
Review Articles

Jamaica's Muslim Past: Misrepresentations

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Abstract

The revisionings proposed by Sultana Afroz regarding the pervasiveness of the African Islamic presence in plantation Jamaica are contested, on grounds of her falsification of demographic data and of contemporary historical sources, non-differentiation in the treatment of historical processes in West Africa, unsubstantiated or inadequate proof of claims, attribution of causality and relatedness to parallel phenomena, questionable etymological assertions, unfamiliarity with African cultural history, and a general tendency to make exaggerated and dogmatic statements.

This article sets out to refute the body of claims put forward by Sultana Afroz in her rewriting of Jamaican history. As is made patent in the conclusion to Afroz' "The Unsung Slaves"¹ and in her series of articles, "The Invincibility of Islam in Jamaica",² one impetus for her challenge to Caribbean historiography is the promotion of Islam. I have no intention of addressing the legitimacy of this motive (since we each harbour partialities), or of discussing the parameters within which religious conviction is an appropriate tool of historical interpretation. However, what I propose to address are the inaccuracies of data and faults of argumentation that bedevil her revisioning. There are glaring disjunctures between the sweeping claims advanced and the paucity of the evidence proffered, while logic is defied by extravagance of assertion, leaps in assumptions, and glib transitions from probability to dogmatism. Discrepant logic is further evidenced through the attribution of causation to the conjuncture or correlation of event, behaviour or custom. Afroz'

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application of doubtful logic to the production of questionable historiography is contained in her newspaper series, "The Invincibility of Islam in Jamaica", as well as several substantial articles: "The Unsung Slaves"; "From Moors to Marronage: The Islamic Heritage of the Maroons"; "The Manifestation of *Tawid*: The Muslim Heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica"; and "The *Jihad* of 1831-1832: The Misunderstood Baptist Rebellion in Jamaica".³

The launching pad for her argument is an inflation of the number of enslaved Muslims in Jamaica, a polemic direction that becomes noticeable from her 1999 treatise onwards. To build this case, she first distorts comments made by some nineteenth-century commentators. For example, in "The *Jihad*" (231), Afroz quotes comments by Bridges⁴ on the continuing loyalty to Islam among Christianized Muslims in Jamaica, a useful testimony for her thesis, but she goes on to include his remarks about Muslims in the Senegambia, giving the impression that these customs and ideas apply to Jamaica. Another instance of falsification occurs when she claims that Carmichael⁵ had "interviewed many Mandinka slaves in 1833" ("The *Jihad*", 228). However, the final chapter of volume one of Carmichael's book provides data on her interviews with ten enslaved persons in St Vincent, three of whom were Mandingo, four Ebo (Igbo), one from the "Guinea-coast", and two whose origins were not given. Furthermore, Carmichael does not accredit the belief in God the Creator, "all Powerful and all Seeing", to enslaved Muslims, as implied by its placement in Afroz' texts, "The Unsung Slaves" (32), and "The *Jihad*" (231), since Carmichael's discourse at this point concerns their Christianization.⁶ She does, however, refer to encountering Muslims, associating these with Mandingos, and as for their number, she merely says: "Several native Africans have told me . . .".⁷ A further misrepresentation occurs when Afroz comments that "Mrs. Carmichael's observation authenticates the presence of a large number of Muslim slaves in Jamaica who had a firm conviction in Islam during the period leading to emancipation" ("The *Jihad*", 228). Carmichael was a resident of St Vincent and Trinidad, both islands in the Eastern Caribbean. Jamaica, in the northern Caribbean, was not the subject of her text.

On the basis of these sources, Afroz concludes that "a considerable number of Muslims" inhabited nineteenth-century Jamaica, and that they "formed a formidable number on the plantations throughout the length and breadth of the island" ("The *Jihad*", 229, 232). She also

supplies a quantitative figure by referencing Diouf, on the basis of which she states that "Jamaica had 56.8 percent of her arrivals from Muslim areas" ("The *Jihad*", 228). However, Diouf's actual text reads: "Between 1817 and 1843, 44 percent of the Cuban slaves came from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Bights of Benin and Biafra. For Jamaica from 1655 to 1807, Curtin⁸ proposes 423,900 Africans from the selected areas, representing 56.8 percent of the arrivals" (my emphasis).⁹

For Afroz to include the Bights of Benin and Biafra as "Muslim areas" is inaccurate, to say the least. The Bight of Benin was home to the Ewe-Fon (Popo/Aja/Ardra) from Togo and Dahomey, and the Bight of Biafra was the coastal outlet for the Igbo, Ibibio and Calabari from the Niger and Cross River deltas. Islam was virtually unknown to these southerly forest-belt and delta peoples. But in the savanna hinterlands lived the Hausa and Mossi, partly Islamized peoples, who were no doubt among the shipments dispatched through the non-Islamic coastal ports and their immediate inland territories.¹⁰ Nor could the Limba, Mende, Temne, Susu, and Sherbro coming out of Sierra Leone be considered across-the-board as Muslims. While some of these peoples were converted to Islam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, others had earlier fled to the coastal areas where, as so-called "animists" (adherents of traditional African religions), the Portuguese encountered them in the fifteenth century.¹¹ To address the matter quantitatively, were one to consolidate the Windward Coast, Senegambia, and Sierra Leone as generally Islamized and the main source of enslaved Muslims, recent calculations of slave exports out of those three regions between 1519 and 1867 give a 9.9 percentage of the total trade, with arrivals in Jamaica from the same regions between 1651 and 1808 amounting to 11.3 percent.¹² Diouf, herself Senegalese, makes the point that Muslims, while a sizeable group, "were definitely a minority compared to followers of traditional religions as a whole, for two reasons: they were a minority in Africa to begin with, and Islam protected them",¹³ by incorporating them in a supra-national religion that enjoined them to a law that Muslims ought not to enslave Muslims.

