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Politics and the redeemer : state and religion as ways of being in Jamaica

Study of the role of Jamaica's popular churches, particularly Baptist and Pentecostal, in their relations with the state and with a wider transnational world. Focuses on the relation between the experience of religion and the experience of race and class. Concludes that Jamaican Pentecostals experience inequality differently both from those who are non-religious and from Rastafarian groups.

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POLITICS AND THE REDEEMER: STATE AND RELIGION AS WAYS OF BEING IN JAMAICA

While the relationship between political and religious excitement is obviously intimate, the nature of the relationship remains obscure.
(E.P. Thompson 1963:389)

INTRODUCTION

A pervasive idiom of class relations and an enduring sense of color and “race” are legacies that Jamaicans sustain from their extensive colonial past. They have also forged in the course of this past a remarkable religiosity. This religious orientation is now expressed in a variety of Christian forms, but Christian forms in which there are embedded a range of Jamaican cultural concerns. In recent years I have pursued research on Pentecostals in Jamaica, following an earlier interest in class cultures and ideologies in the Kingston urban environment. Some of the movement’s ritual aspects, and their political import, I have already discussed elsewhere (Austin/Austin Broos 1981, 1987a, 1991). In this paper, I consider a legacy that involves the relation between the experience of religion and the experience of race and class (cf., Mintz 1960). Pentecostalism in Jamaica displaces and reconstrues aspects of the discourse of race and class. Far from being a new phenomenon, these forms of displacement and reconstrual were there in earlier Baptist practice. Reflection on the Pentecostals and Orthodox Baptists, Jamaica’s largest twentieth-century denominations, reveals a consistent structural and ideological role for churches that sustain “the Savior” as a European derived construction.¹ In this

New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids vol. 70 no. 1 & 2 (1996): 59-90

latter characteristic, these churches differ from Rastafarianism, which has contested this construction in various ways. Yet together, these religious groups, with their different orientations, shape central aspects of Jamaican culture.

The Jamaicans with whom I have discussed these matters have varied significantly in their orientations.² Most from whom I gathered material on class maintained a distinctly secular outlook. Few of the men were church attenders, and among the women, it was mainly those who were lower middle class who sustained a regular church affiliation. Even then, issues of spiritual and moral order rather seldom, if at all, entered our discussions. If I had recruited Pentecostals as regular interviewees in those early years, my picture of Jamaica, or at least of Kingston, might have been rather different. In fact, it is interesting to speculate on why I did not, in that first round of interactions and interviews with householders, manage to engage Pentecostals.³ The latter I encountered more sporadically, mainly through church associations, and not through the process of knocking door to door. In my analysis of class ideology I found competing explanations of Jamaica's stratification, some in terms of unequal wealth and others in terms of education. I fastened, however, on the term "education," which had dual meanings in Jamaican discourse: one, a sense of achieved social status, and the other, an enduring and heritable condition, mainly concerned with being "uneducated," that attached to a person as a kind of being (Austin 1974, 1983, 1984a).⁴ This latter condition of being uneducated involved a subtext in the discourse on class. It also presumed another idiom of kinds of being who were "inside" or "outside" society. Being "outside" specified the domains and forms of practice that comprised an uneducated state (Austin 1974, 1979, 1984a:149-62). One of my conclusions from this analysis was that although racial or color terminology was often not present in these discussions, there was, nevertheless, an enduring sense of kinds of being that was related to Jamaican notions of race and rooted in Jamaica's colonial past (Austin 1974, 1979, 1981:230). I now would add to this analysis that while it was typical of lower-class Jamaicans to "switch" between an idiom of color, and education and wealth, when middle-class informants talked about class they would more often keep the idioms separate (Alexander 1977:430). Though they made this separation, however, middle-class informants, like their lower-class counterparts, drew on cultural paradigms of class, paradigms of living and kinds of being, which they deduced from a racialized past.⁵

Much of my energy in those early analyses was devoted to showing the manner in which forms of enduring historical hegemony led even those who contested this discourse to assume some of its terms of reference. A

working-class man might say, for instance, that the “plain mannerly bad behavior” of other “black” Jamaicans kept him in his place, almost, as it were, through mistaken identity. He was not of that kind, he was skilled in his task, but their actions made him seem inferior. As a consequence, he was paid less for his work, which was classified as “uneducated.” The many informants who sustained such views also commonly called on “government” to act in relation to their position by providing better housing, better conditions for work, and better education for their children. Their position was founded on the view that the nationalist movement that brought independence should have established institutions responsive to color and class disadvantage.

It was in this context that Pentecostals presented themselves as anomalous. Their emphasis on knowledge through revelation and their view that holy living meant the laws of God, entailed that in their daily practice they seemed to avoid the discourse of class, either in its critical or hegemonic mode. Education was important for their children and they were certainly “mannerly” in Jamaican terms, and yet they did not deploy these meanings as a principal measure of their human worth. Saints could and did perceive inequalities. They were sensitive to discriminations of color and class. But the hegemonic aspects of the discourse of class were deflected by the assurance of their holy state. Their views of government were often sceptical and rested on a view that the society of man was invariably corrupt, not least within its political component. Nevertheless, they also desisted from a critical position that would link enduring inequalities to the practice of government or nations. Their focus was generally turned to self-help and local community as it related to their larger church, and to the Second Coming of Christ. The “normal politics” of a Kingston neighborhood was displaced in the discourse of their daily lives. This is not to say they had no opinions, or no interest in Jamaican politics. But the expectations of politics were reduced, and their concern was reserved for particular issues seen to bear on their religious practice.⁶ Many of these Pentecostals were women who had moved into modest clerical positions due to structural changes in Jamaica’s economy (Gordon 1987, 1989). The unreality of the politics of class and race was possibly part of their experience. Yet other women, not Pentecostals, sharing a similar social mobility were often very vocal on political issues.

This situation would be easily construed if Pentecostals were alone in this respect, and proved to be a minority sect. I have no particular proof that they are not alone, but the forms of theology on which the Pentecostal conviction is based are common to other churches in Jamaica and

would be familiar especially to Baptists, who have also been involved in a revival tradition.⁷

Neither are Pentecostals a minority sect. Two Jamaican census categories concern Pentecostals, the category "Pentecostal" and the category "Church of God." Although not all who comprise the latter category are Pentecostal, the majority are Trinitarian Pentecostals.⁸ The category "Pentecostal" contains mainly Unitarian Pentecostals.⁹ In a 1982 census population of almost 2.2 million, the two Pentecostal categories totalled around 514,000, more than doubling the next largest category of Orthodox Baptists. Of the two Pentecostal categories, "Church of God" was the larger with a total of over 400,000. In short, Pentecostals now comprise the largest category of religious affiliation in Jamaica, and among them would be a significant minority for whom the world is construed in unitary terms of religious belief. These observations become even more interesting when they are aligned with another set of data. Close to 400,000 Jamaicans proclaim no religious affiliation at all. In addition, the "Not Stated" category accounts for almost 250,000 Jamaicans.¹⁰ Some of these probably have no affiliation, and so it might be reasonable to conclude that something over 400,000 Jamaicans do not regard themselves as religiously inclined. These self-descriptions are not a reliable guide to Jamaicans' cultural construction of the world which, even in the case of non-believers, can have a major redemptive theme concerning slavery, liberation, and the advance of human freedoms. Nevertheless, the census statistics suggest a situation nationwide that is consistent with my neighborhood experience: that in Jamaica there are significantly different construals of the world along religious and non-religious lines that have some implications for politics, and for the way in which people experience race and class (Austin Broos 1991).

