

**AS-SALAAMU-ALAIKUM:
THE MUSLIM MAROONS AND THE BUCRA MASSA IN JAMAICA**

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Introduction

As eight centuries of glorious Muslim rule folded in Andalusia Spain in 1492, Islam unfolded itself in the West Indian islands with the Andalusian Muslim mariners who piloted Columbus discovery entourage through the rough waters of the Atlantic into the Caribbean. Schooled in Atlantic navigation to discover and to dominate the sea routes for centuries, the mission for the Muslim mariners was to find the eternal peace of Islam as they left al-Andalus/Muslim Spain in a state of ‘empty husks’ and a land synonym for intellectual and moral desolation in the hands of Christendom Spain. The Islamic faith made its advent into Jamaica in 1494 as these Muslim mariners on their second voyage with Columbus set their feet on the peaceful West Indian island adorned with wooded mountains, waterfalls, sandy beaches and blue seas. The seed of Islam sown by the Mu’minun (the Believers of the Islamic faith) from al-Andalus gradually propagated through the enslaved African Muslims from West Africa brought to serve the plantation system in Jamaica. Their struggle or resistance (jihad) against the slave system often in the form of flight or run away (hijra) from the plantations led many of them to form their own community (ummah), known as Maroon communities, a feature then common in the New World plantation economy.¹ Isolationism and lack of Islamic learning made Islam oblivion in the Maroon societies, while the enslaved African Muslims on the plantations saw their faith being eclipsed and subdued by the slave institution, the metropolitan powers and the various Christian churches with their draconian laws.

Justification of Research

The present paper attempts to study the Islamic heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica. This is part of the greater research on Islam in Jamaica since Columbus. The history of the Maroons constitutes an important aspect of the historical study of Jamaica particularly because of the British recognition of their societies as separate entities beyond the jurisdiction of the British colonial government through the conclusion of formal ‘victory’ treaties and their continuance into the present. However, there is much misinformation, misconception and misrepresentation regarding Jamaican Maroons who were the first to inflict a military defeat upon the British in the New World. Uniqueness in Maroon communities continues to draw the attention of numerous researchers but distortions continue to abound in Maroon history. Because of the lack of adequate knowledge in Islam and the absence of any written documents by the historical Maroons, the researchers fall prey to the corrupt and inaccurate primary sources in the form of official documents, biased eyewitnesses’ accounts or stories of planter historians, which were almost all biased and written from their ethnocentricity and coloured by their economic interests. Furthermore, with the passage of time and the penetration of Western culture into Maroon societies, oral history and testimonies offered by present day Maroons have little historical value pertaining to the authentic cultural heritage of the historical Maroons. The absence of literary archaeology and the lack of proper analyses of oral history due to the general dearth of scholarship in Maroon communities have also created

room for distortions in Maroon history. The Islamic heritage of the Maroons has not been studied, despite all the indications that Blacks brought directly to the West Indies from Spain were of Moorish background and that the majority of the enslaved Africans brought to Jamaica, came from Muslim dominated West Africa. Without a properly reconstructed history of the Maroons in Jamaica, the history of Jamaica remains incomplete.

The presence of Islam in the form of existing historical institutions and vernacular culture in predominantly Black Christian Maroon communities in Jamaica is an eye opener to researchers with Islamic background to unearth the story of the Muslim Maroons of al-Andalusia Spain and West African heritage. The stories of the Moorish Muslim mariners and the enslaved Moors have been overshadowed by the fabricated myths of Columbus discovery of the Americas in Jamaican and West Indian history. While ethnicity of the enslaved Africans dominated the nature and scope of previous scholarship, Islam, which was the predominant religion of these people and, which overshadowed varied traditional cultures forms the basis of this research.

New Research Methodology

Islam does not believe in symbolism. Therefore, Islamic archeological evidence in the form of artifacts should not be the primary measuring tool to ascertain the authenticity of the Islamic heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica. To a Muslim, the whole world is a house of worship. The absence of a masjid, which is a formal house of worship for the Muslims, as an archaeological evidence cannot be used as an argument to refute the Islamic heritage of the Jamaican Maroons. Even the presence of the Holy Qur'an as a literary archaeological evidence is not a necessity given the prevailing conditions of the Maroon communities in the midst of the plantation system. The memorization of the Holy Qur'an is a traditional practice for the preservation of the Holy Revelation within the hearts of Muslims. The presence of Islamic scholars—*ulemas* (teachers) and *marabouts* and *imams* (prayer leaders) is the essence for the practice and propagation of Islamic knowledge to the succeeding generations. Consequently, the authenticity of Islamic heritage can be established from the analytical study of the prevailing cultural practices within the Maroon societies, which fall within the framework of Islam. The universality of Islamic principles will allow a careful observer to recognize the Islamic faith even in the few and scanty evidences left in the form of cultural heritages and oral testimony. Contrary to Christianity, where different denominations follow different versions of the Bible, and the polytheists who are believers of many gods and spirits, Islam is a religion of *The Holy Qur'an*, the authenticity and purity of which has been maintained since its revelation in the seventh century. All actions of a Muslim must conform to the Qur'anic guidance and the practical applications of the Qur'anic principles by the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Hence, there is no room for manipulation of evidence or creation of myth based on superstitions or imagination.ⁱⁱ The use of Qur'anic terms, Islamic salutation, Islamic governance, Muslim names, and Islamic actions are indicative of the strong Islamic faith of the historical Maroons. These cultural practices are fundamental to understanding the Islamic heritage of both the windward and leeward Maroon communities in Jamaica.

The Genesis of Islam in West Indian/Jamaican History

The dominance of Islam in al-Andalusia for almost eight hundred years until the fall of the last Muslim kingdom of Granada in 1492, and the significant impact of Islam in the formation of societies and states in West Africa as early as the tenth century, i.e. long before the commencement of the Atlantic slave trade make it imperative to study the history and heritage of Jamaica from an Islamic perspective.