In terms of comparative demographic data, Orlando Patterson's ethnic ratios of slave imports into Jamaica¹⁴ have been consistent with the findings of later analysts such as Curtin, Higman, Eltis and others.¹⁵ Between 1655 and 1700 after the British seized the island, the main slave sources were the Gold Coast, the Senegambia, and the Windward Coast comprising today's Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and

the Ivory Coast. In the first half of the eighteenth century (1700–1750), 27 percent were taken from the Windward Coast and Angola at the south-eastern extreme of the slaving zone, and 33 percent came from the Slave Coast (today's Togo and Republic of Benin, previously called Dahomey), while the neighbouring Gold Coast yielded 25 percent. By the second half of the eighteenth century there was a noticeable shift toward the Niger and Cross deltas of today's Nigeria and Cameroon, but between 1790 and 1807, when the traffic was outlawed, the number of enslaved persons exported by the British from the Congo and Angola showed a sharp increase.

Afroz' argument ignores such nuanced demographic data, but singles out cultures such as the Mandinka, Fulani (Fula, Fulbe), Hausa, Susu, and Asante (Ashanti), the first four of which had been converted to Islam between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries, in some cases minimally, in others partially, and yet in others extensively. Ignoring differentiations of time period and degree, Afroz, particularly in her later writings, treats the presence of Islam in West Africa in a monolithic manner. Whereas initially she acknowledged that "Besides Islam, traditional African religions/ancestral worship were commonly practised" in Africa, she erroneously includes Central Africa in this overview: "The fact that Islam had been the religion of many of the rulers and the ruled of West and Central Africa long before the commencement of the Atlantic trade strengthens the argument that a good proportion of the millions of Africans forcefully brought to the West Indies were Muslims" ("The Unsung Slaves", 31). Subsequently, she magnifies Islam as "the dominant religion of West Africa" ("The Jihad", 237). The historical record, however, shows that Islam penetrated sub-Saharan Africa from North Africa during the eleventh century, its first host being the ancient kingdom of Ghana in the vicinity of present-day Mali, where it was introduced by Berber traders in the trans-Saharan gold trade from Ghana to the Mediterranean. Over the next eight centuries the international contacts stimulated by the trade in enslaved persons, gold, salt and kola, and the need to communicate with the Arab world of traders, lawyers and scholars led sub-Saharan rulers to recruit Arabic speaking scribes-cum-merchants as diplomats and interpreters at their courts. This process took place at different times and varying locations from west to east across the savannah belt of West Africa, and in some cases this collaboration led to the conversion to Islam of court elites.

By cultural osmosis, and sometimes by upsurges of Islamic religious militancy, the village-level leadership, and later commoners, eventually became converted from various African traditional religions to the monotheism and international religious culture of Islam.¹⁶ Even so, aspects of African spirituality persisted in the religious practice of many: spirit possession, belief in the efficacy of charms, the meaningfulness of dreams, the miraculous relationship between prayer and healing,¹⁷ and confidence in "Muslim holy men who claimed descent from Prophet Muhammad's family and were endowed with baraka, that is, a blessing and spiritual power which many people believed enabled them to heal and ensure success or failure".¹⁸ It is clear that by the fourteenth century Islam had already extensively penetrated the urban culture of the Senegambian peoples such as the Jalonke, Susu, Fulani and, above all, the Mandinka and their long-distance trading subgroup, the Dyula (Dioula).¹⁹ Two major geographical areas thus affected were the Futa Toro empire on the south bank of the Senegal River and the Fouta Djallon plateau in today's modern Guinea. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Wolof to the west of the Mandinka heartland had Islamized kings and chiefs, but "the bulk of the population made little attempt to follow the precepts of Islam", and the religion weakened until a resurgence occurred in the late eighteenth century.²⁰ The Bambara who lived in the savannah lands between the Mandingo and Mossi were not converted to Islam until the nineteenth century.

Further eastward along the savannah belt of West Africa, the Hausa became incorporated into the Islamic world as of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the conversion of the leaders of Kano and Katsina took place. This led to "the establishment of a hierarchy of Muslim religious offices alongside the traditional hierarchy of the state's administration", so that there emerged "a gradual polarisation of society along the lines of two often conflicting religio-political ideologies [since] for centuries thereafter, Islam coexisted with the indigenous culture, conditioning it only marginally".²¹ By the late eighteenth century the process of religious consolidation strengthened, and several nineteenth-century *jihads* entrenched the religion more widely among the Hausa, the eastern Fulani, the Borgu (Ibariba), and the Nupe (Tapa).²² As regards the Akan, their northerly kingdom of Bono, inhabited by the Brong subgroup, came into contact with Islam through the presence there from around the fifteenth century of Muslim Dyula merchants from the Senegambia connected with the gold and kola nut trades,²³ but for

centuries Islam was not a factor in the life of the Akan subgroups to the south until it became a contentious issue in Asante politics in the late eighteenth century. The Asante kingdom (later enlarged into an empire) had been founded in the late seventeenth century, and Muslim religious and legal ideas began to make themselves felt at court during the mid-eighteenth century. Conflict flared openly when the Asantehene (emperor) Osei Kwame began to turn increasingly to Muslim advisers, among several indications that he "had a personal attachment to the faith: a consideration apparently central to his removal from the throne in or about 1798 by his subordinate chiefs who saw in these developments a threat to their authority".²⁴ At about the same time, a parallel scenario was playing itself out in the Yoruba empire of Oyo further eastward, where elements disaffected with the Alafin (emperor) allied themselves with Fulani and Hausa jihadists to the north and succeeded in sacking the royal capital around 1812. Consequently, a major factor in Oyo's downfall came to be a power struggle between factions supporting Islam as against those allied to Yoruba traditional religion.²⁵

In another non-rigorous cluster of arguments, Afroz advances extravagant claims for Muslim influence among the Jamaican Maroons in "From Moors to Maroonage". Among such claims are that windward and leeward Maroon links are couched in "brother" and "sister" terms;²⁶ that Maroon communities have been governed by councils;²⁷ that Nanny's other name, reputedly Sarah, is Muslim; that the Maroon chieftain Cudjoe exhibited Muslim cultural behaviours; that since *Salaam aleikum* ("peace be with you") has been used by the windward Moore Town Maroons, and since this term is confined to greetings among Muslims rather than by Muslims to non-Muslims, this serves as proof that Muslim culture dominated Moore Town, so much so that Islam was its "unifying force" ("From Moors to Marronage", 24).

