after the death of an individual. However, the length of time between death and burial has changed. This is also true of when the nine night celebrations take place. The difference in time is due to the fact that many families now have relatives living in Jamaica, the Caribbean, US, Canada, and England, and must wait for them to return home. There is also an economic factor since one must provide a feast for the entire community during this period. Nor is it feasible to take eight or nine days off from work for such activities, nor feed the whole community for that length of time.

The nine night celebration which takes place from the day of death is not practiced anymore, but the celebration is still referred to as nine night. Burials used to take place on the second day after death and counting began on the day of death. It changed due to work schedule and delayed burial. However, because people have to go to work, celebrations are now held on weekends. Celebrations begin about 7:00 PM with playing of dominoes and cards, followed by singing and other activities at 10:00 PM until morning. Bodies are now kept at the morgue in Santa Cruz. Before, the nose and other orifices used to be stuffed with coffee beans. (Mark Wright: June 9, 2001).

Another Informant noted that:

Nowadays the body is given over to a mortician and may be in Santa
Cruz for two or three weeks so that relatives from far off in Jamaica or from overseas can have time to get to Accompong for the funeral. Before that, however, they used to be able to preserve the body here for three or four days before burial. They would do this by sinking a zinc shaft in the ground and putting in ice. They would stuff the orifices (ears, nose, anus, and eyes) with native coffee and cotton, place the body in the zinc shaft and pour more ice on top of it. There would be an exit hose to let out the water and the ice could be continuously replaced. The water was spread out on the land.

The nine night feast is singing until morning. It is a time of mourning and merrymaking, – there is eating and drinking. (Hansley Reid: June 16, 2001)

At the first celebration, the dress was casual with some people wearing T-shirts, shorts, caps, sport shirts; and some of the older women had tied their heads. It was difficult to determine the number of people since some came and stayed, while others stayed only a short time. However, only individuals of the middle and lower strata of the village attended.

A tent was erected outside near the home of the deceased. In the middle of the tent was a pole, with a table next to it. The table was covered with a white lace table cloth, a white plate with salt, and one with sugar was placed on top, along with a bible, a hymn book, a glass of water, and a bottle of Wray and Nephew white, over proof rum. Later, the rum was removed from the table top and placed under the table. Some of the white rum was poured on the ground under the table to ‘seal the ground.’ When I enquired about the purpose of the salt on the table, an informant noted that “a pinch of salt was necessary to invoke the spirit of the dead. Sugar was also present just in case the spirit required something sweet.” (Mark Wright, 2001)

Outside on the street, there were some parked cars with large speakers set up on the roadside. Loud dancehall and reggae music was playing as a number of young adults were
hanging out on the cars and enjoying the music. This activity was also part of the celebrations while the younger children were watching a kung-fu movie on the television inside the house.

A female officiant took rum from the bottle, poured some in her hands, wiped it over her face and behind her neck, and then smelled both hands. After completing this, the woman sat at the table and leafed through the hymn book, choosing hymns and calling out their titles.

Some people objected to the selections so an elderly man offered up some other suggestions to which people were more amenable. Next, another woman read from the Bible.

Following this, some rum was passed around in a cup from which we all drank. Some rum was then passed around so that the other women immediately surrounding the table could have some to rub over their faces. More singing followed, under the direction of the women. The pace of the hymns was very slow. Another distribution of rum to drink was made. Following this, the older men took over from the females who had been leading the singing and praise.

There was a libation from an elderly male who stood at the table and led the group of men in prayer before lining out--calling out--new songs from a different hymn book than that used earlier. Next, the obeah practitioner offered a prayer for the deceased and for the living. More hymns were lined out by the male officiant. More prayers were offered and the female officiant joined the males at the table. Next, another distribution of rum was made.

The group was later joined by an elderly woman and man with two frame drums, who had traveled from Aberdeen where they lived. With this new addition, the songs grew livelier and dancing took place around the table in a counter clock wise manner. One lively
song was “Walk Holy.” The song went like this: “Walk holy, walk holy. Walk holy oh children of Zion walk holy.”

“Walk Holy” was sung several times with a mixed female and male group singing ring shout and dancing counter clock wise around the table. As the singing got livelier, there was banging on the table. At 11:50 PM, chicken foot soup was served, and there was a lull in the dancing and singing. The singing and dance later resumed until the early morning.

The second ‘nine night’ took place on July 28, 2001 by which time the deceased’s family members had arrived from England and the United States. The guest list was a who’s who of Accompong, including present and past colonels. The atmosphere was one of a big party with a lavish spread of food and drink. Individual cups with rum or soda were served and there was also beer. There was a table with some men playing dominoes, but there was no table set up in the middle. Chairs were set up outside for people to sit around. The Revival ritual was absent. The funeral took place the following day at the Seventh Day Baptist Church. There were about twenty vehicles and seven minivans filled with people from all over the island who came for the funeral. Following the service, the abeng blower blew as the funeral procession made its way to the cemetery. The abeng blower was flanked by the current colonel, Sideney Peddie and Past Colonel Harris N. Cawley along with the officiating minister. Next in line was the vehicle carrying the deceased, followed by the immediate family and others walking, and a long line of cars.

The ‘nine-night’ ritual was also performed in Moore Town in the 1930s. Thompson noted that “They have a strong belief in the power of the departed dead, and are keen observers of “set-ups” especially the ‘nine-night’” (Thompson 1938:478). There are no recent
records of this ritual.

In Moore Town, the traditional religion is known as Kromanti Play and is similar to Accompong’s ancestral worship.

Central to Kromanti Play are the ties maintained between living Maroons and their ancestors through spirit possession, or myal. Although in theory any Maroon can become possessed by an ancestor, it is the specialized medium known as the fete-man (or, if female, fete-uman) who serves as the chief intermediary between the living and the dead. The fete-man cultivates special relationships with a number of individual human ghosts, some of whom were spirit mediums during their own lives. These ghosts devote themselves to the fete-man and carry out his bidding in exchange for offerings and favors.

A good portion of any Kromanti Play involves interaction between possessed spirit mediums and other Maroons in attendance, who remain unpossessed (kliin yai). This ongoing interaction between living Maroons and their ancestors reinforces a strong sense of continuous community identity across generations, even as it allows local social and political relationships to be aired, negotiated, and redefined in a public setting. It also renews and helps to maintain sacred ties to the lands on which the ancestors are buried. (Bilby 1996:123-4)

The fete-man in Moore Town that cultivates the relationship between the spirits of the ancestors and living is similar to the abeng blower in Accompong. The ritual is also similar to the myal ritual in Accompong.

In Moore Town, burials are located in a centralized location which the fete-man visits, making offerings, caring for the burial site and fulfilling other obligations asked by the spirits. In Accompong, the cemetery is centralized, although there are other burial grounds and yard burials. Rituals take place at the older burial plots of the Maroon warriors.

Unlike the Jamaican Maroons, the Aluku Maroons of South America interacted with the spirits of the ancestors at a central shrine of their clan, as opposed to a cemetery.
The Aluku do not communicate with the spirits of ancestors primarily in the context of ceremonies featuring spirit possession, nor do graves or cemeteries serve as the primary locus of such communication. Most invocations of ancestors occur, rather, at a central village shrine called the faaka tiki. The faaka tiki consists of one or more wooden posts, the oldest of which is said to have been “planted” in the ground by the village founder, the person who originally “cut the village” (cleared the land for settlement). There fellow clansmen assemble on various occasions to pour libations and request favors or protection from clan ancestors. Like the central cemetery for Jamaican Maroons (Moore Town), the Aluku faaka tiki symbolizes the sacred, inalienable ties between the ancestors, their living descendants, and the lands they hold collectively; at a more general level, it stands for the corporate identity of the clan. Also symbolic of this connection is the mortuary house (kee osu) that every village possess. Here all clan members belonging to the village are brought when they die to be consulted through divination, honored with offerings, and feted with music and dance before taken to the appropriate cemetery in the forest for burial. Although inactive most of the time, the mortuary house stands in a prominent location, usually near the faaka tiki. As the main site of the transition from the world of the living to that of the ancestors, it too constitutes a powerful symbol of the sacred relationship between land, ancestors, and descendants. (Bilby 1996:129-30)

Among the South American Maroons, funeral rituals are more complex, and last much longer than among the Jamaican Maroons. “Funerals constitute the single most complex ritual event. Spanning a period of many months and involving hundreds, or even thousands of people, they unite the world of the living with that of the dead through specialized ritual practices. These practices include carrying the coffin on two men’s heads in a rite of divination, numerous other esoteric rites, and extensive singing, dancing, and drumming in many distinctive modes” (Price 2001:337).

In Accompong, Moore Town and the Aluku of Guyana, Maroons all participate in spiritual possession, although the sites of the rituals differ for each group. In Accompong, spirit possession takes place at the grave of the ancestors while in Moore Town, possession
takes place at the central cemetery, and the Aluku’s, at the clan’s shrine.

**Revival**

**Zion Church**

The Zion Church in Accompong falls under the category of Pocomania and is headed by a Maroon woman. The church's physical structure can be identified by the blue and yellow flags flying high above the building, and a table in the center of the yard along with a white basin of water, and four clear bottles of water at the table’s four corners. Each flag has a white cross in the middle. The yard is filled with the various types of crotons[^3] used in some of the church’s rituals.

Inside the building, the symbols of Pocomania are all visible and composed on an altar. There were two tables. The one in the center was covered with a white tablecloth; in the middle was a white enamel basin filled with water. There were four clear bottles of water, one at each corner of the table. On the left side of the table, between two bottles, was a jar with flowers. On the right side, opposite the flowers, there was a candlestick with three white candles in it. On the second table, located towards the back, there was another basin of

[^3]: Croton flavens: a small tree with yellowish leaves used for decorative purposes.
water, a container with some pieces of croton, hymn books, and an open Bible. These tables are also altars. (see photo above)

In his study of Revival Cults in Jamaica, Seaga noted:

A “bands” is a unit group in both Zion and Pukkumina. Its members reside at their private lodgings except for a few who reside at the “Seal ground” or “mission ground” is the site where meetings organized by the “bands” are held. In Zion, a hut called a “mission house” for accommodating those who attend, is built on this site; hence the term “mission ground.”

The site of the ground varies considerably. It is usually part of the yard space of the leader's premises... Invariably, a small garden of special shrubs, herbs and flowers which are used in the rituals is set aside to one corener of the ground, or sometimes in Pukkumina, located around a pole in the center.

The center and other spots located around the edge of the ground, are of significance in Pukkumina. The spirits of deceased persons who work with the “bands that operates on that site, reside at these spots. In Zion, the leaves are ovate and about 7 cm long.
spirits usually do not reside at the "ground" because the Zion pantheon gives far less recognition to human spirits, and more to the heavenly or biblical host.

A tall pole usually marks a Zion or Pukumina ground. It flies a flag which is intended both to attract passing spirits and at the same time identifies the pace as a Revival ground.

Most Revival yards also contain a water pool, or a large earthenware jug with water. This is the source of all water used in the rituals, and in Pukumina, the “home” of all functionaries who perform with water, for example, the River Maid and the Diver. (Seaga 1969:7)

During the service, the minister wore a measuring tape around her neck, and a yellow pencil in her hair. There were nine adults, one child, and my family present—a total of 13 individuals. The members got up and circled the table, dancing and singing. One person would dance around alone, or hook hands with another and turn around three times in one direction, and three times in another direction. I was given a tambourine to play. Each person got up to testify.

In addition to dancing and singing, there was a calling up of the spirits. The spirits came as was indicated by one woman “speaking in tongues." “Zionists call possession “receiving messages” from the spirits; in Pukumina the possessed “travel” in the spirit world. In Zion, only the leaders or others who hold high position in the groups are expected to understand the messages they are supposed to have received "(Seaga 1969:8). During the service, a young woman who lived with the spiritual leader recorded the session. The service was quite lively and different from anything I had ever attended and participated in.

All the members of the church were related, and the houses I had seen earlier that had

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4 There are various spelling of this word.
white crosses painted on their door belonged to these individuals. All these individuals were in the lower stratum of Accompong’s socio-economic ladder.

In other areas of Jamaica, Revivals hold special weekly services on Wednesday or Thursday nights that attract many international visitors. However, in Accompong Town, there are no services outside of the regular Sunday morning services.

**Rastafari, a Religio-Political Cult**

Rastafarian religion falls into the category of a political religious cult and combines social protest and religious doctrine. The Rastafarian movement developed in Jamaica in the 1930s in response to the continued colonial system of social, cultural, and economic oppression one hundred years after emancipation. The landless and small cultivator class of peasants was protesting their landless situation, and the burden of excess rent and taxation (Smith, Augier & Nettleford 1960, Simpson 1960.)

Rastafari political teachings are similar to Garveyism, which is considered a precursor. They hold the belief that they and all Africans in the Diaspora are but exiles in ‘Babylon’, destined to be delivered out of captivity and return to ‘Zion’, or Africa, the land of our ancestors, or Ethiopia, the seat of Jah, Ras Tafari himself (Emperor Haile Selassie’s pre-coronation name.) Rastafarians believe that Emperor Haile Selassie I was the living God. He is referred to as ‘King of Kings, Lord of Lords, conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Elect of God and Light of the world’, all titles used in the Bible to refer to God. Repatriation is one of the cornerstones of Rastafari belief (Chevannes 1995:1). Rastafarians are known
for their uncombed locks and beards, resulting in dred locks, the use of the Chillum pipe with an abundance of ganja as a ritual herb, and their dietary rules.

