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The Heartman: The Impact of Its Evolution on the Barbadian Cultural Landscape

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Abstract

The Heartman: The Impact of its Evolution on the Barbadian Cultural Landscape, examines the impact of cultural evolution on the Barbadian cultural landscape, using the folkloric belief of the Heartman as the point of focus. This thesis seeks through the analysis of newspaper articles, novels, graphic novels, short stories, and informal interviews to provide the historical and cultural backgrounds of Barbados, and to provide insight into the evolution that has taken place within society and how it is reflected within the minds of the Barbadian populace. In other words, how has the evolution of the Heartman affected the ways in which the Barbadian populace conceive of the shifts in the cultural landscape of Barbados? Using qualitative research methods, I suggest that the shifts in culture are the results of external influences such as globalization and western imperialism which have contributed to the evolution, and in some cases erasure, of some cultural traditions of Barbados. These shifts have affected the cultural landscape, as seen in its reorganization which forced the indigenous culture to become submerged to protect itself from the negative effects of globalization and western imperialism. The use of Creolization theory in this thesis assists in the analysis of the dynamic within the Barbadian cultural landscape. The theory aids in providing an explanation for the evolution of the cultural landscape of Barbados. The theory not only interrogates the characteristics of Barbadian culture, but also centers the discussion, using the Heartman, to showcase how the influences of globalization have resulted in the evolution of the cultural landscape through not only the erasure of the physical landscape but also the ruptures that force African-centric aspects of Barbadian culture to become submerged.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Barbados: A History and Contemporary Overview

The history of Barbados is unlike that of the other Caribbean islands. The unique circumstance which surrounds the colonization of Barbados is that it had been abandoned long before the English landed on its shores. Barbados was originally discovered and settled in three distinct waves by three groups of Amerindians: first the Saladoid-Barrancoid people, second the Lokono as named by the Spanish Arawaks and third, the Kalinago people who were also ascribed the name Carib (Beckles "The First Barbadians C.350-1627" 4-5). These groups constituted the settled population of Barbados in the age prior to 1627, when the British discovered and settled the then abandoned island. A crew of British mariners led by Captain John Powell landed on the island in 1627, and the island was claimed on the behalf of King James I (Beckles "English Colonialisation" 9). From here the foundations of the society that exist to this day would be laid and developed.

The arrival of the British in 1627 would herald many things for the emerging settlement. For instance, the construction of a small landed elite class that exerted political control over the new inhabitants of the island and the establishment of the island as first and foremost a loyalist colony laid the groundwork for the construction of its identity as an extension of the Mother Country, Great Britain (Beckles "English Colonialisation" 12). British colonization did not only bring with it British political ideas and culture; it also saw the introduction of enslaved Africans and their own cultures and traditions.

It was from the small, landed elite that the first notions of Barbadiana emerged, particularly the idea of a “Little England.” Thus began the cultural influence of Great Britain in Barbados, which was very much derived from that of the aristocratic rule that was established in

the 1630s. British colonization paved the way for political thought and for the social and cultural norms that would be enshrined as the elite culture of Barbados. Introduction of various African cultures, such as the spiritual practice of Obeah, brought by enslaved Africans upon reaching the shores of Barbados was quickly established as the cultural core of the society, although it was heavily othered and seemingly forced to exist within the confines of the enslaved communities.

This thesis seeks to document the research and the research methods that were undertaken to compile the material required for this analysis. The research provides definitions of the Heartman, Obeah, and the Lodge, and establishes connections between these three entities and their purposes within the context of the folkloric belief in the Heartman. This analysis allows for meaningful engagement with the material collected and the formulation of an analytical basis to be used to answer the question posited by the thesis.

This thesis seeks to answer the question: how has the legend of the Heartman evolved within the Barbadian cultural landscape from the 1950s and 1960s to the present?

Appearing in the Barbadian cultural landscape during the 1950s to 1960s, the Heartman was a main component of the cultural traditions and folk beliefs that were circulated during this period. One would be hard pressed to find anyone who was not acquainted with the story as the Heartman would be talked about in hushed whispers and on moonlit nights where "inevitably it would be heard rumours of the existence of fabled, dangerous characters prowling neighbourhoods" (Sinckler 17A); and this is when the legend of the Heartman would be told to and amongst the gathered inhabitants of the neighborhood. They would,

> "speak of the black-garbed figure, who supposedly drove a hearse-like vehicle, patrolling the streets for his youthful victims, cutting out their hearts and selling them to the Devil in some unholy transaction" (Evanson 2014).

The Heartman was believed to be "that slightly questionable character in the village or even the man who lives next door, who has made a pact with the Devil" in exchange it is believed for power (Sinckler 17A). He is also purported to be the man who lingers in the cane fields waiting for unsuspecting passersby to walk by so that he could remove from their bodies his means of payment for the deal in which he has entered (Nicholls 1980).

It is significant to note that out of the three sources used above, only one of them is taken from the 21st century; and that is Evanson's 2014 article, "History of serial killers," which appears in the *Barbados Nation News* where Evanson highlights the unusualness of a serial killer in the island and thus, likens the killer to the Heartman due to his murders. It is also notable that the only mention of the Heartman is found and limited to the third paragraph of the article. This positioning feels more like an afterthought done to harken back to the days of old.

The existence of a serial killer during the 1950s-60s would have resulted in the Heartman being featured much more prominently and would have linked this serial killer more significantly to the folk belief. This highlights the significance of this thesis, which suggests and seeks to examine the evolution of the Heartman in the Barbadian cultural landscape and also the tensions of erasure that exist alongside this evolution. The definition of 'erasure' in this thesis is the 'forgetting of aspects and lore of the Heartman'. Therefore, in this thesis, to examine the erasure of the Heartman is to examine the removal of the Heartman, through the act of forgetting, from the Barbadian cultural landscape and the impact that this may have on this landscape. This act of forgetting is highlighted in the publications *Farnum's Land* (1988), *Barbados - Customs to Treasures: Early Gems of Bajan Creativity* (2014), and *The Heartman: The Bayker's Ridge Horror* (2012), in the sense that these novels are prominent pieces of retention of the Heartman and his lore in Barbados.

However, even within these texts, the effects of erasure are evident. For instance, whilst *Farnum's Land* provides a detailed account of a Heartman and highlights how pervasive the belief was in the parish of St. Lucy, the novel is primarily a biography, and its primary focus is on the family whom Yotanka chronicles. The Heartman's inclusion in the novel is shaped within the periphery of the family's past which the author explores. Additionally, Clarke's graphic novel highlights another aspect of the erasure of the Heartman and that is the loss of the lore surrounding him, although Clarke centers the Heartman and makes him the primary antagonist in the novel. The lore has been reworked and presents a different iteration of the Heartman, a patchwork that includes aspects of 'the original Heartman' and external influences to create a familiar but new iteration of the folkloric character.

The Barbados Archives, the West Indian Collection in the Sidney Martin Library located at the University of the West Indies Cavehill Campus and the library of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society were utilized to conduct archival research. These institutions hold the necessary materials that were used as the primary research for this thesis.

As Murray (2014) points out, the life of the Heartman resides firmly within the stories shared by elders with the younger generation. This notion is highlighted by Nicholls in her short story, "The Heartman", as the story hinges on the main character's mother telling him not to use the cane fields as a shortcut to go and return home from school (Nicholls 1980). The leaning on oral tradition, a method of memory keeping that is a cultural inheritance from African oral traditions in Barbados, is also rife with the effects of erasure in relation to the Heartman. As both Murray and Nicholls highlight, the retention of the Heartman was rooted solely in the unintentional preservation of the belief through the process of passing on this memory, whether with a mother warning her child of dangers lurking in unknown places or the community sharing

knowledge with the younger generation. This link between the oral tradition and the Heartman is the lifeblood of the belief and is the site where the breakdown of this oral practice has contributed greatly to the erasure of the folk belief. This is due in part to the oral tradition's creation of a community culture in Barbados, as Murray highlights in the gatherings that would be held at night when the community, both young and old, would gather to share stories and gossip. It was in these instances that the oral tradition was kept alive and part of the Barbadian cultural vernacular. However, with industrialization as a result of an economic shift towards tourism, the oral tradition has been weakened and western media has become the primary mode for the art of storytelling in Barbados. Thereby, the practice of oral storytelling, especially amongst the younger generation, has become almost obsolete within the cultural landscape.

The oral tradition is not the only aspect of Barbadian culture that the Heartman depends on for survival and whose disappearance heralds the loss of a folk belief that can result in negative repercussions for the Barbadian cultural landscape. Another factor that contributes to the belief's disappearance is the loss of cane fields through heavy and rapid industrial development, a phenomenon which was discussed in my undergraduate thesis which examined the origins of the Heartman, *Myths or Legend: The Barbadian Superstition of the Heartman* (Kellman 2019). Economic diversification in Barbados has resulted in the removal of cane fields to provide land for the construction of buildings for businesses such as fast-food restaurants and commercial outlets, to facilitate and provide economic revenue in a tourist centric economic structure. The tourist centric economy seeks to provide an experience rooted in the authentic culture of the place of visit but without completely alienating the tourist by providing some level of familiarity. The tourism economy caters to the imperatives of American capital in a bid to secure investments to further develop the country.

The canes were a significant part of the lore attached to the Heartman as both the area where he disposed of his victim's body, and as the setting which created the eerie atmosphere which facilitated the growth of this belief. Huitt (1978) points out that "20 years ago women could not walk along quiet country roads… for fear of the 'heart men'" (Huitt 16). Huitt emphasizes the canes as important in creating the eerie setting and atmosphere and provides a real-world location in the parish of St. Lucy. The most northerly parish of the island, St. Lucy is known for lonely quiet roads with little to no lighting and an abundance of trees and overgrown foliage. It is referred to, much like the rest of the northern parishes, as 'the country'. It is not surprising that St. Lucy and its neighboring parishes were where the belief of the Heartman thrived during the mid-1950s to the early 1960s. It remains the heart of Barbados' legacy as a slave colony based on the production of sugar for the former British Empire, to whom the island once belonged.

It was also in those parishes where another aspect of the Heartman lore was maintained, and that was in the practice of Obeah and its supposed connection to the freemason Lodge. This part of the lore is applicable in that sudden and unexplained disappearances were attributed to the Heartman and were presumed to be the work of members of the Lodge or Obeah practitioners due to the negative perception of both institutions. There was secrecy on the part of the Lodge and a concerted effort to demonize Obeah by the church and colonial governments. Thus, the belief was born that Heartmen participated in 'black magic' and that the hearts of his victims were the necessary ingredients in a spell or potion he needed to create.

The link to the Lodge located in Barbados was attributed to the belief that the members of the Lodge engaged in satanic or Obeah rituals to gain power or prestige. Heartmen were believed

to be the members of the Lodge being inducted into the order and were believed to be responsible for the sudden disappearance or mysterious death of any individual.

Folklore is one site where a society documents ways of knowing, cosmologies, cosmogonies, values, and wisdom; all of which are under threat from western globalization which undermines these beliefs with the notion that ascribing to western values, science and ideas is what it means to be modern. This implies that not doing so would categorize a society as uncivilized. Thus, this thesis posits that the forgetting or the erasure of the Heartman in the popular consciousness and loss of a folkloric character who represents the lingering African cultural connection still present in the society is an artifact of western cultural imperialism in Barbados, and that the Heartman can be used to lessen the negative impacts of imperialism and globalization.

The Heartman is a specter-like being that gained prominence in the Barbadian cultural landscape beginning in the 1950s. He became a staple within the popular consciousness of the Barbadian people and was used as an Aesop tale that was told by parents to frighten children into behaving and as a deterrent for bad behavior. It also served to underscore the dangers that lurked on dark lonely roads in the country and to prevent small children and women from traversing them alone, especially at night, which is when the Heartman was rumored to strike.

Additionally, the Heartman provided a means by which the general populace could understand the unknown and their place within it. It served to provide a way for the populace to regain their autonomy through the creation of the legend, which became the physical embodiment of the unknown. This granted them the agency needed to conquer the horror that lurked in the dark, by ascribing certain characteristics to that fear by making it human and

therefore vincible. This can be seen in popular engagement of the inner workings of the Freemason societies or Lodges and the practice of Obeah.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework: The Intersections between Creolization, Obeah, and the Freemasons in Framing the Heartman

The framework used to conceptualize the thesis is Creolization theory. It is the theory posited by Braithwaite (1974) who argued that the syncretism that occurred in the Caribbean resulted from the Atlantic slave trade and later Indian indentureship to create a society unique in and of itself. Caribbean culture did not resemble the European culture of the colonizers nor the African culture of the enslaved and oppressed on its shores. Instead, it absorbed and reimagined various aspects of both cultures to create its own. Braithwaite sought to construct a theory which understood that Caribbean culture exists as an unstable creation constantly at war with itself. The concept of Creolization provides a model by which the interactions and clashes between cultures, religions and moral values of the various groups residing in the Caribbean can accurately be analyzed. Creolization underscores the fluid dynamics of Caribbean society and the clashes and mixing of cultures and belief systems to establish new ones, and how these operate within the society from which they were produced.

Furthermore, Murray (2009) provides a breakdown of how Creolization operates in Barbados and its function within the society, by using the concept of Tukontology. This concept which is derived from Braithwaite's Creolization theory, seeks to fill in the gaps left by Braithwaite with use of musical analogies. Tukontology suggests that the cultural mixtures as proposed by Braithwaite do not happen all at once but occur at different times and stages. Tukontology posits that the materials or ideas that people have access to are changing (the Penny Whistle stage), such as the physical location or landscape as well as objects within that landscape. Secondly, things change either rapidly or over time, including individual novelty or creativity, where materials and ideas are infused with the storyteller's unique flair, creating a

subtle difference in construction of the various iterations that exist (the Kettle Drum stage). The final stage (the Boom Bass stage) does not change rapidly over time and represents the societal world view as a whole or how that society understands the world. The argument is that this stage does not change because it is where the grounding world view is subconsciously passed down from one generation to the next. In summary, Tukontology posits that the foundational world view is not changed; rather, materials and ideas within the reality are mixed, and individual creativity is added to construct a new iteration of the same understanding of the world. The theory acknowledges and attempts to reconcile the issues that are unearthed by Creolization by suggesting that when change does occur, it is not a collective and uniform shift across the board.

Kachua (2018) explores Creolization through a different lens and posits that the theory is the means to offer possibilities for socio-cultural, economic, and political stability in the plural societies of the Caribbean. Kachua underscores that through the lens of Creolization, each Caribbean Island is viewed as fundamentally a plural society at its core. He suggests that there are two types of Creolization: the type that more so applies to the Caribbean is mulatto Creolization, which refers to the introduction of Western Europeans and Africans as immigrants into the region (Kachua 202). As Kachua points out, Creolization has become synonymous with terms such as hybridity and syncretism in the global age, thus conceptualizing the Caribbean as a melting pot. However, he suggests that in the Caribbean, despite mixtures of people, the African experience dominates the process of Creolization (Kachua 203).

Kachua also highlights other definitions of Creolization, including Creolization as "the native consciousness in the Caribbean experience" (Kachua 205). He states that Creolization is a "history of double estrangement from one's community and landscape" and ultimately seeks to put forward a "proposal negotiating this palpably desolate world" (Kachua 205). All in all,

Kachua underscores that Creolization serves to highlight the myriad of complications and obstacles that result from the uneven mixture of cultures seeking to refine and redefine the context of society within time and space as representations of the Caribbean experience. He also centers the process of Creolization within the continued suppression and acceptance of the African experience as the uncontested heart of the cultural genesis of the Caribbean.

Obeah

Originating in West Africa, Obeah in the Caribbean and specifically in Barbados is the conflation of several African spiritual belief systems practiced throughout the era of slavery. These practices were given the designation Obeah by planters seeking to put a name to the practices of the enslaved, to strip the mystique and provide a label which they could easily identify and by extension undermine the potency of these belief systems. Creolization is applicable to understanding that this belief system as the Obeah that is presently practiced has been modified and re-envisioned due to the enslaved requiring a belief system that was compatible with the realities which they faced. For the enslaved and for many who still seek out the traditional Obeahman or African Spiritualist, this belief system functions in much the same way that Christianity does for many contemporary Barbadians or Europeans. It is how these religious believers can reconcile their understanding of the world and their place in it from a spiritual standpoint. For Obeah practitioners, it serves a similar purpose as Christianity in the protection of the human soul against the otherworldly and instills within the group a deep sense of morality and virtue.