For almost eight centuries, Muslim Spain ‘set to all Europe a shining example of a civilized and enlightened State’.ⁱⁱⁱ Stanley Lane Poole, in his classic book *The Story of the Moors in Spain*, writes:

Students flocked from France and Germany and England to drink from the fountains of learning which flowed only in the cities of the Moors...Mathematics, astronomy and botany, history, philosophy and jurisprudence were to be mastered in Spain, and Spain alone.^{iv}

The grandeur and vitality of the Andalusian civilization, however, could not be contained or extinguished by the Christian Crusaders through policies of destruction, forceful conversion, expulsion or exile of the Moors from Spain. Muslim Spain, with its wisdom of philosophy, culture and above all its achievement in shipbuilding and navigation, could not be ignored by Columbus nor by his financier Queen Isabella of Castile when he set sail in 1492 to discover the routes to the East.^v Andalusian Muslim sailors used such instruments as the globe, astrolabe, pivoted-needle compass, and maps. Fourteenth-century maps alluding to mythical Atlantic islands--Brendan, St.Ursula, and Brazil--were the works of Portuguese Moorish refugees in the eight-century.^{vi} “Eighty percent of the history of cartography until the 18th century dates from the medieval Islamic period”.^{vii}

The presence of a Morisco pilot on Columbus’ lead boat and of several Moorish sailors in Columbus entourage underscores the dominant role Muslim mariners played in navigating through the Atlantic and into the Caribbean archipelago in 1492.^{viii} Evidence further suggests that almost all the enlisted men—stewards, boatswains, caulkers, able seamen and ‘gromets’, or ship’s boys—were from towns of Andalusia, like Seville, Cordova and Jerez de la Frontera.^{ix} Even Columbus’s logbook, i.e. the abridgement of it by Las Casas, “actually starts in Granada”, the last Muslim Kingdom to fall into the hands of Christendom Spain in 1492.^x

The Spanish slave trade to the West Indies initiated not from West Africa, but from Spain by the King of Spain on 3 September 1503.^{xi} The policy of forceful expulsion or exile of the Moorish captives at a time when economic wealth and manpower was limited worked in favour of the Spanish government to export them to its new colonies where the need for labour was acute. The directive of 1521 whereby the Spanish government tried to contain marronage by prohibiting the inclusion of Negroes in the voyages of discovery and conquest, as they were believed to be encouraging slaves to run away is indicative of the importance of the Moors as part of the discovery and conquest entourage long after Columbus. In short, Moors came to the Americas as *conquerors* and *discoverers* besides slaves. Furthermore, it implies the existence of a Moorish Islamic community in the New World since the coming of Columbus.^{xii}

The Enslaved Muslims from West Africa

Recent scholarship on the Atlantic slave trade has revealed that the total number of enslaved Africans brought to the Americas is likely to be more than twenty million.^{xiii} Sylviane A. Diouf, writing on the Muslim slaves in the Americas, conclusively asserts: “Therefore, if counted as a whole, on a religious basis rather than on an ethnic one the Muslims were probably more numerous in the Americas than any other group among the arriving Africans”.^{xiv} For Jamaica from 1655 to 1807, Philip Curtin in his work on slave census, proposes 423,900 Africans from Muslim dominated areas, representing 56.8 percent of the arrivals.^{xv}

Islam had cut across ethnic lines, social classes and state boundaries in West Africa—Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Mali, Benin, Ghana, and Nigeria—(incorporating Madinka, Fula, Susu, Ashanti, Hausa and other nations) from as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, i.e. long before the slave trade.^{xvi} Islam in these kingdoms was first diffused by the migration of Muslim merchants, teachers, and agricultural settlers. Muslim communities were established within small-scale regional states and in stateless societies by trading networks, family connections, teacher-student and Sufi fellowship.^{xvii} The Muslims sometimes formed peaceful minorities in non-Muslim societies such as the Ashanti Empire. In cases such as Kano, Katsina, Takrur and Bornu the local chiefs accepted Islam as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries and Muslims established a joint elite of cleric-warrior rulers and merchants. In many of the small Sudanic states, Muslim rulers established their authority on Islam but allowed the co-existence of the non-Muslim cultural heritage of their people. Bornu, Kano, Jenne and Timbuktu became centres of Islamic scholarship, imparting Qur’anic, hadith, and legal studies supplemented by studies in linguistics, history, mathematics, and astronomy.^{xviii} Islam also had profound influence throughout West Africa through Muslim scholarly lineages such as the Kunta, Saghanughu and Jakhanke, who were closely linked with the Qadiriya Sufi brotherhood by shared religious and intellectual traditions.^{xix}

The opening of the Akan gold fields, and the opportunity for trade in gold, kola nuts, and salt attracted Muslim merchants, known as Dyula in the Voltaic River basin in the fifteenth centuries. The Dyula Muslim communities belonging to the Saghanughu scholarly lineage were also found in the Guinean forests where they offered their religious services to local chiefs. The Muslims of the Ashanti capital of Kumasi who were of Akan ethnicity acted as agents for the Ashanti princes in the gold, kola nut, and salt trade, and served Ashanti rulers as diplomats, bureaucrats, courtiers, soldiers, and religious functionaries.

The existence of Muslim communities in West Africa for centuries have left an indelible mark in these traditional African societies many of which have made their appearances in the New World through the enslaved African Muslims. Writing on the influence of Islam in West Africa, an African scholar from Senegal, Sylviane Diouf asserts:

...contrary to what is sometimes asserted, Islam was not superficially implanted in West Africa. It was deeply rooted and for that reason could withstand deportation. During slavery, on both sides of the Atlantic,

Africans were devout Muslims, sincere believers, strict practitioners, and active agents in the development and shaping of their religious and cultural world.^{xx}

The Establishment of Muslim Moorish Communities in Jamaica

Since the prohibition of 1521 applied to all the new territories of Spain it is likely that Muslim Moorish communities had already been established in Jamaica by 1523, when the first set of African slaves arrived in the island. 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. Given the Islamic background of the Moors, it would be very likely that these free Moors and the Moorish fugitives in Jamaica were of the Islamic faith.

Some of the uncertainties regarding the ethnic background of the Maroon leaders at the time of the British conquest can be clarified to some extent by an analytical study of their names.^{xxi} The end of Islam in Granada as a public religion in 1499 was the beginning of crypto-Islam, whereby crypto-Muslims tried to reconcile the secret practice of Islam with the outward profession of Christianity, often in the form of accepting Christian names.^{xxii} Apparently, Moors with leadership skills were appointed to positions of trust at a time when political and military leaderships were scarce in the Spanish colonial empire in the New World. Don Christophal Arnolde de Ysassi believed to be a Jamaican born Spaniard was appointed the governor of Jamaica by the Spanish King in 1655 during the British invasion of the island and Don Francisco de Leyba was the Spanish lieutenant general of Jamaica. Ysassi is the corruption of the Arabic term *ysassa*, meaning ruler while Leyba in Arabic means intelligent or lioness. Their surnames suggest of their Moorish origin. Evidently, they enjoyed the loyalty of the black settlements in Jamaica.^{xxiii} Despite the numerical strength of the British with their superior weaponry, the defensive fight put up by Ysassi's contingent was reported to have caused heavy casualties to the British and caused alarm among the conquering forces of the uncertainties of their hold over Jamaica.^{xxiv} The British officers appealed to soldiers and planters from the other islands to come to their assistance because they feared that they would not be able to keep the place for long.^{xxv} Ysassi, however, eventually had to flee to Cuba with most of his men in the face of stiff British opposition and with almost no or very little Spanish assistance coming from Cuba. Perhaps, the Spaniards in Cuba feared that military help extended to Christopher de Ysassi might lead to the formation of an independent black state of Jamaica and challenge the established status quo of the plantocracy in the New World.