We don't know whether or not Rastafari developed in Accompong during the period of its formation. However, the idea of repatriation would not fit into the Maroon ideology as they fought and defeated the British, earning freedom and land.

Rastafari is not an organized religion with a shared meeting place; it is practiced by individuals. There are only a few Rastafarian males in Accompong but all the symbols of Rastafari can be found in Accompong; as well as through much of Jamaica. For example, one of the grocery stores has a black, red, and green flag, and the Lion of Judah painted on the storefront with the words “Lion of Judah” painted over the inner doorway.

Practitioners of Rastafarians are at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the village without a political voice. There are only a few Rastafarian women and the men live alone. However, their children do visit them and sometimes for a few weeks with.

**Afro-Christian Churches**

**The United Church of Jamaica and the Grand Cayman**

The United Church of Jamaica and the Grand Cayman is the dominant church and the representative arm of the state. As in England, this is an established (i.e. state-supported) Church. In December 1965 the Protestant Church of Jamaica and the Congregational Union of Jamaica joined to form The United Church of Jamaica and the Cayman Islands. Later on
December 13, 1992, the Disciples of Christ in Jamaica joined the first two churches. (www.answers.com)

The elementary and basic schools are affiliated with this church and all students and teachers are encouraged to attend this church on a regular basis. Although the lines are blurred in reference to religious affiliations, there are a few devout members of the United Church who draw the line at participating in myal rituals and the practice of obeah which they view as being “heathen or backward.”

I visited this church during a communion and baptismal service and was invited to participate in communion, but I declined. (One had to be a recognized member of that church in order to participate, and I was not.) Although church attendance by schoolchildren and teachers is encouraged, there were only 16 adults (including five teachers and the principal), 27 children and 7 young adults present during the morning service—a total of 50 individuals. The large number of children can be attributed to the fact that it was a youth service where the youths lead the Bible readings and singing. Pastor Cawley delivered the sermon which begun in Standard English before changing to Jamaican Creole.

Past Colonel, Harris N. Cawley in front of United Church of Jamaica
Sévèn Dèy Baptis Costume

Another Christian denomination is the Seventh Day Baptist Church, not to be confused with Seventh Day Adventist. This group meets on Saturday afternoons and on the day I visited, attendance was 10 adults and 10 children—a total of 20 individuals, most of whom were related. The deacon of this church was Carlton Smith, a Maroon traditional healer. Another deacon was Adrian Foster, bone setter and town Minister of Justice. Seventh Day Baptists consider liberty of thought under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to be essential to Christian belief and practice (www.seventhdaybaptist.org). Seventh Day Baptists encourage the study and discussion of Scripture and first opened in Accompong on March 12, 1951.

Ta-Ta Denue Assembly of God

In 2001, this church was headed by a Maroon woman. According to several informants, earlier in the late 1990s, an outsider was granted permission to enter the community and set up the Ta-Ta Denue Church. A few years after the building was constructed, and before it could be fully furnished, the preacher was evicted from the community and the church continued under local leadership. Leadership positions held by non-Maroons are not tolerated for extended periods. On the day I attended service, there
were 12 adults and 13 thirteen children present. Of the adults, only 4 were in the 30 40 age group while the others were much older.

**Church of God International**

The Assembly of God is a Pentecostal church, and its pastor, Mr. Dixon, and Deacon Sam Anderson, were both Maroons. There were fourteen women and six men (four old and two young), ten children and one baby at the service I attended.

Mr. Dixon began the sermon in Standard English then quickly shifted to Creole, then back to English. The service was high in energy and low in verbal content, consisting mostly of Hallelujahs and praising God in the form of call and response for half an hour at a time. Some of the women were dancing and ‘catching the spirit’ as indicated by jerking movements and speaking in tongues. The church’s guitar player said prayers, and read from the Bible. During the prayers, the congregation prayed individually, and out loud, resulting in a chorus of many different prayers.

**Religions of the South American Maroons**

There is very little data on the religious practices and ideology of the South American Maroons making comparison difficult. The South American Maroons remained more isolated culturally and geographically from the coastal settlements than did the Accompong Maroons, and they were more steadfastly opposed to Christianity and education that were
interwined with a mission of acculturation and assimilation.

Shortly after the peace treaty was signed with the Saramaka Maroons, the Moravians from Germany arrived in Suriname, and a few went into Maroon territory. However, after five decades of frustration, they left. Other missionaries later returned in the mid 19th century to a more receptive population resulting in some Saramakans, Kwinti, Paramaka, and Marawai Maroons becoming Moravians. The Roman Catholics followed in the 20th century, converting some Ndyuka, Aluku, Saramakans and Paramaka Maroons. (Leerschool-Liong 1980, Hoogbergen 1990, Thoden van Velzen and Wetering 1991)

“During the 1980s and 1990s, newer evangelical churches have had some impact among all Maroon groups. Nevertheless, today the great majority of Maroons continue to practice the non-Christian Maroon religions forged by their runaway slave ancestors.” (Price 2001:337). Price (2001:335) also writes that the South American Maroons compartmentalize their folk religion and Christianity.

**Obeah Practices of the Djukas Maroons**

A general comparison of the religions of the Accompong Maroons shows the difference between what George Simpson calls a ‘neo-African’ religion and what he describes as an ‘ancestral cult.’ A more specific focus on the phenomenon of obeah (also obia,) - which appears in both religious systems, - shows the difference between obia in the context of a neo-African religion that is the dominant and central religious system for the society in which it occurs and obeah as an aspect of an ancestral cult that has become marginalized and socially peripheral because Christianity has usurped the center and become
the dominant religion. This comparison is based on description of the Djuka by de Groot (1969) in the late 1960s. Discussions with Dr. George Brandon who visited the Saramaka Maroons in 1998, reveal that obeah among the Saramaka is an individual practice, and evidence can be found on one’s home and person. This is different from what is found in Accompong where there were no visible references to Obeah.

The structure of obeah as practiced among the Accompong Maroons differs from obeah practiced among the Djukas in the following ways: its structure and relationship to the administration of the village and civil government; the training and role of the priests; ritual practices; the relationship between the practitioner and the deities; hierarchy of deities with African names and human characteristics; the intermediaries between living people and gods; and the structure of the ancestors. The following table is a wider comparison of the two forms of obeah.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Djuka Maroons</th>
<th>Accompong Maroons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent group of village level priests associated with an oracle deity, plus minor oracles also at the village level.</td>
<td>No permanent group of priests or organized group of religious practitioners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village level priestly hierarchy subordinated to priests at capital as ultimate oracle and headman.</td>
<td>No relationship of religious traditional practitioners beyond the village level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head priest in village is possession priest and medium for the Great Divinity’s oracle.</td>
<td>No possession priests or recognized trance mediums.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head priest chooses closest collaborators from among candidates found selected kinship groups.</td>
<td>Assumption of role not governed by kinship restrictions but sometimes goes down family lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lengthy training of priests.</td>
<td>Not applicable; no priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priesthood linked to administrative structure of village and civil government through its role in the religious aspects of community life and particularly the justice system.</td>
<td>Past colonels have been religious or magical practitioners (adepts.) Religion provided sanctions for behavior through policing functions of Town Master and ancestors in the past; not now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests’ duties: (1) benediction, purification and exoneration from witchcraft; (2) Assisting people whose problems required them to consult the oracle (such as, to find the cause of a death,); (3) special purifications such as disposing of those punished by the Great God because of their witchcraft or other violations of divine law.</td>
<td>(1) Libation at most; also bush bath; no exoneration for witchcraft; (2) no oracle of this kind, divination through dreams, water scrying, picking a page at random from the Bible, cards; (3) not lodged in a group of traditional healers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized funeral priests. Coffin-makers and grave diggers are trained and initiated in cult groups.</td>
<td>No priesthood for this purpose. Grave diggers not an organized group with religious functions or training. Coffins made</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Djuka Maroons

Performs mourning rites; arranges the funeral, ascertains cause of death, attends to the relationship between the living and the dead.

Obeah

Obia is the magical and remedial powers possessed by a number of gods

Obia-man uses both natural and supernatural remedies; can be either male or female medium.

Rivals to priesthood.

Both the priest and the obiaman are healers.

Gods take possession of the obiaman who is their devotee (bearer or steed) Dancing, singing, ablutions bring on the trance state in the obiaman.

Assumption of role: requires long apprenticeship with elder obiaman. Learns the language the deities speak, dances, sings, rites for the god, herbs, natural and supernatural remedies, is subject to a number of restrictions, and must pay handsomely.

Seen as benevolent, although is peripheral to central cult group.

Obiaman provides remedies against witchcraft and the vengeance of gods and ancestors. (de Groot 1969:23-24)

Accompong Maroons

Mourning rites and funerals arranged by family of the deceased. They have no role in determining cause of death.

Obeahman does not relate to a pantheon of gods but rather to ancestral spirits, duppies, angels, other spirits and the Devil.

Same

Similar relationship between obeah and myal in the past and between obeah and Christianity in the past and present.

Obeah people are healers.

Spirit possession is absent. (Moore Town Maroons have a comparable figure, the Dancer (or fete man) but this absent in Accompong. Possession and mediumship replaced by ‘science.’

Assumption of role: Apprentice sometimes occurs but is not required. Dreams, visions, self-study may yield knowledge. Study of occult science literature and the Bible as a magic book. Some collegiality between certain obeah man but also rivalry.

Seen as morally ambivalent, both heals and harms; now marginal to central cult (now Christianity); formerly were linked to central religion re ancestral veneration.

Provides remedies against witchcraft, ancestral vengeance and duppies but; nothing against deities.
Djuka Maroons

Employs mediums for purposes of diagnosis and for consulting gods other than his own. (de Groot 1969:24)

Because of their evil intents, wisiman (witches) are the opposite of obiaman. (de Groot 1969:24)

Obiaman manufactures potent talismans to safeguard one against witchcraft. (de Groot 1969:24-5)

Most powerful protection comes from the Great God at the capital where it can be exorcized by priests. (de Groot 1969:25)

Wisi are not mourned and do not receive a normal funeral rites. (de Groot 1969:25)

Hierarchy of deities with African names. (de Groot 1969:26, 27)

Deities have human characteristics.

Supreme deity: Nana, Nana Kediapmon, Njakompon. Aloof, distant, has no cult group. Requires prayers and sacrifice.

Chief deities: Gran Gadu (also Gran Tata, Grangwella) and Gedeunsu. Both ‘brought over from Africa, were active during the running a way period. Brought to present location by the women who were the founding ancestresses of the major matrilineages.

Below Gran Gadu and Gedeunsu, there are a number of lesser malevolent and beneficent deities. These also possess their respective priests. During possession the deities can be consulted for advice.

Accompng Maroons

No employment of mediums to my knowledge

Same but obeah man may be a sorceror for pay as well as healer

Same

Not applicable

No information on this.

Not present

Not present

Present but brought under the umbrella of the Christian concept which for the most part has replaced it.

Not applicable

Once possessed a small pantheon of deities. No longer does.
Djuka Maroons

Jorkas = ancestors; go-betweens in the supernatural world; intermediaries between living people and the gods.

The place of people after death (i.e. as jorkas) depends upon their life and status before death. After burial the spirit leaving the body retains the character the deceased had when alive.

Kinds of jorkas (ancestors):

*Granjorkas*: people who played a prominent role in life, led exemplary life, ‘praised by the gods.’ After their deaths, these jorkas have the ear of the gods in that the gods attend seriously to their petitions.

*Jorkas*: ordinary people, decent but not distinguished in any way.

*Takru jorkas*: these are people who were evil doers while alive and consequently continue to pester the living by keeping on doing evil after they have died.

Vengeance from gods and spirits takes the form of illness, insulation, loss of a child, crop failure, accidents and death. (De Groot 1969:27-28)

Accompong Maroons

Ancestors do not function as mediators between living people and deities; only other entity was Supreme Being.

Place and character of people after death depends upon life before death and also proper performance of funeral rites.

Kinds of ancestors:

The war leaders of the *first time Maroons*, people such as Cudjo, Nanny and Accompong. Below the great deceased obeah adepts.

Ordinary people who have been buried properly, especially the relatively recent dead.

*Duppies*: Duppies: ancestral spirits (also called shadows or wandering spirits.) A spiritual aspect of the self that remains in the grave after death. If the proper funeral rites are not done, the shadow becomes a duppy, a dispossessed, dissatisfied ghost that brings misfortune upon the community, mainly but not solely through illness.

Duppies cause some illnesses. The Devil afflicts mainly sinful people. God can also visit sickness upon a person as punishment for wrong doing, especially for knowingly and intentionally causing harm to others.
Obeah as practiced in by the Djuka Maroons was linked to the administrative structure of the village, civil government and the justice system. In Accompong, the link between the administrative structure of the village and the justice was severed in 1938 with the rise of a Christian ideology. Djuka had oracles, priests and specialized funeral priests, coffin makers and grave diggers, none of which could be found in Accompong. Accompong Maroons are carried out of the village by an undertaker from a nearby town for preparation before burial. Once the body is ready for burial, it is returned to the village where a ceremony is held in one of the religious denominations. Witchcraft is found in the Djuka, while the duppy is found throughout Jamaica. In Accompong, the is the abeng blower who is in attendance at the grave digging and the internment, but he does not arrange the funeral, perform mourning rites, or ascertain the cause of death. Did obeah practices among the Accompong Maroons look like that practiced by the Djukas before Christianity dominated? There is no answer to this question as there are no archival records on these practices.