With regard to the salutation, studies on residual and dying languages show repeatedly that grammatical forms in the original languages become abridged when languages are no longer used in their native-speaking communities; their unfamiliarity of usage also leads to a breakdown in the social conventions that govern the use of particular phrases or words, such as the observance of appropriate differentiation between pronouns that are emphatic versus non-emphatic, familiar versus respectful.²⁸ Because speakers of a language most often speak it among themselves, Arabic speakers would most commonly use *Salaam aleikum*,

rather than *Assalamo-Ala-Manittaba'al Huda'* which Afroz indicates is the proper greeting from a Muslim to a non-Muslim. However, obviously, the shorter, less complicated phrase would be the one most likely to be remembered in a situation of exile, where an immigrant language, under pressure to yield to the language of the majority or of the most powerful, can only survive by becoming increasingly economical in its formulations. Indeed, among the West African Hausa at least (for whom Arabic is not a native language, but a sacred one), differentiation between the two types of greeting is not observed and only *salaam aleikum* is used as a polite greeting, to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.²⁹

Yet another weak linguistic point, as she makes it, is Afroz' claim to have heard the Arabic terms for the temporal and spiritual realms *din* and *dunya*, used by Moore Town elders ("From Moors to Marronage", 18; "The Manifestation of *Tawid*", 33). A scrupulous scholar would have provided, even in the footnotes, the contexts in which these lexical items were used, or the circumstances under which they were elicited, since it is equally possible that, on the one hand, these words are linguistic retentions or, on the other, they may be phrases in Jamaican Creole. Failure to seal the issue with convincing proof, authenticated by a linguist, considerably undermines this evidence. Indeed, "evidence" is a term that recurs in Afroz' articles as a statement, though concrete evidence tends not to be provided in a manner or quantity to satisfy proof. One example of such disjuncture is when she asserts that "the slaves coming from Spain and subsequently from Africa . . . have left behind much oral testimony to verify the practice of Islam by the historical Maroons" ("From Moors to Marronage", 4). Thereafter follows: "Even present-day Maroon leaders are unaware of the Islamic heritage of their forefathers despite the presence of and usage of Islamic terms in their everyday activities." The extent of the cultural erasure raises questions, but is nevertheless probable under certain conditions, though the quantity of these terms in the Maroon vocabulary is not supplied.³⁰ Then immediately follows: "Although evidence pertaining to the Islamic background of the Spanish Maroons and African Maroons are [sic] limited, their very existence in the form of oral tradition and oral testimony are indicative of the strong Islamic faith of the historical Maroons. Such evidences are fundamental to Islam and hence leave no room for any further argument" ("From Moors to Marronage", 5). I think that the number of inconsistencies and non-sequiturs in these three statements is obvious.

Other linguistic claims are similarly untenable as proof of intense Muslim influence in Jamaica. One such concerns what Afroz reads as the exhibition of Muslim brotherhood among the Maroons, bypassing recognition of the very African cultural practice of using certain basic kinship terms, such as "father", "mother", brother", "sister", "uncle", "aunt", "husband", "wife", to signal relationships among individuals for which European languages add "in-law", "adopted", "half-", or use words such as "cousin". In like fashion, all over Africa alliances between communities, villages and ethnic groupings are rationalized in terms of descent from common ancestors, thus making the groups "brothers" and "sisters".³¹

Another cultural appropriation that is not feasible is her reiteration that Akan day-names such as Kajo/Cudjoe, Kwao/Quao, and Kofi/Cuffee are Arabic (Afroz, "The Manifestation of *Tawid*", 20; "The Invincibility of Islam", 12 January 2003, G9). These Twi- and Ga-language names are so embedded in tradition that in Akan cryptic drum poetry and religious verse,³² one of the aspects of God, Nyankopong or the Great Ananse, also bears the appellation Kwaku, the birthday-name for those born on Wednesday. Mother Earth is named Asase Yaa, the final name being given to females born on Thursday. Given the fact that Islam was not an aspect of mass popular culture and worldview among either the Ga or the Akan, it is surprising that names so deeply embedded in the Akan and Ga cultures to the east and west of the Volta River and extending from the savannah lands bordering the Sahel in the north and southward to the Gulf of Guinea coast could be Arabic in their source. If the Akan were as strongly Islamic as Afroz' articles posit, it is again strange that (a) Arabic has not exerted a profound influence on the Twi and Ga languages as it did on Mande and Hausa; (b) its presence was not commented on by European travellers to the Gold Coast as of the late fifteenth century; or (c) the oral traditions of the Asante, Akwapim and Fante have not brought this presence to light. Rather, Afroz applies questionable etymologies to the Akan names, on the principle that if two languages use the same phonological sequences, then there exists a necessary historical link between the languages in question. By false logic such as this since Ugo is both an Igbo and Japanese male name, then one language derives it from the other! In tandem is her contention that "Bola", the final segment in the hispanicized name of the seventeenth-century Maroon leader Juan de Bolas, is Arabic and occurs as well as a Yoruba name. In the first place, the Yoruba did not figure in the

slave trade during the mid-seventeenth century when de Bolas or Lubolo or Libolo lived in Jamaica.

Furthermore, Yoruba *Bola* is easily decoded as comprising two Yoruba segments of meaning: *bi*, "be born" + *ola*, "honour", and is preceded by another noun, such as *ade*, "crown/royalty" or *oye*, "chieftaincy". *Libolo* is an ethnonym for a coastal Mbundu subgroup in Angola, and it was common for ethnonyms to follow a European name to differentiate between enslaved persons on an estate who bore the same personal name, thus John Hausa, John Libolo, Pancho Congo. Then the ascription of "Sarah" as Arabic might more helpfully be indicated as Semitic, that is, common to the languages of the Red Sea, such as Hebrew and Arabic. The same may be said of names such as Abraham/Ibrahim, Solomon/Suleiman, Joseph/Yusuf, Miriam/Miramu, Hannah or Anna, and so on. "Sarah" having entered into English language and culture through Biblical influence, it would be preposterous to claim that every British girl who bore the name Sarah or Sally was Jewish, just as the enslaved persons who took or were given such names cannot be identified as either Muslim or Jewish on the mere basis of bearing such a name.³³

With reason, however, Afroz dates the Muslim foundations of the island's written history back to its period of Spanish colonial settlement in the early sixteenth century. However, her postulation that *carte blanche* identifies transatlantic enslaved Africans, sailors and artisans of this era as necessarily Moors, that is, Muslims, is extravagant and is advanced without supporting figures. This sweeping generalization is then glibly transferred to delineate the island's Maroon communities as Islamic settlements: "The presence of 107 free blacks substantiated by the census of the island taken by the Spaniards in 1611 *further strengthens the argument that Moorish or free Negro communities referred to as Maroon communities were in existence long before the British occupation of Jamaica in 1655*" ("The Invincibility of Islam", 12 January 2003, G9 [my emphasis]). By a series of mental slippages, that sentence makes a correspondence between Iberian-derived Africans and freed blacks, and a further corollary between free blacks and runaways. A careful disaggregation of these conjoined issues is needed.