Among the early Spanish Maroon leaders, Yuan de Bola^{xxvi} and Yuan de Serras^{xxvii} stand out prominent in terms of their political, military and diplomatic skills in dealing with the British while at the same time displayed their ingenuity in protecting and safeguarding the freedom of their communities. Bola, a name common among the people of Yoruba, in Arabic means the 'respectable'. Bola commanded the respect of one of the biggest settlement of free Negroes of Moorish origin, of about one hundred and fifty positioned on the south side of the island in the Clarendon Mountains. It is commonly believed that he extended his support to Ysassi in the defense of Jamaica against the British. The British authorities in Jamaica recognized the freedom of Bola and his people with 30

acres of land to anyone 18 years old and above. Such an accord with the Spanish Maroons who were experienced and acquainted with the mountainous terrain of Jamaica was conducive to British authorities in their efforts to establish themselves in the island. Yuan de Serras was the leader of the Karmahalys band of Maroons settled on the windward side of the island, which is regarded to be the nucleus of the Spanish Maroons and they posed the greatest threat to the British within 10 years of British conquest of Jamaica. Serras, a corruption of the Arabic term Sarra, meaning happiness, may have been a Spanish Creole, a creolized black, or a Moor from Spain. Serras was a man of extraordinary ability.^{xxviii} Apparently, he had established an efficient and disciplined organization based on a hierarchical ordering similar to those founded by the Muslim rulers in al-Andalus and in the early Caliphate days, rather than modeled on European feudalism. Although a warrior himself, he carried the title of governor, like most rulers did during the Caliphate rule. His governorship also suggests that he had the authority to govern both the civil and military aspects of his administration. The position of a sergeant general, who was the next in command, is indicative of the importance of the military force. Serras governed his people with consensual authority, known in Arabic as *shura* or consultation. Such governance was still unknown to Europeans but long established and practiced by the Muslim rulers in al-Andalusia for over eight hundred years and in the Islamic world, as enjoined by the *Holy Quran*, which says: “And their government is by counsel among themselves.”^{xxix} Here the government with a council has been emphasized. The *Holy Qur’an* makes it compulsory to take counsels from the ministers by commanding: “take counsel from them in the affair.”^{xxx} “Give to one another counsels of goodness and piety.”^{xxxi} The policy of consensual leadership apparently made the Karmahalys more united against their enemies, the British. Recognition of talents and his consultation with the people on their wants further helped Serras to promote the freedom and equality of the people.

Subsequent to 1655, these Muslim Moorish communities became refuge to the growing number of enslaved African Muslims who resorted to the flight (*hijra*) from servitude to establish their own communities (*ummah*) in inhospitable and inaccessible areas to preserve their Islamic faith, i.e. the Deen of Islam. The terms *deen* and *dunya* are Qura’nic words, which form an integral part of the vocabulary of some of the elderly Maroons in Mooretown, Portland. Islam commands its followers to flee from oppressive institutions and oppressors, if they lacked power or protection and were treated with severe violence and great humiliation.^{xxxii} The Prophet Muhammad (SAW) exemplified this practice of flight or migration, at first, when he sent a group of Muslim men and women from Makkah to Abyssinia in 615 AD, so that they could practice their faith without persecution and secondly, when he undertook his own flight (*hijra*) from Makkah to Madinah to free his infant Muslim community from the persecution of the pagan Makkans in 622 AD^{xxxiii}.

The 80-year struggle (*jihad*) initiated by Moorish Maroon leaders, Yuan de Bola and Yuan de Serras in response to repeated British attacks on their communities was subsequently carried out by the Maroons of West African Islamic heritage culminating with the British colonial peace offer and the conclusion of treaties in 1739 first with Cudjoe/ Kwadjoe and then by Quwah/ Quao on behalf of the leeward and windward

Maroons, respectively. The prolonged guerilla war against the then world's mightiest forces illustrates the faithfulness and the steadfastness of the Muslim Maroons to bring an end to the oppressive slave system and establish the dignity of the soul.

Freedom in Islam is a natural right of man, a spiritual privilege, a moral prerogative, and above all, a religious duty. The individual's right of freedom is as sacred as his right of life; hence freedom is the equivalent of life itself. Above all, the Islamic principles of equality and brotherhood negate the basis of slavery. The existence of the slave system was an antithesis to the concept of Islamic freedom.

Evidence in the form of oral testimonies and political and cultural practices suggest that the Maroon leadership was of Islamic background and of Akhan ethnicity. The Arabic names *Kwadjoe* (invariably spelt as Kojo, Cudjoe and Cajoe) meaning 'humble' or 'humility', and his brother Ghani, denoting self-sufficiency, further strengthen the argument of their Muslim background. *Ghani* is one of the attributes of Allah, The Self-sufficient, and is a common name among Muslims throughout the world, including Muslims of Akhan origin. Apparently, the Anglo-Saxon corruption of Ghani rather than Gyani is Johnny. The names Cuffee and Quao, the two Maroon leaders from the windward are also suggestive of Islamic background. Quao invariably spelt as Quoha, Quaba, Quoba, Quaco and Quaw by contemporary authorities, such as Philip Thickensse, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica and in official documents seems to be a corruption of the Arabic word *quwah*. The term '*Quwah*' denotes one of the attributes of Allah, The Strong. Cuffee who was the other windward Maroon leader is also a Qur'anic word used to specify another attribute of Allah, The Sufficient. The Maroon leaders referred to each other as brothers. Present Maroon leaders claim that they were all brothers and Granny Nanny, the Jamaican Maroon heroine, was their sister.^{xxxiv}