Unlike Christianity, Obeah practices which included the use of fetishes, charms and concoctions utilizing animal bones, skulls, and graveyard dirt were practiced by the enslaved as a part of their spiritual rituals. Obeah is a deeply embedded religious and cultural practice that

survived the middle passage, seasoning – the brutal process by which the newly enslaved were forced to accept their bondage through the discarding of ethnic names, traditions and languages in the colonies, and all other forms of cultural erasure employed by Europeans in the New World. Due to its persistence, the planters seeking to understand and fit these practices into their own world view began to label the practices, which had evolved from being viewed as the superstitions of the savage Negro to a force which threatened the very life of slavery as an institution, as fiendish (Richardson 175). Obeah was viewed as malevolent as its practitioners held high authority in the organization of insurrection plots among the enslaved. To strip these individuals of power and prestige that they held within the enslaved communities, the planters began to refer to all African spiritual practices as Obeah, regardless of their function, and deemed them to be a form of witchcraft and thereby demonic (Richardson 175). This label became so entrenched that it may be hard pressed to find an individual in Barbados who does not understand Obeah to be some form of African derived magic.

Creolization is applicable in understanding this belief system on two levels. The first level is its use as a tool for analyzing the construction of a society through the clashing of African and European cultures, with Obeah as the site of contestation. The second level is the construction of Obeah into two forms, the first is the amalgamation of various African spiritual belief systems that occurred due to the failure of traditional forms of African spiritual ceremonies during slavery. The second form is the contemporary evolution of Obeah, which has split into two branches, the traditional and the mainstream. Creolization explores the nuances that propelled the evolution of African spiritual practices, along with the development of Barbadian society. The theory posits that the expression of Caribbean culture is rooted in negotiation. The shaping of Obeah with its contradictory definitions as a traditional healing practice and as

witchcraft highlights this notion, as also seen in the evolution of the traditional form of the African spiritual practice into a new form due to the societal pressures of slavery. This was because the traditional form was found to be incompatible with the new society in which the enslaved found themselves. Thus, they required a new way of knowing and the spiritual practice evolved to fit the evolving society and culture.

The existence of both Obeah and Christianity as spiritual belief systems within Barbadian society resulted in a clash between the two systems for dominance. For the enslaved who engaged in African spiritual practices, Obeah served to strengthen them and helped them to make sense of the society in which they now existed. Obeah became a key component of the fulfillment of their spiritual needs and ensured that they retained some level of autonomy over themselves within a new culture and society. However, because of the existence of Christianity and the need for slave owners to ensure that they dominated the lives of the enslaved from birth to death, the campaign against Obeah sought its eradication from within enslaved communities. Thus, it had to be established that the practices of Obeah were demonic in nature, as it called for the utilization of magic and instruments of magic for it to work. The ease in which this was enshrined was also assisted by the fact that the practices of the Obeahman or woman were performed in secrecy away from the public eye, and that the enslaved viewed their abilities with both fear and reverence.

The theme of secrecy as a major element of Obeah further compounds its negotiations with Christianity. Secrecy continuously surfaces in seminal texts on Obeah, including *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodun, and Santeria to Obeah and Espiritism (Olmos Fernandez and Parasivini-Gerbet "Introduction" 2003); Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santeria, Obeah, and the Caribbean* (Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 1997); *nation dance:*

Religion, Identity, and Cultural Difference in the Caribbean (Taylor 2001); and *Afro-Caribbean Religions: An Introduction to their Historical, Cultural, and Sacred Traditions* (Samuel Nathaniel Murray 2010). In these texts, the secrecy of Obeah is highlighted through its comparison with other African spiritual practices that exist in the Caribbean to this day. Olmos Fernandez and Parasivini-Gerbet state that in contrast to Obeah, Voodoo and Santeria are religious institutions defined by their prayers, a pantheon of deities, and liturgical traditions which their members engage in, whereas Obeah is "more individualized and is a system of beliefs grounded in spirituality and acknowledgement of the supernatural" ("Introduction" 11).

Taylor (2001), Olmos Fernandez and Parasivini-Gerbet (2003) and Murray (2010) note that this individualism facilitates the conception of the fantastical stories which surround Obeah. It allows for projection of the fears rooted in Christian theological reasoning as the assertion of the dominance and power of Christianity.

The lack of transparency of the individualistic belief system of Obeah means that the practitioner is not beholden to the scrutiny of others, which has made it easy to isolate Obeahmen and women within the judicial system, in the form of codifying anglicized laws which made it illegal to practice or be suspected of practicing Obeah. It also meant that when rumors spread of necromancers in the northern parishes, many were quick to label those they believed or were known in villages to be Obeahmen as those individuals. Thus began interweaving of the legend of the Heartman with that of the practice of Obeah, which had long been enshrined as a form of evil magic and its practitioners as those who seek to do harm. It became common practice to perceive individuals who were outsiders or isolated within a village to be able to perform various forms of magic as both Obeahmen and as Heartmen. Mothers and grandmothers would warn their children not to approach these individuals lest they be kidnapped, killed and their hearts

removed. This conception of the Obeahman or Obeah as being linked to the specter of death would not be conceivable had it not been for Creolization at work during the 1700s and the tumultuous struggle of the present to reconcile the two vastly different cultures fighting for dominance within the society (Braithwaite 1974).

Although Obeah is still regarded with fear, there is still a level of reverence that is held for the practice in contemporary Barbados. Through its connection to the Heartman, it can be stated to serve two purposes: 1) it underscores Obeah as a site of protection against the Heartman who is viewed as a malevolent spiritual force seeking to cause harm against the living. In this school of thought, one could consider the presence of the Heartman as the manifestation of the forces that the practitioner has summoned to not only right the wrong and ensure upstanding behavior within a community, but also as the only means by which this spirit can be banished and protection from it ensured. 2) The Heartman highlights the notion of Obeah as rooted in the European understanding of the practice, that it is akin to devil worship and black magic, as the Heartman is said to collect the hearts of his victims as payment to the devil.

These purposes further emphasize the function of the Heartman in creating a narrative that continues to demonize the African spiritual practices that were and still are present in Barbados to this day. Several of the texts on Obeah used in this thesis are located at Codrington College's library. This is noteworthy as Codrington College serves as the seminary school in Barbados and was once a plantation owned and operated by the Christian church in Barbados.

Christianity and its attitudes towards African spiritual practices were forces with which the enslaved as believers and practitioners had to contend. Within this space, Obeah exists as both an active and historical part of the community, which continuously serves as a medium of spiritual protection and is yet still treated with fear and suspicion. This is particularly true of

individuals who practice the traditional Obeah as opposed to the newer practitioners who, although their techniques are rooted in the traditional Obeah, have rebranded themselves as psychics as a means to reimagine themselves within a more modern context and circumvent the stigma attached to being an Obeah practitioner.

Rebranding is evident with Obeah and the Heartman. Changing portrayals of the Heartman with societal shifts and evolutions have resulted in reconfiguration of who or what the Heartman is in contemporary culture. This is evident in the stories, *The Bayker's Ridge Horror* by Matthew Clarke (*Heartman: The Bayker's Ridge Horror* 2012), and "Heart Man" by Martin Boyce (2005). While Clarke's interpretation of the character is deeply rooted in the traditional interpretation of the character, Boyce reimagines the belief to create a vampire-esque hybrid of a European and well-known figure of the vampire, yet makes it distinctly and unrepentantly Caribbean in nature. From his speech to his dreadlocks to the "coconut jelly white of a blind man's eye" (Boyce 2005), the figure that Boyce establishes as his Heartman is one that invokes the imagery of contemporary Barbados. Boyce's version of the Heartman ensures that none of his horror is lost, and that he himself is easily recognizable as a monster lurking in the dark.

Secrecy also plays a major role in the legend of the Heartman, as seen in the 1951 incident which serves as its origin. The event in the parish of St. Lucy sparked rumors of necromancers who roamed the island practicing black magic on poor unsuspecting individuals whom they happened to stumble across on dark lonely roads. In 1951, the Heartman was Burton Springer, a poor white man who worked as a fisherman but wished to emigrate to Canada to join the Canadian army. Unfortunately, he did not have the necessary funds to emigrate and sought to secure it by different means. Springer procured an occult book and conspired with friends to kidnap a 23-month-old child to use in a ritual found in the book. Upon discovering her child

missing, the mother contacted the police, who uncovered the remains of the child in a shack used by Springer and his friend for their ritual. The police located the dismembered body parts of the child and the remnants of the ritual that had been conducted. Discovery of the child's heart, which had been removed and placed in a jar, so deeply unsettled the residents that it became the focal point of the story when it became a myth (The Barbados Advocate 1952).

The conflict which defines Creolization is present in the myth in two forms. The first form is the dynamic which Christianity and Obeah play in its central lore. The Heartman is said to kidnap, kill and carve out the hearts of his victims as payment to the devil. Creolization comes into play in the attachment of the devil to the legend. The fallen angel is a prominent figure in Christian theology and is an odd inclusion in a folkloric belief that is conflated with an African spiritual practice. Yet, inclusion of the devil in the myth speaks volumes towards the attitudes that are commonly held about non-traditional healing practices in Barbados. The idea is that it is impossible for any traditional spiritual belief to exist and be viewed in a positive capacity in conjunction with Christianity. This notion is highlighted by Olmos Fernandez and Parasivini-Gerbet ("Obeah, Myal, and Quimbois" 2003) in the description of the "bain demarre", a special bath to rid oneself of problems where a "big earthen pan [is placed] in the sun, full of water with all kinds of magic leaves – paoca, calaba balsam, bride's rose, and the power of satan" (Olmos Fernandez and Parasivini-Gerbet "Obeah, Myal, and Quimbois" 152). The "bain demarre" is a ritual associated with Quimbois, another African spiritual practice that is similar in function to Obeah and can be used to shed some light on the relationship between the spiritual practice and the Heartman. Quimbois seeks to protect the living from spirits that seek to do them harm. In using "the power of satan", Quimbois contradicts the position that the devil occupies within Christian theology, by situating him as a force of protection.

Quimbois further emphasizes negotiations of African spiritual traditions with Christianity, since Obeah's power is partially defined by the Christian worldview, which states that Obeah's power is derived from the demonic aspect of the spiritual world, as Obeah is an individualized belief system, and the secrets of the practices are known only to the Obeahman and woman. The strength of its power lays grounded in the ardent belief of those it serves as a way of knowing.

The practice of demonizing is also particularly important for the legend of the Heartman, who has been linked to the cane fields that dotted the landscape of Barbados and also to Obeah practitioners and Masonic Lodges. Non-secular religious practices have been a part of the historiography of Barbados long before the 1950s, however, because of the dominance of Christian beliefs in the island, these practices have been vilified by the public and are inextricably linked to the legend of the Heartman. Obeah, which is an Afro-centric spiritual practice that seeks to cleanse and protect against harm, and the Masonic Lodge, a secret society founded on the belief of brotherhood and unity, are major components that make up the core belief system of the legend of the Heartman. Obeah and members of the Lodge are either the mediums through which the Heartman is summoned or the individuals that commit the crimes of the Heartman.

Freemason Societies

In addition to Obeah and the Heartman, secrecy is a major element of the Freemason societies or as they are colloquially known, Lodges. Freemason societies have long been fixtures of the Barbadian landscape and are said to have come to Barbados in 1740. Despite their participation in charitable endeavors, Freemason societies have always been regarded with suspicion and fear. The popular consensus was that the Lodges were home to the Heartman who

roamed the island. It was said that the ritual for new initiates of the Lodge comprised of killing and carving out the hearts of the individuals whom they allegedly kidnapped from surrounding areas. This belief resulted from the lack of knowledge and transparency surrounding the inner workings of the Lodge, which allowed the general populace to craft fantastical stories relating to the purpose of the Lodge and its activities. These stories could be attributed to several components of the Lodge; the first is that membership in a Lodge is based on a specific set of criteria. Invitation to become a member is based on the individual fulfilling Anderson's Constitutions, which state that "admitted members of a Lodge must [be] good and true Men free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report" (Ramsay 65). If no candidate can fulfill these requirements, then they cannot be "admitted into Freemasonry or share in its occult mysteries" (Ramsay 65).

The second reason for suspicion held by the general populace is that Lodges or Freemason societies are secret societies and those who are not members cannot become privy to their secrets. Brother Clyde Williams states in this regard that "whole in its public manifestations in the world… freemasonry cannot be termed bashful about its identity, it remains quintessentially an organization of secrets, even to its members, for secrets are the most prized asset" (Williams 33). Secrecy creates the bedrock from which conspiracy theories abound, particularly in the minds of non-members, although many masons have claimed that Freemasonry is not in conflict with Christianity. In an interview on Freemasonry, Parsons states that "you can't become a Freemason unless you believe in a god but not necessarily a Christian god…" (Blackman 22A). Parsons further states that "we have no dogma or theology which is associated with Christianity" (Blackman 22A). These ideas contribute to the belief that the society is rooted in devil worship. Further, the iconography associated with the Freemasons, such

as their regalia, the symbols of the compass and the ruler, are all heavily symbolic and metaphorical and their meanings are known only to those who are members of the society.

The theory of Creolization as applied to Freemasons in Barbados examines the relationship that the society has with the Church and Obeah. Creolization also affects the perception of Freemasonry among the general populace and among its own members. Conflict arises from clashing of these two perspectives, where on one hand Freemasons are good moral, charitable individuals and on the other, they are conceived of as devil worshipers and occultists.

Returning to the Church and Obeah, Creolization is applied through the lens of examining Freemason societies as a non-denominational religious institution. This provides a blank slate upon which fears and suspicions can be cast, and leaves open for interpretation the secret rituals which their members undertake at initiation and after. The clash between the actual and perceived activities of the Lodge reflects the dynamic couched in Creolization. The generally held perception that any institution or practice that is not overtly Christian is non-traditional and synonymous with devil worship connects with Obeah as the occult, and by extension the existence of the Heartman with the Lodge.

Additionally, the Heartman can be conceptualized as a metaphor (Springer 2021), specifically as the physical representation of the conversation between two distinct cultures clashing and forming ideas, which suits the society it is conceived in but also as the metaphorical stand-in for Barbadian folklore and the cultural landscape. To this end, the Heartman stops being the effect of a society attempting to come to terms with its mixed heritage and becomes the site of contestation from which that mixed heritage is conceived. Thus, the evolution of the Heartman is not a reimagining of its lore to fit contemporary society, but instead is the contemporary expression of the contested dynamics that are a result of that mixed heritage. This is seen in the

lore which implies that the folkloric character is a result of or engages in the use of Obeah but sells the hearts he collects to the devil. This contradiction of beliefs is indicative of Creolization theory, which emphasizes the unstable melding of European and African ways of knowing in the form of Christianity and African spiritual practices within a society to create the cultural dynamic that currently exists.

The recurring theme of secrecy is also present in Freemasonry in Barbados. Due to secrecy surrounding rituals that occur within the Lodges, the research on this institution was mostly sourced from informal interviews and newspaper articles. As a freemason stated, the literature available is written for those who are members of the organizations and not typically for outsiders. Kevin Farmer, director of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, posits that because of this secrecy, misunderstanding of Masonic symbols and metaphors has bred a culture which views the Lodge and its members with suspicion. The disappearance of Gooding, a man from a village in St. Andrew located near a Lodge, further entrenched the belief in the fantastical stories surrounding the organization.

Clarke's use of Jack the Ripper as the doctor of Bayker's Ridge, who becomes the eponymous Heartman shows why the populace of Barbados would have suspected the Lodge to be a haven of the occult and the titular Heartmen in the island (*Heartman: The Bayker's Ridge Horror* 2014). It was believed that the Ripper was a member of the Lodge and that he was never caught because members of Freemasonry hold positions and offices of power, and thus, he could have escaped punishment. Mr. Farmer posits that suspicion and secrecy compel outsiders to create these fantastical stories as they are forced to fill in the blanks about the organization which is shrouded in mystery. Secrecy could also be why Obeah or any non-Christian/traditional healing practices are ascribed negative characteristics.

Although Freemasonry is a primarily Christian organization or an organization that requires its members to believe in a higher power, it is conflated with devil worship because of its secret nature. It's exclusivity, strict rules, and regulations regarding the wearing of regalia – special dispensation must be given for it to be worn in public, coupled with secret meetings in the late evening and into the night, also aided in the creation of conspiracies surrounding the organization.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Evolution of the legend of the Heartman within the Barbadian cultural landscape started in the 1950s and has continued into the present. During the 1950s, the legend was a staple of the vernacular, transmitted orally by the older generation to the younger as both a form of cultural inheritance and as a warning against the perceived dangers that lurked just beyond the protective grasp of the village. Evolution of the Heartman would be informed by the changes of the physical landscape as it shifted from isolated agrarian cane fields to highly populated industrial areas, and by the cultural landscape as it shifted away from Afro-centric practices to more western influenced practices.