In the first place, whereas Moors, who had lived in Iberia since the eighth century, were primarily from North Africa and the Sahara, Portugal's source of Africans as of 1441 was the Upper Guinea Coast at the westernmost bulge of the continent,³⁴ to which was added the Congo

as of 1513. As such, sources indicate that by the 1550s enslaved black persons "outnumbered the Moors who had composed the bulk of Portugal's enslaved population in the mediaeval period",³⁵ and that in southern Spain "Negroes outnumbered Moors and Moriscos [Christianized Moors], especially in the second half of the [sixteenth] century".³⁶ The *ladinos* (Iberian Africans and Africa-descended persons) who were transported to the Caribbean or who came voluntarily were therefore not exclusively Moors and did not necessarily originate from Muslim polities.

Afroz's formulation also conflates *marronnage* with free status, thereby overlooking the fact that partly out of zeal for conversion of "pagans" to Catholicism, Portugal and Spain developed a slave culture characterized by a high rate of manumissions.³⁷ This was one of the factors that would have accounted for the presence in 1611 of a number of free blacks. In addition, freed persons hardly absented themselves from European society by running away to inaccessible areas and thus becoming Maroons. Freed persons tended to move to urban centres where they could find both living space and a wider range of jobs by which to earn their living, since the countryside was occupied by plantations and pens. It was the enslaved who ensured their personal freedom and safety by absconding to mountainous refuges.

Having by sleight of hand converted all transatlantic blacks, free or enslaved, to Muslims, from the inception of their arrival in the Caribbean during the era of European expansionism, Afroz then advances the proposition that nineteenth- and twentieth-century Maroon culture is at base Islamic. Furthermore, this leap is accomplished without mapping any historical and cultural trajectories that would link the inhabitants of the early Maroon outposts with the ancestors of the twentieth-century sites at the eastern and western ends of the island.

A pattern of ascribing Muslim origins to a variety of cultural, religious and political behaviours in Jamaica is a signature of Afroz' articles. For instance, a custom deeply embedded in African culture was prostration on the ground by the subordinate in deference to a superior. It was already the practice in Central Africa when the Portuguese arrived in the Congo at the end of the fifteenth century, and the north-eastern segment of the vast Congo Basin only felt the effects of Islam toward the second half of the nineteenth century. In its full form, in which the subject lies full-length on the ground face downward in the presence of the superior in social status or age, or in truncated forms which involve

kneeling, curtsying, or bending to touch the hands to the earth, this ritual of greeting is widely practised among several peoples of West Africa and predates Islamic intervention.³⁸ Maroon Kojo's (Cudjoe's) act of prostration during the signing of the Treaty with the British in 1739 cannot therefore be ascribed to Islamic influence in the light of the acts of respect and social distance which are common in so many African cultures. Furthermore, none of the four positions of bowing and prostration visually demonstrated in "From Moors to Marronage" conforms to positions with which this writer is either personally familiar³⁹ or has encountered in the ethnographic data on Africa.

Another instance advanced by Afroz to prove the Islamic affiliation of Jamaican Maroons is the initial phrase in the Treaty drawn up between the British military and civilian government of Jamaica and the Leeward Maroons led by Kojo. The Treaty begins with the words "In the name of God, Amen", the equivalent of Arabic *Bismillah* ("In the name of Allah"). Afroz hastens to the sweeping assertion: "Such an introduction to a treaty or contract was never the precedent in Christendom Europe" ("The Manifestation of *Tawid*", 34). On the contrary, the phrase as used in the Treaty occurs at the start of the Oath of Obedience taken by the Bishop-elect at ordination in the Anglican Church as occurred in November 1989 when the Reverend Canon Herman Spence was inducted.⁴⁰ Indeed, the practice may be traced back to the heading on old British wills,⁴¹ and was possibly both a reflection of the testator's religious faith and a formulaic residue from a time when there was no separation between the sacred and the secular. To cite two instances from wills acquired for my other research projects: it occurs at the start of a will made by Sarah Hart in St Elizabeth, Jamaica, in 1822 and registered in 1834; and in a Scottish will registered in 1818. The latter begins: "Follows the Probate of the Defuncts last will and testament: In the name of God Amen I Robert Douglass of Mains . . .". Furthermore, clear-thinking would allow us to recognize that Kojo did not draw up the wording of the Treaty since (a) as recalcitrant as the Maroons had been, the British would hardly have allowed their opponent to dictate the terms and wording of a legal document, a treaty, and (b) the fact that Kojo signed with an X indicates that he wrote neither in Roman nor Arabic letters.

Another falsification of the historical record is Afroz' application of Arabic terms to actions and events that neither by documentary nor oral evidence were ever so applied. As instanced in her citation of historically and culturally questionable etymologies, in the attribution of a Muslim

source for the opening formula of oaths, in the nonspecific linkage between Arabic acts of homage and African ones, in the blanket labelling of Semitic names as exclusively Arabic, in the conflation of Maroons and free blacks, and Moors with Maroons, similarity or correlation is converted into instances of causation. In parallel fashion, every slave rebellion is identified as a *jihad*, a term that is extraneous to both the documentary and oral sources in the Caribbean. Likewise, the enslaved persons who rebelled are referred to as *mujahids* and those who fell in the conflicts are labelled *shaheeds* ("martyrs"). Sam Sharpe's sermons acquire the terminology *khutba*, which in Muslim fashion exposed "the manifold evils and injustice of slavery and the natural equality of man with regard to *freedom, which is a spiritual privilege in Islam*" ("The *Jihad*", 238 [my emphasis]). Her last remark insinuates that only Muslims laid a premium on personal freedom! The Methodist and Baptist confessional and prayer circles (the Moravians are erroneously included) into which congregations were divided are revealed to have in reality been *sufi* brotherhoods gathered around a religious leader, as is popular in West African Islam.⁴² It is indeed extraordinary that given the numbers of enslaved persons who are credited with being Muslims and the levels of literacy that some of them mastered, to date no Arabic-lettered manuscript has been found that accounts for their religion and resistance in the terminology Afroz now wishes to foist on Caribbean historiography. Further, it is extremely strange that in such a short historical period as that between the 1860s (when the last Africans arrived) and 2000 a pervasive and vigorous Muslim religion and culture has become so erased among the Caribbean African populations.