**Summary**

The Accompong Maroons sought Christian groups shortly after religion arrived on the island in the early nineteenth century although they continued to practice various forms of African-derived religious practices. In 1938, religious institutions experienced social and political upheaval as did the wider Jamaica and the Caribbean as a whole. However, there are no evidence to suggest that Rastafarian came to Accompong as it did in the wider Jamaica in
the 1930s in response to the social, political and economic upheaval.

The South American Maroons differ in the degree of their conversion to Christianity as they resisted Christianity and Christian education much longer than the Accompong Maroons. There are also differences in the religions relationship to the administrative structure of the village, civil government and the role in the life of the community.

Comparison of obeah practices in Accompong and the Djuka in South America shows stark differences in the structure, ritual practice and leadership. These differences could be the result of legal sanction against obeah in Jamaica. In Accompong, obeah, and Christianity have commingled so much that obeah practitioners use Christian paraphernalia in their rituals. Obeah practiced in Accompong is similar to that found island-wide. This comparison of the Accompong Maroons with that of the South American Maroons reveal that they are culturally distinctive with regards to religion.

Beginning in the late 1970 and 1980s, the number of Christian denominations increased significantly and they can all be found throughout the island and are branches of international churches and they hold revival meetings in the summer with visiting personnel. By the late 1990s, Maroons, both male and female had taken on leadership positions in many of the churches. Similarly, Christianity increased among the South American Maroons. Although Dunham (1946) argued that the nine nights celebrations were on the decline I found that the ‘nine nights’ were still in effect, but varied by social status and religion of the deceased. However, it is possible that the nine night ritual will be discontinued, or revived as a means to indicate differences between the Accompong Maroons and wider Jamaica. The practice of holding ‘nine nights’ rituals in Accompong is similar to those practiced by non-
Maroons in the wider Jamaica. Both the Jamaican Maroons and the South American Maroons experience spirit possession and interaction with the spirit in their daily life.

Church attendance in Accompong is predominately the old and the very young. The few young adults sin the village does not attend church on a regular basis. Denominational church attendance is based on kinship and social stratification. Maroons of high social status, teachers and some students attend the United Church. Although Rastafarians do not have a place of worship, a few of the men can be seen in the mornings engaged in spiritual readings.
Chapter VIII

EPILOGUE

Despite a history of marronage, when certain aspects of the culture of the Accompong Maroons are compared with other New World Maroons such as those of Suriname and Guyana, the Accompong Maroons differ in their legal and political history, their relationship with the post-colonial governments, socio-political system, foodways, institutions of kinship and land tenure, land, language, religion, economy, ecology, dress, architecture, and names. Jamaican Maroons are also phenotypically similar to other Jamaicans while the South American Maroons differ from the larger population. There are only a few rural Jamaican communities that are phenotypically different than the wider Jamaicans. The Accompong Maroons and the other Jamaican Maroons land holdings have a distinctive border while there are no borders for the South American Maroons land holdings. However, what Mintz (1985) refers to as the “institution of migration” along with remittances supports at the same time impacting the household, kinship relationships and social structure of all the various Maroon and non-maroon communities. Accompong Maroons are similar to South American Maroons and other
Jamaican Maroons in that there is the use of the abeng that dates back to the 17th century, and to Africa. In effect, the Accompong Maroons are maroons in name only—a pseudomorph.

In his study of community organization, Smith (1965:178) found that “peasant-type economies and societies were developed among the population that settled the hills as squatters, freeholders, or with mission assistance.” However, the legal and political history of the Accompong Maroons differs from the wider Jamaican society; nonetheless, the culture of the Accompong Maroon village is similar to that of other Jamaican Maroons and Jamaican peasants. Although the group holds land communally, at the individual level land becomes de facto individuated, similar to other Jamaicans and peoples of the wider Caribbean. The foodways, religion, language, dress, architecture and names are similar to other Jamaicans. The economy is similar to other rural Jamaican peasants. A move to rely on tourism as a mode of development is similar to other Caribbean island nations. Examination of the foodways reveals similarities at both the surface and deep levels with that of wider Jamaica. The Accompong Maroons differ from other Jamaicans in their ideology and self-concept, in some important ritual symbols such as the abeng, and in the food symbolisms exhibited on one day--Treaty Day during the communal meal served at the end of the myal ritual.

I have highlighted the serious economic crisis and impoverished condition of the Accompong Maroons, the institutionalized dependency, and the absence of a state system that resulted from marronage. Reliance on an ideology based in the 18th century only further exacerbates this economic crisis. As argued by Appadurai (1996), Clifford (1997) and Hannerz (1998), the impact of global interconnectedness, flows of goods and ideas
and center-periphery articulations can be seen in Accompong Town. Slocum and Thomas (2003) urged researchers “to trace the global in the local, thus illustrating the benefits of local area analyses for understanding global dynamics” (Slocum and Thomas 2003:553).

In Accompong, one clearly sees the penetration of capitalist relations of production into the periphery. Maroons may have escaped to freedom and existed on the margins of the margins ever since, but they have still been impacted by the center, or core of the global system.

Besson 1997; DeGroot 1969; and Price 1974 have examined the effects of emigration on the social structure of maroon and non-maroon populations. My examination of the Accompong Maroons has also revealed the impact of migration on household structure and behavior. Decreasing employment opportunities create excess laborers in the household that must be supported even though they bring in no money. Households then face dwindling productive resources, while the cost of consumption and the cost of socialization for upward mobility through education continue to increase. “Rooting and uprooting” (Maurer 1997) takes place when unemployed household members who migrate and send remittances ensure the survival of the household members at home, increasing their chances for social mobility. In this way migration allocates household labor more productively and at the same time reduces the fragmentation of land and the downward mobility such fragmentation causes.

Some men and a few women who emigrate return after several years with a pension or other forms of ‘cultural capital’ are more likely than others to become significant political figures. The economic and political benefits of successful migration are felt even when migration is local, as can be seen in the case of two of recent colonels
who migrated from Accompong to Montego Bay and eventually became detectives within the Jamaica Police Force. At the same time that the strategy of emigration results in increased social mobility for some households and individuals, it results in downward mobility for others. Households unable to support migration of some of their members become increasingly poorer and marginalized because although they have more laborers, there is insufficient income to increase agricultural production that would in turn increase the put of products for the market. Although they have more laborers, there are insufficient funds to increase agricultural output, thereby increasing income.

Dirks and Kerns (1977) and a number of feminist scholars have argued that mating patterns are also strategies for adapting to limited economic opportunities among certain Caribbean societies. I found that in the case of Accompong, people’s choices often represent their selection of the lesser of two evils. In choosing a higher status male for example, a woman also attaches herself to someone who is more likely to emigrate than lower status males. This ensures that the woman and any child born from the union can expect some remittances from abroad (however small they may be), as well as having access to the child’s father’s land, but it also means that man will not be present to work his farmland himself. However, from the males’ prospective, on his return, he will have access to land immediately without having to purchase any in order to establish residence in the village. More studies on the Maroon Diaspora needs to be carried out. For example, do Maroons live in clustered communities in the United States, Canada and England? How do Maroons who lived for 30 or forty years overseas return home and assume a maroon identity?

Besson 1987, Lowenthal 1961; and Olwig-Fog 1997 have argued that land in the
Caribbean has more symbolic value than economic value for the individual. If that was ever true it certainly is not any more, at least at the community level. At the community level the economic value of land is rapidly increasing and exceeding its symbolic value and, as we have seen, this affects mating patterns. The increase in economic value of land is a consequence of increased tourism, decreased agricultural development and high number of land sales and leases. From all indications, the increase in land sales has not resulted in an increase in wealth for many.

Like Harris (1987:72) who argued that “attention must be paid to the possibility of differences between etic and emic versions of foodways,” I found that this methodology throws into question Besson’s (2002) “creative creolization” in reference to the Accompong Maroons’ foodways that rejected ‘store bought’ foods.

Salt use in Accompong did not follow Levi-Strauss’s (1977) binary category of sacred/profane where the total absence of salt is the opposite of the presence of salt. Rather, a little salt behaves the same as no salt. A taboo is placed on the presence of salt during rituals where the spirits are being summoned and where it is believed that the spirit of the recent dead must fly back to Africa. This finding was similar to that noted by Chevannes (1995) among the Rastafarians and Revivalists and among the BaKongo by Schuler (1980) in the wider Jamaica, and by Littlewood (1993) in Europe. Clearly, there is a need for more study and comparison on the use of salt in rituals in the Caribbean.

Gift exchanges in the form of food or labor were observed in the examination of mortuary obligations supporting Raymond Firth’s (1934), and Mauss’ (1967) works. However, as wage labor increases, gift exchanges are being replaced. Food as a status marker as argued by Douglas (1975, 1984 & 1997), Dumont (1970), (Bourdieu 1984),
Helman (2000) and (Lewis 1951) was seen in Accompong.

**Social Change**

This dissertation has described the changes that have occurred within Accompong’s political, educational, economic and religious institutions, its kinship and land tenure patterns, and its foodways system. Some of these changes were due to external political, social and economic forces; others were caused by internal ones. The world systems, and the Accompong Maroons’ role within it, have changed significantly since the days of the Maroon Wars but what has remained constant is the Maroons’ conception of themselves and their ideological link to marronage. They view themselves as an endogamous and egalitarian group that holds land communally and as a state within a state with special rights and privileges setting them apart from ordinary Jamaicans. The founding symbol and charter for Maroon identity is the 1739 peace treaty signed by the Trelawny Maroons and the British to end the Maroon Wars. Recently, the Accompong Maroons have referred to themselves as the ‘Trelawney Town Maroons of the Sovereign State of Accompong in St. Elizabeth.’ This shift in name clearly indicates that some of the Accompong Maroons are reading what has been written about them and that they are manipulating their image for economic benefits.

Accompong Maroons had no treaty, but a legislative act and so they have appropriated the treaty that the British signed with the Trelawney Maroons, a treaty not signed with them, as their own, including its land claim integrated in the ‘ritual of rebellion’ dramatized on Treaty Day and anchored in their sacred geography and
historical landscape. The Accompong Maroons’ interpretation of the treaty continues to differ from that of the British. For the Maroons the treaty is sacred and the blood oath taken at the treaty’s signing, they argue, rendered it unchangeable and eternally binding between the signatories. Although the institution of marronage was abolished along with slavery, Maroons continue to demand certain rights and privileges they enjoyed under marronage. Although Maroons argue that the treaty is sacred and cannot be changed, empirically, only two of the twelve articles of the 1739 Treaty are still in place: the absence of a market, and communal property. Even so, communal property is fast eroding as the economic value of land increases.

Although Accompong Maroons have an ideology of independence rooted in their history of rebellion and resistance, in fact they have accommodated to Jamaican society and been assimilated into it. When the British made peace with the Maroons their treaty made no provisions for the Maroon community’s internal administration. Instead the treaty institutionalized a relationship of Maroon dependency and co-opted their troops into the service of maintaining the slave regime by capturing runaway slaves and suppressing slave rebellions. Against the treaty provisions that clearly institutionalize a relation of political dependence between the Maroons and the central government, Maroons argue that the treaty granted them independence along with “special rights and privileges” and continue to claim exemption from Jamaican laws. None of this actually appears in the treaty.

The ensuing post-treaty changes in Accompong’s internal political structure and in the structure of the relations between the Jamaican and British governments resulted in increasing integration of Accompong’s political system into the state apparatus, but not
without tension. The colonel’s position changed from a status characterized by both prestige and authority to one that possessed prestige but without any real authority. Early colonels were military and religious leaders with access to spiritual powers, especially through the use of obeah, and linked obeah and ancestor veneration to social control. The colonel, who was once exalted as a warrior, has become an administrator. The colonel, instead of being a head of state, is a middleman to the central government so much so that two colonels resigned their position when caught between their people and the colonial government in the 19th century. The length of time a colonel spends in office went from lifetime tenure to a 5-year term.

The mechanism for choosing a colonel went from a treaty succession rule to exclusion rules via kinship immediately after the signing of the treaty, to seizure and self declaration beginning in 1938 through 1957, and to selection among members of a restricted pool of kinship groups through elections. During this period of turmoil, the colonial government was repeatedly called upon by the Maroons, to settle the internal conflict. In 1957 the election of Maroon colonels was integrated under the umbrella of the Jamaica Electoral Office. Additionally, colonial administrators lived in Accompong and were engaged in the daily life of the villagers until 1957.