Before examining the Heartman's evolution within the Barbadian landscape, it is important to examine the landscape itself, to understand the reasons why the legend had to evolve. A first step is to examine the cultural landscape of Barbados as the arena in which the Heartman exists as both an expression and as a medium for expression. The Barbadian cultural landscape has never been a hegemonic structure and there still exists a rupture within the definition of Barbadian culture. As Jemmott (2016) points out, the issue for Barbados is not rooted in a lack of culture, but in which culture best describes or encapsulates the identity of the Barbadian people. As one of Great Britain's primary colonies, Barbados did not have the same tumultuous clashes which organized and reorganized society similar to other colonies such as Jamaica. In these colonies, the cultural landscape was created through the negotiation of space and hierarchy between Euro-centric values and attitudes and African traditions and practices. In Barbados, this was not to be the case, as prior to African slavery, Barbados existed as a colony that viewed and shaped itself as an extension of Great Britain. With a strong aristocratic rule

guided by the small, landed gentry that settled the island in 1627, this notion was the foundation for the cultural bedrock of the society.

When plantation slavery began, the influx of new belief systems and traditions did not come into conflict with the already entrenched cultural landscape, it instead was forced to reorganize itself so that it could operate within the colonial society. This was seen in the traditional practices that would be known as Obeah, where the enslaved people in Barbados would not give up their belief systems but instead engaged in a paradigm shift or designed a new way of conceiving their practice. They recognized that the form which they originally practiced was not conducive to their new environment and they needed to restructure how it was conducted.

The significance of the cultural identity truly comes into play with the shift away from slavery and the development of social classes which included Black Barbadians within the post-independence period in Barbados. Jemmott (2016) states that "the norms and values of Barbadian life reflected the country's historical experience and the existential reality that had grown out of that experience." Essentially, the culture of Barbados and the Caribbean by extension was shaped by the "paradigm of a plantation economy and a society based on Negro slavery; British colonial, imperialist tutelage; and paternalistic arrogance" (Jemmott 11). As such, the culture of Barbados "reflected a value consensus fashioned by denominational forms of evangelical Protestantism, Victorian values, and a core of not so residual cultural survivals" (Jemmott 12). Barbados found itself in this circumstance after 1966 and into the post-independence era, when the focus had become the construction of a national consciousness. The existence of two states consisted of "the superordinate hegemonic anglicised culture on the one hand and, the mass subordinate afrocentric ethos on the other" (Jemmott 15).

Each state reflected the assumed cultural norms and practices that are attributed to the class and ethnic divides present in Barbados. Jemmott (2016) points out that the culture of Barbados as one or the other ostracizes one group as it ignores the traditions of one group over the other. The idea rooted in the colonial history of Barbados and the supposed superiority of European culture is that despite African heritage being the dominant cultural expression, it is suppressed and pushed underground as "the historical legacy of African-derived culture was either 'not accessible' or 'in danger of being lost or forgotten'" (Jemmott 17).

The Heartman in the Pre-Independence Era

In the pre-independence era, the Heartman is an entity which exists within and codifies the ideas and values that existed within that time and space. Yet, the Heartman was not a static creature and his existence within the ever-changing landscape reflected that. He was this mysterious individual who roamed lonely, unlit roads in the country preying on the vulnerable and using the cane fields as his dumping grounds for the bodies whose hearts he carved out and sold to the devil.

In 1951, Burton Springer's kidnap and killing of a child created this specter that would for the better part of the decade live in the minds of Barbadians. The conceptualization of the Heartman in this era is most notably recorded by Murray in his autobiography, where he recalls, on moonlit nights they would hear rumors of dangerous characters prowling neighborhoods, especially through the cane fields. Murray states that this was the occasion:

"For spine-chilling talk of the "outman" or the "rogus man" but the most unnerving was the reported stealthy movements and other escapades of the "heart man", with tall tales of

disappearances of people who were said to have been captured so that their hearts could be removed and used for "obeah" purposes" (Glyne Murray 112-113).

Murray does not specifically refer to the African spiritual traditions and practices of Obeah but rather to how they are used locally within the Barbadian landscape to denote the occult, as seen in the 1951 incident where Springer used a "green book" to speak with some unknown figure that would give him the money that he needed to emigrate to Canada. While the identity of the voice is unknown, as a society which was and still is very much rooted in Christian theology, it made sense for the use of a barbaric ritual to be connected with the devil. Thus, construction of an entity separate from the events and surviving Burton's hanging would be connected to a being that fit into the spiritual understanding of the world and connected to the practice which they viewed as demonic.

The disappearances which Murray refers to are highlighted in the folk song "Yuh Betta Do Good," which tells the story of Goodman, who disappeared from his village in the rural parish of Saint Andrew. His disappearance to this day remains unsolved and serves as the foundation for the fear of the Heartman in the rural countryside of Barbados. This fear also attached the Heartman with the Freemason societies and became the basis for the rumor that individuals are spirited away by these societies and used in their initiation rituals as human sacrifices to the devil, whom it is believed that the members of the Lodges worship. Marshall highlights this, stating that in the minds of "many Bajans they (secret societies) are associated with 'black magic' necromancy and the mysterious disappearance of missing persons" and thus, "are in leagues with the devil" (Marshall 1996). The folk song highlights this fear in the lines which state, "Yuh betta do good as to do bad/ Fuh dey kill Goodman from Hillaby/ And dey

t'ink nobody don know/ Yuh betta watch yuh step when yuh go down dey/ An' see that they don' kill you" (Marshall 1996).

Obeah and the Heartman

The survival of the Heartman in the minds of the Barbadian populace after Springer's death in the 1950s can be linked to the existence and the conflation of Obeah with the lore of the Heartman. Despite being 'a relic of the past,' the African spiritual practice persists among Barbadians. The practices that would become known as Obeah existed as part of the Barbadian landscape from the colonial era. These practices which were originally known by other names served roles of healing, comfort and justice within the enslaved communities. Obeah existed alongside the Anglican church and its moral values and traditions without contention, as it was viewed as "the "ignorance" of superstitious Africans and the wickedness of the "conjurers among them" (Richardson 174). Europeans did not see the need to quash Obeah as it was not viewed as a threat to them so long as the Negro magicians "are kept by white people in proper subordination" (Richardson 174).

The function of Obeah on the plantation alternated between being a regulatory force for the slaves who used it to police themselves, promote good behavior, and provide guidance and assistance for maladies and illnesses. Whereas, for the planters, it was viewed as comical and they laughed at the slaves' magical-religious practices as harmless strategies to protect their property and resolve their private quarrels (Richardson 174). Whites believed that Obeah was superstitious nonsense created by the enslaved Africans, and that Blacks could not achieve meaningful enlightenment if they held onto it.

One possible origin of the word Obeah is from the Igbo word Obi meaning heart (Bilby and Handler 2004), although it has evolved to being a catch-all term attributed to the African spiritual practices and traditions that exist in Caribbean countries (Deryck Murray 30). Obeah, like Voodoo is "a hybrid or creolized Caribbean religion with West African roots, which includes such practices as ritual incantation and the use of fetishes or charms" (Richardson 173). As Richardson (1997) points out, for the British during the Romantic period, Obeah had similar connotations as Voodoo inspires (at least popularly) now, when Obeah was regarded as a "mysterious cult of obscure African provenance, associated with fetishes, witchcraft, and poison, with secrecy and midnight rituals, with magic potions, eroticism and revenge" (Richardson 173). These connotations still exist in Barbados as inherited from three centuries of colonialism and concerted efforts through British imperialism to embed them within the consciousness of people of African descent in the Caribbean, as seen in the belief in the Heartman.

The Heartman is always said to operate under the cover of darkness, on roads that are shrouded in the darkness of the night. He is also said to operate on his own, roaming the island's lonely roads and subduing his victims through means only he knows, and engaging in rituals shrouded in mystery as part of his deal with the devil for which the heart is demanded in payment. Here one can see the influences of Obeah in the Heartman. For instance, the secrecy that surrounds him, which could be explained if his true identity is either an Obeahman, a person whose practice is by nature surrounded by secrecy, or a member of the Lodge, an organization which by its very nature courts secrecy.

Obeah predates the use of the term Voodoo in the British vernacular, and thus came to be the term under which Voodoo was originally defined. However, scholars use the characteristics of Voodoo to define Obeah, emphasizing its creolized nature, which is a set of belief systems

which depend on ritual invocation, fetishes, and charms. The first part of Obeah involves “the casting of spells for various purposes, both good and evil; protecting oneself, property, family or loved ones…,” and the second “incorporates African-derived healing practices based on the application of knowledge of herbal and animal medicinal practices” (Olmos Fernandez and Parasivini-Gerbet "Obeah, Myal, and Quimbois" 131). The first part is more entrenched among Barbadians, partly because Obeah was used as the primary invocation for the enslaved, as part of their rituals for planning and executing revolts and insurrections. This use of Obeah became important to the planters, as it threatened their lives, wealth, property, and the very fabric of society.

Creolization highlights the reconstruction of Obeah within the enslaved communities. Utilizing Tukontology to account for discrepancies, we can explore changes that occurred within the African spiritual tradition of Obeah. As stated previously, Obeah is the name given to the spiritual practices and traditions that were transported from Africa by the enslaved to Barbados, where it took root and the worldview held by the enslaved was passed down through generations. With time, the materials and novelties used to express these practices shifted and changed in their new environment. These changes are seen in how the spirits and powers that exist within Obeah are grounded or made real within society. Thus, the ‘reconstruction’ of Obeah can be interpreted as fundamentally about the change which occurred at the Penny Whistle and Kettle Drum stages (Deryck Murray 2009), where the application of ideas and creativity resulted in its evolution. A new ontological view was established, as the enslaved rapidly changed the materials used to express their traditions and practices and the individual application of creativity in consciously passing on this knowledge to suit the new reality they had come to inhabit.

The reorganization of Obeah through the mixing of the materials at the Penny Whistle and Kettle Drum levels (Deryck Murray 2009) saw a new application of this belief system which demanded a way to understand a reality that blended the established epistemology of Africans to the new actuality of their existence. They maintained the ideas which guided and ordered their world view, but their understanding of how the world worked needed to be changed. Thus, the paradigm shift in the expression of Obeah was formulated and sustained. This version of Obeah was tempered by the materials and ideas of slavery and imperialism and shifted from being a world view grounded in Africa. The conceptualization of Obeah had to consider the spiritual realities of the various identities that existed together in this new space and the space itself, to understand how to function in the role in which it now operated. It also had to negotiate new boundaries with the new value systems, Christianity, and formal western education systems that existed outside of the African ways of knowing in this space.

These shifts resulted in the establishment of 'traditional' Obeah as it is known today. The changes and reconceptualization that occurred during the previous two stages, the Penny Whistle and the Kettle Drum levels, highlight Murray's argument that change does not always occur at the same time or to the same extent, but at various levels or over a period of time. This is understood when taking into account the Boom Bass level (Deryck Murray 2009), which did not undergo significant change to the world view that the belief seeks to express. Although there were changes in the materials used to express the ideas of Obeah and creativity employed to do so, fundamentally, the practice still conceptualizes the world through the view that mythological beings or higher powers exist and interact with the physical world. Thus, incorporation of Christianity into the foundations of Obeah as its antithesis and occupying the space which directly opposes Obeah, as the aspect which can dispel or disrupt the workings of Obeah, can be

seen as syncretism and not a complete overturning of the belief system. Instead, the effort to entrench Obeah as the evil and malicious workings of the supposedly backward and superstitious Negro used formal western education that resulted in a slight change and development of the epistemology used to demonize it. Overt use of poisonings and rituals in plots centered Obeah in the British mind and in society as evil or demonic in nature.

Freemasons and the Heartman

Although Freemasonry existed in the cultural landscape of Barbados long before the addition of the Heartman, its place within the minds of Barbadians was dictated by its proximity to the folkloric belief. Much like Obeah, the understanding of the society was rooted and for some Barbadians, remains rooted in its proximity to the Heartman. Freemasonry is an organization which encapsulates the idea of 'othering,' both as a recipient and a perpetrator. Ramsay (2010) highlights that this othering contributes to the void of knowledge which surrounds the society and its inner workings, as it regulates the average citizen to the position of outsider and denotes the feeling of exclusivity and construction of superiority to those who are barred from gaining access. This rigid othering of the population undergirds the foreignness or separateness of two distinct cultures, where one is viewed as exotic or mysterious, and the other as normative, and may explain inclusion of Lodges in the legend.

Marshall (1996) states that Goodman's disappearance, which heralded the addition of the Lodge and specifically Lodge members as Heartmen, occurred around the 1940s. However, as the legend of the Heartman would not exist until the early 1950s, it is more likely that this disappearance occurred around the 1950s, and it was linked to the Heartman. It could in part have been the result of individuals attempting to reconcile the small parcels of information that was known about the Lodge at the time with what they imagined would have occurred because

of the secret meetings, the ominous symbols and unusual dress of Lodge members. Thus, the act of othering of Freemasons created a barrier which the Barbadian population could not cross and sought to understand using the ways of knowing they had, and which guided their understanding of the society whose members thrived on shrouding themselves in secrecy.

The Heartman in the Post-Independence Era

The post-independence era in Barbados marked a significant transitional period for the island within the socio-economic and political spheres. On one hand, with its establishment as an independent nation-state, Barbados needed to reckon with the historical and cultural heritages of the colonial past, while the country also needed to establish strong economic and political viability in the face of globalization and western imperialism. Within these circumstances, the evolution of the Heartman has impacted the cultural landscape of Barbados.

Globalization

The Heartman re-emerged in the Barbadian cultural landscape in the 1970s and 80s with the murders of five young women. Known as the Canefield Murders, they occurred during Barbados' transition from an agrarian based economy to one based in tourism, highlighting the colonial idealization of the cane fields and the imposition of globalization on Barbadian society, as indicated by the removal of the fields. The fields were being replaced by luxury homes in order to sustain the new tourism based economy (Connell 2010).

The cane fields are a major artery of the Barbadian cultural landscape; they were used as a dumping ground for the murdered victims. The cane field as a nostalgic symbol of national prosperity is precious to the Barbadian cultural landscape and is juxtaposed with the fear emanating from the cane field. This symbology showcases the syncretism that defines the culture

of the island, which is rooted in the historical inheritance of the colonial pasts, both British and African. The canes represent pride and prosperity for the British, and death and violence for the enslaved Africans; they exemplify idealized Barbados colliding with the submerged Barbados and illustrate the tensions between the rhetoric and the real.

This symbology also speaks to the impact of globalization on the cultural landscape, as this once glorious symbol of wealth has lost its importance and centrality as a cultural icon. Globalization is the integration and absorption of economic, social, and political systems into a global economy to ensure cohesion on the world stage. To respond to globalization and to the lack of economic viability of sugar production, Barbados turned to tourism to sustain itself. The focus on tourism has centered the idealized Barbados, eroded the landscape and determined the expression of the culture of the island.

While Connell's (2010) newspaper article does not directly reference the Heartman, he is connected to the murders, as the cane fields were used as the dumping grounds for the murdered bodies. The case underscores an important facet of the Heartman and that is its evolution; with the destruction of the cane fields, a rupture presented itself in how the belief was expressed, as jobs shifted from rural areas and into developing urban economies created by tourism. With migration of people into these areas, the belief changed, evolving into a form influenced by exposure to the wider global culture. These shifts resulted in the creation of two distinct versions of the Heartman, rooted in either the urban or rural cultural communities of Barbados.

The Urban Heartman – The Heart Man Short Story

The influence of globalization can be seen in the portrayal of the Heartman in Boyce's short story as an "animal" or a "creature" (Boyce 22). The Heartman is portrayed with animalistic qualities which are in line with characteristics of a vampire, which is where Boyce draws his inspiration from. Boyce describes the attack, with the Heartman stalking his prey, swinging down from the streetlight and crouching before him like a cat before he drinks his blood, killing him to underscore the vampireesque qualities.

The centering and recognizability of these traits speak to the reach of globalization in Barbados. They reflect the impact that globalization has had on the landscape, as tourism is centered more and more, and a need to create both an exotic but familiar space for visitors increases. Globalization is assumed to establish a wider global economy that countries can contribute, participate, and share in the advantages of. This need to conform to the global economy means that certain practices are abandoned or further derided for their perceived backwardness. Thus, the reshaping of native cultural icons as in the case of the Heartman becomes necessary, especially since further connectivity through multimedia platforms has given way to an influx of external ideas and values. Those born in the age of globalization, with its easy access to branded content such as comic books, movies, and novels, express less interest in folk beliefs that would have haunted the minds of Barbadians in the past.

Additionally, as tourism became the central focus for economic prosperity, there was a significant increase in the industrial development of Barbados. During the 1980s and onwards, there was a steady increase in the availability of electricity in homes and within the landscape itself, as once poorly lit areas where now outfitted with adequate lighting. This meant that development was occurring twofold, one in the cultural arena and the other in the physical. The

materials used to bring the Heartman to life were rapidly disappearing; the cane fields to make space available for private housing, hotels, and other entertainment venues, and the introduction of radios, televisions, and smartphones into households to make way for new forms of engagement with the world. This meant that late night gatherings and moonlit walks were now replaced with the ability to gain information with the swipe of a finger. This heralded the inevitable replacement of the Heartman with characters such as Dracula, Wonder Woman, Batman, and Superman as the icons which permeated the cultural consciousness of the younger generations.