In keeping with Afroz' penchant for religious re-identification of events, the 1831–1832 St James and Hanover slave rebellion is designated an Islamic *jihad*. No such evidence emerged in the several trials held and confessions elicited subsequent to the rebellion, and absolutely no mention of Islam was made. Rather, several condemned persons revealed that oaths had been administered on the Bible as part of their participation in the mass action. In fact, one of the principals in the uprising, Robert Gardner, testified that "Samuel Sharp often told us that God never intended us to be slaves; that we had but one master, Jesus Christ, to obey, and that we could not serve Christ and our master at the same time".⁴³ Were Sam Sharpe and his principal lieutenants Muslims, as claimed by Afroz ("The *Jihad*", 237–240),⁴⁴ then it is strange that they did not use the forum of their trials, their interviews by pastors, their

public hangings, or the opportunity the collapse of their enterprise presented for the various condemned men to have revealed information about a secret religious agenda, especially since there is evidence of snitching and recrimination in some of their testimonies. All the same, there might well have been either crypto- or active Muslim believers among the hundreds of enslaved persons who participated in the uprising.

The sole piece of evidence that suggests a link between the uprising and Islam in the mind of a contemporary enslaved individual was recorded in Magistrate Madden's writings regarding Muhammad Kaba of Spice Grove estate in Manchester, who in Jamaica also carried the name Robert Peart. Given the repression by government militia and anti-missionary civilian elements that followed the widespread devastation of the uprising, Kaba's wife destroyed a letter in Arabic that had been hand-delivered to Kaba in 1831 from a Muslim friend in Kingston. It was believed to have been written in Africa by a Muslim cleric and it "exhorted all the followers of Mahomet to be true and faithful, if they wished to go to Heaven/Paradise".⁴⁵ What else it said, unfortunately, is not recorded. Yet Afroz asserts that this pastoral letter was a "call for *jihād*" ("The *Jihād*", 227, 232), so that "Mohammad Kaba and his supporters from Manchester [who] were close associates" of Sam Sharpe's "society . . . responded with open rebellion once the insurrection broke out . . . in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay, St James, in December 1831" ("The *Jihād*", 238). This account is both highly speculative and exaggerated. Afroz supplies no evidence as to the close association between Kaba and Sharpe, which was not a prerequisite for participation in rebellion, anyhow; and the relationship in time between the outbreak in Montego Bay and the events in Manchester in January 1832 was not as instantaneous as Afroz's wording suggests, even though they both were part of the insurrection, which started in December 1831 and continued with sporadic and dispersed outbursts until September 1832. On 11 January, according to one source, the army shot six people and executed two in Manchester.⁴⁶ An undated document, however, indicates that in the 1832 turbulence in Manchester eighteen persons were executed. Among them were three from Spice Grove, the estate on which Kaba worked, six received between 100 and 200 lashes, and two were sentenced to transportation out of the island.⁴⁷

Given these circumstances, it is clear that Kaba's wife thought that the letter – in a strange script, not immediately decipherable – might be

incriminating⁴⁸ at a time when in the western parishes of Trelawny, St Mary and Manchester, and even in the eastern parishes of Portland and St Thomas, local militia and army personnel were carrying out house-to-house searches and were posted outside churches. Enslaved persons were also being shot summarily when running, or tried and put to death on the slightest suspicion of disloyalty to their owners, and also for downing tools. Several properties in Manchester with enslaved persons belonging to the Fairfield Moravian church were among those that experienced strikes.⁴⁹ Furthermore, on 7 January 1832, a German Moravian minister, Pfeiffer, was arrested in St Elizabeth, taken on the ninth to Mandeville, capital of Manchester parish, where he was imprisoned, tried, and almost condemned to death, were it not for recantations of evidence.⁵⁰ Both Kaba and his wife were members of the Moravian church at Fairfield in Manchester (Kaba was himself an elder of the church), and with Moravians under direct suspicion and intimidation, their lives were unquestionably in danger.⁵¹

Certainly, if the letter advanced the cause of *jihad*, it might have had the effect of triggering rebellion, in the way in which enslaved Muslims rose against bondage in the city of Salvador in Bahia, Brazil, in January 1835.⁵² In the Brazilian case, there was evidently a sufficiently large Muslim community of enslaved Yoruba and Hausa peoples to have made this prospect feasible, since these two ethnicities had been engaged in a religious-political war in Africa since the end of the 1800s and this fed the nineteenth-century slave trade with many war captives. However, there has not so far emerged evidence of concentrations of either Hausa or Yoruba/Nago in Jamaica sizeable enough to have spread their influence and shaken the system, though there are known to have been pockets of Nago in the post-slavery period in Hanover (where *etu*, an ancestor commemoration, is still practised, not Islam); at Abekita in Westmoreland, named after Abeokuta in southern Yorubaland, in present-day Nigeria; in St Mary and St Thomas and, of course, there may have been a settlement at Nago Head in St Catherine.⁵³ There does appear to have been small, interconnected groups of enslaved Muslims generally referred to as "Mandingo" who debated the authenticity of Christianity even as they joined various Christian religions. This network takes shape in the writings of Magistrate Madden, and he was alert to the complexity of the religious lives of individuals such as Peart/Kaba. Kaba's religious questionings also gained the attention of the Moravian clerics John Lang and Jacob Zorn, while the recent discovery of a

notebook with pastoral advice on prayer, fasting and marriage written by Kaba in Arabic sheds more light on his spiritual conflicts and preoccupations.⁵⁴