In order for the Maroons to continue the claim that forms one of the basis of their identity, their political system must appear to be autonomous. The Maroon colonel is now in the contradictory position of representing Accompong to the international community, including the United Nations and NGOs, while not being able to represent Accompong at the level of the Jamaican state. Repeated calls to be included in the state have been ignored.
Once Jamaica became independent in 1962, the position of the Accompong Maroons vis-à-vis the Jamaican government became even more fraught with complex contradictions. The British government assured the Maroons that they would remain autonomous and self-governed, but made no provisions for their economic or political independence. More recently, Colonel Peddie has told the Gleaner that he will be seeking to petition the UN and the Jamaican government for recognition as an independent state. He said “he will be working with the Maroon secretariat to formalize documents which will be sent to the UN for consideration” (Gleaner: January 7, 2008).

In 1938 a break in the African cosmology occurred that resulted in the hegemonic ascendancy of Christianity and of Christians as colonels. Moral and social control was no longer maintained through the manipulation of the spirit of the war leader Accompong who, in the form of Town Master, used to police the village. Although ancestor veneration is still practiced, the impact and prestige previously held by obeah men and women has lessened. Within Accompong the United Church is the most prestigious, has the closest connections to the state government, and is in a superior hierarchical position vis-à-vis the Zion Church which is more African-oriented. Christian churches provide the community with additional material resources and its formal education it also provides the individual the opportunity for social mobility. Formal and informal memberships in religious institutions were not fixed, but shift situationally. Despite the hegemony of Christianity, interactions with the spirits as dictated in African cosmology continue consciously and unconsciously on a daily basis and are most visible on Treaty Day with the myal ritual and burial rituals.

During the last half of the twentieth century the leadership of the educational
system in the village changed from one with only non-Maroon teachers and administrators to one where half the teaching staff are Maroons with a few Maroon administrators, and the leadership at the Basic School level is in the hands of Maroons. Maroon ascendance to these positions has been dependent on levels of higher education only obtainable outside the village as well as the possession of credentials recognized and granted by the state.

Where integration into the state system has occurred, its effect has been to decouple residence and birth in Accompong Town from being an Accompong Maroon, throwing into question the criteria for deciding who is a Maroon and who is not. It used to be that if you were born in the village from Maroon parents you were a Maroon. Now, thanks to the extension of government health services into nearby towns, more than 97 percent of Accompong Maroon births take place outside the village. The health services have also contributed to lower birth rates with the increased use of contraceptives. Lower birth, higher rates of migration and increased reproduction with non-Maroons have resulted in lower population rates. In turn, anyone living in Accompong Town for more than 15 years is granted “maroon citizenship” and a ‘one-drop maroon blood’ in effect makes one a maroon.

The economic base of the village has changed from hunting and raiding alongside subsistence agriculture, to subsistence agriculture, small shop-keeping, tourism, remittances, clandestine cash crops, earned income from leasing of land to global technology corporations and non-governmental aid. As Accompong moves away from subsistence agriculture to tourism as a mode of economic development, the diet is again shifting from one based on the agricultural cycle with ground provisions as its core, to
heavy reliance on store bought food and food aid.

Projects undertaken with the aid of international non-governmental aid in the early 1990s to aid in the transfer of traditional health knowledge to the younger generations failed. With this shift it is likely that the Maroons are likely to face increased health concerns as Western medicine is adopted by those able to afford it.

Contrary to previous studies, and despite Accompong’s position on the margins of the periphery of the world system, I have demonstrated the penetration of capitalist relations of production into the core of the community’s social structure. However, the increase in private property versus communal property coupled with land sales and leases in the past eight years will soon erode communal property totally—a move the Maroons have resisted for over one hundred and fifty years. The Accompong Maroons, whose identity is so deeply enmeshed with the history of which they are so proud, must now determine whether or not they want to sell that history, becoming busboys and waiters in the pursuit of economic development through heritage tourism.

Communalism, kinship and autonomy are important community values in Accompong but what one observes on the ground frequently contradicts these values. The communalism that is such an important Maroon value is contradicted by the facts of endemic factionalism and the inequalities that exist in the system of land tenure, incomes and the possession of obeah power. While the position of colonel circulated within the orbit of a small number of families, the colonels and their kin-based networks also gained dominance within various governmental sanctioned institutions in the religious and educational systems within the village. In the early post-treaty period, factions would splinter and move off to another area; without free access to land, this is no longer
possible. Instead, the endemic factionalism has impeded the receipt of additional land, and the economic development of the community. Individuals are pitted against their families, and families compete against each other for control of the scarce resources of land, money, political power and prestige. Despite its poverty and egalitarian ideology, I must conclude that Accompong is socially stratified and that, as the community participates more and more in migration and global tourism, stratification will only increase, no doubt having an impact on indigenous concepts of Maroon culture and identity. Local, national and international non-governmental organizations must take into consideration the social structure of the village and the lack of technological and what Smith (1956:192) refers to as “informal in character,” with many factions, when instituting community projects.
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**Jamaica Gazette**

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**Letter to the Editor**

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**Williams, Petre**
2002  Leveraging History Accompong Maroons on drive to earn from tourism working with TPDCo on project. Jamaica Observer, August 18.
APPENDIX I

THE ACCOMPANYING MAROONS
CODE OF THE MAROON TREATY

At the camp near Pelaguan Town, March 1st, 1738. In the name
of God, Amen.

Whereas Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain
Coffin, Captain Queen, and several other negroes, their
successors and devisees, have been in a state of war and
hostility for several years past against our sovereign Lord, the King
and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and
friendship among mankind, and preserving the effusion of blood,
is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every man,
and whereas ‘His Majesty’, George the Second, King of Great
Britain, France and Ireland, and of Jamaica Lord, has, by his
letters patent, dated February 24th, 1738, in the twelfth year of
his reign, granted full power and authority to John Gearing and
Francis Sadler, Esq., to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of
peace and friendship with the aforesaid Captain Cudjoe, and the
rest of his confederate negroes, and others of his men: They mutually,
sincerely, and amicably, have agreed to the following articles.

First
That all hostility shall cease forever.

Second
That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his Captains,
adherents, and men, shall for ever, hereafter, in a perfect state of
freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them,
within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their
said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from
their said masters or owners for what has passed; provided always,
that, if they are not willing to return, they shall remain subject to
Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form
and tenor of the Treaty.

Third
That they shall enjoy and possess, and their posterity for
ever, all the lands situate and lying between Pelaguan Town and
the Cockpit, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing north
west from the said Pelaguan Town.

Fourth
That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with
coffee, cocoy, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, horses,
geese, or any other fowl, and dispose of the produce or increase of
the said commodities to the inhabitants of the island, provided
always that when they bring the said commodities to market, they
shall first pay the same, or any other produce of the
respective parishes where they reside, their goods to retail, for
a license to sell the same.

Fifth
That Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captains, adherents and
people now in submission to him, shall all live together within
the bounds of Pelaguan Town, and that they have liberty to labor
where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any
settlement, civil or free, provided always, that in case the bounds
of Captain Cudjoe, and those of other settlements meet, the
lands shall be equally divided between both parties.

Sixth
That the said CUDJOE, COFFIN, and his successors,
do their best endeavors to keep, support, or carry on, either by
themselves or jointly with any other number of men, contrived on
that side by his excellency the governor, or commander-in-
chief for the time being, all roads whatsoever they be, throughout
this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation
granted to Captain Cudjoe and his successors.

Seventh
In case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy,
the said Captain Cudjoe and his successors hereafter named or to
be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to
any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to
repel the said with all their utmost force, or to submit to the
order of the commander-in-chief on this occasion.

Eighth
That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to
Captain Cudjoe, his successors or any of his or their people
they shall appeal to any commanding officer or magistrate in the
neighborhood for justice, and in case Captain Cudjoe or any of his
people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit
himself or deliver up such offender to justice.

Ninth
That if any negroes shall hereafter run away from their
masters or owners and fall into Captain Cudjoe’s hands, he shall
immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish
where they are taken, and there that bring them are to be satisfied
for their trouble, and the legislature shall appoint.

Tenth
That all negroes taken since the raising of this party
by Cudjoe’s people shall immediately be returned.

Eleventh
That Captain Cudjoe and his successors shall wait on the
Governer or the commander-in-chief for the time being, once every
year, if thereupon required.

Twelfth
That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captain
successing him, shall have full power to succeed any punishment
they think proper for crimes committed by their men among
themselves, death only excepted, in which case, if the chief black
they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any
justice of the peace who shall order proceedings on their trial equal
to those of other free negroes.

Thirteenth
That Captain Cudjoe with his people, shall eat, sleep
and keep open, large and convenient roads from Pelaguan Town to
Whitches Island, and if possible to St. Elizabeth.

Fortieth
That two white men, be nominated by His Excellency,
or the commander-in-chief for the time being, shall constantly live
and reside with Captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to
maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this
island.

Fifteenth
That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be chief
commander in Pelaguan Town after his death, the command be
desired to his brother Captain Accompong, and in case of his
death, on his next brother, Captain Coffin, and failing them
Captain Cudjoe shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by Captain
Queen, and after all their demise the governor or commander-in
chief for the time being, shall appoint from time to time, upon
whom shall fit for the command.

In testimony of the above, present, we have hereunto set
our hands and seal the day and date above written.

John Gearing, L.S.

Francis Sadler, L.S.

Captain Cudjoe

[Seal]
APPENDIX II

1842 Land Allotment Act

An act to repeal the several laws of this island relating to maroons, and to appoint commissioners to allot the lands belonging to the several maroon townships and settlements and for other purposes.

I. Whereas the altered circumstances of the country render it necessary and proper that the maroons of this island should be relieved from the disabilities under which they labour in consequence of the operation of the several acts of this island now in force: Be it enacted, that from and after the passing of this [act] the twelfth of George and second, chapter five, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty nine: the thirteenth George the second, chapter eight, passed in one thousand seven hundred and forty; the fourteenth George the second, chapter seven, passed in one thousand seven hundred and forty one; the thirty-first George the second, chapter nine, passed in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight; the tenth of George the third, chapter five, passed in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine; the thirty-second of George the third, chapter four, passed in one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one; the thirty-sixth George the third, chapter thirty-four, passed in one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six; the thirty-eighth George the third,
chapter twenty-nine, passed in one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, the forty-fifth George the third, chapter thirty-one, passed in one thousand eight hundred and five; the forty-six George the third, chapter nineteenth, passed in one thousand eight hundred and nine, and the second William the fourth, chapter thirty-four, passed in one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and all other acts, and parts of acts, relating to, or affecting the maroons, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed, and declared void, and of none effect whatever.

II. And be it enacted, That the maroons shall be entitled to and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects, as fully and completely as the same are enjoyed by any other of her majesty’s subjects in this island.

III. And whereas it is expedient that the several tracts of land allotted to the several maroon towns, and now enjoyed by the maroons, should resumed by and be re-vested in her majesty for the purposes hereinafter mentioned: Be it enacted, That all and every the lands heretofore allotted and granted unto or for the use and behoof of the maroons shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be, revested in her most gracious majesty, her heirs and successors, for the purpose of being allotted and granted as hereinafter mentioned.

IV. And be it enacted, That the members of assembly for the time being, and also the custos, unless he be one of the members, and then the next senior magistrate (who shall not be such member, and who shall be resident in the
parish) of the several parishes in which any maroon town or settlement shall be established, shall be and they are hereby appointed commissioners for the purpose of granting, conveying, and allotting the several lands belonging to, or now used and enjoyed by, the maroons of each such respective township or settlement, to the several maroons of each township, who shall make application for a grant, conveyance, and allotment of any such land, within the period of twelve calendar months, to be computed from the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

V. And be it enacted, That every maroon, of full age, shall be at liberty to apply to the commissioners of the parish in which his or her township or settlement shall be situate, who shall, and they are hereby required to grant, convey, and allot two acres to each such maroon, to and for the sole and absolute use of himself or herself, and his or her heirs and ensigns, and also where such party shall have, or be reputed to have, any children or grand-children, legitimate or illegitimate, a further quantity of one acre for each such child or grandchild: Provided, that in the event of there being more than one application for land on behalf of any such child or grand-child, no more than one acre of land shall be granted or allotted for the same child or grand-child, and such grant and allotment shall in such case be made to the person who, in the opinion of the commissioners, shall have the preferable right or claim thereto.

VI. And be it enacted, That every such maroon, desirous of procuring any such grant, conveyance, and allotment, shall, at his or her expense in all respects, procure a survey to be had and made of the land he or she shall be desirous to
obtain, and a diagram of such land made by an authorized surveyor, and
thereupon it shall be lawful for the commissioners, or any two of them, to
grant, convey, and allot such land to such maroon, to be held by his or her
absolutely in fee simple, in the form or to the effect following, that is to say:

Jamaica, ss.

“We, the undersigned, being of the commissioners nominated and
appointed to grant, convey, and allot lands to maroons for the parish of
do hereby grant, convey, and allot unto his heirs and assigns, all and every the
lands, consisting of acres mentioned, comprised, and delineated in the plot or
diagram thereof hereunto annexed, To hold such lands with their and every of
their rights, members, his heirs and assigns for ever.

In witness whereof we have hereto act and affixed our hands and seals,
this day of one thousand eight hundred and forty two.”

Provided always, That no such grant or conveyance shall be good or valid,
unless there shall be annexed thereto a plot or diagram of the land intended to
be so granted and conveyed, upon which the quantity of the land, do
delineated, shall be expressed: And provided, That no such conveyance, grant,
or allotment, or any diagram annexed thereto, or any other proceeding under
this act, shall require any stamp to be impressed thereon.