The Islamic Act of Prostration/Sajdah

Cudjoe's power of endurance and his conspicuous worship of Allah are manifested by his act of prostration on the occasion of the peace offer. This behaviour, of utmost humility, in appreciation of the reward of victory from Allah speaks of the inherent Arabic meaning of Cudjoe or Kwadjoe, 'humbleness'. Furthermore, the act is in accordance with the Qur'anic command: "When success crowns your efforts, even then is the time to humble yourselves before Allah/ God, in sincere witness to His Love"(**The Holy Qur'an, Surat Hadid**). Prostration by the faithful in adoration of the Divine as *Surat Sajdah* in **The Holy Qur'an** suggests "contains not only a prophecy relating to the immediate triumph of Islam but also another relating to the distant future". This posture of prostration performed by Cudjoe, which is the highest manifestation of humility and self-surrender to Allah was misinterpreted and ridiculed by the contemporary eyewitness, R. C. Dallas, the author of *The History of the Maroons*, and by all subsequent historians and researchers who relied on his work. There is no official record depicting such a behaviour on the part of Cudjoe nor did Colonel John Guthrie or Captain Francis Sadler who made the peace offer on behalf of the British colonial authorities write on this ignoble act. The Maroons have ever since rejected the account of R.C. Dallas describing

the ignoble act of Cudjoe of throwing himself on the ground, embracing British officer's legs, kissing his feet, and asking his pardon.^{xxxv} They have consistently maintained that Cudjoe, the indisputable warrior leader who had never proposed submission but offers of peace had been made to him, could not have acted in a disreputable manner.^{xxxvi} By his own account, Dallas who despised the Maroons has admitted that Maroon war tactics were "embarrassing" to the British officers who served in the campaigns against the Maroons. He further went on to say, "Negroes defied the choicest troops of one of the greatest nations in the world, kept an extensive country in alarm."^{xxxvii} Apparently, British acknowledgement of Maroon victory through the conclusion of formal treaties is an embarrassment for Dallas to confess.

Furthermore, Cudjoe never proposed submission, but offers of peace had been made to him. What is explicable is that Cudjoe immediately prostrated on the ground to thank Allah for the peace offer. This is implied in the same account, which says, "The rest of the Maroons, following the example of their chief, prostrated themselves..."^{xxxviii} This indicates that Cudjoe acted as the prayer leader (imam) and the other Maroons followed him, a format followed by Muslims while performing prayers. By this act of prostration, all the limbs—forehead, two hands, two knees, two ends of feet and nose—are brought to submission. This posture of prostration performed by Cudjoe in glorification or seeking Divine favours seems to have been misinterpreted and ridiculed by Dallas. Dallas account reveals the fossilization of his soul and his inadequacies of appreciation of the Creator.

In the Name of God, Amen

The Islamic act of prostration is in conformity with the pious beginning of the Maroon Treaty of 1739 signed by Cudjoe. The Maroon Treaty of March 1, 1738/9 begins "In the name of God, Amen" which in Qur'anic term is *Bismillah*, i.e. "In the Name of Allah".^{xxxix} All actions of a Muslim should begin with *Bismillah* to ensure good and meritorious conduct. The Believer with such a beginning submits himself/herself to the Creator. The genesis of *Bismillah* in Islam can be found in the revelation of The Holy Qur'an to Prophet Muhammad through Angel Gabriel, which began with "Read: In the name of thy Lord and Cherisher, Who created, Created man from a clot" (*The Holy Qur'an*, Surat Al-Ikraa). This pious beginning undoubtedly speaks of the Islamic faith of Cudjoe and the other leeward Maroon leaders who must have insisted upon its inclusion before signing the agreement. Such an introduction to a treaty or contract was never the precedent in Christendom.^{xl} Critics who refute this have only been able to cite such a practice of a pious beginning in the Christendom from Scottish and Jamaican wills, which date from the 19th century and at the start of an Oath of Obedience taken by the Bishop-elect at ordination in the Anglican Church in November 1989.^{xli}

Under Cudjoe's leadership, the Maroons for forty-seven years (1690-1739) harassed the country, "causing the expenditure of at least two hundred and forty thousand pounds, and the enactment of forty-four different laws".^{xlii} The constant fear, the loss of British troops and the financial cost of repeated campaigns had finally led the British authorities to conclude formal peace treaties. In short, the Maroon Treaty was a British acknowledgement of Maroon victory. Evidently, the British offer of peace put Cudjoe on higher grounds to adequately safeguard the Maroon interests. The Maroon Treaty was not

imposed on the Maroons as they were never defeated but was a ‘negotiated’ Treaty. In short, this was an acknowledgement of Maroon victory and the first defeat of the Red Coats in the Americas in the hands of people who are referred to in the archival records as *nuisance* Negroes. The meeting of the British military officers with Maroon leaders in what was known as Maroon territory and the second conference between the British officials and Cudjoe resulting in a solution of “differences” are indicative of the superior military position of the Maroons and of Cudjoe’s skilful negotiations. The Maroon Treaty which bears Cudjoe’s mark and by which the British subsequently controlled the Maroons in terms of their political conduct, and their social and cultural practices has been rejected by the Maroons as an amended and altered version of the agreed terms to the detriment of the Maroons.^{xliii}

The order of succession of Maroon leadership, as stated in the Maroon treaty, signed by Cudjoe, furthermore, speaks of the unity and the prevailing consensus among the Muslim Maroons in Jamaica, hence the peace offer to prevent a monumental revolution.^{xliv} The pervasiveness of the Islamic faith and the extent of Muslim Maroon hold over the island is demonstrated by their settlements from the hills stretching from Clarendon and the Cockpit country of St. Elizabeth and Trelawny to the Blue Mountain ridges of St. Thomas in the east. Throughout this expanse mountainous terrain are Maroon towns and communities bearing Islamic names such as *Yallahs*, *Moore Town* and the Kingdom of *Malakuta*. The revolution of the Muslim Maroons in Jamaica, perhaps, would have changed the course of the history of the Western Hemisphere creating not only the first Black Muslim independent country in the Western World, but also would have been the precursor to both the American and Haitian Revolutions, and a direct threat to the New World plantation economy upon which depended the industrialization of England and Europe.