The relation of "new religious movements" to the politics of class and nationalism has been a focus for discussion in literature on the African states. At least two major reviews have been written, by James Fernandez (1978) and Terence Ranger (1986). These reviews, and the gamut of literature they address, reflect two broadly different accounts, one from a political economy orientation and the other from the orientation of cultural anthropology. The former position furnishes a certain restraint concerning the possibilities these movements carry for critique and change of their societies. The latter, cultural view is inclined to see the matter, in Fernandez's words, as an "argument of images" involving different construals of the world (Fernandez 1978:221). Some writers, both on Africa and elsewhere, have sought to reconcile these views by interpreting the new religious movements as forms of culturally embodied response to issues of

subordination and modernity (e.g., Comaroff 1985; Ong 1987).¹¹ Culturally, however, the question is to what degree – and in what way – do adherents of these religious movements identify the nature of their experience with particular social orders or collective practice. If the knowledge of the world that informs their experience is different from a secular view, what has been the practiced component of this knowledge, and what are its implications for politics?

In the following discussion, I make some suggestions in the light of my Jamaican experience. My conclusion will be that Jamaican Pentecostals experience inequality differently both from those who are non-religious, and from the Rastafarian groups. The type of orientation that the Pentecostals sustain has received a particular practical embodiment within a range of popular churches as they have acted to provide their adherents with structures partially autonomous from the state. They leave in their wake a distance from the state, and a quietistic response to politics. This response, moreover, is sustained and encouraged by links with the metropolitan world. The orientation I will describe was established during the colonial period. It has persisted and also been transformed through the medium of Jamaican Pentecostalism. It is indicative of a modernist condition in which structures and ideologies beyond Jamaica bear on that society and culture to offer both opportunity and constraint. The “argument of images,” one might say, becomes a domain in which every image is, in itself, a site of ideological contestation.

Below, I consider the role of Jamaica’s popular churches, particularly Baptist and Pentecostal, in their relations with the state and with a wider transnational world. These relations suggest the practiced embodiment of a life and identity distanced from the state. Then I consider some aspects of the Pentecostal experience: mobility through the church, encountering race and class in the church, and preaching to the state from the Pentecostal pulpit. These forms of experience demonstrate how a transcendental ideology transforms the issues of class and race and even the bracketing power of the state. I conclude with some observations on why the secularism of the modern state has a limited salience for these Jamaicans, who in turn have an impact on political culture by making God and Redemption “really real” as factors in Jamaican life. I briefly contrast their position with the Rastafarians, who contest the state, and race and class, within a rather different cosmological frame.

BAPTIST POLITICS AND ALTERNATIVE MILIEUX

The role of the Orthodox Baptists in Jamaica after emancipation is fairly well-known and much remarked upon (Wilmot 1980, 1985; Stewart 1983, 1992). Although not the only actors in the field, they were certainly prominent in pursuing the construction of free church villages and proposing a social and moral order that was conceived as alternative to the plantation, although not entirely distanced from it.¹² In the midst of the rental disputes that marked the end of apprenticeship, the missionaries promoted their free village scheme for those with appropriate means and a Christian disposition. In this, Baptist missionaries Knibb, Phillippo, Burchell, and Clark were aided by the financial support, totalling around 24,000 pounds, that had come through parliamentary compensation, and public subscription, following the rebellion of 1831 and the Colonial Church Union's attack on nonconformists (Timpson 1938:30; Turner 1982:148-78). The response of the people to the free village scheme was enthusiastic but also short-lived. Rental disputes diminished by the mid-1840s, and in the interim the economy had declined again, so that Christian freedmen leaving estates found it difficult to purchase land or to contribute to chapel construction (Underhill 1879:5; Holt 1991:139-40). The Baptist missionaries were faced with the need to support themselves in the Jamaican milieu.

Values they sustained on behalf of the freed, as well as the condition of their own organization, turned the Baptists to local politics. Their political practice, nevertheless, also embodied a religious vision. Convinced that industry and proper domesticity were integral to redemption and assurance of grace, it was also important to the Baptists that they extend their free village system further. In this, they were propelled by a sect-like view that required a Christian milieu fully realized on earth (Troeltsch 1949:688). As Phillippo described in his post-emancipation pastoral, living a daily Christian life, as conceived on a European yeoman model, was integral to the conversion process (Phillippo 1843; Hinton 1847:48-67; Austin Broos 1992). The religious aspirations of the missionaries, however, rested on a modicum of rural prosperity, and they saw the realization of prosperity impeded by taxation demands from the Assembly.¹³ As a consequence, the Baptists became engaged with policy issues bearing on taxation.

The Baptists were especially concerned with taxes used to finance immigration of indentured labor into Jamaica; labor, they believed, would threaten the livelihood of their Black Baptist supporters. Missionaries also opposed taxation to support the established Church of England in Jamaica. Less than 1 per cent of non-white Jamaicans were, at the time, involved in this church, and yet their taxes which amounted to over £40,000 a year

were the substantial contribution to its support (Campbell 1976:230-1; Wilmot 1985:4). To change the tax regime, however, required significant influence in the Assembly. Black Baptists would need to be able to choose their own candidates, and for this they would need to be registered voters. Baptist missionaries including Knibb, Clark, and Burchell were aware that the free village system, as well as being a religious vision, was also a mode of local organization, a form of economy, and a means of enfranchisement (Wilmot 1980:49).

William Knibb, the Baptists' chief political activist, died on November 15, 1845, and Burchell died six months later in London. Other missionaries and schoolteachers left the island in the later 1840s as conditions grew worse and the ranks of the British Baptists became depleted (Henderson 1931:94). The Sugar Duties Act and the epidemics of the early 1850s radically affected the population (Eisner 1961:134, 136). And though freehold candidates entered the Assembly, Baptist leaders were disappointed with the peoples' choice and feared the rise of demagogues in a climate of acute economic distress (Wilmot 1980:59). British Baptists began to join with others in favoring Crown Colony rule (Wilmot 1980:59; Campbell 1976:314-16, 329). A new Franchise Act was passed in 1859 that limited freeholder voting, and in that year Edward Bean Underhill visited Jamaica to assess the position of the mission (Underhill 1879; Holt 1991:256-68). Underhill's visit was the first in a series of events to link the British Baptists, albeit unwilling, with Gordon, Bogle and the Morant Bay Rebellion. This became a source of embarrassment.¹⁴

After the Morant Bay Rebellion, the Orthodox Baptists withdrew from political engagement with the state, focused on conversion, and sustained a circumscribed engagement with the people. Yet their history and proportion of black Jamaican pastors gave them a social standing different from the Anglican church, even when it began to expand. The Baptists' major sectarian competitor, the Methodists, were more closely identified with the brown middle class. In addition, the Baptists, like the other missionary churches, carried the burden of elementary education. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a pattern developed within Jamaica for servicing the lower class with teachers. Elementary schools were "denominational" schools funded in part by the state, but administered by the churches themselves (Eisner 1961:332). Local teachers were under the jurisdiction of a manager, who was very often the local pastor, and even in the early twentieth century the curriculum involved extensive religious education (Miller 1986:49). A principal course of social mobility, especially for the sons of the poor, was to move to a teacher training or theological college also managed and largely funded by a church (Miller 1986:27).