There is no doubt that there were Muslims among the enslaved persons brought to the Caribbean. My oral interviews in the 1960s with Trinidad descendants of nineteenth-century enslaved and indentured persons bore testimony to this.⁵⁵ These foreparents had come from the Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba and "Mandingo" ethnic groups of West Africa. Of these groups, the "Mandingo" of the Senegambia region were most associated with Islam, and their ethnonym came to represent all African Muslims. The religious ideas of these Muslims, as well as the writing skills in Arabic that several of them possessed, had caught the attention of European planters.⁵⁶ In fact, their numeracy and writing skills allowed them to secure jobs as storekeepers and tally clerks on estates. However, many of the Africans who had come into contact with Islam before migrating were not literate in Arabic, and it is the literacy of those who belonged to families of established Muslim priests, lawyers and scholars that most readily attracted the attention of European commentators. Having attended Muslim schools, they were able to recite short or long sections of the Koran, as well as write Arabic words and letters. Indeed, Jonas Mohammed Bath of Port of Spain, Trinidad, wrote several petitions in English and Arabic during the 1830s on behalf of other Muslims who wished to be repatriated to their native lands.⁵⁷ In addition, Carl Campbell examined the lifestory of Mohammedu Sisei of the Gambia who had arrived in Trinidad as a demobilized West India Regiment soldier in 1816 and who through the agency of the Royal Geographical Society of England did return to the Gambia.⁵⁸ In almost similar vein, Magistrate R.R. Madden of Jamaica alerted anti-slavery and African colonization interests in London to the Arabic autobiography (1830s) of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, otherwise called Edward Donlan in Jamaica.⁵⁹ Moravian and Baptist missionaries collected other autobiographies, and European and American missionaries commented on the arguments they conducted with Muslims regarding the relative positions of Jesus and Abraham, and other sacred figures shared by the Christian and Islamic orders of divinity.⁶⁰

There is, therefore, in the travelogues and histories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mention of Muslim Africans, but the comment is consistently made that the presence of such persons was small, even unusual. Of course, we need to assess these European comments with

caution, as their observation and understanding of the lives and beliefs of the enslaved people were limited. It is more probable that there were among the enslaved people many more Muslims or persons who had come into some contact with Islam in Africa, but their partial knowledge of the religion and its culture left them non-literate. It was either the literacy of the Muslims, a statement of their faith to Europeans, or their public recitation of prayers that attracted the attention of European owners and social observers.

It is very useful that the understanding of Caribbean history should have the benefit of analysts who know the Arabic language, together with Islamic religion and culture. It allows the researcher so equipped to spot data that another would miss, and to explain behaviours and artefacts in our Caribbean environment. However, the scholar so equipped needs also to master knowledge of African ethnography, linguistics, and history, or to invite the collaboration of persons with these skills to help access data and verify speculations. Needless to say, the scholar is expected to treat the region's history with greater sensitivity and fidelity to sources than displayed in the articles under scrutiny here. New knowledge should complement current scholarship and even overhaul misguided paradigms. The attempt to do the latter is not to be disparaged, but the data and the accompanying argumentation must be soundly based and credible. Indeed, one is disappointed that the cause of expanding Caribbean history in an under-researched direction, such as the historical role of Islam in the region, has not, in this instance, attracted a more reliable interpreter.

NOTES

1. "The Unsung Slaves: Islam in Plantation Jamaica" was a paper presented at the 25th Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians, Jamaica (1993), and published in *Caribbean Quarterly* 41, nos. 3-4 (1995): 30-44.
2. Published in Jamaica's *Sunday Gleaner*, 22 December 2002; 12 January 2003; 2 and 9 February 2003.
3. "From Moors to Marronage" is a typescript dated 19 February 1995, which formed the basis of several public lectures and newspaper articles in the *Gleaner* and was published in abbreviated form as "The Manifestation of *Tawid*" in *Caribbean Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1999): 27-40. "The *Jihad* of 1831-1832" appeared in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 21, no. 2 (2001): 227-243.

4. See Rev. George Bridges, *The Annals of Jamaica*, Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1828), 425-427.
5. A. Carmichael, *The Domestic Manners and the Social Condition of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies*, Vol. 1 (London: Whittaker, Treacher & Co.), 1833.
6. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners*, 251-252.
7. *Ibid.*, 252.
8. Philip Curtin, Table 46: "Slaves Imported into Jamaica, 1655-1807: A Speculative Approximation by Coastal Region of Origin", in his *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 160. Curtin reckons that 3.7 percent were imported from the Senegambia, 10.9 percent from Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast, 13.8 percent from the Bight of Benin, and 28.4 percent from the Bight of Biafra. Inclusion of the last two locations thus inflates the percentage from probable "Muslim areas" by 42.2 percent.
9. Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 48.
10. See Ivor Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States, 1500-1800", in J. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 344-386.
11. See A.P. Kup, *A History of Sierra Leone, 1400-1787* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 124, 154.
12. See Tables 2 and 4 in David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment" (paper presented to "Enslaving Connections: Africa and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade", an International Conference co-sponsored by the Department of History and the Nigerian Hinterland Project, York University, Toronto, Canada, 12-15 October 2000), 35, 38.
13. Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, 48.
14. See Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (London: McGibbon & Kee, 1967), 113-144.
15. See Philip Curtin, "Slaves Imported into Jamaica, 1655-1807"; Barry Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984); David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson and Herbert Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-Rom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
16. See Peter Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1982), 28-110.
17. See Lamin O. Sanneh, "Prayer, Dreams and Religious Healing", *The Jakhanké: The History of an Islamic Clerical People of the Senegambia* (London: International African Institute, 1979), 185-218.
18. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, 107.