Another impact of globalization can be seen in using the Heartman as a metaphor for the LGBTQ+ community in Barbados. Although it may have been used in the past as a metaphor for the dangers of the unknown and as the expression of a cosmological world view, there is a nuance in using it to represent or to explore the reality of the LGBTQ+ community. Boyce uses the belief not as an object of fear but as means of acceptance and a giver of life. For LGBTQ+ individuals, Boyce engages and centers the Heartman within the idea of beingness. The character of the Heartman represents the sexual identity of LGBTQ+ persons, which ironically 'kills' them but also gives them life. In the story, he is very much the lifeblood of the character just as much as he takes life away.

This story highlights that while the belief is evolving to reflect the new perspectives and shifts within the physical and social arenas, there is still some level of erasure occurring. This is highlighted in Boyce's heavy use of metaphor, which downplays the core mysticism of the belief and roots it more firmly in the social. The significance of the Heartman in the story is not his connection to the cosmological but instead to the mental and emotional, further underscoring the impact of globalization on the community. Ideas imported through globalization took the form of

cultural icons and emphasized formal education and the focus on reasoning and scientific understanding, and formal education deconstructs and disavows the mythological as a way in which to engage with the world.

The Rural Heartman – The Bayker's Ridge Horror

In contrast to Boyce, Clarke's iteration of the character draws heavily from the more 'traditional' story of the Heartman. Despite the story of the graphic novel being set in the modern day, Clarke roots his version of the legend in the era of the 1970s-90s by centering Obeah and the Lodge as core aspects of the legend. The character of the Doctor is an Obeahman who becomes the Heartman through his powers. Snake becomes possessed by the Doctor to carry out his killings and locate a new host, and the priests use Christianity to repel and seal the Doctor. They combat his powers and serve as a secret enclave with knowledge not known by the public.

The graphic novel uses a visual medium to convey its narrative and sticks more closely to the rural portrayal of the Heartman. It recreates the landscape of the countryside of Barbados to showcase the physical aspects that were very much a part of the legend. By anchoring the setting of the story in the country, Clarke suggests that despite the reach of globalization into the socio-economic and political structures of the island, there remain areas where African culture persists as a major artery of the vernacular. Thus, the belief in spirits and their powers are still a part of the culture and an undeniable feature of the landscape.

Clarke uses allusion to weave into the framework of the narrative a connection with the Lodge. The priests behave in a manner similar to Lodge members in their secrecy. They represent a select group who gain their knowledge through initiation and keep it secret from the public. The Doctor, conceived as being the secret identity of Jack the Ripper, also underscores

the popular belief that Lodge members can use occult magic for nefarious purposes. His identity creates a link to the Lodge as it was believed that he was one of its members and was never caught because he was protected from the law. The Canefield Killer is incorporated into the legend, as he was believed to be a man of privilege who was possibly connected to the Lodge and thus, a Heartman.

In the use of Jack the Ripper as the Heartman, Clarke recalls the patriarchal notion of 'Little England.' This nickname which tied Barbados to Great Britain as a reflection of colonial pride and identity persists, even after the severing of ties with Great Britain through independence. 'Little England' frames the idea of power in Clarke's story. Although the Doctor is ultimately defeated by Afro-Barbadians, this defeat is accomplished through Christianity, which was brought to Barbados by Europeans. It is interesting to note that the Doctor, a European, uses Obeah to first control the overseer and then Snake to do his bidding, reflecting the syncretism that has come to define the culture of the colonial space.

Furthermore, in using the notion of 'Little England', the novel showcases that the cultural landscape of Barbados is haunted by the dynamics of power that were established during the colonial period. The Heartman is the expression of that dynamic in that he is rooted in the colonial past through his ties to Bayker's Ridge Plantation, the site of the murders, and the place where he was contained. Further, his connection with Obeah and the power of spirits made manifest and acknowledges the African centricity of the culture of Barbados. The character of the Doctor challenges the negative attitudes that are embedded in the popular consciousness towards the African spiritual practice.

These two literary works highlight the threat of globalization as it seeks to erase or disrupt the cultural norms of society through hegemonic means. Globalization establishes a

global culture that imposes the ideas and values of the West. This idea serves as the socio-economic and political crux in these novels. As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, it is difficult to separate global and indigenous cultures, especially as western culture becomes more and more accessible. Thus, partly through tourism, the evolution of culture absorbs and recontextualizes within the ontological ideas of the world. It blends the influences of global and native cultures, while simultaneously erasing parts of the native culture that are no longer relevant in the current stage of society and are remnants of a distant past.

Chapter 4: Research Methods

The research methods employed were an integration of archival research, informal interviews, and pictorial analysis. The informal interviews provided much needed context, functioned as alternative narratives to the mainstream and provided missing information that could not be sourced directly from the literature, due in part to the nature of the information. This information pertained to the Freemason societies; it regarded the nature of the societies and differences among the various institutions known to the public under the umbrella term of the Lodge. The pictorial analysis provided visual context to the literature and affirmed the narratives that were brought forth in the interviews.

Archival Research

Archival research formed the primary component of the qualitative methodology. Lewis Gaillet (2010) defines the archives as "a repository holding documents or other material, usually those of historical and/or rare value, as a source for materials to be utilized in re-envisioning and re-examining of historical discourse from a [new] critical perspective" (Lewis Gaillet 30). Using the archives should produce a narrative that interrogates preceding narratives and should contribute to less explored perspectives on established narratives. This thesis employs the use of archival research to seek out how the material housed in the selected archives have aided in the construction of a historical discourse which has permitted the 'death' of the Heartman in Barbados. I examine how the Heartman has remained in a state of limbo by deconstructing how the archives have been historically used to view him. Lewis Gaillet posits this is the work of archival research, which is why this method was used to collect information to interrogate these questions.

The materials stored in the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, the Barbados Archives Department and the West Indian Collection housed in the University of the West Indies, Cavehill Campus were used as information sources. The importance of using these places can be found in the history of their creation and also in the purposes of that creation. The Barbados Museum and Historical Society located at the Historic St. Ann's Garrison was originally built in 1817 and served as the former British Military Prison. In 1933 it became the headquarters of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society (BMHS). The desire for its existence came "out of the concerns of a select few who wished for a museum to showcase Barbadian history and educate Barbadians about the rest of the world" (Cummins 379). This meant that the artifacts housed within the museum showcased the colonial perspective of Barbados and the island's location within this perspective. As such, the museum had galleries showcasing European history, including Russian history, and artifacts acquired through the British occupation of Africa and donated from private personal collections.

In the 1980s, a committee under the leadership of Professor Woodville Marshall was established to change the narrative of the museum to reflect the reality of the society. Thus, "the 1980s saw a deliberate transformation of the BMHS into a de facto national museum, a hybrid of both colonial and post-colonial paradigms" (Cummins 379), that reflected Barbados' shift in national identity. The museum's library is dedicated to collecting and preserving intellectual property either donated via personal private collections or public intellectual property which hold significant information relating to the national identity of Barbados. The library is an important asset in my research, as it has information that would not be readily available within the public domain.

The Barbados Archives Department which serves as the national repository of information was created after a “survey of the records of Barbados by Michael J. Chandler of the Corporation of London Record Office under the auspices of the University of the West Indies” ("Barbados Archives Department "). The department was established in 1964 and is a reference service to the public. Within the Archives, one can find various legal documents such as “the 1834 Emancipation Act, and the 1966 Independent instruments” as well as “private collections and published works that include official and unofficial Barbadiana and Caribbeana” ("Barbados Archives Department "). The Archives also serve as the department which deals with records management and provides governmental departments with advice related to records management and conservation. Unlike the museum, no fee needs to be paid to guarantee access to the contents of the Archives, so that anyone can utilize its resources. The Archives tend to hold a greater volume of older archival data in comparison to the Museum’s library, which holds newspaper clippings taken from recent publications.

Finally, I used the West Indian collection located in the main library of the University of the West Indies Cavehill Campus. The University was established in 1963 and is the third campus of the University system. The West Indian Collection is one of the Special Collections housed within its main library, recently renamed the Sidney Martin Library. Similar to the Archives and the Museum, the West Indian Collection was created for the purpose of housing “books and pamphlets published in and about the Caribbean”("Sidney Martin Library"). The West Indian collection also houses theses on unique topics that have not been fully researched. The purpose of the Special Collections is to “provide access to unique items, including personal book collections, papers, and artifacts of significance to the history of Barbados and the Caribbean region” ("Sidney Martin Library").

The West Indian Collection also holds the digital archives of newspapers, and particularly for this thesis, *The Advocate*, which stretches back to the early twentieth century. *The Advocate* was the newspaper of the masses during that time, unlike *The Nation* newspaper which served mostly the upper and middle classes of Barbados. As such, information about the Heartman is more likely to appear in *The Advocate* during this time than in *The Nation*.

Lewis Gaillet encourages the acknowledgement of biases or perspectives that may be presented in the research because of the purpose behind its creation. She suggests that the researcher should determine the purpose of the person who has written the material and the message that they wish to convey. This is important for my research in using newspaper articles, as the authors and editors of these articles would ensure that specific messages were conveyed to their audiences through the admission and omission of certain information or even in the language that the information was written in.

This is evident with *The Nation* newspaper as a source for information regarding Obeah and the Freemason societies in Barbados. These institutions have historically been regarded as associated with the devil. Thus, this bias could be portrayed in information presented in articles relating to these subjects, because of the religious climate of the island and because of the newspaper's audience. *The Nation*'s primary audiences were the upper and middle classes of Barbados, and the newspaper would focus on topics and issues that would affect these classes, in a manner that would not disrupt national sensibility. This highlights Lewis Gaillet's point that the researcher should be aware of the nature of who commissioned the creation of the materials being used.

Lewis Gaillet also suggests that the researcher should "locate your subject within contemporary rhetorical artifacts and events, such as publications, conversations, public events,

and/or performances" (Lewis Gaillet 35). This means that the researcher should be able to locate the materials within contemporary culture and engage with the current climate. For example, the Heartman can be found in the graphic novel, *Heartman: The Bayker's Ridge Horror* and Tatanka Yotanka's novel *Farnum's Land*. Both novels utilize the Heartman as a medium located in the memory of the social and religious climates of Barbados. This use juxtaposes with the presence of the Heartman in Murray's *Barbados – Customs to Treasures* and various newspaper articles from the 1960s, where the Heartnan slowly shifts from being rooted distinctly in the present to slowly becoming a codified memory. Lewis Gaillet suggests that when conducting research, steps should be taken to ensure that the analysis is not divorced from the time which it is rooted in. When examining the linkage between the Freemason societies or Obeah, for example, research should begin with understanding of the significance and impact that these institutions had on society.

This thesis seeks to examine the question of whether the Heartman is being erased from Barbadian culture and if so the consequences of that erasure, through the use of archival material as a qualitative research methodology. Information was accessed and collected from the Barbados Museum and Historical Society Library, the Barbados Archives Department, and the West Indian Collection of the Sidney Martin Library of the University of the West Indies. The materials engaged with ranged from pamphlets, theses, newspaper articles, short stories, and books.

Informal Interviews

Informal interviews were used to supplement the information found in the aforementioned materials. Interviews were conducted with six individuals: Ms. Michele Springer, cultural officer of the National Cultural Foundation; Dr. Deryck Murray, professor of

Science and History at the University of the West Indies; Mr. Martin Boyce, author of the "Heart Man" short story; Mr. Matthew Clarke, graphic novelist; Dr. Anthony Richards, a retired lecturer at the University of the West Indies, and Mr. Kevin Farmer, the director of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society. Through snowball sampling, the initial interviews with Ms. Springer and Dr. Murray provided opportunities to engage with the other listed interviewees. Snowball sampling refers to the recruitment technique where research participants recruit other participants for a test or study, which was how contact with the other interviewees was made.

List of Interviewees

Ms. Michele Springer, National Cultural Officer at the National Cultural Foundation.

(July 13th, by zoom, Barbados)

Ms. Springer posited the idea of analyzing the Heartman as a metaphor. She highlighted the idea of reputation and respectability politics as they are linked to Obeah in Barbados. She also underscored the judicial system working in tandem with anglicized laws which deemed the practice of Obeah illegal and punishable by death.

Dr. Deryck Murray, Professor, U. W. I. Cavehill Campus.

(June 14th, in-person, Bridgetown, Barbados)

Dr. Murray has written on the topic of Obeah in Barbados. He provided his writings as sources and suggested the use of Creolization theory as the theoretical framework for analysis of the Heartman.

Mr. Martin Boyce, Author, the short story "Heart Man".

(August 5th, by zoom, Barbados)

Mr. Boyce conceptualizes the Heartman as a traditional Heartman with traditional vampire-like qualities, which underscores the argument of underground/submerged cultures

posited by Kamau Braithwaite. Mr. Boyce adds to the mythos by using his version of the Heartman as a metaphor related to the experience of the LGBTQ+ community in the Caribbean. He utilizes his version of the Heartman to highlight the vulnerability of this sexual minority by mirroring the vulnerability of women and children as the victims of the traditional Heartman.

Mr. Matthew Clarke, Author of the graphic novel, The Bayker's Ridge Horror.

(August 18th, by zoom, Barbados)

Mr. Clarke was inspired by several folkloric elements of the Caribbean. He sought to produce a literary work surrounding the Heartman as a means of preserving the folkloric character in some form. The discussion highlighted important points such as the fact that the story serves as a critique of what is known in Barbados as block culture, and the dynamics of Christianity and non-traditional spiritual practices which underscore the understanding of Obeah as witchcraft. Additionally, Mr. Clarke highlighted a rash of unsolved murders in Barbados during the 1970s and 80s which Barbadians linked to the Heartman. He also used Jack the Ripper in his story as a link to the Freemasons and the perceived power of authority that the position grants, as the allusion to the alleged murderer in the 1970s and 80s and as the reason he was not charged or arrested.

Dr. Anthony Richards, retired researcher.

(August 16th, by zoom, Barbados)

Dr. Richards was recommended by Dr. Murray. Our discussion unveiled new perspectives as to why the Heartman may be disappearing from Barbadian popular consciousness. That is, what causes the new ways of knowing? Which institutions are behind a shift in ways of knowing within a society? He explained this by using the example of the cultural practices that are still found in the Caribbean, such as the removing of shoes before entering a

house. This was originally done due to the belief that duppies could not come further than where one walked and as such, stopping at the door meant they could not enter the house. Currently, removing of shoes is to keep the house clean as dirt and dust are not brought inside. Burying of the navel string is a second example. As the Queen Elizabeth Hospital has replaced the home as the primary center for birth, such practices have been erased from the minds of Barbadians. The development of sanitary and health sciences which are taught at schools and then reinforced with the presence of the hospital as a primary health center further erase such practices.

Mr. Kevin Farmer, Director of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society.

(August 17th, by phone, Barbados)

Mr. Farmer examined the attitudes that the general populace has towards Freemasonry. He highlighted that misunderstandings of Freemasonry could be caused by different meanings attributed to symbols and metaphors used by masons. Iconography within and associated with the Lodge and its operation as a secret society have spurred the fantastical stories. These circumstances create the perfect breeding ground for the proliferation of conspiracy theories of its supposed activities.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

Archival Analysis

The Barbados Advocate has informed the people of Barbados and remains a primary newspaper in the country. As a news outlet which is widely read across the nation, it disseminates information which influences the perceptions of the public towards cultural beliefs and attitudes. For example, a 1952 article details the murder of a 23-month-old baby by Burton Springer, a poor white male. This incident occurred in 1951 and served as the inspiration for the creation and sustained belief of the Heartman in Barbados.

The article, "Fisherman Charged with Child Murder: Ritual Alleged by Eyewitness", which is housed in the West Indian Collection at the University of the West Indies, highlights how one incident underscored by its gruesomeness can enter the popular consciousness and inform the attitudes of people long after it occurred. Perhaps it could have been because the child in question had been kidnapped, not only in broad daylight but from within the confines of their abode, or the perhaps the brutality of the murder.

The article documents that "He held the child over a bucket, cut a hole in the child's right side and blood flowed into the bucket. He then cut the child in half with the sickle. He then cut a half and took out of the heart…He took out the heart and liver and put them in a glass jar. He then moved the skin from the child's head and knocked off the skull with the sickle. He took out the brain and also put that in the jar. He put the remainder of the head, belly and the child's clothing in the bag" (The Barbados Advocate 5).

This description of the murder firmly entrenched it into the minds of the populace. Furthermore, it served as the basis for the lore of the Heartman that is evident in its many reimaginations. For example, black magic is present in the original story, as seen in Springer's

use of “a green book” to contact the spirits in an effort to receive money to go to Canada (The Barbados Advocate 5). The existence of this green book as the catalyst for the ritual recalls the powers of the Obeahman. These so-called “medicine men or witch-doctors” were “individuals who had supernatural powers to do acts of good or evil” (Stoute 1975). Situating of “the green book” and the occult as driving forces behind the 1951 ritualistic murder propelled the belief of Obeah to public attention. A result of this was the shift from thinking of Obeah as a hidden craft by the public.