The Colonial Policy of Divide and Rule

The conclusion of the first Maroon Treaty with Cudjoe did not bring comfort and a sense of security to the colonial authorities. British distrust and fear of the presence of Maroon communities under a common leadership who were “considered as almost unconquerable” led them to pursue their colonial policy of *divide and rule*, against the Maroons subsequent to the Maroon Treaty of March 1 1738/9. Consequently, the Jamaican authorities concluded a separate treaty with the windward Maroons signed by Qawah on June 23, 1739, apparently, to bring an end to the island-wide common Maroon leadership and to further isolate Nanny, the military strategist, political advisor and the spiritual leader of the Maroons who was opposed to the Maroon Treaty. Apprehension among the ruling authorities that Jamaica could never feel safe as long as the impenetrable and rebellious Maroon communities remained in its midst led to the Second Maroon War of 1795 waged against the Maroons of Trelawny Town with the help of Accompong Maroons during the Haitian Revolution in fear of a similar revolution in Jamaica. The end of the Trelawny War saw the deportation of most of the Trelawny Maroons against treaty stipulations, at first to Nova Scotia and finally to Sierra Leon. Trelawny Town saw the rapid Christianization of the community following the end of the war.

Despite the fact that the Maroon Treaties came under the surveillance of the British through the presence of the white superintendents, the British recognition of the Maroon societies as separate entities beyond the jurisdiction of the British colonial government allowed the historical Maroons to continue with their established Islamic way of life, which found expression in their governance and cultural imperatives. The confession of Bryan Edwards made at the British Parliamentary debate that the “blessings of Christianity” could not enter the Maroon communities strengthens the argument that Islam was the force bringing the diverse ethnic runaway Africans into one cohesive *ummah*, self-sufficient in provision and ammunition and almost impossible to penetrate. The claim made by the present day cockpit Maroons of Flagstaff, St. James of their descent from the Black Moors of Ghana authenticates the Islamic faith of the historical Maroons.^{xlv} They have renamed their community as the Kingdom of Malakuta, a Qur’anic term, meaning the Dominion of Allah.^{xlvi} Although, unaware of its Islamic origin and meaning, the Maroons of Flagstaff wants to give a practical application of the term, which they had for long treasured it in their soul.

The *Jumu’ah* Hole: The Establishment of Prayer

The *Jumu’ah* hole in Accompong, in the parish of St. Elizabeth best exemplifies Cudjoe’s conformity with Islam.^{xlvii} It is suggestive of the establishment of prayer by Cudjoe in accordance with the objective of the Islamic state: “Believers are those who, if We establish them (with power) in the land, establish the system of worship (salat) and zakat and enjoin right and forbid evil” (*The Holy Qur’an, Surat Hajj*). The word *Jumu’ah* is commonly referred to Friday congregational prayer, which takes the place of the *Zuhr* (mid-day) prayer. The special theme of *Surat Jumu’ah* is the need for weekly mutual contact of both the ignorant and the learned in the community for worship and understanding the Message, i.e. the Holy Qur’an so that the congregates may be purified and may learn wisdom. The *Jumu’ah* Hole is a sealed ground to outsiders and typifies prayer grounds in Muslim communities. The *Jumu’ah* Hole symbolizes the Islamic belief that the whole world is a house of worship for the Muslims and dismisses the importance of having archaeological evidence in the form of a formal house of worship for the Muslim Maroons or for the enslaved Muslims working on the plantations to authenticate their Islamic heritage. The importance of *Jumu’ah* prayer even among the windward Maroons is further authenticated by the traditional song *Mama Jumu’ah* sung by present day windward Maroons.

Assalaamu Alaikum: Adoption of Islamic *Aadaab*/Etiquette of Greeting and Meeting

Oral tradition suggests that the historical Maroons of Moore Town adopted the universal Islamic *aadaab* (etiquette) of greeting and meeting. Moore Town is built on land granted by the British to Granny Nanny in 1740. The universal Islamic greeting *As-Salaamu-Alaikum*, meaning ‘peace be upon you’, still continues as the official Council greeting among the Council members in Moore Town.^{xlviii} The present Maroon Councillors are unaware of the significance of the greeting in Islam and consider it as a traditional greeting adopted by the historical Maroons and therefore to be adhered to with respect. The existence of such an Islamic tradition, which is confined to the Muslims, leaves no room for further argument on the authenticity of the Islamic heritage of the historical

Maroon leadership in Moore Town, including Nanny under whose directives the Maroon Council was formed for the community.^{xlix} The Islamic greeting identifies a Muslim community from a non-Muslim community. The greeting is derived from the word *As-Salaam*, an attribute of Allah, denoting that the Creator is the Source of Peace. In Islam, a non-Muslim should be greeted with *Assalamo-Ala-Manittaba'al Huda*, i.e. "Peace be on him who performed allegiance."^l

As-Sofa House: The Islamic Meeting Ground

An archaeological evidence of Islamic heritage among the Maroons is the *As-Suffah House*. Maroon celebration at Charles Town, Portland is held at *As-Safo House*, a distortion of *As-Suffah*, an Arabic word, used in reference to 'a long bench'.^{li} The meeting ground of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) with his companions at Madinah was called *As-Suffah*. The long wooden benches used to seat the companions were called *as-suffah*. *Suffah*, is one of the hundreds of Arabic loan words in the English language, and is spelt in English as *sofa*. The term is used to describe modern day couch or divan. The *As-Safo House* located near Captain Quao's village was a common meeting ground for prayers and other social activities. Although the name *As-Safo House* in Charles Town suggests the structure of a house, it is an open ground, round in shape and fenced off by wooden planks. Wooden benches surround the interior fence of the *As-Safo House* while the main ground is empty suggesting the prayer place for the community members.

Granny Nanny Blessed with *Karamat*

Although popularly called Granny Nanny, her real name according to oral tradition was *Sarah*, which resonates the Qur'anic name of the wife of Prophet Ibrahim/Abraham.^{lii} Since Judaism and Christianity are the two other Abrahamic religions, besides Islam, the name *Sarah* is also common in the Judeo-Christian world. The Jews and Christians are regarded to be People of the Books (Revelations) in Islam. Apparently, Granny Nanny, considered by the Maroons as the most illustrious woman who never lost a battle with the British, had the commanding ability in the battlefield as well as the political acumen to unite the community. The name Nanny Town perhaps is indicative of her leadership and the respect she earned from her people. Because much mystery shrouds around Nanny for her military genius, scholars in West Indian history have reinforced myths that Nanny was a witch practicing witchcraft.