VII And be it enacted. That in case any dispute shall arise between parties
desirous or obtaining a grant and conveyance of the same land, it shall be
lawful for the commissioners, or any tow of them, to determine such disputes, and to grant and convey the land in dispute to such one of the parties as they, in their discretion, shall think fit.

VII And be it enacted, That the present superintendents of maroon towns shall severally be entitled to the use and occupation of the several houses at such towns or settlements, and ten acres of land annexed to the same, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, if they shall respectively so long live; and shall also be entitled to receive a salary of two hundred pounds for the same period, to be paid quarterly by the receiver-general, upon the order of any two or more commissioners of the parish, and upon the expiration of that period, or the death of any such superintendent, whichever shall first happen, such house and land shall vest in the said commissioners, for the use of the public of this island; and the said superintendent shall, during such period, be aiding and assisting to the said commissioners in such manner and so long as they, or any two of them, shall from time to time direct in the allotment of lands, and carrying this act into execution; and in case any of the said superintendents shall fail so to do, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners to withhold the order for the payment of the whole or any part of the said sum of two hundred pounds, in their discretion.

IX And be it enacted, That the commissioners of each such parish shall grant, convey, and allot to the bishop of the said island and his successors, four acres of land in each such townships for the site of a chapel and school and burial
ground, but nothing herein contained shall be construed or held to bind the
public of this island, or the justices and vestry of any such parish, to erect or
build any such chapel or school-room, or to make provisions for the
attendance of any clergyman or schoolmaster or schoolmistress thereat; but if
any person or persons shall be willing or desirous voluntarily to erect or
endow, or contribute towards the erection or endowment of any such chapel or
school, it shall be lawful for the bishop of this island for the time being to
sanction and approve thereof, upon such terms and conditions as shall be
mutually agreed upon between such bishop and the person or persons so
contributing; and the bishop for the time being shall make such order and
regulation for the attendance at such church, and the celebration of divine
worship therein by any minister of the church of England residing in the
neighbourhood of such chapel, and also regulations relative to the conductin
and carrying on of any such school as he shall think fit, with liberty to alter
and amend the same from time to time.

X And be it further enacted, That at the expiration of twelve months all lands
in the several maroon towns not taken up, shall be held by the before named
commissioners for the purpose of being by them in like manner conveyed to
such other of the said maroons, whose families may be increased, so as to
render a further distribution necessary.

XI Provided always, and be it further enacted, That if the land belonging to
each or any of the said townships, shall not be sufficient to give to each of the
said maroons, the quantity of land hereinbefore provided for, then and in such
case the said commissioners are hereby authorized to divide the said land in such proportions as to them shall seem fit, regard being held to the proportions of each respective class hereinbefore mentioned.
APPENDIX III

The names listed below were recorded by Archibald Cooper (1938-9). There were the names of full-blooded Accompong Maroons. The record was kept by Charles Reid who made a bid to become colonel in the late 1930s. Names from the back of Reid’s copy of the treaty, probable date: 1915-16

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APPENDIX IV

FOOD: NECESSITY OR SYMBOL?

Introduction

This chapter examines the foodways of the Accompong Maroons. Why food? Food is fundamental to every culture, individual, household, and economy. The foodways of any cultural group is always the last to change, so food would indicated the similarities and differences between the wider Jamaicans, other Jamaican Maroons and the South American Maroons.

In the 1930s Dunham wrote: “I selected a half dozen plantains, a cabbage, and a dozen green-coated mangoes at Maggotty market...There was no granulated sugar for the cake, and none could be had nearer than Maggotty; so I must go for it immediately” (Dunham 1946: 92-3 and 96). In addition to store bought food, Maroons were purchasing produce such as plantains, mangoes and cabbage from the market, instead of growing them. In addition to purchasing shop food, fresh meat was not consumed on a regular basis. Seven decades later this continues to be case as it is a feature of subsistence peasant farmers.
Cooper (n.d.) wrote: “The village can be characterized as peasant, without attempting to define what constitutes a peasant community. It is predominately agrarian, it is dependent for the bulk of it non-edible commodities upon goods manufactured in Europe and America, and it obtains the cash money to buy these goods through the sale of commodities such as bananas, sugar, and ginger in the outside, European-controlled commodity market. It is the dependence of these people upon the larger world system of production, distribution, exchange and consumption that is perhaps the primary reason for calling them peasants.”

Kopytoff argued that “while “jerk pork” is distinctively Maroon, the other dishes are part of a wider Jamaican heritage” (Kopytoff 1977:143). While jerk pork might have been distinctively Maroon, this is no longer the case. In the late 1930s, the Maroons lost the wild pigs they were hunting to deforestation. In addition, with the global marketing of ‘jerk’ as a sauce as opposed to a method of cooking, jerk foods are now consumed throughout the island but none were served during the period of research in Accompong. During the 2001 Jerk Festival in Port Antonio, a national event, the Accompong Maroons did not participate due to the expense.

Besson (1997:215) wrote that “provision-grounds continue to provide “pot food,” which is more prized than the “shop food” now encroaching on the maroon economy,” however the author did not describe the Maroons’ foodways in great detail for comparison. My examination of meal structure and preparation discussed in this chapter indicate increased reliance on “store-bought” foods. Contrary to Besson, I found that “shop food” was highly prized in everyday situations and had long been used since the
1930s, as indicated by Dunham (1946). “Store-bought” food is despised on Treaty Day as mentioned by several informants. While the foods prepared on Treaty Day are meant to be as close to nature as possible, this is an expensive event and it is to the Maroons’ advantage to serve cheap foods grown locally as it would be impossible for the community to purchase “shop food” for a large audience numbering over 500.

Accompong Maroons argue that their foodways are different from the general Jamaican population. However, my study indicates that the foodways of the Accompong Maroons actually are quite similar to the rest of Jamaicans, including the Moore Town Maroons. The differences, besides the poverty of basic foodstuffs, were in the added symbolic values placed on particular food items during the ancestral offerings on Treaty Day to distinguish Maroons from non-Maroons, and venerate their male ancestors. Here, it is the context that confers ritual status once a year.

As will be explained salt is taboo during rituals where spirits are being summoned and where it is believed that the spirits of the recent dead must fly back to Africa. The restriction of salt is seen not just among the Accompong and Moore Town Maroons, but also among Accompong’s Rastafarians and Revivalists. Chevannes (1995) also found the salt taboo among the Rastafarians and Revivalist in wider Jamaica. Schuler (1980) found a similar taboo among the BaKongo in Jamaica and among African descendants in nineteenth and twentieth century Cuba. Littlewood (1993), (quoted in Chevannes (1995)), recognizes that the association of salt with the “spirit world” is also common in Europe. This similarity across various ethnic groups could be the adaptation of an African response to their new lives in far off countries. Salt does not follow Levi-Strauss’s (1977)
binary category ‘sacred/profane’ where the total absence of salt is the opposite of too much salt, rather, there is a mid point. Contrary to Mary Douglas (1975) binary category of meals and drinks, or liquid and solid, this dichotomy was blurred in Accompong. Clearly, there is a need for more study on the use of salt in the Caribbean.

Despite the limited data on the diets of the Surinamese and Guyanese Maroons, there is enough evidence to suggest that the Accompong Maroon diet is different. Price (1975) asserted that the diet of each of the Maroon groups—Saramaka, Djuka (Tapanahoni and Cottica), Matawai, Kwinti, Aluku and the Paramaka differed, and that they differed from the larger Surinamese and French Guianese populations.

Although Maroons were initially a heterogeneous group and some ethnic distinctions are made between Ashanti, Congo and Koromantee, reflected in burial patterns, there are no distinctions with the exception of economic position, reflected in the diet. Within the community socio-economic status is displayed in terms of the definition of a meal, meal patterns, food preparation, where food is consumed and mortuary obligations.

**Accompong Maroon Diet**

The diet of peasant farmers is dominated by a staple crop, usually high in bulk, and low in nutrients. In the case of Accompong, the staple crop is tuber vegetables. Another core food item is rice, which is store-bought. “By the 1970s rice was rightly called one of Jamaica’s “staple foods”. Like corn, almost all of it imported, and the
decline in local production was even more dramatic” (Higman 2008:232). In the early 1960s, twenty one percent of rice consumed in Jamaica came from local fields. In the 21st century, all the rice is imported. Some rice also comes to Accompong with food aid packages from Food for the Poor. The core foods are served with one or two flavor fringe in the form of fish, meat, chicken and other vegetables. Over ninety-five percent of all the meat or fish is store bought, and canned or salted. Occasionally an animal is slaughtered and the meat sold. Animals are slaughtered locally. Goat is the most popular meat and beef is highly prized. Although pigs are slaughtered to feed the ancestors on Treaty Day, many Maroons did not eat pork and this meat is served infrequently.

Core foods consumed are complemented with store-bought foodstuffs. Store-bought foods are visible daily in every meal from the purchasing of a packet of powdered coconut milk marketed by Grace Foods instead of grating a coconut to produce milk for cooking rice. It is cheaper to purchase a small packet of coconut powder than to grate a coconut in order to cook rice on a daily basis. However, fresh coconut milk was used in large-scale cooking such as that for the Basic School graduation where it is more economical. The ingredients of a soup made with ground provisions and pumpkin grown locally have chicken feet and a packet of soup mix that is store bought. In addition to the economics of purchasing a packet of coconut milk, it is also less time consuming to reconstitute the powdered milk as opposed to pulling the coconut from the tree, removing the husk, and then the shell before grating the nut to obtain the milk. Here, we can see the modernity penetrating the daily lives of those on the periphery of the periphery of the world systems.
Because of the lack of or limited access to refrigeration, salted or canned meats and fish are consumed in greater quantities than fresh meat or fish in Accompong Town. No fresh milk is consumed, although a large number of families own goats. Only a small number of individuals own cattle. The milk used is imported, and either condensed, evaporated or powdered. These items also hark back to the days of the early formation of the society and early importation.

There are a variety of fruits grown and eaten when in season. The children on a whole take more advantage of the fruits. Some of the fruits are also used to make wine and preserves while most rot under the trees. The same fruits are seen throughout the island on trees, roadside stands, and in the supermarkets. Some of the fruits have been canned and marketed by Grace Foods, located in Kingston, for an international market. However, the Maroons are not in any way engaged in such production.

The most common drinks served with lunch or dinner, are Kool-Aid or a drink made from bottled syrup, or soda. These drinks are all high in sugar with little nutritional value. Although fruits were plentiful during the period of the research, they were not utilized to the fullest extent as large quantities rotted on the trees or under the trees. Only a few women make wine, jam and jelly, but little fruit juice. Drinks for meal time are all labeled “tea”, and vary from tea, coffee, ground kola nut, or ‘bush’ tea. ‘Bush’ tea may be susumba, mint, or ginger tea. With the bush teas, the categories of food as medicine or medicine as food are blurred. Individuals in the lower socio-economic stratum consume more bush tea than store bought tea. There are also a high consumption of functional drinks such as Supligen, Milo, Ovaltine, and Horlicks that are vitamin
enriched, but cost more than sugary drinks.

**Meal Patterns**

Douglas (1975) contrasted meals with drinks, arguing that “meals contrast with drinks in the relation between solids and liquids. Meals are a mixture of solid foods accompanied by liquids” (Douglas 1975:37). However, in Accompong the dichotomy between food and drinks is blurred. A soda, functional drink, coconut water, a drink of rum or any other alcoholic beverage may replace a meal just as easily as a sandwich, ground provisions, a piece of bread, or a piece of cane. After observing several workmen drinking a shot of rum or bottle of soda at lunch time, I enquired if they were going for lunch, and if so, what were they going to eat? They responded that they already had their lunch—a soda or drink of rum. When pressed further, they noted that a drink or soda was no different from a piece of bread or cake for lunch.

At the lower end of the social segment of the town it is difficult to discern meal patterns. I found that even though I had money to buy food, I was ‘disciplined by hunger,’ (Mintz 1994) as there was very little food available for purchase in the village and the diet lacked adequate proportions of green vegetables I was accustomed to. One informant told me: “I have 10 children, and cannot always feed them. Sometimes, I went without food and fed the children oatmeal.” At the middle and top of the social pyramid of the population, meal patterns are more clearly defined and two meals per day are usually eaten, and maybe a snack in between. More rice compared to ground provisions
is also consumed among this group. However, in some cases the distinctions between what foods are served for breakfast and dinner are blurred. The meals during the week were also patterned, as are feasts and life cycle events during the year.

Lunch is whatever is available and may be any of the following: a piece of bun (sweet bread), corn pudding, crackers and processed cheese, fruits, a piece of bread, roasted corn, sweet potato pudding, a piece of cane sugar, jelly coconut, coconut water, soft drink, or white rum. School children were served lunch at school, for a small fee. School lunch was the same items consumed at home, and consisted of rice and stew beans; or porridge, or sandwiches made from potted meat or Vienna sausage. Unlike the adults, the majority of the children took full advantage of the various fruits seasonally available around the town.

Food served for the primary school graduation was potted meat sandwich for the parents and guests, while the children had ice cream. Here, ice cream served as a special treat for the children and a distinction was being made between children's food and adult food. Potted meat sandwiches were also served to the grave-diggers of a member of the elite family.