The article, “Old Barbados: The “Obeah” Doctor”, from *The Barbados Advocate* underscores that the presence of the Obeahman is part of a bygone era and highlights the secrecy that is attributed to the practice. It is an important article because it highlights the presence of Obeahmen as living history. It also points to the presence of Obeahmen in other ethnic groups such as Native Americans. The article serves as an archival record of how beliefs and perceptions about Obeahmen are constructed by the public.

The use of *The Advocate* newspaper provides a look into the mindset of people living at the time in which these articles were written. These documents allude to the attitudes of the society in both time and space, showcasing the development of attitudes towards certain elements, in this case Obeah, amongst the populace. The article documenting the 1951 murder and Stoute’s article are both published in *The Advocate Newspaper*, which was also the newspaper of the working class of Barbados during that time. Currently, while *The Advocate* is still widely read, *The Nation News* has taken its place of prominence within the working-class community. As *The Advocate* was once the more widely read of the two newspapers, it is necessary to examine *The Advocate* to reconstruct the society of the 1950s with its social, economic, and political complexities.

In *The Advocate*, the evolution from an agrarian or sugar economy to a tourism-based economy is evident in Barbados. The evolution is seen in articles which highlight burgeoning tourism through cruise ships that bring passengers to the Island. Further, demolition of cane fields has occurred to construct tourist attractions such as malls, recreation centers and other commercial enterprises. *The Advocate* underscores the understanding that the island could feasibly generate significant income by marketing as a tourist destination, especially against the backdrop of Great Britain's economic devastation after World War 2, the creation of the West Indies Federation and eventual independence of countries in the West Indies. The demand on Barbados to sustain itself in such tumultuous economic times perhaps contributed to why the 1951 incident had been so devastating for an island that for most of its existence has enjoyed relative peace. These articles, therefore, provide a snapshot of a society in motion, reconstructing the society as it shifts and redefines itself within the larger context of the global world.

This idea is further emphasized by *The Nation News*, in particular the shift from *The Advocate* to *The Nation* as the newspaper of the working and middle-class sections of Barbados. This can be seen in the instance of the Canefield Killer, who during the 1970s to the early 1980s was responsible for the deaths of five women, and whose deeds were widely circulated in *The Nation News* and not *The Advocate*. In 2010, an article about the Canefield Killer was published in *The Nation* and not in *The Advocate*, showing a dynamic social shift in the attitudes adopted and represented by the populace.

The shift is showcased in the establishment of the two newspapers. *The Advocate*, established in 1895 and rooted within a colonial Barbados, reflects the attitudes it would have presented through the articles it chose to publish. *The Advocate* reflected the concerns and attitudes of the white elite and working class, those who could read and who cared about the

ongoing politics of the world as it affected 'Little England'. Thus, it focused outwards and oriented eurocentrism as it related to the interest of the white elites that read it.

In contrast, the *Daily Nation* or *Nation News* was established in 1973 and is rooted in the experiences of post-independence Barbados. It seeks to carve out for itself an identity as a nation-state separate from Great Britain. In keeping with that objective, *The Nation News* came to reflect Black Barbadian understanding, attitudes, and concerns within Barbados. There was a focus on the wider world, but it was not in the prominent vein that was reproduced in *The Advocate*. *The Nation* sought to highlight the everyday life and incidents that affected Barbadians, that Black Barbadians had a stake in, and which therefore characterized their reality.

The article, "Case Not Closed: The Killing Fields", provides a brief overview of the murders that took place during that time. The article begins,

"The canefield, once a majestic symbol of the island's prosperity, took on a more sinister reputation in the early 1980s. Apart from yielding the world-famous muscovado sugar and being the heart of the national celebration of the Crop-Over Festival, the fields were being the temporary graves of a few young women. The island, it seemed, was cursed with its own Jack-the-Ripper, the notorious English serial killer who cast a shadow of fear over Old London Town in 1888 when he gutted five women" (Connell 2010).

The article suggests that the cane fields, while still a part of the physical landscape, are now a remnant of a bygone era. During this era, Barbados measured its importance and asserted its authority through canes and sugar production. The inclusion of "once a majestic symbol" coupled with its linkage to Crop-Over (Connell 2010) highlights the location of the canefield within this new era. These murders however, spanning from 1973 to 1982, remain unsolved. Much like the 1951 incident, they created an atmosphere within the island that ensured the

longevity of the folkloric belief in the Heartman. This can be seen in the usage of the cane fields as a killing field, the fear that spread throughout the area in which the bodies were found, and that despite having a suspect, no one was ever arrested for the murders.

The fact that the suspect identified by the police was able to escape arrest because he was a member of the upper crust of society establishes a connection or at least provides a reason as to why members of the Lodge could have been suspected as serial killers. Many members of the Lodge are individuals who exist within that section of society. They are also believed by the general populace to be exempt from punishment should they commit a crime because of their high social status.

The fear that these murders inspired and the additions to the Heartman lore can be seen in this narrative from Connell's article,

"The fields are now disappearing from the landscape to be replaced by some of the most luxurious houses. But the mention of the canefield still chills the blood. Those who lived through the experience remember when women rushed home before dark and avoided lonely areas, and girls were warned against accepting rides from strangers" (Connell 2010).

Arguably, the Heartman as synonymous with serial killers in Barbados originates from its connections to the cane fields. For example, Evanson notes,

"So, the news that one man, a 21-year-old, was charged yesterday with three killings, all taking place within the space of four months in this year, has set tongues wagging" (Evanson 2014). This note was enough for the connection to the Heartman to be established.

The Nation also time capsules Barbadian society but does so differently from *The Advocate*. *The Advocate* captured a time, a society as it began a new stage of development. In contrast, *The Nation* does the opposite by highlighting a society that has developed in a new

direction and shifted towards new attitudes but has ultimately lost as much as it has gained in doing so. *The Nation* reflected the new ideals which Barbadians were striving towards, the construction of a Barbadian identity. Thus, the articles that were presented in *The Nation* shifted away from the focus of *The Advocate* which showcased world news over native news. This reflected the fact that *The Advocate* sought to replicate the ideals of its readership who viewed Barbados as an extension of Great Britain and thus, international and Euro-centric news were prominently reported in its pages. However, *The Nation*, emerging out of post-independence Barbadian consciousness, sought to place more emphasis on native news, as the gaze had shifted from defining Barbados by its connection with Great Britain and the wider world to defining Barbados from within.

Analysis of Interviews

The informal interviews conducted highlighted key themes surrounding the exploration of the Heartman within the Barbadian cultural landscape. In the interview with Springer (2021), she posits that the Heartman functions as a metaphor. The Heartman as a representation of the cultural landscape allows for a deeper analysis of the implications of shifting cultural norms and physical landscape that is present in Barbados. The Heartman as metaphor serves the underlying purpose of highlighting the two distinct eras which this thesis seeks to examine, as well as underscores the evolution that occurred from one era to the next. Richards (2021) highlights a specific way of knowing and a state of mind that is reflected in the metaphorical representation of the Heartman as it existed within a specific time and space. This relates to the themes which Murray (2021) discusses, which also underscore relations between Obeah and the Heartman.

The interviews can be separated into two categories: the first which focuses on the Heartman through the lens of an African way of knowing, and the second which is the

reconstruction of the Heartman due to cultural submersion and western imperialism. The second lens is supported by the conceptualization of the Heartman as metaphor for the underground cultures or the expression of the two Barbadoses (Best 38) as evident through the 'erasure' of the Heartman.

The first theme to be examined is that of ways of knowing. This theme is explored using the African spiritual practice as a point of focus. Murray's (2021) interview sheds light on the context of the practice; he states that Obeah is the catch all term for the lost African spiritual tradition. Further, he notes that the term Obeah originates from Obi, an Igbo term which means *heart*. Obeahmen, who are viewed and treated as the outcasts of society, are titular Heartmen who kidnap, kill, and remove the hearts of their victims. Furthermore, Murray (2021) highlights that despite functioning as a system of healing, due to the mysteries and mystique that surrounded it, the planters began to refer to all African spiritual practices as Obeah, thereby linking it with a term they identified as evil. This is underscored by the point which Richards (2021) makes regarding ways of knowing. He highlights the role of institutions and the part they played in reorganizing or redefining the ways that African bodies in the Caribbean engaged with reality and how they constructed their belief systems. He underscores this by stating that,

"In some places they came, and they were strengthened after the Haitian Revolution. And the concern amongst plantation owners and their so-called judiciary was when poisonings either caused them to lose slaves or threatened them as individuals. After the Haitian Revolution they were afraid of insurrection and new laws came in, draconian laws, which are still on the books" (Richards 2021).

Richards (2021) highlights the power of these institutions and how it was wielded and mobilized within the colonial space. He further underscores just how far reaching that power is

with the acknowledgement that the laws that were conceived within that time are still very much in effect to this day. It is also significant in the conceptualization of thinking in the form of belief systems as these institutions would have become the cornerstones of individual and collective thinking. For instance, returning to the laws, Richards suggests that before the Haitian Revolution, African spiritual practices were allowed to function within some capacity in the enslaved communities. These practices would have served, for example, as a means for the enslaved community to govern themselves, to punish bad or unmoral behaviors, and would have provided services such as healing to them. And thus, in that capacity, the enslaved would have been allowed to function with little oversight from the planters. However, the Haitian Revolution and prominent role which Voodoo played in it caused the mobilization of these institutions in a bid for the colonial power to protect itself.

Richards (2021) states that as a result, "the response of the Church was a specific response almost as though triggered by a military or a security concern rather than a theological concern". He suggests that the role of the institution was not to erase these practices at first, but to establish a power dynamic where it was understood that these practices were subordinate to Christianity on the colonial totem pole. Thus, when it threatened the colonial structure, it became a threat. For the colonial authority, it was evil and needed to be removed. Richards (2021) also notes that from a theological perspective, African spiritual practice only entered the vernacular as evil when it threatened the security of the planters.

Additionally, Richards (2021) highlights another aspect that is linked to the evolution of a new way thinking. Once again using African traditions as the focal point, he emphasizes Springer's point on respect and respectability, and that the reason for utilizing a new way of knowing is that in exchange for being the new way of knowing, European belief systems first

had to make the old way of knowing, African spiritual traditions, obsolete or forgotten. Europeans accomplished this erasure by making African spiritual practices illegal and attaching a social stigma to those who practiced them. Ironically, they continued to seek out these individuals for solutions to problems and for advice, although demonizing it.

Richards showcases this when he states,

“If I go into Bridgetown and ask a people about duppies and duppy trees or anything like that, the first thing I'll hear is "Man, man no! Not here, that thing ain’t here in Barbados! Check Saint Lucia! … [laughs] Nuttin so, in Barbados. Nuttin so. And a couple of beers later you would hear a completely different story. [laughs] But the frontline, the frontline answer is... tell me about a duppy. What is a duppy? You, define duppy! Is a rational [laughs] a rationalist approach and as you say that must come from somewhere" (Richards 2021).

This rationalization and the adoption of a new way of knowing is implemented in the reconstruction of the Heartman. This is seen in the reconceptualization of the character in terms that can be understood by the modern populace. As Richards notes, it is the only response that they know. Thus, the idea of linking the Heartman to Jack the Ripper or a vampire is understandable, as the first reestablishes a tie with the European way of knowing through its colonial connection and furthers the narrative of Barbados as Little England. The second further underscores the influence of globalization and imperialism within the institutions that guide the new way of knowing.

This is seen in the interview conducted with Boyce (2021) where the lore of the folkloric character has been reconstructed to express the reality of the society that exists. For instance, Boyce (2021) uses the Heartman to explore and examine the LGBTQ+ communities in Barbados. He reconstructs the Heartman as a vampire-like creature because “it is a monster but

still very human" as he wanted him to be "as relatable as possible whilst still being a monster" (Boyce 2021). This is significant as Boyce presents an example of a new way of knowing. Popular culture, in the form of the vampire, has eroded the link between the subaltern or the underground where traditional beliefs would have served as the method of expression and allegory needed to emphasize the struggles of the oppressed minority, which in this case has shifted to encompass sexual and gender minorities, in addition to women and children.

Boyce (2021) emphasizes the idea of reconstruction as the Heartman conforms to a version of a vampire, despite his efforts to retain some Caribbeanness through portraying a physicality that is familiar (this Heartman's dreadlocks). As such, Boyce (2021) states,

"The Heartman takes every vein in him into his fist. So, there is an idea of taking the heart but in a different way. And not in a literal – cutting it out of the body but he does take his heart."

In this context, the removal of the heart is more of a symbol tied into the sexual awakening of the victim, as in this version of the Heartman, the process by which he kills his victim is through the "sucking of blood" as opposed to carving it out as the original Heartman did. However, it can be argued that this change results from the function of the Heartman as a metaphor, in this case for the LGBTQ+ experience and thus, the image evoked with the drinking of blood, its "sexual nature" more effectively links the character to the newly oppressed and marginalized groups it serves as a stand in for.

Furthermore, the recreation of the Heartman is seen in the *Bayker's Ridge Horror* graphic novel, where the Heartman serves as the primary antagonist of the series. Clarke underscores the reconstruction of the Heartman during his interview, where he emphasizes the connection which the folkloric character is alleged to have with the Freemason societies. This connection is

highlighted by using Jack the Ripper as the identity of the Heartman, which is significant as it relates to negative perceptions of the Lodges among the general populace, and also indicates the cultural identity which Barbados seeks to identify with. It is significant to highlight the treatment of the Lodge in the novel as it showcases an awareness of the attitudes towards Freemason societies in Barbados.

Due to the secret nature of the societies and disappearance of a man from a village with a Lodge nearby, it became common place for Barbadians to assume that the members of these societies were practicing 'black magic' and were therefore Heartmen. It was believed that initiates would kidnap and carve out the hearts of their victims as a part of the initiation ritual into the Lodge. Clarke emphasizes the link between the Heartman and the Lodge as the 'other' in a society dominated by the Anglican church through the interweaving of the 'Doctor' with Obeah through his use of the "poppet", an apparatus in his schemes and an item also used in Voodoo ceremonies ("Freemasons and the Heartman" 2021). His interview emphasizes the 'otherness' of both the Lodge and African spiritual practices within the Barbadian populace. For Freemason societies, it showcases the perception that they are engaged in 'demonic rituals' due in part to the secrecy that surrounds the inner workings of the Lodge. It also presents the belief that members are afforded a much higher privilege that allows them to escape punishment from the law due to their positions as members. In addition, Clarke focuses this perception of the Lodge as 'evil' or 'demonic' through the conflation of it with Obeah in the novel and because the 'Doctor' is finally stopped and sealed away through the power of Christianity.

Unlike Obeah and other African spiritual traditions, there were no laws or institutions established to suppress the growth or existence of the Freemasons in Barbados. In his interview, Farmer (2021) states that the Lodge is "a blank slate to project fears onto". He suggests that the

natural secrecy of these societies tapped into the human propensity for conspiracies. As such, seeking to understand it for themselves, outsiders crafted an image of the Freemasons as one that is rooted in evil and witchcraft. As Farmer (2021) states, "the symbols of Masonry employed by the Lodge are allegory wrapped in metaphor". To further explain this point, he uses the example of the skeleton, which is a major symbol in masonic belief, whilst in the minds of the general populace the image of the skeleton evokes the notion of death. For Freemasons, however, it represents life and because it is a Masonic belief, this is known only to its members. For an outsider, it would be interpreted as an artifact of evil. In the instance with the Heartman, because of the secrecy, Lodge members would be assumed to be Obeahmen and thus practitioners of "black magic" or Obeah.