From an Islamic perspective, one who strives in the way of Allah for His Cause, whether male or female is blessed with *karamat* or favours from Allah. The *Torah*, the *Bible* and the *Holy Qur'an* all encapsulate how Prophet Moses' (AW) prayers to The Creator to help him confront the Pharaoh was answered when the stick of Moses turned into a creeping serpent. The miracles of Prophet Jesus (AW) and Prophet Muhammad (SAW) are endless. The devotion and dependence of Granny Nanny on Allah in the struggle against the slave system, and the establishment of Divine Guidance were, perhaps, answered by favours or miracles. Historians regard the miracles attributed to Nanny as Ashanti-inspired system of belief *obeah* or *obi* and that she called upon *Nyankypon* (*Yankypon*), the Creator God, to save the Maroons from extinction.^{liii} '*Nyankypon*', apparently, is believed to be the Koromantee term for the Supreme Creator like the Muslims of Yoruba say *Oba-Aseda/God Who Created*, in reference to Allah and the Muslims in Iran often call Allah,

‘*Khoda*’ In English language, Muslims use the term God in reference to Allah, but certainly does not mean Jesus Christ. If Nyankypon were the Creator God it would seem that the reference is of the Supreme Creator--Allah and obviously not of Jesus Christ, as the historical Maroons did not associate themselves with Christianity. Furthermore, calling upon the Creator God would certainly mean that Nanny was not an animist or a polytheist.

Islamic Family Practices

The fragmentary evidence regarding family structures among Maroon communities is suggestive of Islamic practices. Although polygamy practiced among the Maroons has been seen by historians as an African custom, in Islam, polygamy is allowed under specific circumstances. Monogamy is the general rule in Islam, while polygamy is the exception, particularly in the aftermath of war when widows or orphaned girls need protection. The Maroon communities it would appear, had more women and children than men who were either abducted from the plantations or escaped and was provided protection by the Maroons.^{liv} To contain social ills, such as prostitution and to enlarge their communities, the Maroon men would appear to have followed the Islamic prescription which permits polygamy but limits it to four. There is no accurate account as to the number of wives a Maroon man had. That the Maroons despised the unlawful sexual pleasures carried out in the plantations is exemplified by the severity of the punishment meted out to those committing adultery as required under *Qur’anic* laws. While adulteresses were severely punished in Cudjoe’s community, in Nanny Town an adulterer was not spared but put to death, even if it happened to be the headman.^{lv} Adultery or fornication has been expressly made unlawful by the Almighty Allah as otherwise the society would be reduced to chaos and disorder.^{lvi} The *Holy Qur’an* proclaims: “And come not near adultery. Lo! it is an abomination and an evil way.”^{lvii}

Typical of Muslim societies, the security of women and children were of utmost importance to the Maroon leadership. Repeated British retaliation against the Maroon communities put women, children, and dependents at great risks. To protect women who are regarded as the pride and honour of the family in Muslim societies and children who are the forbearers of future generations, Granny Nanny took the lead to create a safe hideout for them. During hostilities, women and children were located in this safe haven commonly known as ‘Woman Town’, located not far from Moore Town but in the inaccessible high slopes of the Blue Mountains.^{lviii}

During the Trewlawny Town War, or commonly called the Second Maroon War in Jamaica, the Maroons had concealed their women and children in impenetrable retreats, which had sufficient provision. Such a phenomenon in historical Maroon communities at times of war is reminiscent of women’s quarter or women’s domain in many Muslim societies, often referred to as the ‘*harem*’ to protect the women from outside intruders.^{lix} The concept of harem became more prominent in Muslim societies when they came under the wrath of European colonialism.

The Islamic Dress

Nowhere is the Islamic dress best exemplified than in Maroon communities on occasions of special celebrations such as the annual anniversary of Maroon victory against the British on the 6th of January. Attired in Islamic dress, the male leadership, particularly in Accompong and Moore Town lead all important festivities. Likewise, the headgear worn by the men is not a western cap or a hat but an Islamic cap embroidered to complement the dress. Islam adheres to modest dress codes for men and women and the traditional dress of non-Muslim Africans are different from those of the Muslims. In pre-Islamic societies the mode of dress was the wrapping of fabrics such as the *dhoti* for men and *sari* for women in India, the *lungi* (men's skirt) commonly worn in South and Southeast Asia, *kimono* in Japan and the *toga* of the Romans. With the spread of Islam in Africa, Asia and Europe, Muslims introduced stitched clothing.

The Penetration of Bukra Culture in Maroon Communities

The Maroon communities subjected to colonial supervision once the treaties were signed could no longer maintain the authentic Islamic culture and heritage. Christian churches and western culture followed political presence. With the passage of time and death of the generation of historical Maroons, the culture of the bukra/bucra found home within the Maroon communities. The Qur'anic Command: "Forbidden unto you (for food) are carrion and blood and swine-flesh, and that which hath been dedicated unto any other than Allah..." (*The Holy Qur'an*, Surat Maidah, 5:3), strictly adhered to by the historical Maroons gave way to pork eating among the succeeding generations. Clause seven in the Windward Treaty which required that "Captain Quao will order his people to let the Inhabitants (white) Hunters have the hog" in Maroon territory suggests that hogs were a forbidden item of food for Quao's people.

The Manifestation of Tawhid—the Unity of Allah

The Islamic concept of freedom was the basis of the Maroon struggle against slavocracy. The Maroon communities, both in Accompong, in the Leeward and in Moore Town in the Windward areas, are not ethnically homogeneous, but consist of various ethnic groups, such as Yorubas, Coromantine, Hausa, Akan and Fulani. The Islam united the heterogeneous society to form the Muslim *ummah* apparently to fight against the oppressor, *bucra*. The word *bucra*, the corruption of the Arabic word *baqarah* or cow, is commonly used by Muslims to denote the fossilization of the human beings characterized by an animal attitude towards fellow human beings. While the planters found comfort in being called 'bucra massa', which they thought meant 'white master', the Maroons and slaves amused themselves in such mockeries. Self-sufficiency, as *Surat Al-Baqarah* in the Holy Qur'an states, prevents men from seeing that spiritually they are not alive but dead. So such was the view prevalent among the Maroons and the slaves towards the plantocracy.