Meals are consumed either in the yard as an extension of the house, or inside the house at a dining table or sitting on the bed. Again, this depends on the socio-economic position of the family. Families at the top of the socio-economic class have dining tables where meals are consumed. Others at the lower end eat in the yard, or sitting on the bed. Children were more likely than adults to eat outside in the yard.

I did not eat in Moore Town during my visits there in 1999 and 2001, but
conversations with Moore Town Maroons and a survey of the shop confirmed that the items that form the basis of the diet were similar to the Accompong Maroons. In the 1970s, we learn from Cohen (1973) about the diet of the Moore Town Maroons. The core of the diet was formed from a variety of roots, tubers, rice and peas and starchy items which included a variety of yams, breadfruit, bananas (ripe and green, raw and cooked). These foods are flavored with little animal and fish protein which included crawfish, beef, pork, fowl or mutton. One difference we see in Moore Town is crawfish that can be accounted for since Moore Town is nearer to streams and rivers than Accompong.

Crops of the Djuka of Suriname are different from that found in Jamaica. They include “bitter cassava, rice, bananas, bacoven, root-crops, maize, groundnuts, sugar-cane, tobacco, pepper, gourds, and fruit trees” (de Groot 1969:34). According to Mitrasing (1979), who studied the Boni Maroons of Suriname, the manioc or cassava is the staple crop. Manioc was never a staple in Jamaica as it is a lowland crop. There is also some local production of sweet potatoes, plantains, yams, peppers, okra, sugar-cane, cotton, peas, beans, peanuts, corn and rice. Hunting and fishing provide protein sources to supplement the mainly vegetarian diet of the Djuka of Suriname (de Groot 1977).

**Food Aid**

As the Maroons move away from subsistence agriculture to tourism as a mode of economic development, the diet is shifting from one based on store bought food
supplemented with agricultural produce to one dependent on foreign food aid. In a three-month period of June through August of 2001, there were four distributions of food aid. One distribution came through the council and was stored at the community center; a second through the United Church and housed at the minister’s house; the third through the Basic School for the children; and the fourth through Zion Church. Members of the Zion Church were asked to make a donation toward the food aid, a surcharge that limited the ability of some of them to participate. The Zion Church is the church most closely tied to African religion and one can speculate that the food aid organization was pushing its own different brand of Christianity.

Foods distributed included cut string beans, pinto beans, black beans, potato, gongo beans in brine solution and tomato sauce, all in six-pound cans, plus a twenty-five pound bag of rice and Carb Solution (a low carbohydrate diet drink). The rice distributed through the Council was considered inferior by some of the women because it was broken grain rice, a rice that cooks up into a thick mushy glob.

The disparity between the top and bottom tiers of the village although seen on a daily basis, was most pronounced during the distribution of food items. The top tier of the community was the families of the colonels and council members. Individuals were required to bring their own containers for the food ration. However, the majority of the people were unable to provide adequate containers for the food. Lack of proper storage containers suggests that food is not stored for any length of time and that individuals did not have the money to invest in storage containers. Because of the extreme heat, foods do not last longer than one or two days. In Accompong and the rest of Jamaica, one pays an
extra 5 cents for a plastic bag to take home one’s purchase. These bags are then recycled as a cost saving mechanism. Therefore, on the day of the distribution, some individuals brought used plastic bags while others did not have a bag at all. Some of the bags were unclean and had holes in them. People were asked to line up and then continue down the line to collect the various items. Council members who were serving scooped a small quantity of each of the various food items —tomato sauce, potatoes, string beans, and black beans in the same bag. Using recycled plastic bags often resulted in food pouring out onto the floor. No sympathy was shown for those without proper containers, i.e. the majority of individuals on the line. People were told that if they did not have a bag, or did not line up in a straight line, they would not be served. The poor were treated as if they were to blame for their condition. In addition to people being treated badly, various food items were all combined in the same bag. This series of events prompted me to go and buy some small plastic bags and help in the distribution to ensure everyone got some food in clean containers and with each item in separate bags. Later, after everyone had been served, food was placed aside for those who could not make it to the community center because of illness.

During this food distribution, individuals at the top tier of the socio-economic segment benefited the most. They had access to the food before the distribution date, and took away whole cans of beans, potatoes, tomato sauce and sacks of rice. In addition, their refrigerators made it convenient for them to store the remainder of the food. However, even those with refrigerators, are still subject to irregular electricity often resulting in spoilage. For those at the bottom, the food distribution revealed that they
were at the mercy of those who were better off. The food aid was only short term solution for the poor who were most in need. If the goal of food-aid is to alleviate hunger, then this type of distribution, one that takes place once every three weeks or so, --is only a stop-gap gesture, a band-aid. People were forced to eat the food as soon as possible to avoid spoilage; if this was not done, eating spoiled food could lead to food poisoning and other health related problems only compounded by chronic food insecurity.

Food distribution through the Basic School took place monthly and was of better quality and in larger quantities. I observed each child receive five pounds of whole grain rice and corn meal. This donation suggests that there was an added incentive for parents to send their children to school. Observation of the food distribution done through the church revealed that the items they gave out were similar to those distributed through the council. It was evident from the distributions of food that the sponsoring organizations had very little knowledge of the communities they were helping and that they had particular goals. The food was distributed in six-pound cans necessitating distribution of smaller quantities to each individual. From an economic standpoint, it is cheaper for food organizations to donate food in bulk quantities. However, from a practical point of view, on the receiving end poorer families would have been better off had they been given several 12 ounce or 1 pound cans of food they could use on a need basis with little spoilage and waste. Food aid organizations and policy makers must first know about the storage facilities available and the level of technological development in poor communities to adequately meet their needs.

Food for the Poor is a Christian organization therefore its primary goal is to
promote education and religion. Interestingly, Food for the Poor is also an American organization for alleviating poverty in Central America and the Caribbean. Yet, the American control of market prices on foodstuffs exported from these very countries results in poverty. However, their efforts in Accompong are only a band aid on a huge, long term wound and not in line with the First World’s goal of eradicating hunger. In 1974, First World countries came together at the World Food Conference and recognized that hunger was a global issue and declared that access to food was a human rights issue and “every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop their physical and mental faculties.” (www.fas.usda.gov)

A goal was set to eradicate hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition within a decade. More than 30 years later, the problems of hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition have increased. The 1995 Unites States Department of Agriculture report noted that nine countries in Latin America and the Caribbean “fall into the category of low-income food-deficit countries” where “children under the age of five suffer from acute or chronic protein and energy deficiencies.” (www.fas.usda.gov)

**Food Preparation**

The various methods of cooking highlight the stratification in the community, as well as the level of technological adaptation. Cooking methods also correlate with housing type and cookers. Cooking outdoors, the simplest method of cooking is seen throughout the Caribbean and Mexico among the lower classes. With the increase in
wealth, new technology is first adopted by the upper classes, serving as an indicator of wealth and sophistication before it trickles down to the lower class. Among the middle class one can see the use of both the new and the old methods of food preparation.

In his study of Tepoztlan, Lewis (1951) also examined cooking methods, stove types and other household furniture. He discovered that individuals in the lower sector of the society used a fire hearth, while “the brasero, a raised clay stove with two or three charcoal-burning iron grates on top, is generally still found only in better-to-do homes and is used sparingly or only for preparing fiesta meals” (Lewis 1951:184).

In 1996 and 1997 when I studied in San Cristobal de las Casas and several neighboring villages in Chiapas, Mexico, the same pattern of cooking methods was observed. The majority of indigenous peoples and lower class Mestizos also cooked outdoors. A few of the middle class Mestizos had gas cookers but when they were cooking tamales, they would construct an outdoor fire, arguing that the tamales did not cook as they should on the gas stove.

In Accompong, the middle and top social segments of the community use gas stoves indoors while the lower strata use the fire hearth outdoors. Use of gas stoves corresponds to individuals who have houses with large single function rooms and indoor kitchens. These findings differ from those of Dunham (1946:17), (Hurston1938:23-24) and Kopytoff (1977:143) who all found outdoor cooking as the only place for food preparation. This indicates that the economy of the town has grown over the past seventy years with the accumulation of status items such as stoves and the huge cement houses described earlier. At the middle segment of the community the gas stove may or
may not have an oven and in some cases, a two-burner tabletop stove. At the top of the economic strata the stoves have four-burners and an oven. The gas stoves rely on butane gas in tanks that last about six weeks to two months before they have to be replenished. Some individuals in the middle sector who use a gas cooker, are forced to revert to the fire hearth when the gas runs out and they don’t have money to replenish the tank. This indicates a very economic tenuous position.

A makeshift fire hearth is used for large scale cooking for large events. (See photos on page 289 and 301.) For example, although the Basic School has a kitchen, food preparation for the graduation ceremonies was done outdoors on a makeshift fire hearth set up on the ground because a larger amount of food had to be prepared to serve both the children and their parents. Pieces of wood were placed on the ground between two cement blocks. The wood was lit with matches after kerosene had been poured on it. Food prepared for the TDPCo visitors was also prepared outdoors. Individuals who cook outdoors expressed their preferences for different types of firewood to give a desired taste for particular foods. “Dried wood give chicken a golden color and nice taste” (Marlene Huggins, 2001). Cooking outdoors is still common; the community has not become totally modernized with the new cooking stoves.

Baking is done outdoors over a makeshift fire hearth constructed on the ground as described above. A large cast iron pot is then placed over the fire on the cement blocks for support. The cake or pudding, in its baking pan, is then placed inside the large pot. A sheet of zinc is placed on top of the pot and more fire is placed on top. The fire placed on top is usually in the form of coal, since the heat needs to be regulated. The result is fire
on the top and fire on the bottom. The intensity of that is regulated by the amount of fire

Outdoor food preparation (Rice and bean and fried chicken)

Rice and beans prepared above, served with Cole slaw

placed in either location. This same method is followed for a fire hearth located next to the house.

In the 1970s, Moore Town Maroons were also cooking over a fire hearth; in addition, some of the Moore Town Maroons had kerosene burners. “Cooking is done in a separate structure either in a small, wooden enclosure, or in a bamboo booth adjacent to the main residence. Kerosene burners or stone hearths using wood or charcoal provide the fire needed for the parathion of food. The anthropologist was impressed with a baking technique, in which a greased kettle filled with cake batter was first placed on the
kerosene burner. Atop the kettle was set a sheet of tin, upon which was placed burning charcoal and wood chips, this to provide heat from the top. The simulated oven produced a well-baked cake” (Cohen 1973:39-40).

**Mortuary Obligations**

In the ‘The Sociological Study of Native Diet,” Raymond Firth (1934) argued that studies of the diet in small scale African societies must also examine mortuary obligations. Since Accompong is a small scale society, I followed Firth’s advice when presented with two wakes during the research period. Death is an important occasion in the life cycle of any group; it provides an opportunity to recreate group identity and cohesion, and reestablishes the relationship between humans and the deities, as well as between humans and humans. The examination of two funerals provided an opportunity to highlight the differences in class positions found in the village. I saw both gift exchanges and market economy at work in work patterns and mortuary obligations. Douglas (1990) noted that “the gift cycle echoes Adam Smith’s invisible hand: gift complements market in so far as it operates where the latter is absent. Like the market it supplies each individual with the personal incentives for collaboration in the pattern of exchanges. Gifts are given in a context of public drama, with nothing secret about them” (Douglas 1990:XIV).

Maroon families are obligated to feed community members at wakes, or nine night celebrations, and sometimes gravediggers are fed. The ability to meet these
obligations is dependent on one’s financial assets. Because more and more Maroons have migrated, nine night celebrations take place over a longer period of time for those who can afford it beginning from the time of death until the day of burial. For the lower classes the period contracts to one night before the burial.

Families have adopted a number of strategies to meet their mortuary obligations. Here, I will describe strategies families employed. The foods prepared and served at the two wakes are representative of the extreme levels of social stratification in Accompong Town. The first wake is that of Levi Rowe, a man closely tied to the elite families producing the village’s colonels and having considerable land holdings; the second is that of L. M. Rowe, who despite his last name has no close political linkage and very little land.

Families must carefully examine their finances and the resources they have available to cover burial expenses. In the extreme scenario where a family cannot meet its obligations kin or friends take on the obligations but in turn claim the deceased person’s land or other resources. I learned of several cases where an individual inherited land or other property for sponsoring a funeral.

Families who can afford hired help do so during a wake. Cooks are paid and any food available is shared with them. In some cases, the cooks are paid only with food. For example, if a cow or goat is slaughtered, the cooks earn a foot, the liver and a pound of meat. The individual who cleans the internal organs is rewarded with the intestines and a pound of meat.

The diversion of food to hired help therefore results in less food being available
for sharing with the community as a whole. The cooks themselves are young men responsible for the slaughtering and cleaning of any animals, in addition to preparing the food for the wake and the gravediggers. Because better-off families serve an additional meal after the interment it is possible for the food preparation to take place over a two-week period.

The first wake was that of Levi Rowe, brother of Colonel Henry A. Rowe who was in office from 1920 to 1938. The celebrations took place over eleven days. During this period, cooks were hired to slaughter a cow and five goats to go along with five 10-pound boxes of chicken. In order to purchase this much chicken, one had to go to Santa Cruz, the nearest town, where the price per pound is $55JA. The rate of exchange in 2001 was JA$60 or $65 to US$1. Food was served every night and the night before the funeral was the largest celebration. Food was also served after the interment to all who attended the funeral. Funeral goers came in several buses and cars and totaled over two hundred. In addition, the men hired to dig the grave were fed with potted meat sandwiches, Kool-aid and white rum.