Pictorial Analysis

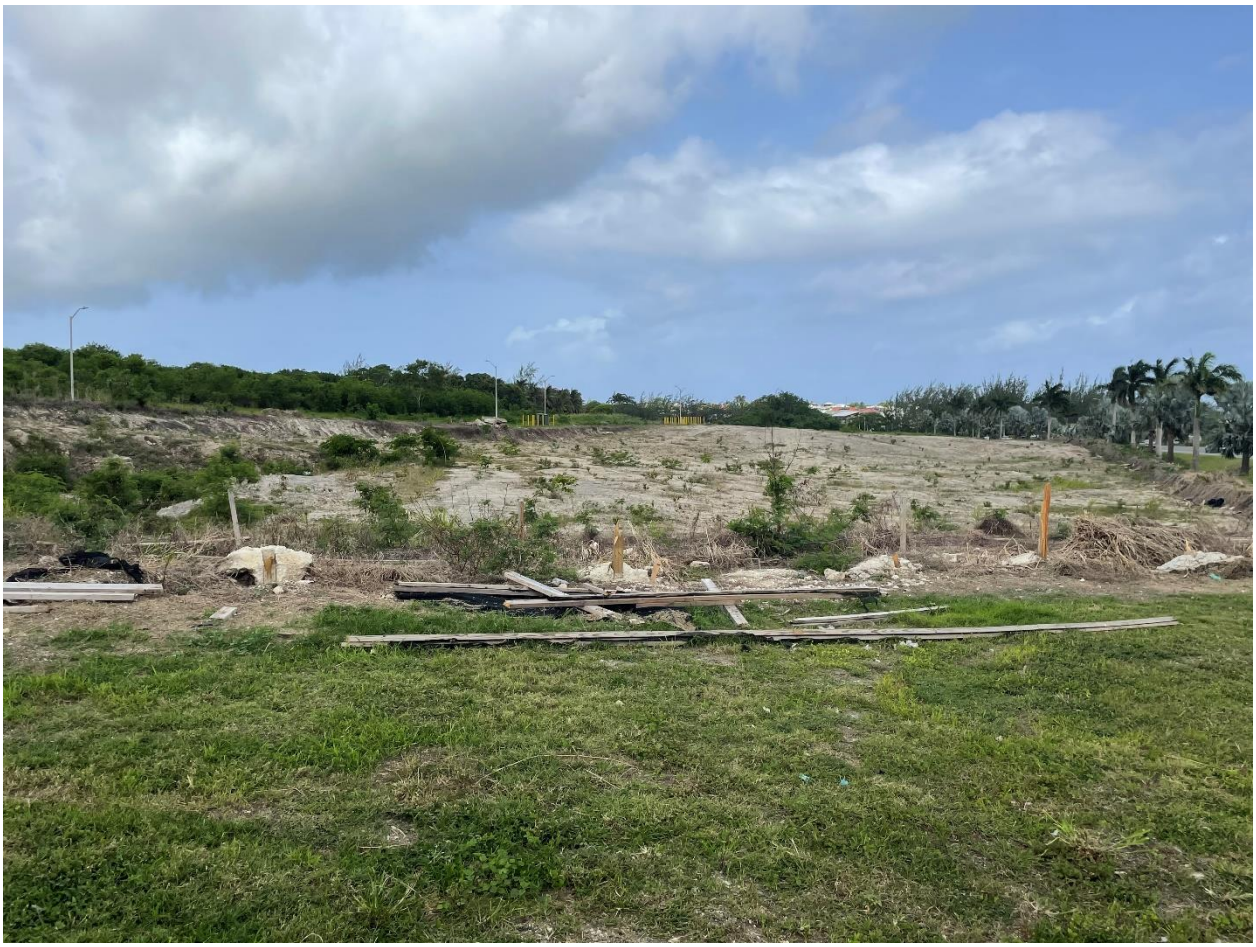
My thesis posits that due to the shifting contemporary culture of Barbados, traditional practices that were once a part of our historical narrative are being forgotten and thus erased, as is evident with the Heartman. The Heartman has seen an erasure from the popular culture of Barbados, to be replaced with an imported popular culture through the means of western cultural and economic imperialism. Here the two major sites of discussion are identified: the physical landscape and the cultural landscape. Although both concepts are within the scope of the legend and intertwine and inform each other, I attempt to separate the two to explain how these two concepts have informed the evolution of the legend of the Heartman.

The first concept to be discussed is the physical landscape and the shift from an agrarian based economy to a more industrial and commercialized economy tailored towards tourism. It was this shift towards tourism that emphasized the dramatic reshaping of the Barbadian physical landscape. The cane fields which had become an irreplaceable part of the physical landscape

gave way to the mechanisms of industrialization and were destroyed to erect sites of industrialization such as hotels, mall complexes and housing. With the erasure of this feature from the landscape, the place that the Heartman held within the cultural landscape shifted, and it would come to occupy another sphere within it. This is significant as a main plot point in the short story named after the legend was the existence of the cane fields which served as a site of expression for the legend.

This is also significant when understanding the erasure of the Heartman in Barbadian folk culture. This thesis proposes that the Heartman is being purposefully forgotten and thereby permanently removed from the Barbadian cultural landscape. The destruction of the physical landscape has assisted in erasure of the Heartman from the cultural landscape. As previously noted, existence of the Heartman relies on the continued existence and widespread prevalence of the oral tradition and the cane fields, both of which have been steadily replaced with western media and industrialization.

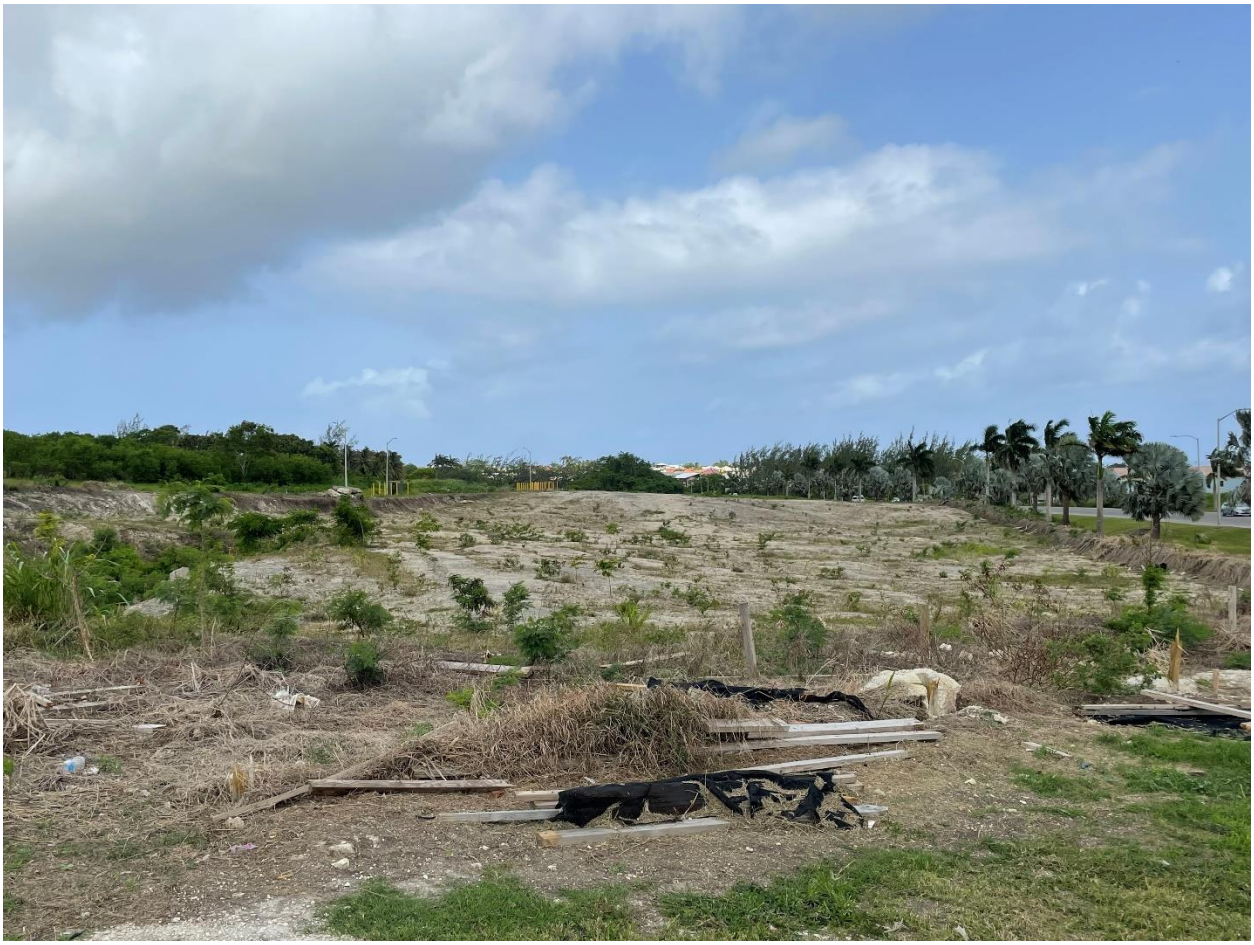
1)



Former plantation located near Balls Plantation, Christ Church, Barbados

The loss of heritage to the development of tourist amenities has negative implications for folk culture in Barbados and can be observed using the Heartman as a metaphor for this loss.

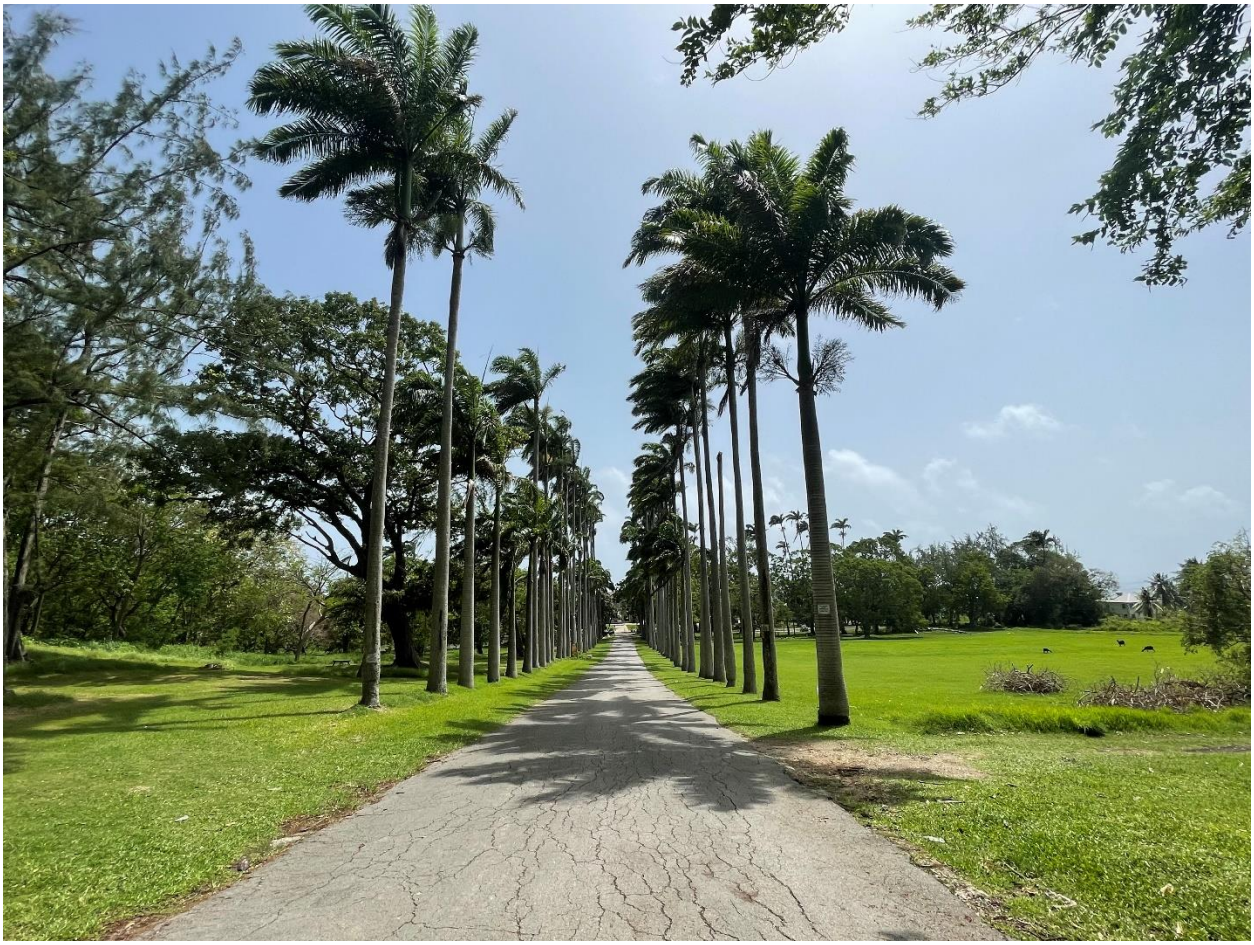
2)



Former canefield located near Balls Plantation, Christ Church, Barbados. Land sold for the purpose of industrial development in the form of a new location for Cheffete Restaurants.

Best suggests that two vastly different and opposing cultures exist within Barbadian culture. He separates culture into the categories of popular and folk culture. Popular culture is defined as a commodity and a product of industrialization. Folk culture is defined as a product of "a stable tradition of social order in which social differences are not at work" (Best 36).

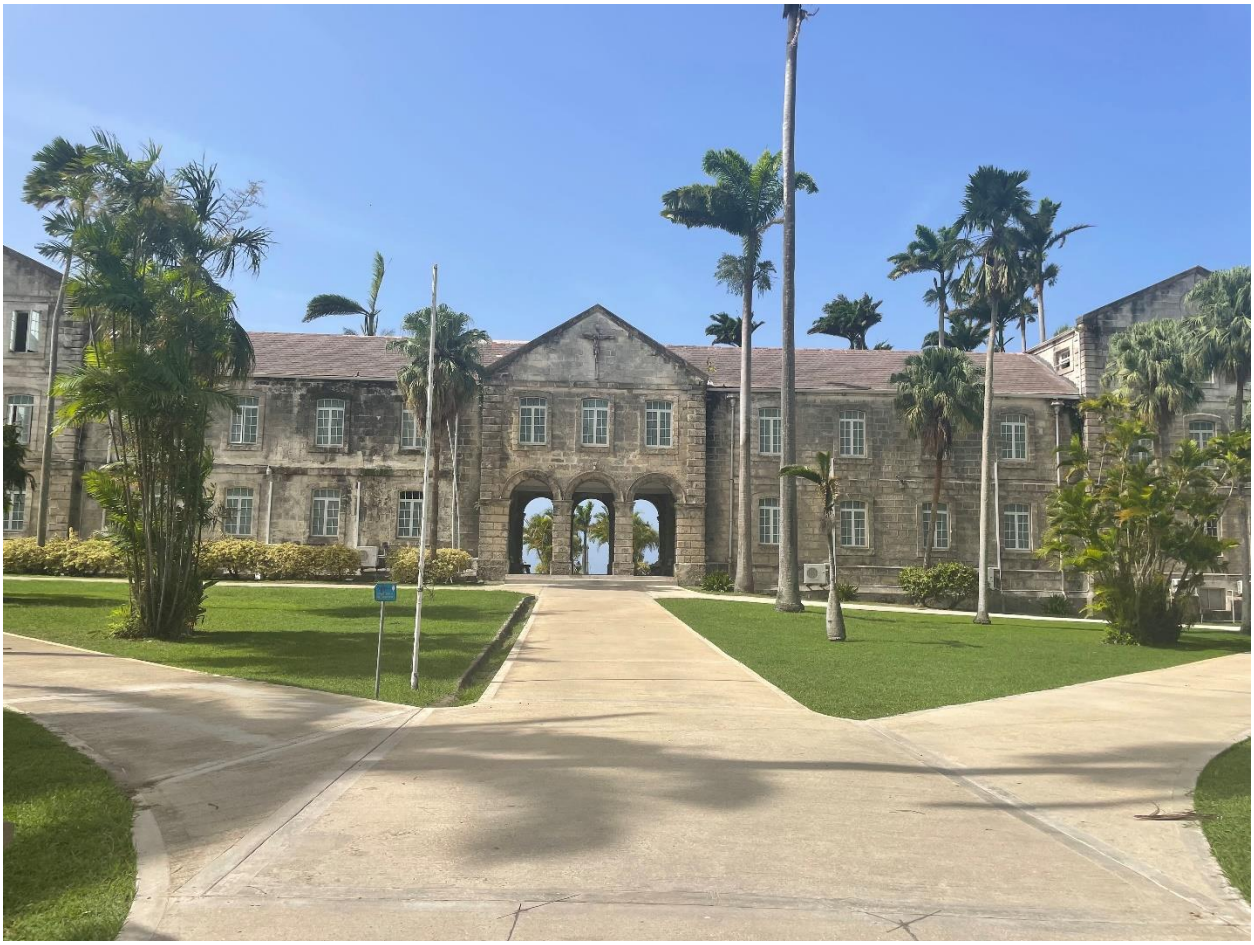
3)



Codrington College, located in St. John, Barbados – pathway

Pictured above is the driveway into Codrington College which shows the roots of the college as a former plantation. This is seen in the presence of the royal palms as these trees were used to demarcate properties as plantations in the Caribbean. The College currently serves as the theological center of the island. As an institution, it ensured the domination of the Christian faith on the island and functioned as a site which ruthlessly stamped out or oppressed the African spiritual traditions that the enslaved living here would have practiced.