The state took over this system in 1892, having already inserted itself into secondary education, and systematically began to change the curriculum of the system. Primary education became more utilitarian, and more oriented to the reproduction of a lower-class, mainly manual, population. Notwithstanding, even in the 1980s, half of the elementary teacher training colleges were still managed by church organizations (Miller 1986:11-12).

As the Baptists disengaged from direct political action, they had, like other missionary churches, turned their gaze to certain social services crucial to the aspirations of the people. The institutional infrastructure that they created was made possible, in part, by the infusion of funds from church sources external to Jamaica. They thus sustained a relation to the state that could also be seen at the local level as reflecting a certain autonomy. They integrated the operation of church and school, and infused education with a Christian ethos which proposed, in Errol Miller's (1986: 29) words, that "a black person through education could rise socially ... to any position." Self-evidently false by the turn of the century, this view was nevertheless ensconced within a religious ideology that saw racialized structures and class discrimination very much in terms of "prejudice," the particular moral failings of individuals, to be circumvented by recourse to a loving God manifest in the social structures sustained by the church. The advent of black teachers and pastors, trained to service their own lower class, gave local plausibility to this view of the world among those committed to the Christian faith. If there were not in fact "two Jamaicas," the "dual system" of education over which the state presided allowed the lower class and the modestly mobile a sense of church-sponsored culture and infrastructure ostensibly distanced from the business of the state, and from overt color-class conflict.

PENTECOSTAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE BAPTIST ROLE

By the 1920s, the Baptist Union was sufficiently secure to assume a middle-class ethos itself, as Jamaican pastors gained higher education and began to dominate their own organization. By its very success, the Baptist Union grew more limited as an avenue of mobility for the working and lower class.¹⁵ It was during this period of the 1920s and 1930s that Pentecostal churches, although they remained relatively small at the time, secured themselves in Jamaican society. They came as a series of individual initiatives, mainly from churches on the American eastern seaboard beginning in the 1910s, and expanding in the next two decades.¹⁶ These developments joined indigenous revival movements begun by Raglan Phillips in Clarendon, and Mother J.C. Russell in Brown's Town, St. Anne. In the

early years they recruited their numbers from Baptists and Congregationalists, and from other new revival sects including the British Salvationists.¹⁷ They came to a society in which it was now understood that churches should desist from overt political engagement with the state. As Americans, they were distanced in any case from a colonial politics that bore little relation to their home base. They also entered a society in which the state was now directing elementary education. They were, moreover, organizations entirely disassociated from Jamaica's past.

As a consequence, the Pentecostalist could not reproduce the Baptist role. Rather, they embodied a transformation of the role of an institutionally powerful sect partially funded from a foreign source and disseminating a radical Christian ideology. This ideology concerned the transcendental power of God and the ultimate, millennial transformation of the world. Pentecostalism built on Methodist Armenianism and the Baptists' believer's confession to make the key to personal well-being a ritual redemption even more consuming than its Baptist counterpart. Pentecostalism also offered to Jamaicans a message that decisively integrated spiritual and corporeal redemption. Pentecostalism cured in a radical way by reconstituting the person as a saint who could receive spiritual healing, and the moral power to be a sinless being in everyday life. The offer of a major status reversal to people left behind by the upward mobility of the Baptist church was undoubtedly very appealing. With the state now controlling education, the atypical exclusion of Pentecostal churches from most areas of education had the effect of intensifying their transcendental view of the world. Pentecostalism offered to many Jamaicans the opportunity to engage in ritual healing forms that could radically transform their status into that of a chosen spiritual elite, and all within a missionary church based in a metropolitan world.

The institutional embodiment of a Baptist world had come through theologizing elementary education and creating a close articulation between the organization of churches and social mobility through education (Miller 1986:27, 49). For the Pentecostalists the route was rather different, but not unconnected with the history of the Baptists. At the turn of the century, and in response to state policy, places for men in elementary teacher training colleges were reduced. There was a very significant shift to the training of women teachers with the stated intention of economizing teacher training (Miller 1986:35-61). As a consequence three male teachers' colleges were closed between 1877 and 1890, when the Baptists decided, in addition, to close the teacher training arm of Calabar College (Miller 1986:10-12). Given the special status of the male rural teacher as a local notary and doyen of culture, this was a decisive development cutting

off a route to male mobility largely created by the mission churches. In conjunction with the mobility of the Baptist church, it also undercut the institutional nexus that had sustained mission Christianity as a major milieu of lower-class leadership. This was, in addition, the period of Jamaican labor migrations opened up by the Panama Canal construction, opportunities in Cuba, and the expansion of banana plantations in Costa Rica (Roberts 1957:133-410). Such opportunities, however, were for laboring men and not for black lower-class men with a modest education seeking to better themselves in Jamaica and often financially unable to pursue further secondary education. These men, like the majority of Jamaican women engaged in rural and service occupations, also remained peripheral to Jamaica's nascent union movement.¹⁸ When Pentecostalism began to expand, it was from among these rural and urban Jamaicans, beyond the process of proletarianization, that the movement recruited its leaders and followers. While the followers were women in the majority, the leaders would be mainly men. And the churches offered to these men alternative structural means of mobility.

In the group that would become the New Testament Church of God, at the beginning only the overseer was actually financed from America. In time this would extend to head office staff, and to county and district overseers, though pastors have always been dependent on their churches (Conn 1959:66; Arscott 1971:21). Yet, as the movement built, it was one in which individual evangelists could rapidly develop their own church group. This group accepted tithing as a spiritual duty and thereby sustained a modest income for the pastor. In return, affiliation with America brought assistance with the construction of churches and even personal aid through welfare appeals. Affiliation with one of the American missionary groups was advantageous for evangelists. A Jamaican evangelist with no formal qualifications could in time be accredited as a minister, and thereby avoid both the charges of "obeah" and "sedition" that beset the evangelist Alexander Bedward (Chevannes 1971). From 1917 on, for instance, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World issued a ministerial certificate to ministers and pastors in the field (Golder 1973:46). An early Jamaican Unitarian Pentecostalist, George White, was issued such an accreditation and with it built the foundations of Jamaica's first Apostolic Union, to be realized by his wife, Melvina White.¹⁹ This allowed these mostly male aspirant ministers to circumvent both the power of the state and its intersection with the older mission or denominational churches in their control of ministerial accreditations. The American churches brought to pastors and their followers the symbolic capital of a regional power standing outside the British colonial world. In this process, regional

mobility and printed media from North America were crucial. It was through the mission columns of American publications, and especially through the columns of the *Church of God Evangel*, that Jamaicans advertised their cause, and appealed for support from the American churches.²⁰ Rudolph Smith, possibly Jamaica's most successful early Trinitarian Pentecostal evangelist, wrote to Tennessee in 1936:

There is a strong determination in me to see Jamaica move up to the front. For years, headquarters has spent hundreds of dollars over here and the work has never taken on a proper stand as other fields ... The total number of organized churches over here is 18 along with four new fields not set in order as yet ...