Soup and dinner were served at about 11:00 PM each night with an interval of half an hour between the distribution of the soup and the main meal. The soup was made from the tripe of the cow, pumpkin, ground provisions and spinners (small flour dumplings). The meal was white rice, coleslaw, and a choice of stewed beef, chicken or goat. There were bottles of beer, several visible bottles of rum, and each individual was served a cup with a choice of rum, beer, or soft drinks.

The meal served after the interment of the body was a choice of rice and beans or
white rice, cole slaw and a choice of stewed meat–chicken, goat or beef. Drinks served were kool-aid and white rum. Foods served at this wake were plentiful. This first wake highlights the exchange of food as a means of creating or cementing sociopolitical alliance as argued by Sahlins (1972). The higher governing class provided a feast over the period of several days, displaying and sharing their wealth.

The second wake was that of L. M. Rowe, someone at the very low end of the socio-economic spectrum. In this case, there was only one night of celebrations, and family members prepared the food themselves as opposed to hiring cooks. The wake got under way at about 10:00 PM and a small cup of soup was served at 11:30 PM. The soup was prepared with chicken feet, pumpkin and spinners. Chicken feet sell for $35 JA per pound as opposed to $55 per pound for chicken pieces. Chicken feet also produce a different type of soup from that made with chicken pieces. The feet of the chicken, consisting mostly of cartilage and tenders, produce a gelatin when cooked, resulting in a very thick soup. The main meal of rice and beans, cole slaw and stewed goat was served at 1:00 AM.

Since everyone had to be fed, time was used as an advantage in the distribution of food. By serving the food late, some people would have already have left, resulting in more food to go around for those remaining. The alcohol was served in a communal container rather than individual containers. This way, the host family had control over the amount of alcohol consumed. The food for this wake was prepared by the immediate family as opposed to hired cooks, thereby lowering the cost of the obligations.
Ancestral Offering

In the ancestral offering in Accompong, the absence of salt and the presence of rum figure prominently. Everyday foods of yams, chicken, pork and plantains are prepared without salt and fed to the Maroon ancestors. On this day, the foods are assigned added symbolic value to transform from profane to sacred. The yams and plantains, pig and rooster are male. In addition, the pig must be black, and the rooster red.

“The term ‘sacred’ food is used here to refer to those foodstuffs the use of which is validated by religious beliefs, while foodstuffs expressly forbidden by the religion can be termed ‘profane.’… The sacred/profane dichotomy applies to much more than food, since it is usually part of a wider moral framework including dress, behavior, speech and certain ritual actions, such as regular prayers, or ritual bathing and other rites of purification” (Helman 2000:33). Salt, overproof white rum, plantain and ground provisions became sacred foods in religious contexts that are African derived. In everyday situations, they are profane.

The animals are slaughtered and cleaned differently from the remainder of the year. The abeng blower, Rupee Hansley Reid, described this to me:

Only when we do make a vow is on the 6 of January. We would pray a prayer over the fowl, and the pigs, cover them with green bush, throw white rum on it, consecrate it. Then unveil, then we kill those. When we kill the pig, we don't use no boiling water to scrape the pig, or pluck the fowl like how we would naturally do it. We generally pluck the fowl dry. The pig, after have cut the throat, we put him on some green bush, bush over him, cut two orange, and put one at the head, one at the foot, then we would spray him right over with the rum, light the bush, and burn and
sweat the pig. After you have sweat that side, you take off the bush and scrape off the hair. Spin it over on the other side, put back on the bush, spray it with rum, light him up, make him sweat, scrape off the remaining hair. It is cut up and put piece by piece into the container, on the fire in boiling water and let it boil. Use some form of seasoning, but no salt. And the meat taste like it get all seasoning cause the spirit of Captain Cudjoe and the negromantee of the bush give it all flavor. (Hansley Reid 2001.)

The slaughtering of a pig I observed during fieldwork was different from that described above as hot water instead of rum was used to remove the hair from the pig.

The late Colonel Wright describes what takes place during the offering.

It is during the preparation for the visit to the sacred grounds, that the sprinkling of the sacred grounds with rum and the pouring of libation takes place. During that time there is preparation of the food to be carried to feed the spirits of the Maroon heroes. The food includes pork as the meat and boiled yam. At the graves of the heroes, in addition to pouring libation (which among the Accompong Maroons is basically the sprinkling of rum over the sacred grounds) food is thrown around the area. A tense moment comes at the place when the visiting Maroons must have a period of spiritual communication with their ancestors but must be preceded by a long period of silence and meditation—what among them is referred to as a ‘reasoning session.’ The return to the Kindah Tree is made by following what is known as the ‘Old Town Path.’ (Wright 1997:69).

Since non-Maroons are prohibited from participating in the food offering that takes place at the graves in Old Town, I visited the site of the offering the morning after the celebrations. Remains of cooked pork, plantain and yellow yams were still visible on banana leaves atop a stand near the ritual hut located over the ancestors’ graves.

Preparation of the food for this ancestral offering takes place at a large outdoor fire under the Kindah tree (We are family), the site of the signing of the peace treaty. Once the food is cooked, it is then taken out to Old Town where the graves of the ancestors are located, and placed on banana leaves on top of a stand that sits over
Accompong’s grave. A portion of food remains behind at the Kindah Tree where it will be consumed later.

Once the ancestors are fed, the party returns to Kindah where other Maroons and guests may join in the consumption of the meal. In this section of the ritual, elderly females are permitted to help serve the food. The consumption of the food confers good luck for the remainder of the year. The food is served on banana or fish leaves and eaten with the fingers. An emphasis is placed on minimizing the use of store-bought food and utensils, allowing for intensifying the relationship with the natural world. According to one informant, ‘The food is served on a piece of banana leaf, or on another leaf called fish leaf, reflecting one's relationship with nature’ (Mark Wright 2001). This relationship with nature also serves as a means of returning to the ‘old time’ of the early warriors who habitually ate their food in this manner. One can also argue that utilizing the leaves of the banana tree and the fish leaves that are so plentiful locally also serves an economic function since no one in the community could possibly afford to make a purchase of disposable utensils for the hundreds of people that gather at the Kindah tree during this part of the celebrations. The same can be said for using the ground provisions which are grown locally, minimizing the cost of the event. Even as it is, the cost of the food given out at Kindah is a heavy expense to the community.
Food for the Maroon ancestors

As Mary Douglas has written, “If food is treated as a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion, and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries” (Douglas 1975:249). This Myal ritual in the form of a communal meal is used to venerate Maroon ancestors. The communal meal symbolically affirms present day Maroon males’ connection to the male warrior heroes of their ancestral past while maintaining gender and ethnic boundaries that exclude women and non-Maroons from participating in the ritual. The rules for participation in the ancestral offering even draw a distinction within the group of all Maroon males, since it is only ‘full-blooded’ Maroon males that can be present to make the offering and communicate with the ancestral spirits at their Old Town graves on that day; even ‘full-blooded’ Accompong Maroons living in other parts of the country are allowed to return and participate in this ritual. At the same time as participating in the ancestral worship
reaffirms the relationship between the living and the dead heroes, it also defines who the
ture descendants and family of the ancient heroes are, and articulates a set of ritual values
according to which all Maroons are not equal.

The construction of the boundaries between full-blooded Maroon males and other
Maroons goes beyond the participation in this ritual. Like Turner, I found that I could not
analyze ritual symbols without studying them in a time series in relation to other ‘events,’
for symbols are essentially involved in social process. (Turner 1967:20). The drawing of
boundaries here are reflections of other aspects of Maroon life such as who is and who is
not a Maroon, and who can and cannot inherit land.

Here, a ritual is performed to create and maintain a symbolic boundary among
‘full-blooded’ Maroon males and other Maroon males in a dramatic public form. Turner
(1967) suggests that ritual symbols should be viewed “as distinct phases in the social
process whereby groups become adjusted to internal changes and adapted to their
external environments. From this standpoint the ritual symbol becomes a factor in social
action, a positive force in an activity field”(Turner 1967:20). Despite an ideology of
endogamy, this community is not one of all Maroons. Non-Maroons have entered the
community and their presence is acknowledged, through their exclusion on treaty day.

Although there are some families that are endogamous, marry within the village
and take only other Maroons as mates wherever they may find them, Maroons are in
practice exogamous. Since Maroons are exogamous, then not everyone will be a ‘full-
blooded’ Maroon. Some are half Maroon, and if a half Maroon has children with a non-
Maroon, the children will be a quarter Maroon and so on. Non-Maroons have entered
village life in different ways and been incorporated into it to different degrees. Non-Maroon males have entered the community by purchasing land in the village, or through conjugal relationships with Maroon females. As a result there are non-Maroons living in Accompong who are related to its resident population either through marriage, common-law relationships, or by a kind of informal naturalization as a Maroon citizen. For example, since my family had participated in the daily lives of the Maroons and made economic contributions to the community, we were told that we had earned Maroon citizenship and were encouraged to send money back to Accompong to build a guest house there. Maroon citizenship grants an individual the right to own land, participate in the election of the colonel and the economy of the community.

The ancestral offering intensifies the gender division of labor in this ritual and honors the male warriors of the Maroon past: only males are allowed to prepare the meal and make the offering. In terms of the rituals commemorating the treaty, Nanny's renown as a warrior woman on the other side of Jamaica does not devolve upon subsequent generations of Accompong Maroon females; even though non-Maroon females are coming into the village they are important primarily for reproduction and the continuation of the Maroon group as a whole. The core of Accompong Maroon identity is male. Women, then, are totally excluded from ritual practices at the ancestral offering but may mediate between the full-blooded male Maroons who prepare the food and the more broadly defined ‘family present at Kindah where ‘family’ includes both male and female Maroons, full-blooded and not.
Summary

The Accompong Maroons argue that their foodways differ from wider Jamaican foodways. However, their diets are similar to the larger Jamaican society even though the diet of the Accompong Maroons is impoverished. The Accompong Maroon diet is similar, not just at the surface level, but at deep levels such as the sacred/profane classification. Their difference from the wider Jamaican society is in the food symbolism exhibited on Treaty Day.

The foodways in Accompong are governed by its ecology, political economy, and lack of technological development; indigenous local knowledge of the properties of particular food items; and lack of economic infrastructure and vulnerability to the interpenetration of the global market. Lack of technological development has resulted in the use of high quantities of canned and salted foods. In the economy chapter, I demonstrated the penetration of the metropolitan core of the world system into the rural periphery in terms of the recruitment of a cheap labor pool. But the flow of goods in the opposite direction is slow. We see with the lack of technological development for the preparation and storage of food in Accompong. Possession of a gas cooker and refrigerator is still beyond the reach of the rural poor and lags behind people in the urban centers. In the wider Jamaica, the gas cooker was available to the middle class in the early 1970s compared to Accompong where it occurs much later, further demonstrating that this village is on the periphery of the world system and there need to be more studies.
### Appendix V

**Caribbean Timeline**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1494</td>
<td>Christopher Columbus arrived in Jamaica</td>
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<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>Spanish occupied Jamaica</td>
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<tr>
<td>1515</td>
<td>Amerindian population of Aruba, Curacao and Bonaire deported to Hispaniola</td>
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<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>First maroon settlement in Brazil - Quilombos</td>
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<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>British invasion of Jamaica under Cromwell, importation of African slaves resulting in escapees to the mountain. Spanish armed some of their African slaves and freed them where they escaped to the mountains, forming Maroon communities under leadership of Juan de Bolas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1655 – 1740</td>
<td>Maroon guerilla wars with British (Jamaica)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>Treaty of Ryswick. Spain ceded the western portion of the island of Hispanola to France</td>
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<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>200 Indians brought in from Mosquito Coast to hunt Jamaican Maroons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1739 – 1748</td>
<td>“War of Jenkin’s Ear between the British and the Spanish over The Caribbean, North America and India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June, 1738</td>
<td>Edward Trelawny, Governor, Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; 1738-9</td>
<td>British (Guthrie and Francis Saddle) signed treaties with Maroons Captain Cudjoe, Accompong, Johnny, Cuffee and Quaco (Maroons), with land grant, freedom and local autonomy. Cudjoe awarded 1500 acres of land in Trelawny Town.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
March 1740  British (Robert Bennett) signed treaty similar to that of Cudjoe’s, with Quaco

1742  Coromantee Conspiracy

1757  Accompong Maroons granted 1000 acres of land

1760  Treaty between Dutch and Ndjuka

1762  Treaty between Dutch and Saramacca

1767  Treaty between Dutch and Matawai

1769 - 1793  Military hostilities between the Aluku and the Dutch

1775 – 1791  High rate of Jamaican plantation insolvency.

1775 – 1783  American War of Independence

1778  France seized some of her former colonies (Dominica and Grenada)  England seized St. Lucia

1780 – 1787  15,000 Jamaican slaves died from famine due to loss of American food supplies.