19. See J. Suret-Canale, "The Western Atlantic Coast, 1600-1800", in J. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, 422; see also Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, 80-87.
20. Suret-Canale, "The Western Atlantic Coast", 397.
21. R.A. Adeyeye, "Hausaland and Bornu, 1600-1800", in J. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, Vol. 1, 489.
22. John Hunwick, "The Nineteenth Century Jihads", in J. Ade Ajayi & Ian Espie, eds., *A Thousand Years of West African History* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press and Nelson & Sons, 1965), 262-277.
23. See Wilks, "The Mossi and Akan States", 360.
24. Ibid., 384. For further information, see Nehemia Levtzion, "Islam in Ashanti", in *Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Pre-colonial Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 181-187.
25. See Samuel-Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* (1921; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 188-205; Abdullahi Smith, "A Little New Light on the Collapse of the Alafinate of Yoruba", in G.O. Olusanya, ed., *Studies in Yoruba History and Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor S.O. Biobaku* (Ibadan: University Press, 1983), 42-77. Clarke (*West Africa and Islam*, 106) indicates that in the late eighteenth century there was also a Muslim community of enslaved Hausa in the coastal town of Lagos in Yorubaland, which became caught up in politico-religious controversy there.
26. See Kenneth Bilby, "The Treacherous Feast: A Jamaican Maroon Historical Myth", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140 (1984): 1-31.
27. This was not peculiar to Jamaican Maroon communities. Maroons were perpetually on a war footing, and so had a hierarchy of warriors and a war council. Similar patterns to those developed in Jamaica were found in the *palenque* governed by Yanga, a Brong, near Vera Cruz in early seventeenth-century Mexico. His war captain was Angolan. In early eighteenth-century Matudere and San Basilio in Colombia there were also war captains serving under an acknowledged community leader. The same obtained in seventeenth-century Curiepe in Venezuela (see Jane Landers, "Cimarron Ethnicity and Cultural Adaptation in the Spanish Domains of the Circum-Caribbean, 1503-1763", in Paul Lovejoy, ed., *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* [London: Continuum, 2000], 30-54).
28. See, for instance, Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Trinidad Yoruba: From Mother Tongue to Memory* (1996; Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1997), 181-182; Hazel Carter, "'The Language of Kumina and Beele Play'. African Continuities in the Linguistic Heritage of Jamaica", in Maureen Warner-Lewis, ed., *African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Research Review* 3 (1996): 70-71.
29. Professor Paul Lovejoy, personal communication, 30 September, 2002.

30. For word lists of Jamaican Maroon language, see David Dalby, "Ashanti Survivals in the Language and Traditions of the Windward Maroons of Jamaica", *African Language Studies* 12 (1971): 31-51; Kenneth Bilby, "How the 'Older Heads' Talk: A Jamaican Maroon Spirit Possession Language and Its Relationship to the Creoles of Suriname and Sierra Leone", *New West Indian Guide* 57, nos. 1-2 (1983): 37-88. Dalby lists only one Arabic phrase, along with one Fula phrase, one Temne greeting, and one Limba word. All of these come from the Senegambia region. Dalby's findings may not, however, exhaust the inventory of Senegambian words in Maroon vocabulary.
31. "In forest politics the idioms of kinship were regularly used. For example, the villages of the fisherman's diaspora were referred to as mother villages and daughter villages. . . . Clusters consisted of four or five villages, often of roughly equal size, which established formal alliances bolstered by a fictional account of common descent. . . . Claims of common descent were expressed as a single, over-arching genealogy, which related to the core of each dominant house in a village. This fiction created inequality among villages by assigning putative seniority. Inequality was sometimes expressed in ritual, as ancestral shrines in a junior village had to be approved by the senior village" (Jan Vansina, "The Peoples of the Forest", in David Birmingham and Phyllis Martin, eds., *History of Central Africa*, Vol. 1 [Harlow: Longman, 1983], 91). In parallel fashion, among the Yoruba of West Africa, cultural and political links among its subgroups are explained and legitimized by the myth of descent from a common ancestor-king, and the historical bases of these interconnections are expressed in various rituals (see Oyin Ogunba, "Ceremonies", in S.O. Biobaku, ed., *Sources of Yoruba History* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973], 87-110).
32. See R.S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927); J.B. Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine of God: A Fragment of Gold Coast Ethics and Religion* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1944); J.H. Nketia, *Drumming in Akan Communities of Ghana* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1963).
33. Although I cannot confidently contend the Arabic etymology advanced by Afroz for the name of the Spanish governor at the time of the British invasion of Jamaica in 1655 ("The Manifestation of *Tawid*", 31), it should be noted that a comment by a Spanish contemporary, the Secretary of State, Leguia, implies it may be of Basque origin: the name Ysassi, he wrote, "was an honourable one in his Basque Province of Guipuzcoa" (J.L. Pietersz, "The Last Spanish Governor of Jamaica", *The Jamaican Historical Review* 1, no. 1 [1945]: 25). Thanks to Dr James Robertson for direction to this reference.
34. Unless the enslaved Africans were sourced from up-river locations eastward of the coast, they were likely to have been followers of various ethnically based religions rather than Islam, though it is possible that by the twelfth century hinterland peoples in the Senegambia had been converted to Islam or had experienced some contact with it.

35. A.C. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1444* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.
36. Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 172.
37. See, for example, Mervyn Alleyne, *The Construction and Representation of Race and Ethnicity in the Caribbean and the World* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 117.
38. The postures of deference in African societies do not match any of the four illustrated positions accompanying Afroz' work ("From Moors to Marorona", 32). It may be useful to note that Ibn Battuta, the Muslim Berber from Tangier, described the prostrations to the Muslim Mansa or king of Mali in 1352 as among the unorthodox behaviours he noted in this Muslim polity. Not only did the *mansa* address persons, even near to him, through a spokesman, but "If one of them addresses the sultan and the latter replies he uncovers the clothes from his back and sprinkles dust on his head and back, like one washing himself with water" (Rose Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986], 302). Furthermore, to speak to the king, "[i]ndividuals . . . removed their gowns and put on a dirty cap and ragged clothing. With their trousers raised above the knees, they advanced on all fours sprinkling dirt on their head and shoulders. They remained in this position of humility until, their business completed, they returned to their place in the crowd. If remarks were addressed to the assembled throng, everybody removed his turban" (G. T. Stride and Caroline Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires of West Africa: West Africa in History, 1000-1800* [London: Nelson, 1971], 56). These actions underlined the semi-divine status of the king. In the Kongo kingdom, the *mani* or king was approached by subjects and visitors kneeling, clapping their hands in front their face, rubbing their hands on the ground and then bringing their hands to their ears.
39. On the basis of living in West Africa for three years and visiting several countries in Southern Africa for one month.
40. See "The Order of Service for the Ordination and Consecration of the Reverend Canon Herman Victor Spence as Bishop in the Holy Catholic Church and Suffragan Bishop of Kingston" (11 November 1989), 9. Thanks to Professor Paul Reese for bringing this to my attention and making a copy of the service available.
41. In some seventeenth-century wills at the Island Record Office at Spanish Town, Jamaica, these words are written in very large and heavily inked letters. For the English practice of using this phrase, see Eve McLaughlin, *Wills before 1858* (Haddenham: Varneys Press, 2002), 8-9.
42. Cf. Eva Evers Rosander, "Introduction: The Islamization of 'Tradition' and 'Modernity'", in Eva Evers Rosander and David Westerlund, eds., *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounters between Sufis and Islamists* (London: Hurst & Co., 1997), 4.