Paucity in Islamic Evidences and Islamic Scholarship

Despite the predominance of Islam in al-Andalusia and West Africa, researchers are handicapped to establish the Islamic paradigm in West Indian/ Jamaican history primarily because of the lack of adequate evidence in written form and in cultural/religious practices. Regarding the paucity in Islamic evidences in Jamaican historical

documentation, no single factor can be held responsible. Lack of knowledge and scholarship in Islam among West Indian scholars because of their deep grounding in Christianity by virtue of being the product of Christian ecclesiastical schooling has inhibited research on the Islamic faith of the enslaved Africans in Jamaica. This deficiency in evidence and indifferent attitude, apparently, stem from the almost total ignorance of the then contemporary European writers on the subject of Islam in Africa. Edward Wilmot Blyden expressed his concern regarding the generality of European writers on the question of “Islam in Soudan” in the *Journal of African Society*. In his work, *West Africa Before Europe*, he writes:

It (Islam) is an agency which, operating for at least a thousand years in this land, has been the most effective instrument in moulding the intellectual, social, and political character of the millions whom it has brought under its influence; and yet ... it has rarely been studied by the foreigner with anything like insight or thoroughness.^{lx}

Byden further regrets that even at the ‘Parliament of Religions’, held in Chicago in 1893, “there were no representatives of Negraic Mohammedanism to tell the story of faith”.^{lxi} In 1891, at an Ecumenical Missionary Conference held in New York, “no information was given as to Islam in *Soudan*”, although “there were delegates from every part of the mission field, and all the contemporary religions of the world were discussed in their effects upon their votaries”.^{lxii}

The scarcity of documented Islamic evidence in Jamaica may be due to the ignorance of the then local established authorities of Islamic practices to record them accordingly. Furthermore, the prime objective of the European colonizers in the New World was to introduce Christianity as swiftly as possible. Since a large proportion of the enslaved African Muslims came from the intellectual elite of West Africa—marabouts, ulema, imam, talib, besides merchants, the white Christendom initiated a policy of stamping out any Islamic practices. In their process of bringing western civilization and Christian doctrines and values to the Americas, the evangelization became the justification for the enslavement of the Africans. Evidence, however, suggests that the educated enslaved Muslims in Jamaica were “less frequently converted to Christianity...”.^{lxiii}

The dearth in Islamic evidence is also indicative of the effective enforcement upon the enslaved not to indulge in learning and writing, which would have enabled them to establish Islam in the West Indian islands as many of these scholarly lineages had been able to do in West Africa. With the conclusion of treaties, Maroon communities had to open their doors to Christianity. The destruction of intellectual scholarship lay at the core of the systematic destruction of the real identity of the Muslim Maroons and the enslaved African Muslims. Moreover, the literacy of the enslaved Muslims challenged the widely held myth that Africans were inherently inferior and incapable of intellectual pursuits.^{lxiv} The literacy and the display of disposition and demeanour by the African Muslims spoke of a higher civilization and directly refuted the claims of the civilizing influences of Christianity. Consequently, the contemporary authorities preferred to call the African Muslims, as the Arabs or Moors in order to conceal the latter’s higher civilizing values

than the Western Christian values. However, the literate slaves often proved to be valuable assets in keeping property records for many slaveowners.

The easy disappearance of Islam in the Maroon communities and on the plantations of Jamaica can also be attributed to the absence of the Holy Qur'an and the Hadith, which are the sources of Islamic teachings. The non-Arabic Muslim Maroons of West Africa The long duration of isolation from other literate and educated Muslims inhibited the reproduction of their Islamic knowledge. Furthermore, the death of the first generations of the African Muslim Maroons schooled in Islamic studies and jurisprudence left their succeeding generations to the mercy of the Christian Churches, aided and abetted by the ruling authorities. The lack of Arabic vocabulary in Maroon vernacular is because Muslims of West Africa are non-Arabic speaking Muslims and whatever Arabic terms are still prevalent in Maroon communities are Qur'anic Arabic terms, hence are essential to Islam.

Conclusion

The Muslim Maroon vision to establish the dignity of the human soul for all the enslaved in Jamaica came full circle with the Jihad of 1831-32, otherwise known as the Baptist Rebellion. Upon the legacies of Maroon victory, punctuated with hopelessness and despair, the search for identity should give rise to scholarship leading to the reconstruction of the proud dignified respectful Islamic heritage of the African forefathers characterized by their scholarship, intelligence, eloquent speech, elegant manners, regal behaviour, manly virtues, faith-inspiring demeanour, calm and discipline, and attired in the distinctive Islamic dress of alufa and white turban. In order to establish the historical truth in West Indian or in any history, scholarship must rise above racial prejudice and religious bias, just like the light through a prism should be allowed to pass without obstruction for the proper display of the multi-colour likened to the multicultural and multi-heritage society of Jamaica and the West Indies. Religious bigotry and prejudice resulting from the present day War on Terror should not inhibit the unveiling of the Islamic heritage of the Maroons and of the Jamaican people at large. The absence of the truth leads to falsehood and falsehood leads to ultimate destruction.

ⁱ Richard Price (ed), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University, 1996, is a comprehensive study of the Maroon Societies in the New World.

ⁱⁱ Kenneth M. Bilby in his book *True-Born Maroons*, Kingston: Ian Randle, 2006, describes the author's (Sultana Afroz) work on the Islamic heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica as 'feats of imagination', p. 53.

ⁱⁱⁱ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain*, Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1990, p. vii.

^{iv} Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors*, p.viii

^v Sultana Afroz, "From Moors to Marronage: The Islamic Heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1999.

^{vi} Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Before Columbus, Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987, p. 247.

^{vii} “The Third Dimension”, *Saudi Aramco World*”, May/June 2007, p. 20.

^{viii} Information gathered from Museum, Seville Great House, Miami, St. Ann, Jamaica. The Seville Great House is part of the National Heritage Trust under the Institute of Jamaica.

^{ix} Amuel Eliot Morison, *Christopher Columbus, Mariner*, New York: New American Library, Meridian Printing, 1983, p.31.

^x L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 324.

^{xi} Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969*, London: Andre Deutsch, 1983, pp. 41-42.

^{xii} See Samory Rashid, “The Islamic Origins of Spanish Florida’s Ft. Musa”, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2001; also Brent Kennedy, *The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People, 1994*.

^{xiii} Joseph Inikori and Stanley Engerman, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1994, p.6.

^{xiv} Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, p. 48.

^{xv} Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p. 160.

^{xvi} Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah, African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*, New York: New York University Press, 1998, p. 46.

^{xvii} Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 489.

^{xviii} T.A. Osaе, S.N. Nwabara, and A.T.O.Odunsi, *A Short History of West Africa, A.D. 1000 to the Present*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1973, pp. 25, 48, 68 and 79; Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, p. 499; and see Peter Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the Eighth to the Twentieth Century*, 1982.

^{xix} Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, pp. 500, 505-506. The Kunta family is of a scholarly lineage with widespread influence throughout Mauritania, Senegambia, and other parts of western Sudan (as far as Timbuktu, Bornu, and Hausaland), and to the region of the middle Niger. The Saghanughu of Dyula lineage living in the northern and western Ivory Coast and in parts of Upper Volta, may be traced back to Timbuktu. Another Muslim scholarly lineage who were in Senegambia was the Jakhanke, who inhabited scattered towns and villages in Futa Jallon, Bundu, Dentilla, Bambuk, and Gambia. Although saint worship is unIslamic, the Jakhanke believed that the spirit of dead saints kept guard over their followers and interceded for them before Allah. Such beliefs may have influenced many of the African Muslims who were brought to the New World.