I have travelled 800 miles since my last writing. I ride a horse in many cases, and I go otherwise by train and bus. The means of riding on a horse is very tiresome and slow going. I haven't a car yet, but if I owned one I could make much more progress. I wonder if any of my American brothers or sisters would dedicate one to this needed call.²¹

The zeal of Jamaicans in "planting" and building churches was aided by an American view very different from the first round of British missionaries. A.J. (Ambrose) Tomlinson, founder of the Church of God and then leader of its breakaway group, the Church of God of Prophecy, made this observation in 1929:

We could have a dozen churches on [Jamaica], I believe, in three or four months with the proper skilled workmen that know the people and the methods to use to gather them into the fold.

I do not advise that any of our people from the states go to these Islands. The natives can do much better than we can and at less expense. They understand their people and the natives understand them. Their need is means to help with their expenses.²²

The more highly organized and bureaucratized base organization of the Church of God that sponsored the Jamaican New Testament Church was rather more tempered. They maintained a white American overseer in Jamaica until 1974 and a small group of white mission staff. The pastors were, however, overwhelmingly Jamaican.

Both Rudolph Smith and George White came from small farmer backgrounds, in northern Clarendon and St. Elizabeth respectively. They had received good elementary educations and traveled to Kingston in the late 1910s to obtain modest service employment. They were converted in Kingston by two of the earliest Pentecostal evangelists, the American Nina Stapleton and the fair-skinned Jamaican Mother Russell, and then returned to proselytize the country. Each one built substantial organizations, and in

conjunction with Henry Hudson, who was converted early by Rudolph Smith and evangelized for the New Testament Church, founded a movement that had spread through the parishes by the 1940s.

The outcome of this process is seen today in some major Jamaican Pentecostal churches that articulate closely with an international network. It is common in the largest New Testament Church of God for promising ministers who have received initial training from their own theological college to complete a master's degree at Cleveland, Tennessee. Through this process, a reservoir of historical and self-interpretation, of local experience and black theology, has been stored in the metropolitan center. The Church of God of Prophecy has major connections both in Cleveland and in England, where migrant Jamaicans from the 1950s built a large church organization (Calley 1965). Its current overseer in Jamaica was previously overseer for the British church. He is a son of one of Smith's early converts who also evangelized in Clarendon. This church also has connections in Cleveland, sustained as much by personal networks as they are by institutional affiliations. Other church leaders in Jamaica travel regularly to America to lecture churches and conferences on the method of missionary practice. Roswith Gerloff, a British resident of Jamaican descent, has become a major theologian of Black Pentecostalism in Britain (Gerloff 1992). Her book, subtitled "The Black Church Movement in Britain in its Transatlantic Cultural and Theological Interaction," speaks to the transnationalism of this milieu. And this tenor of Jamaican Pentecostalism eddies into local churches. The three largest Jamaican churches have extensions or affiliates both in England and North America.²³ It is likely that if a church member travels to a major urban site for Jamaicans in either of these metropolitan milieus, there will be a local church of their affiliation or else one closely related to it. This network is registered in Jamaica by the common presence in Sunday congregations of Jamaicans, mostly women, returned home to visit, who bring greetings from their overseas congregations. "Greetings" is an established section in the services of many congregations. The Jamaican congregations and their overseas counterparts thereby embody an institutional network that supplements kin connections as many Jamaicans, and especially women, move between societies. Church sisters and brothers within Jamaica aid each other in finding employment and, especially in densely populated Kingston, form tightly knit networks of mutual aid. It is likely that in some degree these networks are replicated overseas.

In the twentieth century, the institutional articulation of Pentecostal churches realizes elements of potential in the mission organizations that came to Jamaica in the years prior to emancipation. They are vehicles for a

transnational mobility that operates for Jamaicans at a number of levels. They are thereby exemplars of a twentieth-century modernity foreshadowed in the totality of Jamaican history that began with forms of forced migration and continued with the mediation of the population by transnational mission organizations. These new mission churches of the twentieth century broke a certain nexus between church and state that was manifest in the British mission churches. They no longer had a sense of the "civilizing mission" over and above evangelism. They did not especially identify with Jamaican politics and arrived at a time when the state had largely taken over education. Yet they offered modes of organization and a construction of the world that was real to those many Jamaicans, and especially to Jamaican women, who were distant from a proletarian world and its negotiations between unions, parties, and the state. Both the mainly male pastors and the women saints thereby have a sense of real benefit from structures sustained by the churches and largely independent of government. And integral to this experience has been the reproduction of established local meanings. The Pentecostal movement in Jamaica constituted churches as communities of the saved in which the basis for collective experience was a spiritual and moral transformation given meaning by reference to a transcendental God. Whilst their followers experienced the structural disadvantage of racial hierarchy and class division, they nevertheless came together as an empowered collectivity under the rubric of "a church" (cf., Bourdieu 1991:229-51). They understood themselves to be, at the outset, among Jamaica's poorer citizens who were black and thereby discriminated against. Yet, they ultimately came to construe this experience in terms of a "chosen" people "humble in spirit." Jamaican Pentecostals then and now see the divisions of race and class, but facing these divisions their collective empowering comes through the ethos of the church, which focuses on moral reconstruction of the person and the spiritual resolution of the Second Coming.

Max Weber (1968:486-500) can be invoked to characterize the Pentecostals as people disposed to a salvation religion. However, not all Christian cultures that are modern states sustain this form of salvation religion or do so with Jamaica's enthusiasm. Here three additional factors are important: the uneven capacity of the state to act as a structuring power in social life; the expanding structures of foreign churches partially funded from abroad; and the corresponding forms of collectivity in which Jamaicans have been involved. The Baptists secured a certain role for religion and for the church in Jamaica when they, along with other mission churches, became largely responsible for education. This they achieved at least in part because, notwithstanding the colonial state's power to co-

ordinate economic and social initiatives, that power was less often used to foster the welfare of the lower classes (Stone 1991:93). When this state became independent, it simply did not have the resources to offer services to its people on the scale of some Western democracies. Though always retaining significant power, the modern state has thus continued as an uneven presence in Jamaican life.

The Pentecostal movement expanded in the period of transition from colonial to postcolonial society. The type of institutional role played by the Baptists was in fact taken over by the state. Nevertheless, Pentecostalism offered forms of association beyond the state, and practical structures within Jamaica that remained important to its followers. It thereby brings a collective alternative to other collectivist renderings of life such as those that might be found in a union or a political party. Where the latter collectivities construct a reality for their followers based on the power of man and his legal institutions to control or re-arrange the goods of society, the collectivities of Pentecostalism address the dilemmas of the person by proposing a moral reconstitution guided and informed by God's spiritual power (cf., Weber 1968:484-86; Sombart 1906:77-79). These operations on the person become manifest in a collective discipline that sometimes aids mobility both within and beyond Jamaica. All these factors come together to create a "plausibility structure" in which the appeal to God, and especially to Jesus as Redeemer and Savior, is an eminently real resort in life. An account of some saintly mobilities in the church, and of a discourse from the pulpit on the state, gives a sense of this world as it is experienced by the Pentecostalist. In this experience, issues of race and class are engaged but interpreted according to a transcendental logic. The state, or "government," is represented as peripheral to the problems that beset the saints.