43. Public Record Office (PRO), London, Colonial Office (CO) 137/181, Confession No. 10, "Papers Respecting Slave Insurrection". Thanks to Professor Verene Shepherd for making documents relating to the rebellion available to me.
44. George Liele and other African-Americans who evangelized in Jamaica are re-identified as Muslims thus: "The island's established church authorities regarded them to be Baptist missionaries promoting Christianity, which had elements of African religious beliefs", but the African-Americans "emphasized rituals and devotional practices which are common in Islam such as the recitation of the Qur'an, incantation (*dhikr*), music to attain spiritual fulfillment (*sama*), meditation, and retreats (*kalwa*). . . . Hence, Islam dominated the religious beliefs of these black missionaries" (Afroz, "The Jihad", 233, 234). One would wish to have evidence that the recitation of the Qur'an formed part of their practices, and since the other practices are found in other religious regimes, a case needs to be made out that their source was specifically Islamic.
45. Richard Robert Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship*, Vol. 2 (1835; Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 135.
46. Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 257. Unfortunately, Craton gives no source for this information, though CO137/185 does indicate that several persons were executed in Manchester in connection with the 1831-1832 uprising. The records give no dates for these executions.
47. CO137/137, "A Return of Every Slave Tried and Convicted by a Court Martial during the Late Rebellion in Jamaica, Parish of Manchester".
48. Given the frenzy of the time -- rebellious on the one hand, and punitive on the other -- there was little likelihood that time would have been wasted by the anti-slavery elements in seeking a translation of the document. "Justice" was quick and rough. There is other evidence of written/printed material being destroyed. M'Kinley recounts in Confession No. 9 of March 1832 a conspiratorial meeting between himself, Robert Gardner, and M'Lachlan, a free man, at which the following took place: "There was a paper or newspaper . . . upon the bench. M'Lachlan said, 'I will destroy this at once, for if any white person were to come here and see it, they would say directly that I had been setting on you people in this war'" (CO137/181, "Papers Respecting Slave Insurrection").
49. See Fairfield Q-11, Moravian Archives, at the Jamaica Archives, Conference at New Eden, 7 March 1832, Minutes of the Missions Conference, June 1831-December 1833, para. 4; see also John Ellis, 18 August 1832, *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren*, Vol. 12: 262.

50. For these details, see J.H. Buchner, *The Moravians in Jamaica: History of the Mission of the United Brethren's Church to the Negroes in the Island of Jamaica, from the Year 1754 to 1854* (London: Longman Brown, 1984), 100-107.
51. An analysis of Peart/Kaba's dual relationship with Islam and Christianity is offered in Maureen Warner-Lewis, "Religious Constancy and Compromise among Nineteenth Century Caribbean-based African Muslims" (paper prepared for the Conference on Slavery, Islam, and Diaspora, York University, Toronto, 24-26 September, 2003).
52. See João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (1986; trans. by Arthur Brakel. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 93-111 for the rise in the Muslim population in Bahia during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.
53. For the Yoruba presence in Jamaica, see Monica Schuler, "Alas, Alas Kongo": *A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 70, 80-83; Abiodun Adetugbo, "The Yoruba in Jamaica", in Maureen Warner-Lewis, ed., *African Continuities in the Linguistic Heritage of Jamaica*, *African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Research Review* 3 (1996): 41-65.
54. The contents of that notebook were discussed by Yacine Daddi Addoun and Paul Lovejoy in a paper on "The Arabic Manuscript of Muhammad Kaba Saghanughu of Jamaica, c. 1823" (Caribbean Culture Conference, Mona, Jamaica, 2002). In an unpublished revision of this article, "The Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in the Western Sudan: The Jamaican Saghanughu Connection" (2003), the authors depart from the earlier readings of Kaba's origin and now identify Kaba as a native of Bouaké in modern Ivory Coast, a Dyula whose family was involved in the kola nut trade, and a nephew of a significant Muslim cleric named Muhammad al-Mustafa ben al-'Abbas.
55. See Maureen Warner, "Africans in Nineteenth Century Trinidad", *African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletins* 5 (1972) and 6 (1973), and republished in Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Guinea's Other Suns: the African Dynamic in Trinidad* (Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press, 1991) where, for Muslims, see 16-19, 48-49, 67-70, 115-116.
56. See, for example, Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, Vol. 2 (1793; Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1806), 71-73.
57. Bath's religious community and his petitions were treated in Maureen Warner, "Language in Trinidad, with Special Reference to English" (MPhil thesis, University of York, England, 1967), 48-49. The 1834 petition is reproduced in Carlton Ottley, *Slavery Days in Trinidad: A Social History of the Island from 1797-1838* (Port of Spain: the author, 1974), 58-59. See also Carl Campbell, "John Mohammed Bath and the Free Mandingos in Trinidad: The Question of their Repatriation to Africa, 1831-38", *Journal of African Studies* 2, no. 4 (1975-76): 467-495.

58. See Carl Campbell, "Mohammedu Sisei of Gambia and Trinidad, c. 1788-1838", *African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletin* 7 (1974): 29-38.
59. Reproduced by Ivor Wilks, ed., "Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq of Timbuktu", in Philip Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 152-169.
60. See George Truman, John Jackson and Thomas Longstreth, *Narrative of a Visit to the West Indies in 1840 and 1841* (Philadelphia: Merrihew & Thompson, 1844), 110.

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