^{xx} Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, p.70.

^{xxi} The names of the Spanish and African Maroon leaders have been translated by Sheikh Musa Tijani Kayode, Central Masjid of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica. Sheikh Tijani, a native of Nigeria, Yoruba-speaking clan, teaches Arabic and Islamic Studies in Jamaica.

^{xxii} Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p.335.

^{xxiii} Frank Cundall and Joseph Pietersz, *Jamaica under the Spaniards: Abstracted from the Archives of Seville*, Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1919, p. 81.

^{xxiv} Francisco Morales Padron, *Spanish Jamaica*, trans. Patrick Bryan in collaboration with Michael J. Gronow and Felix Oviedo Moral, Kingston & Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003, p. 219.

^{xxv} The State Papers of Jon Thurlos, 1655-1658, Vol. 4, cited by Carey Robinson, *Fight for Freedom*, Kingston, Jamaica: Kingston Publishers, 1993, p. 12.

^{xxvi} Bola, a name common among the people of Yoruba, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, in Arabic means the 'respectable'. Bola commanded the respect of one of the biggest settlement of free Negroes of Moorish origin. The British authorities in Jamaica recognized the freedom of Bola and his people with 30 acres of land to anyone 18 years old and above. See Sultana Afroz, 'From Moors to Marronage', p. 168 and Colonial Office, (CO) 140/41, Council Meeting, 1 February 1662/1663.

^{xxvii} Serras, a corruption of the Arabic term Sarra, meaning happiness, may have been a Spanish Creole, a creolized black, or a Moor from Spain. He was the leader of the Karmahalys band of Maroons settled on the windward side of the island, which is regarded to be the nucleus of the Spanish Maroons and they posed the greatest threat to the British within 10 years of British conquest of Jamaica. See Mavis C. Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990, p.18.

^{xxviii} Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica*, p. 25.

^{xxix} *The Holy Qur'an*, 42: 38.

^{xxx} *The Holy Qur'an*, 3: 15.

^{xxxi} *The Holy Qur'an*, 58: 9.

^{xxxii} The Holy Qur'an, Surat Tawbah, 9:40

^{xxxiii} Ibn Kathir, *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad (Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya)*, trans. Trevor Le Gassick and reviewed by Muneer Fareed, Vol. 2, Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing, 1998, pp. 1-20.

^{xxxiv} Interview with Colonel C. L. G. Harris, Moore Town, Portland, Jamaica, 14 January 1999.

^{xxxv} R. C. Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, Vol. 1, London: T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1803, p. 55.

^{xxxvi} Interview with Colonel C. L. Harris, Moore Town, Portland, Jamaica, 14 January 1999.

^{xxxvii} Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, Vol. 1, p. 123.

^{xxxviii} *Ibid.*

^{xxxix} In English language the term God is commonly used by Muslims to refer to Allah, the Lord of all creation and does not stand for Jesus Christ. The English translated version of The Holy Qur'an addresses Allah as God and the Chapter (*Surat*) on Mary (*Marium*) deals with Jesus Christ as Prophet *Isaa*.

^{xi} Afroz, “From Moors to Marronage”, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 19, N0.2, 1999.

^{xli} Marureen Werner-Lewis in her article titled “Jamaica’s Muslim Past: Misrepresentations”, which appeared in *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 37:2 (2003), states that such a phrase occurs at the start of the Oath of Obedience taken by the Bishop-elect, Reverend Canon Herman Spence at ordination in the Anglican Church in November 1989. She further cites two wills, namely, a will made by Sarah Hart in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, in 1822 and registered in 1834, and in a Scottish will registered in 1818, p. 304.

^{xliii} Reverend George Wilson Bridges, *The Annals of Jamaica*, Vol. 1, West Port, CT: Negro University Press, p.324 (originally published London: John Murray, 18280).

^{xliiii} Carey, *The Maroon Story*, pp. 383-384.

^{xliv} Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, Vol. 1, London: Frank Cass, 1970, p. 340.

^{xlv} Interview with Michael Grizzle, CEO and Founder of Flagstaff Heritage Development Organization, Flagstaff (Maroon Town), St. James, Jamaica, June 3, 2007. Also present were the elderly Maroons of Flagstaff.

^{xlvi} Surat Yasin, 36: 83 and Surat Mulk besides other chapters in the Holy Qur’an make reference to the term Malakuth and Mulk.

^{xlvii} Accompong Town derives its name from one of the Maroon leaders, a close comrade of Cudjoe who was named as one of the four successors of Cudjoe in the Maroon Treaty of 1739. Present day Maroon leaders believe that he may have originated from Accompong, Ghana, which had come under the influence of Islam as early as the tenth century.

^{xlviii} Meeting with Colonel Harris and Council members, Moore Town, Portland, Jamaica, 6 August 1994 and 14 January 1999.

^{xlix} See Afroz, “From Moors to Marronage”, for Islamic governance in Maroon communities.

^l Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi, *Bahisti Zewar*, trans. M. Mansoor Khan Saroha, *Heavenly Ornaments*, New Delhi: Sayeed International, 1997, p. 290.

^{li} Alan Pimm-Smith, “From Arabic to English”, *Saudi Aramco World*, March/April, 2007, p. 38.

^{lii} Interview with Colonel C. L. G. Harris, Moore Town, Portland, Jamaica, 14 January 1999.

^{liii} Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990, p. 176; and Carey, *The Maroon Story*, p. 288.

^{liv} Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica*, p. 53.

^{lv} Ibid, pp. 48 and 50.

^{lvi} *Al-Hadis Miskat-ul-Masabih*, Vol. 2, p. 259.

^{lvii} The Holy Qur’an, 17: 32.

^{lviii} Bilby, *True-Born Maroons*, p. 157.

^{lix} Harem is the domain for the women in a large household where the grandmother, mother, aunts, daughters, nieces and grandchildren abound together. Western scholars and movie makers often abuse the term harem as a houseful of women for the pleasure of man/men.

^{lx} Edward Wilmot Byden, *West Africa Before Europe*, London: C. M. Phillips, 1905, p. 39.

^{lxi} *Ibid.*, p. 40.

^{lxii} *Ibid.*

^{lxiii} Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837* (1838) London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968, pp. 287-288.

^{lxiv} Diouf, *Servants of Allah*, p. 108.