PENTECOSTAL REDEMPTION AND THE FAILURE OF THE STATE: THREE CASES

Alvin Downes

The career of a pastor I shall call "Alvin Downes" should not be taken as a typical career of a minister in Jamaica's New Testament Church of God. The church is Jamaica's largest Pentecostal body with 337 churches and 65,000 saved and sanctified members. This latter figure bears only a limited relation either to the phenomenon of religious affiliation for census purposes, or to weekly church attendance. The figure does not mark weekly attenders, but only those who have been transformed into saints. Regular

attenders at New Testament churches could be more than double this figure. The church has assets in Jamaica equivalent to around US\$16 million. It sustains 62 basic or pre-school centers and two old-age homes for Pentecostals. The church maintains a pension plan for ministers, and also funeral assistance and life insurance programs. In 1991 it had 53 retired ministers on pensions.²⁴

Within the church are a number of influential Pentecostal families most of whom are second-generation Pentecostals. Some of these families have close links with the United States. A past island overseer, for instance, left his permanent residence in Florida to return to be the Jamaican bishop. Others among this particular group have tertiary qualifications from the United States, sometimes from Cleveland, Tennessee, but also from universities in Indiana and Florida. There is a stratification within the organization that is still fairly fluid in its personnel but is nevertheless evident at islandwide conventions, and at islandwide ministers' meetings. Depending on the families from which ministers are recruited, and their backgrounds in rural or urban milieux, their course and prospects in the church can vary. Alvin Downes would stand, not at the base of this Pentecostal hierarchy, but rather in its middle reaches. The nature of his career in this institutional context demonstrates the significance of this Pentecostal milieu for young men like Downes from a poor rural background, who aspire to mobility through the church.

When I knew him, Pastor Downes lived in upper Clarendon, where he was district overseer for five churches. He lived with his wife, a fellow evangelist, who also was trained as a primary school teacher. Pastor and Sister Downes had two young children and two other relatives residing with them. One was a young boy who was the son of a cousin of Sister Downes, the other the Pastor's younger half brother who had been involved in gang activity in Kingston and had been jailed for a number of months prior to his mother sending him to stay with her elder son. The new arrival had been recently saved, but his commitment was questionable and the pastor watched him with a cautious eye. Both these boys, like Sister Downes and her children, called the pastor "Sir" in the household.

Alvin Downes pastored two churches in his district, preaching at them on alternate Sundays. He also preached in the early afternoon for a missionary outreach group that met in the yard of one of his members. During the week, the pastor visited the other churches in his charge, often walking long distances. He kept fairly close associations with the three young pastors who each led one of these other churches, acting to assist them and guide them in their work. With two of these men he was especially friendly. They sometimes visited during the evening and helped the pastor

work on a small car that had not been in working order for quite a long time. Members of his own and other district churches regularly visited the pastor's house with gifts in kind from their cultivations, including yams, green bananas, avocados, breadfruit, and a small variety of citrus. The meat component of the pastor's meals was negligible, but the household did not want for sustaining food. Once a month he traveled to Kingston to return his district tithes and other takings. At this time he would report to the island overseer or bishop on the spiritual and financial welfare of his district. When he returned from these visits, always in time for the Sunday services, he generally brought small presents for his children. Pastor Downes was in his later thirties, dark-skinned, cheerful, and a forceful preacher who frequently accompanied the church with his guitar. He was popular in his district and particularly solicitous of some of the older women saints, one of whom had donated land for a church. He was known to be able at healing and exorcism and often offered sermons in the popular style called "preaching sin" that focused on the horrors of a fallen life. His aspiration was to become a full-time evangelist for the church. Pastor Downes believed that if he were allowed to work freely in Kingston he could "plant" at least four churches in a year. He found the "book keeping" side of his work onerous, and believed that his real contribution was spiritual. The following is my gloss on his own account of his career.

Pastor Downes began with the observation that his mother was not married to his father. She had had children by other men and he had had children by other women. So the youth in his household was a half brother only. His mother was a small-scale country higgler and his father had been a "mechanic." He had grown up in a village in the parish of St. Mary and there attended All Age school. After his schooling was finished, he stayed on as a "monitor" to help the teacher. There was very little work in that part of the parish.

He was saved when he was seventeen years old and after that event he acquired a job. He worked as an assistant in a dry goods shop; cleaning, lifting, carrying, and serving the customers. He was paid Ja\$7.00 a week in his first year, rising to Ja\$14.00 in his second year. He complained to his employer about his wage but nothing changed. He was offered employment in another shop, and when he started they paid him Ja\$40.00 a week. The money was better, but he had already received a calling to the ministry. He was a deacon in his local church and he used the extra money to buy his guitar. He then asked the pastor if the church would assist him in his desire to attend Bethel Bible College, where he could train as a Pentecostal minister. The pastor, however, said that there were no funds. The church was a very poor community. God led Pastor Downes to "put

pen to paper." He wrote to a great uncle in Portland, whom he had never seen, and told him of his calling to the ministry. The uncle himself was a born-again Christian and agreed to fund Downes through Bible College.

At the College, Downes was "miserable." The food was particularly poor and he missed the meals provided by his mother. He found the first-year classes difficult and then developed a stomach ulcer. He was spitting blood. He was very sick just before his first year comprehensive exams. The exams were dreadful and he did very poorly. He went home to St. Mary, assuming that that would be the end of his ministerial career. He consulted a doctor on his stomach ulcer, but the doctor's medicine did not help. Finally, he prayed to the Father for direction and the pain from the stomach ulcer went away. He did not experience any more bleeding. Soon after, he received a letter from the College saying that in spite of his poor results they were prepared to allow him to return. From that time on, he had little trouble handling the course.

His first ministry was in Clarendon in a church that was very badly run down; less than thirty members and very few tithes. Sometimes his income was only Ja\$14.00 a month. The saints did give him gifts in kind. The church had only half a roof. There were no windows and the floor was dirt. A large tree growing beside the church was cracking the walls with its roots. Gradually he built up that church, though it was a very difficult experience. It was the Lord who really showed him the way.

Downes met his wife on a visit to a pastor friend in St. Thomas and they were married by the younger brother of the bishop of the time. His church could not maintain a married couple, so headquarters moved him to Trelawney to pastor two churches there. Giving him this responsibility was also a way of testing him. His first child was born there and after two years he was moved to Hanover.

In Hanover, he had three churches to pastor. It was during this period that he bought an old Landrover. The roads were very bad over there and he had to move about a lot. He also cultivated a vegetable garden with pumpkins, red peas, and even tomatoes. He was living in a very good yam area and church members offered him plenty of yam. After he had been in Hanover for a time, friends said that he was being considered for a district pastor's job. He did not believe that this was possible, but he said "Let the will of God be done."

He was called to headquarters and offered his present position in Clarendon. He really found it very surprising and blessed the Lord for blessing him. He sold his Landrover and bought a small sedan but the car had been a constant problem. He would prefer to live elsewhere in Jamaica, especially if he could become an evangelist in Kingston. Then perhaps,

he could travel overseas to America, and even to Australia. Everybody he met agreed that Jamaicans were the best evangelists.

Pastor Downes and his wife both came to the church from impoverished backgrounds. Their career together had included hardships. Yet the pastor had high status in his district that was marked even within his household. In his trips to Kingston, he was careful to cultivate members of one of the families that is influential in the church. The social distance between him and them seemed barely to bother him. Pastor Downes saw his own career as occurring entirely within the church, the milieu in which God's will could guide his upward mobility. He sought to learn from his better-placed friends and remarked to me on one occasion that God was the one who had put him "in touch" with people of influence in the church. Pastor Downes could be disappointed in his career or proceed from one success to another. In either case it is very likely that his own account will mark each chapter simply as the will of God frustrated, perhaps, only by the actions of sinful people, whether within or beyond the church.