1791 – 1804  Haitian Revolution

1791  Treaty between the Dutch and the Aluku, placing them under the supervision of the Ndjuka

1795  Accompong Maroons fighting with Trelawny Maroons for the treaty and 1500 acres of land  Trelawny Maroons revolted against the British.  Accompong Maroons aided the British to suppress the Trelawnies.  Trelawnies exiled to Nova Scotia and then to Sierra Leone.

Britain and France at war.

1796  Treaty with the Trelawny Maroons declared null and void.

1779 – 1798  British settlement (British Honduras) in Central America under attack by Spanish
1804  **Haiti** gains independence

1807  Abolition of the Slave Trade

1823  Abolition of slavery in Chile

1824  Slavery abolished in Central America

1829  Abolition of slavery Mexico

1831-1832  **Jamaica**: Maroons served in military and helped the British to suppress the Taki and Sam Sharpe rebellions.

1833  Emancipation Act

1834  Slavery abolished in the British colonies

1835  Dutch renews treaty with existing Maroon groups

1836 – 1930  **Caribbean**: Sugar export fell.

1837  Dutch renews treaty with existing Maroon groups

1838  Dutch renews treaty with existing Maroon groups

1838  Indentured Indians shipped to British Guiana

1838 – 1918  half million indentured laborers entered the British West Indian plantation system

1846  Sugar Duties Act

1848  Abolition of slavery in French colonies

1850 – 1852  **Jamaica**: Cholera epidemic in Kingston, killing 80% of the population.

1854 – 1858  Abolition of slavery in Peru

1860  Dutch recognize the Aluku (now living in French Guiana) as free people

1863 – 1865  **Jamaica**: Severe drought and increased cost of living  
American civil war resulted in shortage of food imports

1863  Abolition of slavery in Dutch colonies
October
1865  **Jamaica**: Maroons assisted the British to suppress the Morant Bay Rebellion and returned runaway slaves. Rebellion led by Paul and Moses Bogle, who were executed along with 352 others. 1000 houses destroyed.

1866 – 1944  **Jamaica** becomes a Crown Colony

1873  Abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico

1873-1916  34,000 indentured laborers to Surinam

1876  Dutch-only education compulsory in Suriname

1889  Indentured Indians shipped to French colonies

1888  Abolition of slavery in Brazil

December
1896  **Accompong**: Robert J. Wright, Colonel

1867  **Jamaica**: Department of Lands created to repossess land from squatters.

1895 – 1920  **Accompong**: Henry Ezekiel Wright, Colonel

July
1897  **Accompong**: Isaac Miles, Colonel

1889  **Jamaican** Native Baptist Free Church formed
Bdewardite Movement called for oppression of whites (continued protest following Morant Bay Rebellion)

1898  Spanish-American War gave US Puerto Rico and de facto control of a nominally independent Cuba

1901  **Cuba** becomes an independent republic

1902  US troops leaves **Cuba**.  
**German** gunboat sinks **Haitian** boat at Gonaives. 
Soufriere volcano erupts in **St. Vincent**, killing 1600 people 
Mont Pelee volcano erupts in **Martinique** 
Small pox reaches epidemic proportions in the region.

1903  Under a treaty with **Cuba**, US is granted the naval base of Guantanamo.

1904  US acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone
December
1906    Joseph Williams visits Jamaica.

January
1907    Earthquake hits Jamaica.

1914    Marcus Garvey visits US to begin his “Back to Africa’ campaign.
        Opening of the Panama Canal. Migrants from Jamaica, Barbados,
        Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia and British Honduras are
        employed in Panama.

1915 – 1928 Migrants from English-speaking countries travel to Venezuela to work in
        the Oil Fields and the Shell Refinery in Curacao.

1915 – 1934 US occupies Haiti to maintain order.

1916 – 1924 US occupies the Dominican Republic in order to maintain American
        economic interests.

1917    US grant people from Puerto Rico US citizenship and a limited degree of
        self-government.
        US purchase the Virgin Islands from Demark for $25 million.

1918    WW I ends

May 14, 1919 Women’s Suffrage passed.

1920 – 1945 Migration from the Caribbean to England, France and Holland is
        limited to middle and upper classes.

1920 – 1938 Accompong: Henry Augustus Rowe, Colonel

1922    Marcus Garvey arrested in New York City.

1925    “The Black Man’s Bible is published in Jamaica.

1928 – 1933 Prices of West Indian experts (banana and sugar) halved.
        Results: wages cut, increased taxation, high unemployment.
        Laborers repatriated from Cuba and Haiti
        Banana diseases
        Second Italo-Abyssinian War, Emperor Haile Selassie imprisoned.

1928    Marcus Garvey deported from US.
1929  Typhoid fever running rampant throughout the region.

West Indian Special Report on social conditions of St. Kitts
(no action taken)

**Kingston, Jamaica:** Marcus Garvey held the Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention
Marcus Garvey launched Jamaica’s first national political organization, People’s Political Party.

1930  Rafael Leonidas Trujillo y Molina seizes power in the Dominican Republic.

November 2 1930  Ras Tafari crowned Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.
The coronation was taken as a sign by Jamaicans who became Rastafarians

March 1934  Haile Selassie tried for sedition.

1935  **St. Kitts:** No wage increase for sugar laborers resulting in strike
28th January  (war ship arrived and workers went back to work)

September to October  **British Guiana:** outburst of strikes for higher wages on plantations

21st October  **St. Vincent:** Increase in customs duties, provoking uprising
State of emergency declared, censorship of the press and warship
Formation of Workingman’s Association appealing for land settlement and constitutional reform

**St. Lucia:** strike among coal trade workers
Government mobilized the volunteer force, summoned a warship (spotting search lights on the town in the night), had marines patrolling the streets
No wage increase awarded

**Trinidad:** strike and hunger march led by Uriah Butler

**Accompong:** A group of Maroons goes to town to talk about their treaty and cultural traditions.
1936

**Accompong**: Melville and Frances Herkovits, Katherine Dunham, and Zora Neal Hurston visits. Colonel H. A. Rowe resigns but remains in office.

**British Guiana**: Manpower and Citizen’s Association formed

January 1936

Jamaica: Mass starvation

1937

**Jamaica**: decline in sugar prices on world market, banana diseases

19th June

**Trinidad**: strike in the oilfields. Grievances included rise in cost of living (17%) and the “Red Book’, a system for identifying the workers which the workers felt was used to facilitate victimization. Uriah Butler arrested, causing a riot. Navy summoned from Bermuda

**Trinidad**: Negro Welfare and Cultural Association formed

10th July

Trinidad: Employers offered minimal wage increase and replaced the Red Book with a different identification system. Offer rejected by workers Seaman and Waterfront Workers’ Union and Public Works Workers’ Union formed. Seaman and Waterfront workers’ strike.

25th July

**Trinidad**: Oilworkers’ Trade Union formed. All-Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers’ Union formed

27th July

**Barbados**: riot broke out after deportation of Clement Payne

July

**Accompong**: Rev. Father Joseph Williams S. J. visits Accompong and other Maroon communities. He first visited Jamaica 30 years previously where he was a scholastic in the Society of Jesus as a sub-deacon and worked in the Maroon communities.

August

**St Vincent**: agricultural workers on the sugar plantation struck for higher wages.

**Jamaica**: demonstration by unemployed servicemen in Kingston Alexander Bustamante leaves the Jamaica Workers’ and Trademen’s Union.

December

**Trinidad**: wage increase offered and accepted by oilfield workers after negotiation with union.
1938

5th January  Jamaica: strike on Serge Island sugar estate (St. Thomas)
Police reserves dispatched. Wage concession

1-4 March  Accompong: Bicentenary celebrations of Maroon treaty under Colonel Henry Augustus Rowe
British dignitaries attend 4-day celebrations.

29th March  Commission appointed to study rate of wages and conditions of employment.

April  Trinidad: Workers on sugar plantations strike.
Farmers’ cane rotted in the field

Accompong: Archibald and Elizabeth Cooper to undertake fieldwork.

2nd May  Jamaica: strike at construction site of Tate & Lyle (West Indies Sugar Co.) Frome in Westmoreland
Alexander Bustamante and William Grant conducted a series of public meetings.

16th May  Jamaica: Strikers prevented workers of road construction in Trench Pen area of St. Andrew.

11 – 2nd May  Jamaica: Series of strikes by wharf laborer in Kingston
21st May  Jamaica: General strike on waterfront for higher wages

22nd May to June  Jamaica: Street cleaners on strike, resulting in riots, destruction of private property, streets blocked, and tramcars attacked. Soldiers, navy and special constables used to calm unrest.
Bustamante and Norman Manley emerged and leaders in the struggles.

July  Jamaica: Bustamante Trade Union formed.
Accompong: Colonel Rowe (resigned) places letter in The Daily Gleaner
noting that the rumors that Maroons were joining in the strike was false. Instead, the Maroons would help the government put down the strikers.

July  Charles Town Maroons demands land in St. Mary’s where they were
squatting and later evicted 30 or 40 years previously.

August  Barbados: Barbados Progressive League formed

Accompong: Colonel Rowe announces resignation in the Daily Gleaner
Thomas James Cawley takes over with support of Charles Reid and others
August 18 Labor unrest in British Guiana, and Berbice County


28th November Accompong: Group of Maroons (22) led by James T. Cawley (acting Colonel) seized sleepers and lumber from government workers and also seized tram cars to uphold their demand for more land.

September Accompong: land surveyed by government.
To February

1939

February Accompong: Major Robertson goes to Colonial Secretary for more land Maroons should have 1,500 acres more than they had. They have 1220 acres.

June Accompong: Governor visits Accompong

1939 Accompong: Governor offers 350 acres of land which is added to original grant of 1000 acres with no taxes to be paid; plus 2,000 - 3,000 acres of crown land with minimal rent to be held communally. Maroons are only given agricultural surface rights. The crown reserves all oil and mineral rights. In return, Maroons agreed to be citizens with all rights. Agreement accepted by Colonel Thomas James Cawley.

June 10 1940 Marcus Garvey dies in London.

February 10th 1942 Universal Adult Suffrage in Jamaica

September 20th 1944 Jamaica granted semi-responsible government.

1951 Accompong: Mann O. Rowe, Colonel
August 17 Jamaica: Hurricane struck the island.

1951 – 1957 Accompong: Thomas James Cawley, Colonel

1956 Jamaica: Rastafarians congregate at ports in Kingston, in expectation of Haile Selassie’s ‘ships’ that they believe will transport them to Africa.

1957 Haiti gets three presidents.
1957 – 1967 **Accompong**: Walter James Robertson, Colonel

1958 – 1961 **British Guiana**, civil unrest as a result of fight for political and economic power by the three political parties within the country, economic disasters, blatant racism, severe long-term food shortage, military colonial intervention and fear of Marxism.

January 3rd

1958 Establishment of the West Indies Federation, consisting of **Jamaica**, **Barbados** and **Trinidad and Tobago**.

**Jamaica**: Claudius Henry begins a repatriation scheme to take Rastafarians back to Africa.

July 1958 **Haiti**: attempted invasion and takeover of the Haitian palace.

1958 – 1961 Construction of AfoBaka Dam on the Suriname River resulting in flooding of Saramacca and Ndjuka villages

1959 **Cayman Islands** separated from Jamaica and became a crown colony

1960 US cuts sugar imports from **Cuba** by 95%

1961 **British Honduras** gains self-government.

**Jamaica** no longer participates in West Indian Federation and move to seek independence.

Forbes Burnham becomes Premier of **British Guiana**.

1961 Colonel H. A. Rowe dies

1962

May 31 West Indian Federation dissolves

August 6 **Jamaican** Independence under Prime Minister with Alexander Bustamante

Large exodus from the Caribbean to **Canada**.

August 31 **Trinidad and Tobago** becomes independent.

September 18 **Jamaica** gains United Nation’s membership status.

Juan Boach Gavino becomes president of Dominican Republic

1963

President Juan Boach Gavino of Dominican Republic overthrown by military coup.

1966  May 26  Guyana becomes independent under leadership of Sampson Burnham


1966  November 30  Barbados becomes independent with Errol Walton Barrow as prime minister


1967  Accompong: Anthropologist, Barbara Kopytoff visits

1967 - 1982  Accompong: Martell (Martin Luther) Wright, Colonel (3 terms)

1972  Jamaica: Norman Manley elected Prime Minister

1975  Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, dies.

1976  Jamaica: Michael Manley re-elected Prime Minister

1980  Jamaica: Michael Manley defeated by Edward Seaga

1982 – 1987  Accompong: Harris N. Cawley, Colonel Colonel

1986 – 1987  Civil war between the national government and the Sramacca, Paramacca and Ndjuka

1987 – 1993  Accompong: Martin Luther Wright, Colonel

1989  Jamaica: Michael Manley defeats Edward Seaga

1992  Prime Minister Michael Manley succeeded by P. J. Patterson.

1993  Accompong: Harris N. Cawley, Colonel

1993 – 1998  Accompong: Meridith (Meredie) Rowe, Colonel (Detective Corporal)

2001

March 14  Seven men killed by police in Kingston suburb

July 7  Police crack after two months of fighting in Tivoli Gardens in Kingston.

July 9  Prime Minister Patterson ordered army deployed to restore calm across Jamaica following 3 days of violence.

2005 – 2007  Accompong: Sidney Peddie, Colonel