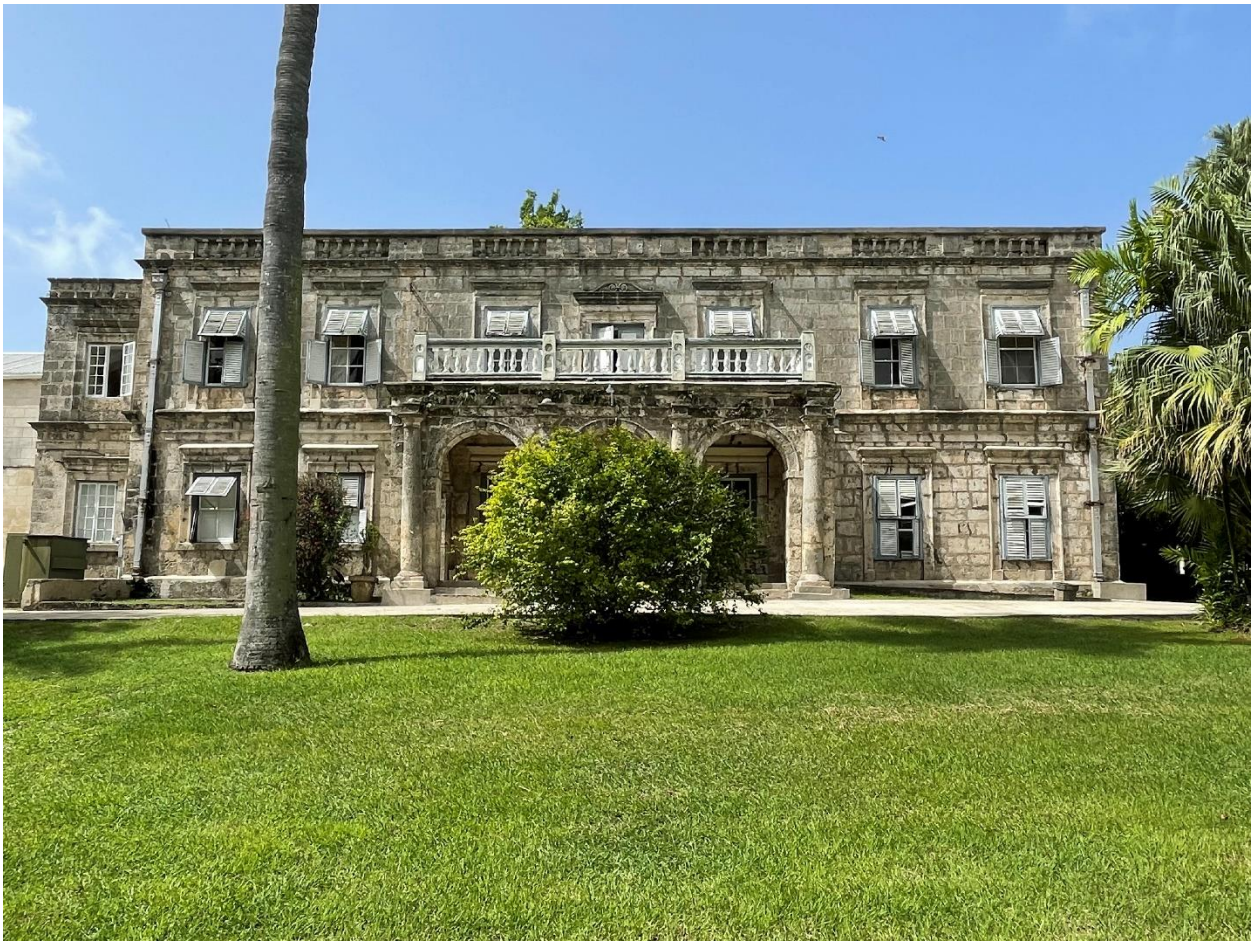
4)



Codrington College, located in St. John, Barbados

The college has served as a seminary college since it was built in the 1700s and as a plantation owned by the Anglican Church. Although it no longer serves as a plantation, it is still a seminary college that is now attached to the University of the West Indies. A course analyzing Obeah from a theological perspective is taught at the college.

5)

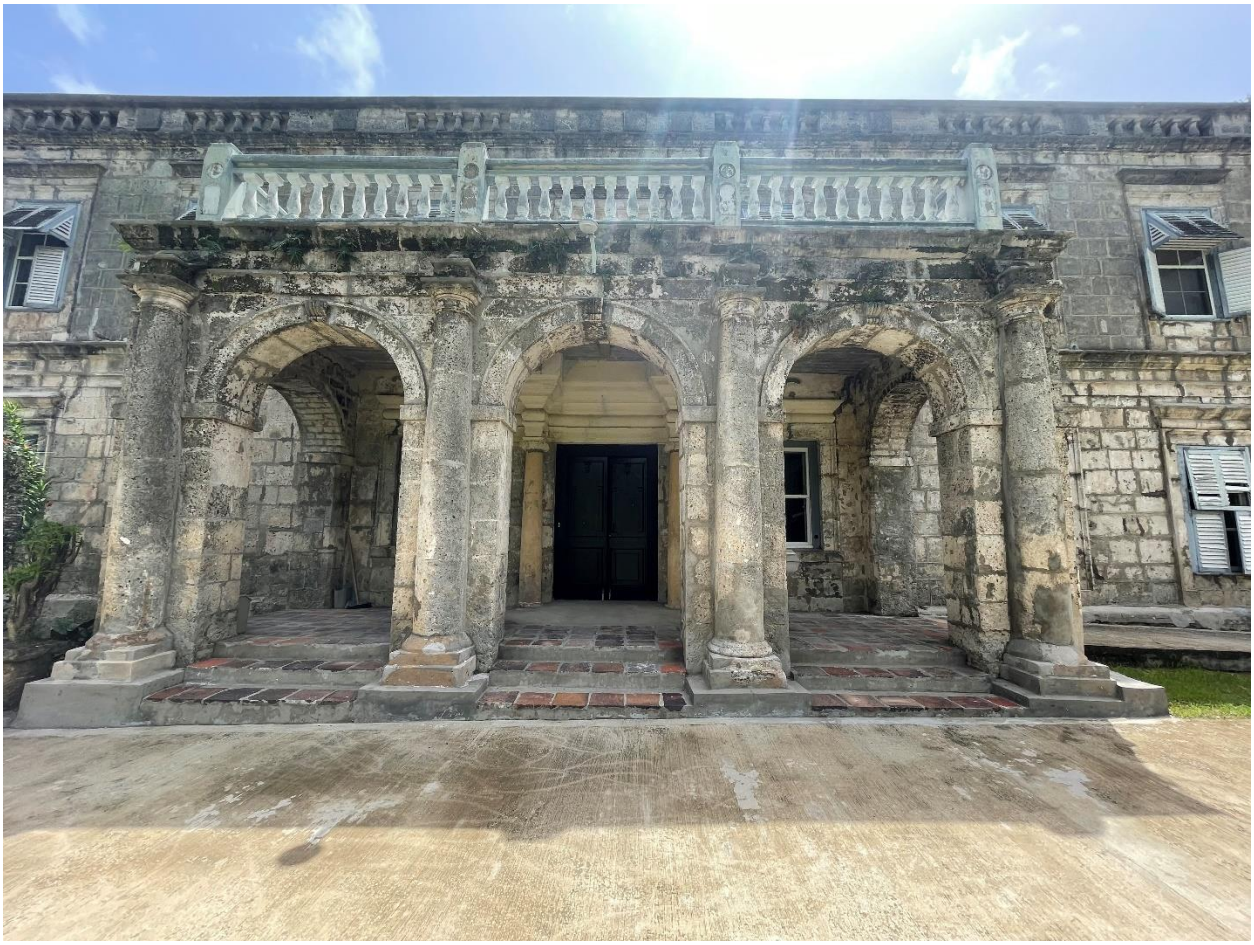


Library located at Codrington College, St. John, Barbados

As the Seminary College in Barbados, the library serves as the primary location for the island's theological literature. It was an important facet of my research as it provided several texts which focused on the construction of African Spiritual Practices (Obeah) and the attitudes towards Obeah within social and theological spheres. As a means of understanding how to engage the study of history through a cultural lens, it provides a starting point from which to structure critical analysis by providing ample evidence of the interconnections between history and culture. This approach informs my thesis, which posits that due to the shifting contemporary

culture of Barbados, traditional practices that were once a part of our historical narrative are being forgotten and thus erased, as is evident with the Heartman.

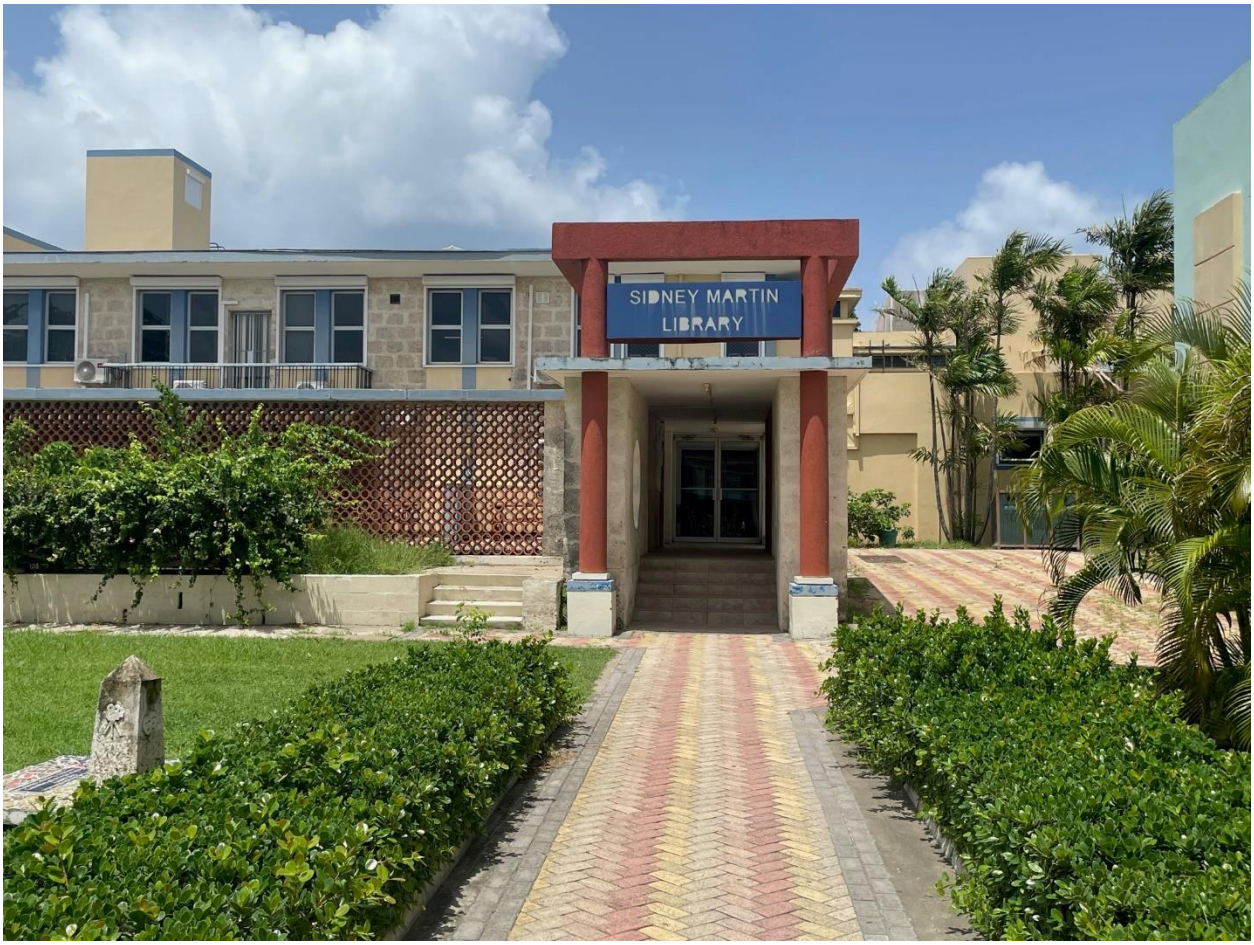
6)



Library located at Codrington College

Literature on Obeah from a theological perspective was sourced from this institution. Culture and history are intertwined and are in fact born out of each other as history is important to understand the significance of a culture, and culture is developed or shifts because of a people's history. History engages with the popular culture of a society; it is difficult to understand the impact of a historical, policy or social change without first understanding how it has reshaped culture and contributed to contemporary culture. As such, history is the catalyst that shapes and informs the existing culture (Pickering 2008).

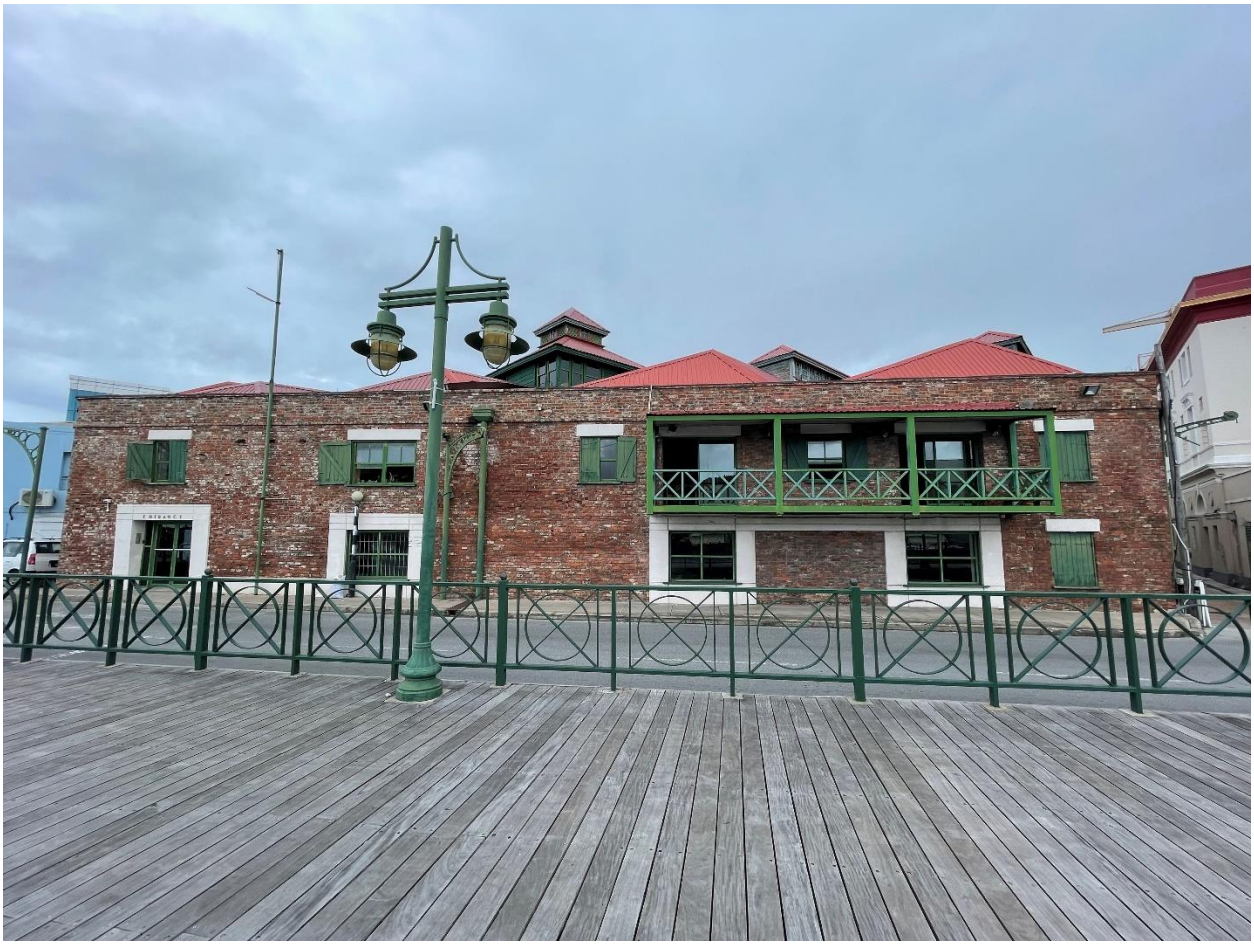
7)



The Sidney Martin Library is the main library of the University of the West Indies Cavehill Campus

The Sidney Martin Library houses the West Indian Collection, the location of the microfilm records of *The Barbados Advocate*. *The Advocate* served as a premier newspaper during the 1950s and 1960s. It was widely circulated and read by the general populace of Barbados and served as a medium to disseminate news of the 1951 incident, which is the basis for the legend of the Heartman.