Bishop "Williams"

A Unitarian Pentecostal Bishop once related to me with considerable feeling the conduct of some white missionaries he had encountered in his years as a pastor. I later noted his observations.

Bishop "Williams" said that he did not see why Americans less-educated and of lesser social standing, and also less-inspired with the Holy Spirit, should come in and be placed over Jamaicans.

These people would come and sit at your table and behave as though they had no manners. They would look at your food and push it aside if it looked a little bit different from theirs. When you go to America and you have to sit down at a table, perhaps the food is not well cooked, not properly cooked, and perhaps the food is a little too oily. You try to eat as much as you can so that you would not offend the person. No way these Americans. They would not think to do it like that. They insisted that the choirs be robed and that everything be done in an American way. The attitude was different in Jamaica, because even if a person came in bare-foot to the church, and received the Holy Spirit, Jamaicans would praise the Lord for him. Jamaicans accepted Pentecostalism because they already lived in a spirit-filled world. They were African themselves. They were emotional. They liked rhythm in their worship, pipe and drum, and they knew what it was to be Spirit filled from the days of the Great Revival [1860-61]. The whole world of Jamaica was busy with spirits, so the message of the Holy Spirit was welcome. Americans didn't need to tell Jamaicans that.

The bishop had begun his Pentecostal career as a boy in Melvina White's Emmanuel Tabernacle in Kingston. He had later joined the United Pentecostal Church (UPC), established in Jamaica in 1947. The parent organization, he believes, rejected him for study in America mainly due to the color of his skin.²⁵ In 1971 he left the UPC and developed his own ministry in St. Anne, supporting himself as an electrician while he was building his church organization. Ultimately he established a strong Jamaican base and made contact with black Unitarians in the United States who had been associated with the integrated but increasingly black Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. His own Jamaican "fellowship" grew to twenty-six churches, with one further church in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He became part of an international mission organization sponsored by black Unitarians in the United States. Bishop Williams emphasized that the Pentecostal movement in Jamaica had been built largely by Jamaicans. Missionaries in the UPC who had come to Jamaica after the war had in fact "inherited" churches.

I built churches with pick axe and crow bar. Brethren would come to work and you pick up the tools after they left. I used to cry, I was so alone. I had no facilities. Then I walked nine miles to go to service and nine miles back. But when a person caught the Spirit I always feel such a thrill. Even with the suffering, you just enjoy it.

Bishop William's interpretation of the racial conflict in the Pentecostal church appealed to the superior spirituality of Africans. This, he proposed, was something God had given as a special gift to African culture. His belief that blacks were "spiritual" before whites pertained to his view that only Pentecostals are truly Biblical Christians. New World Africans had been better prepared for the revelations of Pentecostalism than whites, who still sustained racial prejudice. The battle against racism was thus a spiritual battle in which "proper law," as the bishop described it, did not obviate the need for moral and spiritual reconstruction even of people who called themselves "Christian."

The racial cleavage in United States Unitarian Pentecostalism is marked by a separation of organizations. Within the larger Trinitarian churches there is division within the organizations, which are also marked by largely white central administrations (Anderson 1979:191). The missionary contact with Jamaica has been mostly through white personnel.²⁶ Within the Church of God of Prophecy, an oral tradition tells of Rudolph Smith refusing to travel to the United States at all following visits in the mid-1930s that brought him face to face with segregation. This oral tradition also proposes that when Smith died in 1974, after forty years of leading his

Jamaican church, he died of a stroke because the headquarters church had deprived his colleague, Alvin Moss in the Bahamas, of leadership of the church he had built there. Moss later led the Jamaican church. In 1971, the Reverend Lindsay Arscott wrote advocating "indigenization" for the New Testament Church of God. He argued, like Bishop Williams, that "the actual work of evangelism was done largely by nationals," and also observed that the Book of Acts testified amply that "the indigenous church is a Biblical concept" (Arscott 1971:40). Although the New Testament Church has been self-governing since 1974, there are still organizational conflicts with the Cleveland, Tennessee, church. Some within the Jamaican church would prefer a Caribbean conference, rather than travelling annually to the United States to a conference in which they are merely bystanders to a group that is mainly American. One recent observation within the church has been that the American Church of God, in which a majority of churches are black, is reluctant for Caribbean autonomy lest it create a breakaway in its own organization.

Pentecostals perceive class and race divisions. They experience them as part of their practice both within and beyond the church. Their rendering of this experience, however, is informed by a view that real Christianity and Christian-based community is the only medium to transcend these divisions. When experience of division occurs in the church, its source is seen to be man-made rules that are in fact obstructive of the will of God. This view, which is integral to Jamaican religious culture, was first endorsed by the early missionaries who stood as advocates for the slaves at the time of emancipation. In the free village scheme, they also proposed a pragmatics for realizing alternative community. Notwithstanding the missionaries' own limitations, Jamaica's revival Christianity has sustained this image of a God-governed world beyond the divisions of race and class. Marcus Garvey foreshadowed this community in his preamble to the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) constitution.

One God! One Aim! One Destiny! ... discontent will ever mark the path of men, but with love, faith and charity toward all the reign of peace and plenty will be heralded into the world and the generation of men shall be called blessed. (quoted in Hill 1983-85:256)

This hope for the millenium is expressed in a very different way by the poet Claude McKay (1953:49), returning to religion from a life of political critique. He proposes not the millenium, but a personal redemption from temporal life.

Around me roar and crash the pagan isms To which most of my life was
consecrate,
Betrayed by evil men and torn by schisms ...
to God I go to make my peace, Where black nor white can follow to
betray.
My pent-up heart to Him I will release And surely He will show the
perfect way of life.

These images, so integral to Jamaica's tradition of revival Christianity, are not peculiar to Pentecostalism but inserted by Jamaicans into their Pentecostalism. It is the strength of this utopian critique and of an experienced spirituality that underscores scepticism concerning the power of the state to act constructively in everyday life.

A Kingston Pastor

The entreaty to Pentecostal saints not to place their faith in politics, but rather to align with the church, is a common Pentecostal pulpit theme. In this, Pentecostal pastors make a bid for leadership even beyond the community of saints. In so doing, they offer a particular rendering of Jamaican historical experience. They suggest a progress for the saints that parallels a reading of history familiar to the nationalist cause: that a union and nationalist movement uplifted the black and the poor. This movement, it is often proposed, finally defined as irrelevant and dead the spurious notion of a genetic inheritance that denied citizenship to a people. The pastors' rendering of Pentecostalism proceeds by a similar logic. Sin, like blackness, was an inherited trait of the African in thrall. It is a trait that can finally be dissolved in the born-again experience. Thereafter the human being emerges spiritually whole, or holy, able to lead a saintly life. This reading of a Jamaican progress is especially attractive for male Pentecostal pastors whose class position has often debarred them from the political arena. Their exhortations to the saints assert the pre-eminence of transcendental power over temporal or political power. The following gloss of an exhortation from a prominent Kingston pastor demonstrates just how explicit this call to religion over politics can be.

Politicians have not brought us to our roots. We need somebody who cannot fail and His name is Jesus. We need to discover our mission, discover our roots, discover ourselves. Imagine the transformation of this society if we Jamaicans made all these discoveries. We have been searching for our heritage, but guns have destroyed our search.

There will rise up a people who one day forget about the party they belong to. Tell our politicians that we don' wan' no more guns. We don' wan' more tribal war. We don' wan' more Tivoli and Rema.²⁷ We need to

stop this rubbish in our country. We cannot live much longer in this way of life. God has blessed our nation. God has given us strong and capable leaders. But while we praise them, it is to us that God has entrusted the task of arousing our people spiritually.

I remember when Busta [Alexander Bustamente] and Norman Manley were campaigning in the hills of St. Mary. They use the same platform. They meet in the same square. Any time our leaders caan' sit down, don' try impress "Brother Bryan" that yu' livin' right. Our nation is wounded and it must be healed. The day of mana falling is over. God gives us the strength and the land and the way mana gwine fall is for us to produce on the land.

We will always undervalue ourselves until through God's Grace we identify our roots. We would go to Africa lookin' where we came, and they in Africa lookin' to trace where they came, until they trace their roots to Adam.

We are all his offspring. The great Creator, the universe declares, we are his offspring. There are certain principles that govern his [Adam's] offspring: I'm a child of God. I have to live like a child of God. I'm born again. I must live free from sin. Holiness must be our watchword, righteousness our password. Repentance must be our aim. That's the only thing that can bring us back to our roots.

This day I ask you again. Who are you connected to? Who are you an offspring of? Have you found your roots?

This textual subversion of a nationalist message is common in Pentecostal churches. It does not reject the themes of politics, but rather places them in a cosmological frame that promotes a reference point beyond the state. Redemption, an image brought by the missionaries and captured by Jamaica's political process, is here re-owned by the Pentecostal church as a truly transcendental experience. Nothing could demonstrate more effectively than Kingston's downtown neighborhood violence the limitations of the Jamaican state in seeking to provide a desirable life for all its people. The Pentecostal pastor fixes on this point, and whilst he does not contest the national founders, he does contest the legitimacy of those who have inherited the founders' mantle. In one deft stroke politics is made subordinate to the spiritual world, and the issues of class and race are subsumed in the overriding condition of man as sinner and responsible for his fate. The Pentecostals become the chosen people who will lead their fellows out of the bondage of secular society, with its failed politicians. The sign that they are indeed the chosen people is their ability to live a holy life, even in the midst of violence and impoverishment.

CONCLUSION

The Jamaican Pentecostal view of the world is grounded in historical experience (Smith 1976:315, 339). It continues, as it also transforms, the cosmology of a religious group that retains the power to represent itself at least as partly autonomous from the state. This representation of the church began with the free village system, and continues with the Pentecostals today. Through their notion of a heaven on earth, to be completed by the Second Coming, they question temporal social relations infused with issues of race and class. This critique, however, turns devout Pentecostals not to active political engagement but rather to redoubled efforts to ritually re-constitute the self. In this, the transcendental assumption that human society is invariably corrupt, and that only a God-given realm will be just, make their perceptions and practices something different from a secular politics. In all of this, the image of "redemption" is deployed as an argument with Jamaica's political history. Pentecostal preaching denies a redemptive power to politics and re-assigns it to a ritual world. People are enjoined to trust religion rather than the politics of states.

Yet this is a message in Jamaica that also has a political meaning. Jamaicans imbibe modernity, and in that condition live between their local milieux and an array of metropolitan sites strung together through continual migration (Foner 1978; Basch *et al.* 1994). In this condition, many Jamaicans of Pentecostal persuasion have neither the experience of controlling metropolitan organizations nor the structures of their own small state. The transcendentalism of their redemption complements this historical experience which detracts from their lives as "citizens" both in Jamaica and the metropolitan world. Jamaicans who can experience the state as a genuine and salient force in their lives are more likely to embrace a secular politics rendered as a "history of freedom." In organizational terms, Rastafarianism is a more local religion than Pentecostalism, and also more autonomous. Its communities have not been funded from abroad, and its message has been communicated out to the world rather than received as a missionary imprint. In identifying the Christian Savior with Europe, and its inevitable white bias, Rastafarianism creates a distance between itself and the metropolitan world of Pentecostalism. Rastafarians become Jamaica's "renouncers," radically inverting the forms of socioracial hierarchy involved in the transnational order.

I began this discussion with some observations on the different orientations of Jamaicans to issues of politics, race, and class. It is now appropriate to return to this theme, but in a rather more general vein. A number of writers have remarked on the forms of secularization that followed the

development of capitalism and its legal and administrative institutions. These writers have also remarked on the fact that this secularization very often involved the acceptance of man rather than God as the measure of things in social life.²⁸ Sombart and Weber, in particular, focus on markets in the modern state that give even workers a singular sense that it is man rather than God that controls social life. Weber (1968:485) describes the emerging perception that “power relationships [are] guaranteed by law” rather than by transcendental forms. It is such perceptions, these writers propose, that undermine religion as an integrating truth. In this milieu, people need not be entirely atheistic. Rather, in the words of de Certeau (1988:149), church membership becomes pluralized and “relativized.” These memberships in turn become “contingent” and “partial” rather than a unifying truth of life. De Certeau’s reading of Weber’s Protestant ethic is consistent with this typification. The shift from rite to a focus on ethics introduces the notion of “a theory of behaviors,” rather than a statement of cosmological order, as the principal focus for religion. In time, Christianity largely becomes subservient to political forms; now, merely, “a sacred theater of the system that will take its place” (de Certeau 1988: 157).

This brief genealogy of modern denominations is challenged by Pentecostalism which, beginning as a sect in Yinger’s sense, can expand to become a large organization that claims the status of a universal church.²⁹ The latter claim rests on the treatment of religion as an integrative truth, and of Pentecostals as the only church, standing in a muted tension with the state. The various arms of the Protestant Reformation found it impossible, in the age of secular states, to assert themselves as a universal church. Twentieth-century Pentecostalism, as it addresses the less-developed world, presents, however, a different prospect. It presents a return to revelatory truth that makes its morality subordinate to rite. It is chiliastic and conversionist, and concerned with thaumaturgic practice (Wilson 1975:22-25). When a rapidly expanding religion of this type is situated in a society where the structuring power of the state is limited by economic and historical conditions, the reality of that religious milieu, both in organizational and ideological terms, can become a central organizing truth for at least a proportion of its adherents. This has been the case in Jamaica, where the notion of a Savior is extremely real and Redemption is a dominant motif.

NOTES

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1. The British Baptists, who came to Jamaica in 1814 at the behest of the "Black Baptists," Liele and Baker, were the most prominent of the sectarian missionary groups that came to the island. Turner (1982:137) gives an excellent survey both of the relation between the slave trade and the formation of mission societies in England, and of the arrival of various missionary groups in Jamaica. The Baptists in conjunction with Methodists, Congregationalists, and Moravians especially, carried from Europe an opposition to the "established" or state Church of England which was mainly a planters' church during the slavery period. Turner's account underlines that most missionary efforts began in agreements between missionaries and particular planters opposed to the state church. Phillippo (1943:285) gives an overview of mission work on the island directly following the emancipation. Owing to their support of the emancipation movement, the Baptists sustained a popular ethos even as their pastorate became firmly embedded in the middle class during the twentieth century.