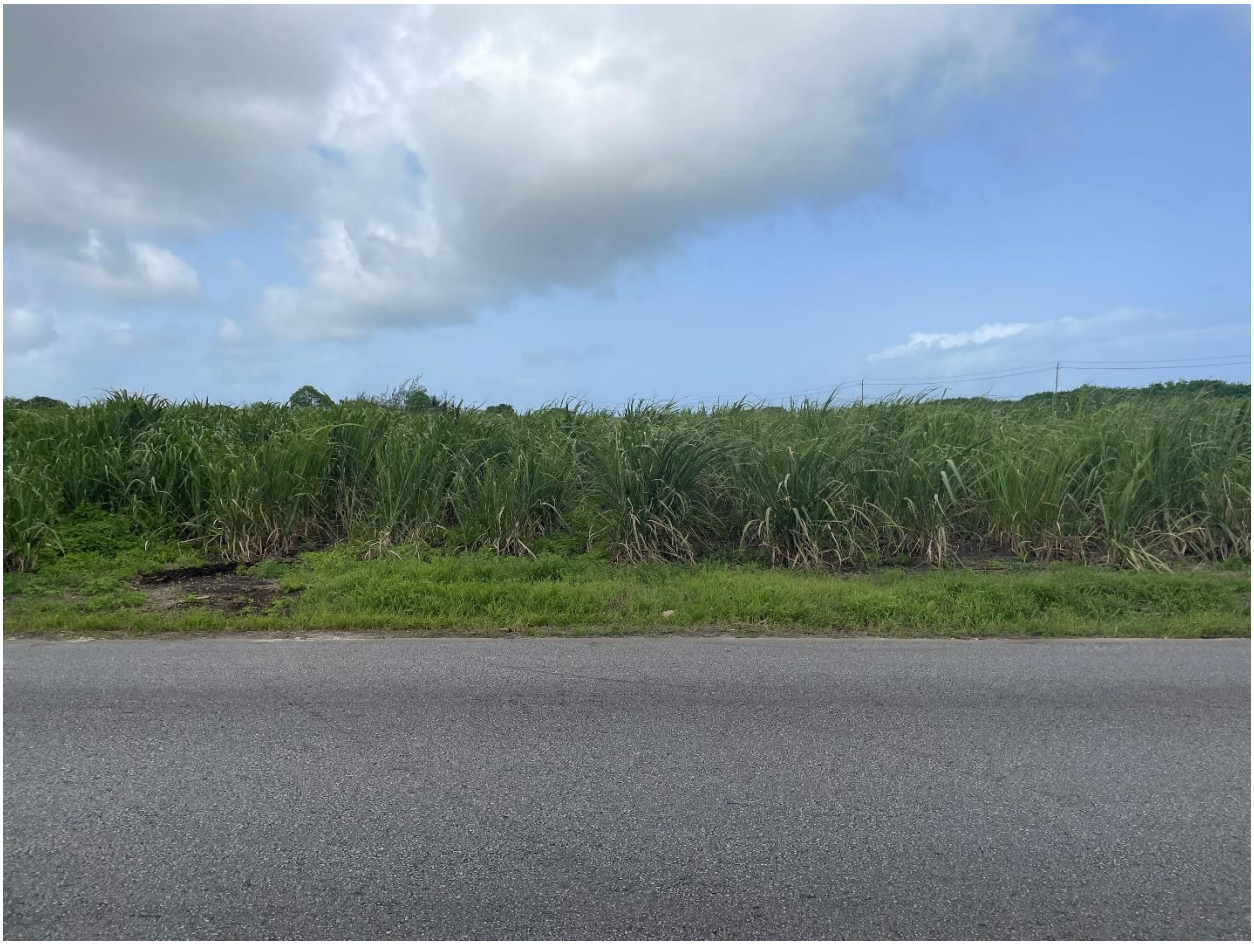
8)



The Old Spirit Bond located in the city of Bridgetown

This building once stored barrels of molasses that would be exported to Great Britain and distilled into rum. It is a remnant of the era of Barbados when wealth and importance were determined by the production of muscovado sugar and its by-products. The building contributes to reconstruction of the historical setting when such structures and the cane fields where still significant parts of the cultural and social contexts of the island. The legend of the Heartman within the Barbadian cultural landscape would change, as the physical landscape shifted from isolated agrarian cane fields to highly populated industrial areas and as the cultural landscape shifted from Afro-centric practices to more western influenced practices.

9)



Cane field located in St. John, Barbados

The cane fields are remnants of Barbados' colonial past and function as sites that anchored belief in the Heartman in Barbados. Rather than being cultivated, the cane fields are now viewed as land to be used for the construction of infrastructure. Heritage tourism highlights the concept of cultural homogenization as the state actively seeks to remove aspects of the indigenous culture, so that it can be packaged as an experience to tourists. This practice contributes to the erasure of the Heartman from the popular consciousness of Barbadians. The folkloric character has not been ascribed an economic value within the capitalist structures of

heritage tourism and thus, beyond a passing mention in a newspaper article, is no longer enshrined in the memory of the people.

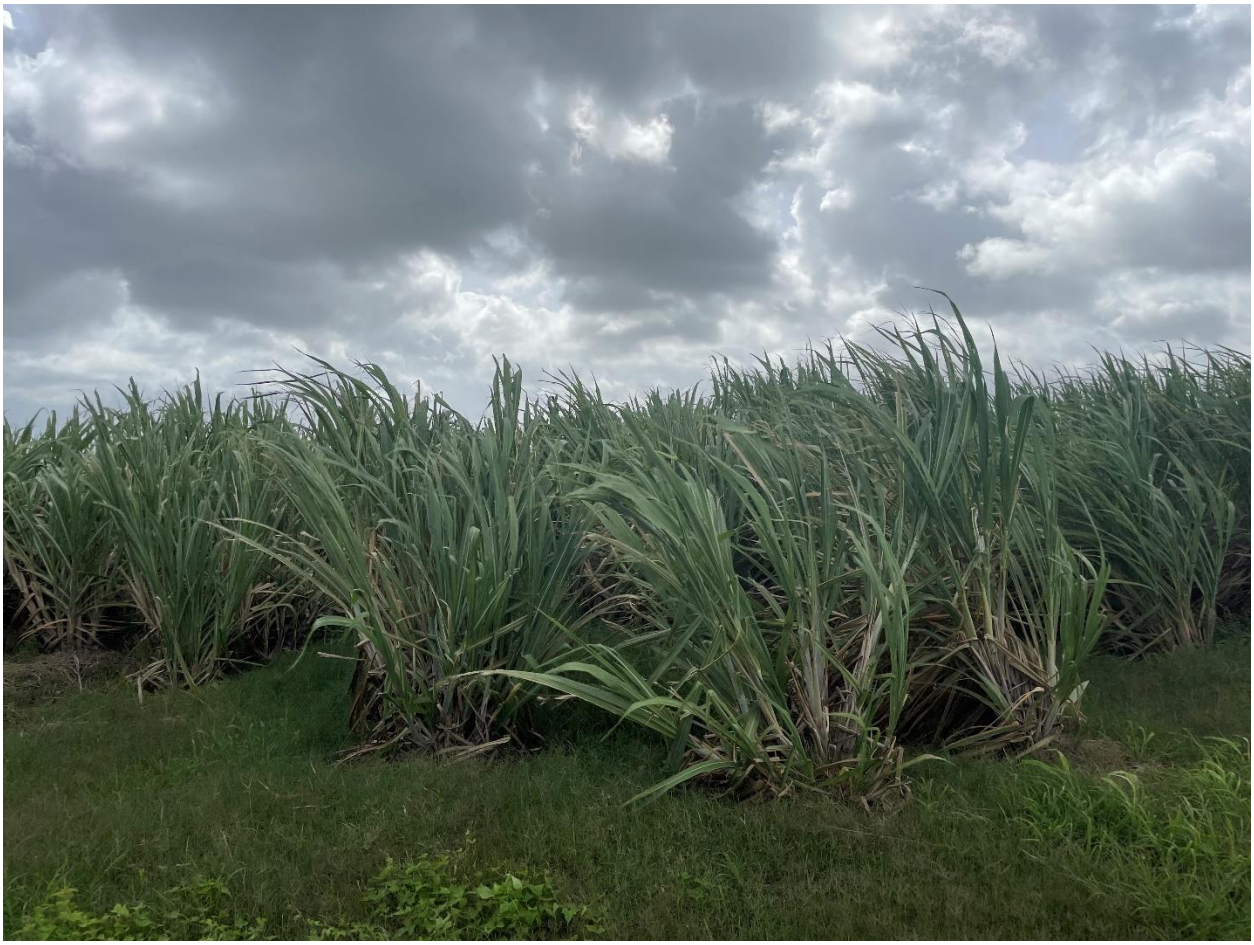
The effects of cultural heterogenization are also at work as heritage tourism demands that although a tourist leaves their own country to cultivate new experiences, they also seek to find familiarity in foreign lands. Thus, cultural heterogenization as a caveat of American economic imperialism contributes to the destruction of the physical landscape to facilitate American imperial expansionism. The destruction of the cane fields and American cultural imperialism slowly erode the anchors that kept the Heartman rooted in the minds of the populace who have replaced the Heartman with American cultural icons.

10)

The Whim, St. Peter, Barbados

The photo does not do the darkness which the Whim is known for justice. This road was dark and lonely, and there were no streetlights along the road to ensure that those who must walk this path do not do so alone.

11)



Cane field located near Bailey's Plantation, Christ Church, Barbados

Pictured above are young canes planted in the cane field. Cane fields are significant to the landscape of Barbados as they serve as physical reminders of its history as a sugar colony. The physical landscape and the shift from an agrarian based economy to a more industrial and commercialized economy tailored towards tourism emphasized the dramatic reshaping of the Barbadian physical landscape.

In the 1950s and 1960s, development theories suggested that modernization was the primary mechanism for developing countries to catch up with industrialized countries (Kiely 121). Modernization, in this context, refers to industrialization, or the development of

technological infrastructure to facilitate mass production which is accomplished through the mechanization of certain industries such as agriculture or manufacturing as a means of increasing production and profit within a capitalist society.

The cane fields which had become an irreplaceable part of the physical landscape gave way to the mechanisms of industrialization to erect hotels, mall complexes, and housing. The erasure of the cane fields from the landscape heralded the erasure of the Heartman from his space within the cultural landscape. A main plot point in Nicholls' short story was the existence of the cane fields which served as a site of expression for the legend.

Chapter 6: Thesis Conclusions and Limitations

This thesis argues that the Heartman as a metaphor for the physical landscape of Barbados is significant in the systematic erasure of the heritage from the consciousness of the Barbadian populace. Erasure is seen in the shift towards development spurred by the economic viability of tourism in Barbados, which has resulted in cane fields, the symbol of Barbadian heritage and economic value, becoming the sites most affected by erasure, as they are stripped of their value. Conversion into land to be used for tourism and commercial development impacts the cultural landscape of Barbados. The cane fields and slavery in extension, served as origins of cultural icons that make up the Barbadian pantheon of folkloric characters and tales.

To change or remove the physical landscape until it becomes unrecognizable either due to its use for economic development or even by simply adding lighting deeply impacts the response the society has to its surrounding reality, which is reflected in the folktales and characters that are created to explain and examine their situation and pass on their values and morals. In the Caribbean, cultural icons of the past inhabit a marginalized space, although some still function in the capacity in which they were created. Many now play second fiddle to American values that are pervade Barbados. There was a period of genuine worry that there was no longer a Barbadian cultural identity, with intellectuals going so far as to question if there was one to begin with and what that may have been. Alexander's (2005) pedagogy of crossing describes these changes as,

"Something given, as in handed, revealed, as in breaking through, transgressing, disrupting, displacing, inverting inherited concepts and practices, those psychic, analytic and organizational methodologies we deploy to know what we believe we know so as to make

different conversations and solidarities possible, as both epistemic and ontological project to our beingness" (Alexander 22).

Alexander's work speaks to the erosion of and attempts to relocate a Barbadian cultural identity and the threat which it is under from globalization. Thus, the creation of these beliefs are the attempt to seek out the crossing as the place that "might instruct us in the urgent task of configuring new ways of being and knowing" (Alexander 22). The crossing refers to the physical and spiritual movement of people from one space to a new one where they are othered from themselves and their culture. Thus, Alexander seeks through solidarity through the connection of rupture or crossing to "plot the different metaphysics that are needed" to mend this rift (Alexander 22).

Appadurai suggests that when "forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one way or other" (Appadurai 295). In contrast, Kiely argues that the interaction between American culture and an indigenous culture will result in the former forcing the latter to conform to the norms and values that it embodies or believes that the culture should embody. Appadurai argues instead that when two cultures meet, the indigenous culture absorbs the 'invading' culture and creates a new hybrid culture as a result, ensuring the survival of both within a space where neither contends to be the more dominant of the two.

Appadurai proposes the concept of indigenization as the alternative to the idea of commoditization which he states is erroneously linked to the idea of Americanization (Appadurai 295). Thus, to use Americanization interchangeably with commoditization is problematic especially in areas where the United States is not the dominating world culture and is not considered to be a threat to that society's culture. Appadurai suggests that instead of it being an

external force bent commodifying an indigenous culture, it is instead internal forces seeking to hegemonize the culture of the society at the expense of a minority group found within that society.

In relation to the Caribbean, this point is both true and false as internal forces utilize these fears to hegemonize a culture within the society to generate economic interest, although hegemonization also occurs due to external pressure. These contrasting realities are reflected in Best's idea of the "two Barbadoses", the one that is the commodity and the one that exists beneath. The commodified Barbados is created through the efforts of internal forces who seek to create 'an authentic' Barbadian culture that is palatable and can be packaged and sold within a capitalist sphere. This is done through hegemonic strategies (Appadurai 295) by the government designed to craft the commodified or "pastoral Barbados" (Best 38), which is sold within the economic structure of cultural tourism. This commodification is promoted using external forces such as economic policies and the threat of military occupation, should a culture emerge that is a threat to the existing external forces.

Bertrand (1987) suggests cultural imperialism takes over when "cultural war strikes at the head to paralyze without killing, to conquer by slow rot, and obtain wealth through the disintegration of cultures and people" (Bertrand 49). Cultural imperialism is highlighted in the erasure of the Heartman whose existence relies on the continued existence and widespread prevalence of the oral tradition and the cane fields, both of which have been steadily replaced with American media and industrialization. The oral tradition has given way to multimedia in the form of television, cell phones and radio, whilst the cane fields are being removed to facilitate the growth of the economic sector in the construction of buildings for commercial events and

structures for revenue production tied to the tourism sector, which in turn is crafted to portray the 'pastoral Barbados' through the disintegration of the 'real' Barbados.

The idea of culture as a commodity is further defined by Kiely, who discusses the theory of cultural imperialism. Kiely uses cultural imperialism to examine the "Americanisation of popular culture around the world" (Kiely 120), which refers to acts by the United States to export its political ideology, cultural values and norms as the means of passive domination and the expansion of its capitalist ideals. The "Americanisation of popular culture" refers to America's focused determination to demonize the popular culture of 'weaker' nations that do not conform to the values and ideals that America either holds as important or can exploit for profit. Demonization is particularly important when the legend of the Heartman is taken into consideration, as the Heartman has been linked to the cane fields that dotted the landscape of Barbados and to Obeah practitioners and Masonic Lodges. Both non-secular religious practices have been a part of the historiography of Barbados long before the 1950s, however, because of the dominance of Christian beliefs in the island, these practices have been publicly vilified.

Curwen Best's analysis provides an alternative perspective on the space which the Heartman occupies within the Barbadian cultural landscape. Like Kamau Brathwaite, Best suggests that Barbadian culture or what is understood as Barbadian culture has not been erased but instead exists underground (Best 35), similar to how African culture was forced to go underground during slavery to survive. Best suggests that simply because it is submerged or underground does not mean that it is extinct. As such, he provides examples of the continued existence of the tuk band, folk song, and calypso.

Best supports the notion of a Barbadian aesthetic which he states exists through the mediums of two Barbadoses divided into the mythic Barbados, the one that is commercialized

and sold as a tourist attraction and can be found in pastoral poems and planter's journals and "the underdiscovered/underdiscoursed Barbados" (Best 38). Despite the destruction of the cane fields and the absorption of foreign cultural values and the erasure of the legend of the Heartman, it can be argued that there is evidence of erasure, albeit it exists in conjunction and in tension with the evolution of the Heartman. Therefore, in examining the idea of evolution, one must acknowledge that the process has erased in some cases but retained and reconfigured in other instances in the Barbadian cultural arena, which is evident in the case of the evolution of the Heartman.

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Vita

Kelsia Kellman is a graduate student enrolled in Syracuse University's MA program in Pan-African Studies. Her research interests include folklore and cultural history, and the historical narratives that surround them. Kelsia was born in Barbados, where she lived before coming to the United States. She is involved with the Center for Hybrid Studies, the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, where she briefly worked as an educational intern, the National Independence Festival of Creative Arts, hosted by the National Cultural Foundation which she participated in and, the UNESCO FONDOSCULTURA Grant Writing Course. Kelsia's interest in the Heartman preceded her undergraduate studies; the lack of scholarly knowledge on the legend made it the focus of her research. This legend also kindled her interest which lies in the research of folklore and how it is interwoven into Caribbean societies, especially Barbadian society. After graduating she seeks to continue to research and preserve this history through creative writing.