2. Austin/Austin Broos 1974, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1984a, 1988; also 1981, 1984b, 1987a, 1991.

3. My initial household survey through which I recruited informants for longer interviews had no question on religion. I therefore do not know if Pentecostals declined further interviews. However, given their prevalence in one of my research sites, the neighborhood I called "Selton Town," it is likely that this could have occurred. It is also not surprising to me now that Pentecostals might have declined to be engaged in university-inspired interviews that might have led to discussions of politics.

4. The structural bases for the continuing ambiguity of "education" in Jamaican ideology is found in Gordon's summation of the changes, and lack of change, in educational opportunity that have occurred in Jamaica in the post-war period. In 1991, Gordon (1991:191, 205) observed, "Slightly over 10 percent of the earliest cohort, which reached high school age between 1936 and 1945, gained entrance to high school. By the most recent cohort this had doubled, to slightly less than 20 percent. Practically all the increase occurred after the introduction of the Common Entrance exams in 1957. But the figures also underline the extremely high barrier at the secondary level, which limits access to high school education for most Jamaicans." And again, "The main beneficiary of the Common Entrance system is the brown middle class."

5. The issue of the relation between "race" and "class" as interpretative symbols for Jamaicans remains a vexed and continually debated issue (Alexander 1977; Smith 1982, 1992; Austin Broos 1988). Alexander asserts that his middle-class informants

"had no difficulty" in distinguishing "class interests" from issues of race, meaning by the latter the "racial [including color shade] description" of a relative (Alexander 1977:430). The issue is, however, that both class and racial idioms can be deployed to talk about kinds of being in Jamaica (Austin Broos 1994).

6. Cf., Hobsbawm 1957, 1959:129-30; Mintz 1960:210-52, 257-70; Thompson 1963:350-400.

7. Orr (1949:190-92, 270-71) and Henderson (1931) give accounts of the engagement of Orthodox Baptists with revivalist tradition in nineteenth-century Britain and in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jamaica, respectively.

8. Possibly one-fifth of those registering as "Church of God" would be affiliates of holiness churches in Jamaica that accept the doctrine of being "born again" without accepting glossolalia as a sign of this transformation.

9. The dominant Trinitarian missionary church in Jamaica became the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee. This church was involved in a fission in the United States that involved the creation of two churches in Jamaica, the Church of God of Prophecy and the New Testament Church of God. There are many other smaller Churches of God in Jamaica, and Trinitarians generally identify with this name. Unitarians, who baptize only "in the name of Jesus," often have the term "Pentecostal" or "Apostolic" in their name. They very seldom use the title "Church of God."

10. The category "Not Stated" is different again from the category "Other" in which minority groups, including Zion Revivalists, might locate themselves. "Other" commanded a membership of 125,000.

11. These statistics came from preliminary aggregations of the Department of Statistics, Kingston, from the Jamaica Census, 1982.

12. Mintz 1974:157-79; Holt 1991:144-46, 168-76; Austin Broos 1992; Paget n.d.

13. Both Comaroff (1985) and Ong (1987), interestingly, deploy Foucaultian ideas as an adjunct to Marx. For comment on this theoretical strategy, see Austin Broos 1991. The following interpretation is heavily indebted to Wilmot's two very useful accounts (Wilmot 1980, 1985).

14. Underhill 1867:3-4; Black 1965:174-75; Campbell 1976:333; Stewart 1983:380-94.

15. This bourgeoisification of the Jamaica Baptist Union is evidenced, for instance, in a letter to the editor of the *Jamaica Baptist Reporter*, in the year 1929. A group of young clergy observed that "Many of our methods are antiquated and totally unsuitable to the growing generation. Strong individuals here and there who find themselves in helpful conditions may do much for individual congregations, but the reforms for which we are pleading can best be obtained by the united teaching and assistance of organized men" (*JBR*, vol. 21, no. 241:5). This letter was one of a number preliminary to greater centralization in Kingston of the Baptist Union's administration.

16. A fuller account of this early history, based on newspaper research, documents from the churches, and oral accounts is to be found in my work in progress, "Jamaica Genesis: Religion, Morality and Gender Relations, or, How Jamaicans Became Pentecostal."

17. The expansion of the early Church of God in northern Clarendon was mainly at the expense of Baptists and Congregationalists (personal communication, Percival Graham). This area of Clarendon had previously experienced the revivals of Raglan Phillips, then working with the Baptist church and later to found the Kingston City Mission, Jamaica's first indigenous Pentecostal church. Prior to his association with the Baptists, Raglan Phillips had been a Salvationist (Hobbs 1986:2-3) The Church of God evangelist, Nina Stapleton, reported from Kingston in 1919 that "most of our members came from the Salvation Army ... in the slums and among the poorest and lowest classes" (*Church of God Evangel* 1919, 10, 16:4).
18. Post 1978:114-58; French & Ford Smith n.d.; French 1986; Austin Broos 1991.
19. Personal communication, Morris Golder, historian of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, in Indianapolis, January 23, 1992. See also Golder (1973).
20. Two examples of this type of correspondence are that between Ivan Delevante of Kingston and the *Gospel Trumpet*, organ of the Holiness Church of God that preceded the Pentecostals into the Jamaican field in 1907 (Graham n.d.:8). The second example is J. Wilson Bell's correspondence with the *Church of God Evangel*, 1917, 8, 31:2 (cf., Conn 1959:61).
21. Rudolph Smith in *The White Winged Messenger*, 1936, 13, 11:2.
22. A.J. Tomlinson, cited in Church of God of Prophecy n.d.: 207 in *Cyclopedic Index of Assembly Minutes (1906-49) of the Church of God*, p. 207.
23. The churches referred to here are the New Testament Church of God, the Church of God of Prophecy, both Trinitarian, and the United Pentecostal Church, Unitarian. There are others including the indigenous Kingston City Mission, Rehobath and Emmanuel Tabernacle, as well as the Foursquare Gospel churches that are in a similar position.
24. These details were provided for me in 1991 by the church's island overseer, Reverend F.A. Beason.
25. The Unitarian or "oneness" movement in the United States has been marked by racial fissions. Anderson (1979:187-91) and Golder (1973:139) discuss these.
26. The Church of God in Christ which has become the largest black Trinitarian Pentecostal church in the United States, was actively missionizing in Jamaica during 1926 and 1927 (e.g., the *Daily Gleaner*, June 16, 1926:13). Its main church was in Allman Town, Kingston, and this church and some affiliates still exist in Jamaica today. They are not one of the larger Jamaican organizations however. For an account of the American Church of God in Christ, see Lincoln and Mamiya 1990:76-91.
27. Tivoli and Rema are popular names for two sections of the West Kingston area that have been beset by gang violence. The areas and their gangs have often been associated with support of different political parties so that the gang warfare and its many deaths are often attributed by residents of downtown Kingston to Jamaica's two major political parties, the Jamaica Labor Party and the Peoples' National Party.
28. Sombart 1906:75ff.; Weber 1968:484-86; Dumont 1977:11-44; Austin Broos 1987b; de Certeau 1988.
29. Yinger 1946:19, 555-60; cf., Simpson 1956:339-41; Wilson 1961.

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